Volume VI - Issue 2 - December, 2014

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis

ISSN 2067-4082
e-ISSN 2068-9969
L-ISSN 2067-4082

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis

Volume VI - Issue 2 - December, 2014

CONTENTS

www.jurareview.ro

University of Bucharest

The manuscripts and exchange reviews, as well as, any correspondence will be sent on the Editorial Office:

University of Bucharest - Interdisciplinary Centre for Advanced Research on Territorial Dynamics
030018, 4-12, Regina Elisabeta Blv., Bucharest, Romania
Tel/fax: 0040 213 138 410, e-mail: office@cicadit.ro, http://www.jurareview.ro

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis

Volume VI - Issue 2 - December, 2014

Journal indexed in:

SCOPUS
EBSCO
CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPEAN ACADEMIC SOURCE DATABASE COVERAGE LIST
PROQUEST SCITECH JOURNALS
ULRICHSWEB
DIRECTORY OF OPEN ACCESS JOURNALS (DOAJ)
INDEX COPERNICUS INTERNATIONAL
KNOWLEDGE BASE SOCIAL SCIENCES EASTERN EUROPE (GESIS)

University of Bucharest

University of Bucharest - Interdisciplinary Centre for Advanced Research on Territorial Dynamics

www.jurareview.ro

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014

CONTENTS

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 113 -127

RAIL TRANSPORTATION AND CORE-PERIPHERY RELIANCE IN ISRAEL

Orit **ROTEM-MINDALI**, *Dor* **GEFEN**
Bar Ilan University, Israel

Abstract: Many policy makers suggest that rail is the solution for the development of the periphery, often conceived as a space suffering from under-development and lack of accessibility to the core. However, this policy, promoted around the world, does not consider core-periphery reliance as one of the rail investments' impacts. This study will examine the question: to what extent does the peripheral city, connected to the rail service, has a larger reliance on the core city? This study is a cross-sectional study that focuses on the passenger rail of an existing line to the periphery and of a planned line. The research reveals that rail does not necessarily induce the local development of the periphery but it induces larger reliance on the core.

Key Words: *rail, policy, periphery, development, commuting, accessibility*

Introduction

In geography, regions are often divided into "cores" and "periphery", the one being defined by the other. The core, as a concept, is a focus of economic dynamism, containing a solid pool of skilled personnel, with access to the wide world. The core is the place where enterprises and creativity take place, and from which ideas and attitudes defuse to wider national and international regions. The periphery, as a concept, is considered the exact opposite; it is not an important factor for the national or international economy, and it has a relatively low economic dynamism (Clout 1981). In reality, however, the definition is not as conclusive, and several degrees of "peripherality" exist. Regions are often defined as peripheral by those in the core areas. Therefore, periphery could be defined by its spatial location or by its level of connectivity to the core (Herrschel 2011). The European Union also addresses the definition of periphery from an economic perspective. It defines peripheries as regions of below average gross domestic product, emphasizing the idea that periphery is not only determined by the distance to a center (Naumann and Reichert-Schick 2013).

Therefore, there is also logic in discussing the "peripheral development". The definition of peripheral development is not conclusive; different researchers define it in various ways. Mabogunje (1981) sums up several approaches, and he describes peripheral development as a process in which changes take place in a certain region in order to deal with the needs of the local population. This is defined considering the periphery's unique characteristics and by using the local resources (human, material, cultural, etc.) of the region. According to this definition, the primary goal of these changes is the accumulation of capital and its distribution according to the rules of social justice, while decreasing the socio-economic gaps. Another goal is the modernization of the region, as expressed by internalizing the market rules by the local population and by creating local enterprises. This definition places the local population at the focus of regional development, and thereby the local population's feelings and perspectives are of major importance. However, development itself is achieved by objective means, such as increasing the pool of available workplaces, their diversity and quality, which brings about a multiplier effect that increases the demand for products and services manufactured in or supplied by the region (Lipshitz 1998). Another objective means is encouraging the migration of new, strong populations, which will often change their workplaces to the peripheral region. Giuliano (2004) states that a growing local economy is necessary but not sufficient for influencing land values; supportive zoning and development policies must exist as well. In Israel, for example, supportive development policies often include investments in transport infrastructures, including railways.

The primary way transport contributes to the development of the periphery, is by providing improvements in accessibility. Accessibility provides measures of the degree to which people can reach activities, goods and services, but with an emphasis on the potential capability rather than on the actual behaviour (Jones and Lucas 2012). In general, accessibility is measured in reference to an activity or activities that can be undertaken in a specific location (Martínez Sánchez-Mateos and Givoni 2012). Therefore, accessibility to a place consists of two components: 1. the ease of movement to/from a place (which can be measured by its costs, in terms of time or money), and 2. its attractiveness (which can be measured by its range of opportunities and activities). One may note that while the first component is of a mutual nature (the ease of movement from A to B generally equals the ease of movement from B to A), the second is not (the range of opportunities in A is not necessarily equal to the range of opportunities in B). This implies that increasing the accessibility of the core residents to the residents of the periphery (by, for example, opening a railway between core and periphery), might not, at the same ratio, increase the accessibility of the periphery to the residents of the core.

Improvements in accessibility are important to regional development since they increase the amount of economic interactions and activities in that region. This contributes to its development, and again, to its accessibility, as a snowball effect. These improvements can also help increase salaries by saving travel costs (Giuliano 2004). An increase in transport accessibility can improve workforce accessibility and thus induces economic development (Rietveld 1994, Rietveld and Bruinsma 1998). In addition, this might encourage expansion or relocation of economic activities and population (which, again, might increase accessibility). Nevertheless, one must remember that improvements in a region's accessibility may affect its development, if its primary goal was the improvement of other regions' affinity towards it. This can be demonstrated by intensifying commuting, another way in which transport contributes to regional development.

Commuting can be divided into two different phenomena: commuting *to* a peripheral region and commuting *from* a peripheral region. The preferred direction of commuting is determined by the asymmetrical compound of the accessibility, that is – by the attractiveness of the peripheral region, compared to the core region. In the UK for example, the main impact of the regional services on the regional high-speed Javelin services on HS1 appears to be an increase in commuting towards London, reinforcing existing patterns of activity rather than creating new business activity in more peripheral areas (Vickerman 2014, Garmendia et al. 2012). Improvement in accessibility will bring about an intensification of commuting. The reason why it is associated with regional development is that commuting causes multiplier effects, and it suggests the existence of wider work-related activity spaces. Mobility is considered as a key element of human capital in regional growth terms, in response to the economic opportunity. Mobility enables the Human capital accumulation. Therefore it may affect the productivity of the individual worker and also that of the regional economy as a whole (Felsenstein 2013).

Moreover, in small states such as Israel, long-range commuting can even substitute migration (Felsenstein and Portnov 2005). Thus, commuting *to* the periphery is generally conceived as contributing to the development of the periphery, to reduce core-periphery reliance, although it is not often treated in the literature. Perhaps this is due to the standard urban-economic theory, which implies that the existence of commuting-inducing workplaces in the periphery will eventually make commuters migrate, due to low land-costs relative to the core. However, the theory does not take into account other factors, mainly other factors than land costs, that may influence the individuals willingness to migrate (Giuliano 2004). Consequently, in reality, long-term commuting to the periphery may take place. Commuting *from* the periphery (to the core) can be seen both as contributing to the development of the periphery, and as increasing the core-periphery reliance (by increasing residents' salaries, accessibility to a wider pool of workplaces, and by increasing taxes available to local government), and as detrimental to it (for the same reasons which make commuting *to* the periphery beneficial). One must also remember that, in a way, commuting in both directions does not use the region's resources for development, and so it does not fit to our definition of periphery development (although in small states commuting can substitute migration).

In general, a transport system includes three main components: transport infrastructure, mode of transport and institutional elements. These components serve as key factors in affecting accessibility and hence, also commuting. Infrastructure can be viewed as stationary capital goods, such as railroad tracks, paved roads, transit stations and more. According to Rietveld (1994), its supply, price and quality are under governmental control; therefore, they have the potential to alter the periphery development. It is important to stress that the economic influence may be a short term, temporary one, during the construction phase. It may also have long term, more permanent, effects. A secondary type of effects may influence the regional economy due to better accessibility to the region, and it may also affect the region-related travel patterns (Giuliano 2004).

Similar to infrastructure, the mode of transport may also affect regional development and core-periphery reliance, through accessibility in general and through ease of travel in particular. Overall there is a differentiation between public transport and private means of travel, namely, the private car. Ease of travel is commonly measured in terms of time and/or cost. For periphery residents with low income, public transportation mostly represents low-cost options in comparison to the private car (Leck et al. 2008, Ernste et al. 2012). Various studies have highlighted the connection between transport and social exclusion (Van Wee and Geurs 2011, Stanley and Lucas 2008, Lucas 2012). For example, the dominance of the private vehicle and the lack of good public transportation in the United States and in various countries in Europe exclude various social groups (Pickup and Giuliano 2005). This indicates that public transportation may reduce economic inequalities by enabling lower income sectors' accessibility to activities. Where cost of time is concerned, private modes of transport have an advantage over public transportation. This results from longer out of vehicle travel time for the use of public transportation, as well as often longer in-vehicle travel time due to stops or/and longer and non-direct routes. However, longer travel time does not always refer to “wasted” time since commuting time can be used for other purposes, when the commuter is not actively driving (Lyons et al. 2007).

This manuscript will focus on rail as a mode of transport which is considered to affect the core-periphery reliance and peripheral development. In Israel, similar to many other countries, it is generally believed that there is a strong link between the two. Railways are usually faster (better at inducting better accessibility) than private automobiles and buses, and commuting by rail is considered cheaper than commuting by private automobile, as it depends on rail pricing (and its subsidy) as well as on the automobile use prices and the number of passengers in the private automobile. This makes rail more relevant to the residents of the periphery than the private automobile. In addition, the fact that the travel cost is also influenced by the service level (Lyons et al. 2007) means that the rail is a less expensive mode of transport. It is also considered to provide a high level of service, as an individual can easily engage in work-related actions on his laptop while riding rail, and making the commute-trip a part of the work day.

Our research examines the way rail affects the core-periphery reliance in Israel. It can be viewed as a case study for the peripheral development and its dependence on the core in small countries. The research examines two peripheral cities: Nahariya and Karmiel. Nahariya has a direct railway to both Haifa and Tel Aviv, which are core cities; Karmiel, on the other hand, has no railway at the present, but a railway line is already planned. The objective of our research is to answer the question: To what extent does the peripheral city, connected to the rail service has a larger reliance on the core city? Our hypothesis is that rail increases the dependency of the periphery and it contributes to the local development of the periphery when its development is integrated with the development of other elements of the periphery. This is examined through an assessment of three sub-hypotheses: 1. Rail transport encourages migration of new populations to the periphery. These populations commute from the periphery, while commuting to the periphery (which is encouraged by rail) is negligible; 2. Rail transport induces the creation of peripheral workplaces in a limited way; 3. Development of railway infrastructure might increase accessibility and the service level, compared to the further development of other transport modes.

Methodology

This section will outline the conceptual framework of the study. Afterwards, the research area will be discussed by describing the selected cities and the region in which they are situated. A description of the data acquisition will conclude this section.

Conceptual framework

This section will first summarize the research framework by using a conceptual model to understand the contribution of rail to the development of the periphery (Fig. 1). The conceptual model demonstrates that enhancing accessibility is the immediate effect of adding rail service to the periphery. Nevertheless, accessibility improvements do not have a direct effect on components promoting periphery development. Better accessibility affects commuting, rather than migration. This study hypothesizes that the nature of commuting, i.e., commuting direction, may affect the nature of periphery development, thus making accessibility improvement only a mediator in this process. The study hypothesizes that better accessibility increase core-periphery reliance. This means that factors such as jobs and relative wage may increase, but probably not due to local regional growth, namely, as rail infrastructure cannot induce local development by itself. Periphery development may very well be stimulated by growth in population (migration) and it involves municipality investments (as well as national/ private) directed towards housing, education, welfare, employment, and others, in conjunction with promoting accessibility.

It is also suggested that rail is perceived as a mode of public transport that provides improved level of service (LOS). Consequently, accessibility and the improved LOS may enhance commuting. As indicated earlier, in small countries, commuting to the periphery may replace migration to the periphery. Furthermore, as a result of the attractiveness of core regions due to the large variety of services, jobs, and wage levels, improvements in accessibility may even reduce multiplier effects in the periphery.

Finally, the conceptual model also illustrates the possible feedbacks that may occur under the changes that new rail infrastructure may initiate.

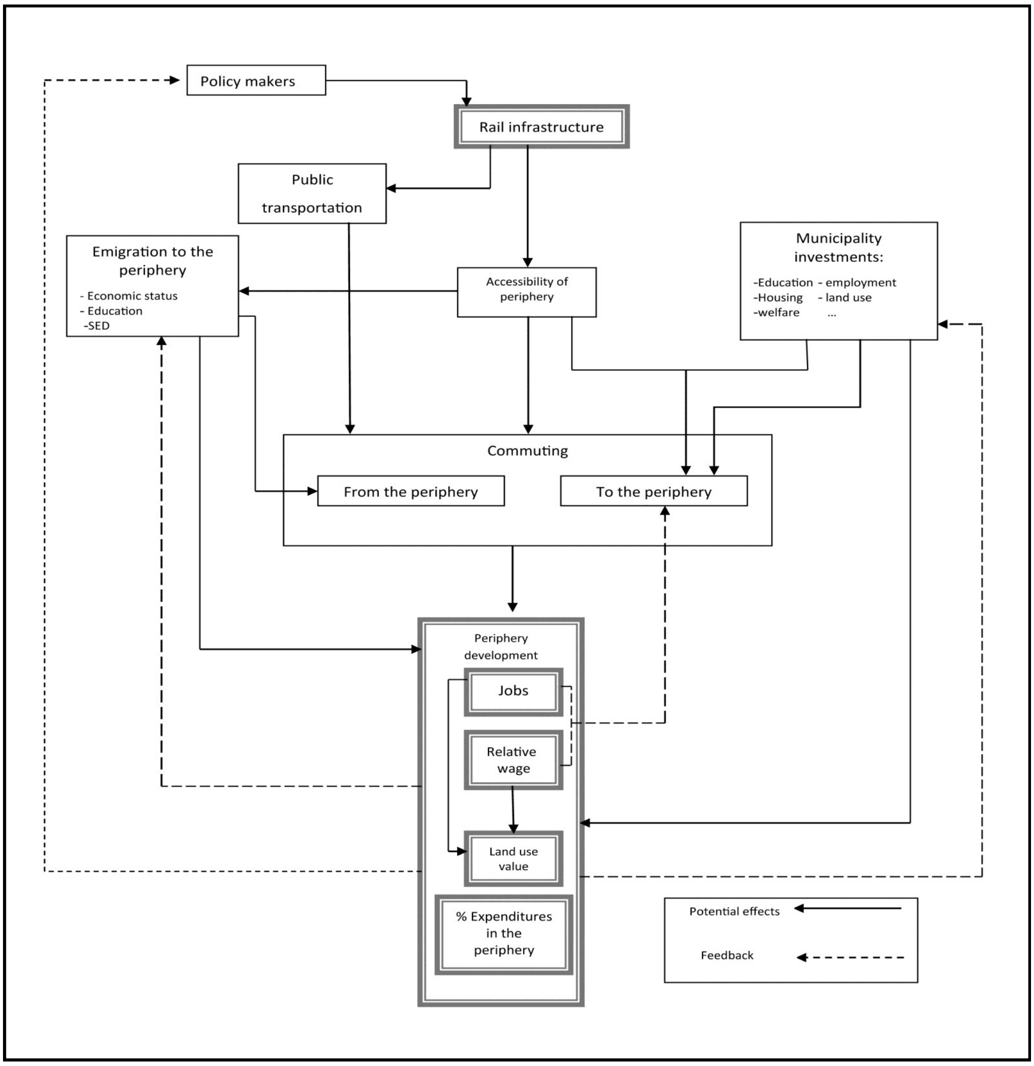

Fig. 1 **– Conceptual model: Rail infrastructure and periphery development**

Research area

The official administrative division of Israel includes six districts: Jerusalem (consisting mainly of the city of Jerusalem and its Hinterland), the north (the mainly agricultural region stretching from the upper Jordan valley to the Mediterranean coast), Haifa formed by the city of Haifa, its close hinterland and the northern coastal plain), the central district (the coastal plane to the north and south of and excluding, metropolitan Tel Aviv), Tel Aviv (formed mainly by the Tel Aviv metropolitan region) and the south (the desert region stretching from the southern coastal plane to the Gulf of Eilat/Aqaba) districts (Portnov 1998, CBS Israel 2013b, Schwartz 2006). In the case of Israel, the common perceptions is that the core relates to Tel Aviv metropolitan area, with extensions to Haifa and Jerusalem, and that the reminder of the national space represents a set of peripheral regions (namely, the north and south; Felsenstein 2013, Bar-El and Parr 2003).

This research is a cross sectional one to evaluate the rail impact on the development of two cities in the northern periphery of Israel. These two cities are located at relatively similar distances from Haifa (the adjacent core city, approximately 42 km) as well as from Tel Aviv (approximately 136 km). Both cities are of similar size – Karmiel with 44.9 thousand inhabitants and Nahariya with 53 thousand inhabitants. Karmiel and Nahariya also have a similar peripheriality Index (66, 67 respectively).

The peripheriality Index calculates a combination of two components: the potential accessibility Index of the local authority, which combines the proximity of the local authority to all the local authorities in the country with the size of their population; the second is the proximity of the local authority to the boundary of the Tel Aviv District, which is called the “economic heart of the country” (CBS Israel 2008).

The social economic index also demonstrates similarity between the two localities. In 2011, for Karmiel, the index is 160 in cluster 5, while Nahariya, in the same cluster, is positioned at 158 (CBS Israel 2013a). However, despite these similarities, there is a major distinction between the two cities. In Nahariya, an active rail station existed for more than six decades with direct lines reaching Haifa and Tel Aviv. On the other hand, in Karmiel, there are plans for the construction of a rail station to serve Karmiel and its environs. It is important to stress that, unlike the southern district in Israel, the Nahariya rail station operates as the only active station in the northern district in Israel. This implies a lesser probability for competitive effects from other rail stations in the same district as in the southern Israeli periphery. The new railway to Karmiel was declared a national infrastructure project and construction began after a governmental decision from April 2010. Figure 2 shows the Israeli northern district including Haifa, and it demonstrates the relative position of Nahariya and Karmiel (Nahariya is connected to the rail network through Akko and Haifa; the same connection to the network is planned for Karmiel).

Karmiel serves as an important case study in this research since it does not have an operative railroad station; however, there are already expectations for the new mode of transport by the local inhabitants. For the purpose of this research, we assume that the existing local businesses in Karmiel are currently not affected (or the effect is negligible) by the future development of the railroad. Nahariya’s local businesses are already affected by the train, since the rail infrastructure already functioned constantly for more than 60 years. Apart from the rail, other public modes of transport to Haifa and Tel Aviv are reasonably frequent. Both localities are also positioned on the main roads with good accessibility for the private car.

Data collection

Part of the study data was obtained from secondary data sources such as the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, Israeli Railways Company and data obtained from local municipalities. A

Fig. 2 – **Israel's northern district**

major part of study was based on primary data that was collected via questionnaires (2011-2012). The sample population for this research consisted of the residents of Nahariya and Karmiel, as well as residents of other localities that work in either Nahariya or Karmiel. The sample population included the labour force, working at least at a part time job, and being between the ages of 18 to 65. The survey consisted of a total of 172 questionnaires: 54 respondents living or working in Karmiel and 118 respondents working or living in Nahariya (66% female, 34% male; 36% age 18-44, 58% age 44-65, 6% 65+). The questionnaires were distributed online via email for both localities. However, in Nahariya, questionnaires were also conducted face to face at the train station. The face-to-face questionnaires were co-ordinated with rail management and they were conducted during commuting peak hours (06:15-09:40 and 16:20-18:00). This was done in order to trace commuters with longer commuting travel time to both Haifa and Tel-Aviv. The online questionnaires were distributed to a diverse population, for example: students, lecturers, teachers, municipality workers, from the industrial sector as well as the service sector. The questionnaires for Karmiel and Nahariya differ slightly, since in Karmiel, rail transportation is not available yet. Therefore, the questionnaire for Karmiel respondents focused on attitudes, perceptions and assessment of the future available service in a scenario where Karmiel is added to the railroad network. For example: *When a railroad service to Karmiel exists, to what extent will the following situations affect the frequency you will use the train: lower prices, reduced travel time in comparison to private car, in comparison to bus, etc.?* However, for individuals from Nahariya, the distributed questionnaires were mostly based on stated–behaviour questions.

Results and Discussion

This section attempts to evaluate the linkage between rail and periphery development. To that end, we will discuss rail as a mode of choice and its contribution to the periphery development by comparing Karmiel and Nahariya according to the indicators defining periphery development discussed in the introduction and demonstrated in the conceptual model. The section will start by examining residents' migration rates and reasons; related-commuting patterns will follow. Next, parameters defining periphery development, such as employment, and land use values, will be discussed.

As discussed earlier, migration to the periphery is considered a main feature of periphery development. Therefore, the analysis starts by examining if and how rail effects migration to the periphery. To understand whether rail encourages migration to the periphery, the Nahariya's respondents were asked to mark the relevance of that factor as influencing migration to Nahariya on a scale from one to four (1 - not important; 4 - very important). Table 1[1)] demonstrates the average score for each factor, according to the period of residence in Nahariya (Native – born in Nahariya, 40%; Migrants – migrated to Nahariya 0-10 years, 60%).

It is interesting to see that for the new residents in Nahariya, those who migrated, the rail station was not selected as a major pull factor. Actually, it was selected to be the fifth relevant reason (from seven reasons given) for migrating to Nahariya. The option of tranquillity and a more rural way of living was selected by the migrants, as the most important reason to migrate to Nahariya. The second main reason was good education. Moreover, housing prices, representing economic reasoning, was selected only as the fourth main reason. That said, the native residents of Nahariya, perceive the rail station and the option to use it as a main asset of the city. They believe that an option to use the train from Nahariya serves as the main reason to attract migration there.

It is important to stress that, in the past five years, the migration rate to Karmiel and Nahariya was negative with an average rate of -10.4 migrants/1000 inhabitants in Karmiel and -3.9 migrants/1000 inhabitants in Nahariya. During 2012, there were higher negative rates: -13.9 migrants/1000 inhabitants, in Karmiel; and -7.3 migrants/1000 inhabitants, in Nahariya. Although migration rates largely differ between the two cities, both demonstrate negative migration. Combining this data with the explanation given in the survey emphasizes that migration to the periphery in general and migration induced by rail is negligible.

To evaluate the local employment conditions in Nahariya and Karmiel, we analysed and compared several related parameters. To compare the average salary rates, we chose to examine the salary per non-residential square meter (Table 2). The size of the non-residential land use was obtained from each municipality according to the local taxes paid per m^2 for employment purposes. Therefore, when focusing on the size of land use for employment, it appears that in Karmiel, the employment area is larger by 2.5 than in Nahariya. Since the size of the employment area is an indication for the potential employment, it seems that Karmiel, without the rail infrastructure, potentially offers more employment. However, the salary per m^2 is 2.8 times larger in Nahariya than in Karmiel. According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (2009), 60% of the population from the area of Nahariya commutes for work outside

1) Equal variances assumption is assumed. The Sig. (2-Tailed) value for all reasons (excluding short time trance to Haifa) in this analysis received a value less than .05. Therefore it is concluded that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean of reasons for migrants and natives in Nahariya.

Table 1

Reasons for migration to Nahariya

Nahariya	Mean		Order	
	Migrants	Native	Migrants	Native
Work place in Nahariya or in proximity	1.69	2.87	7	2
Std. Deviation	0.92	1.13		
N	67	46		
Low housing prices	2.51	2.38	4	7
Std. Deviation	1.19	1.15		
N	65	16		
High level of education	3.02	2.40	2	6
Std. Deviation	1.07	0.98		
N	65	65		
Relatives reside nearby	2.07	2.81	6	3
Std. Deviation	1.02	0.93		
N	67	43		
Short travel time to Haifa	2.61	2.50	3	5
Std. Deviation	1.05	1.19		
N	64	42		
Tranquillity and a more rural way of living	3.48	2.61	1	4
Std. Deviation	0.85	1.02		
N	65	44		
Rail station in Nahariya	2.08	3.02	5	1
Std. Deviation	0.98	1.09		
N	64	44		

Table 2

Employment parameters

	Karmiel	Nahariya
Total non-residential area (x1000)	661.6	296.4
Size of population (x1000)	44	50.4
Non-residential area for residents	15.1	5.9
Average salary	6613	8419
Self employed	7779	8564
Average salary (normalized CBS)	7682.6	8524.5
Salary per m^2	519.1	1495.5

Source: CBS Israel 2009

the natural activity area of Nahariya, while in Karmiel only 46% people do so. According to the Israeli national census conducted in 2008 (Table 3), both Nahariya and Karmiel, as explained earlier, are peripheral urban areas with a large proportion of employment in the manufacturing industry (27.1%; 33.1% respectively).

Table 3

Distribution of Economic Activity (Age >15) 2008

Economic Activity	Nahariya	Karmiel	D(Nahariya-Karmiel)
Agriculture	0.9	0.3	0.6
Manufacturing (mining and industry)	27.1	33.1	-6.0
Electricity and water supply	0.7	0.6	0.1
Construction (building and civil engineering projects)	2.1	2.3	-0.2
Wholesale and retail trade, and repairs	10.7	11.5	-0.8
Accommodation services and restaurants	4.2	3.4	0.8
Transport, storage and communications	6.3	4.5	1.8
Banking, insurance and other financial institutions	3.1	1.2	1.9
Business activities	10	12.2	-2.2
Public administration	4.9	2.9	2.0
Education	9.5	10	-0.5
Health, welfare and social work services	13.5	9.2	4.3
Community, social, personal and other services	3.9	4.1	-0.2
Services for households by domestic personnel	1	1.2	-0.2
Other	2.2	3.4	-1.2

Source: CBS Israel 2009

To further understand the role of the rail, commuters' mode choice was examined. For Nahariya, the respondents were asked to report the mode of transport and the number of commuting days using the relevant mode of transport used for commuting purposes. Respondents from Karmiel were asked to state their choice on the mode of transport and frequency according to the scenario of introducing rail service in Karmiel. Table 4 shows commuters' mode of choice and the frequency of travel according to the level of accessibility to the private car (Nahariya n=47, Karmiel n=30). For example, households that have two or more private cars were recorded as having a high access to a private car, and households that do not have a car were recorded as having a low access to a private car. For both Nahariya and Karmiel, the high access to a private car increases the commuting frequency using the car. Bus service receives a low average for both localities. However, while for Nahariya, the average number of days for using the train is 1.4, while respondents from Karmiel estimate an average of almost 3 times per week. This probably results from it being the respondents' stated preference, rather than their actual behaviour. It is important to stress that due to the small size of the sample, the results may only show a tentative trend for the preference of the mode of choice.

This may point to Karmiel's respondents' perceptions on the importance and potential of the train impact. Comparing the high access to the private car also reveals a difference between the choices for the two locations. While in Nahariya those with medium accessibility to the private car commute, on average, about once a week by private car, respondents from Karmiel estimate that they will use the private car about four days per week on average, with the understanding that train is an available potential mode of transport.

Table 4

Mode of choice for commuting purposes

	Private car availability for commuting	Commuting days per week		
		Private car	Bus	Train
Nahariya	High	3.65	0	1.4
	Medium	1.21	0.43	3.21
	Low	0.67	0	3.44
Karmiel	High	3.67	0.29	2.89
	Medium	4	1	2.75
	Low	1	1.67	2.33

Another way to aid in evaluating the periphery development is to explore the changes in housing prices. Table 5 reveals the housing prices during 2008-2013 for Nahariya, Karmiel and the national average price. For each location, Table 5 depicts the total average housing prices and the average prices for three, four and five room dwelling units. Although the housing prices are lower in Karmiel, for each category, Karmiel demonstrates to have the largest rate of increase in the aforementioned six years. Karmiel had the largest rate of real change for all categories of dwellings in comparison to both Nahariya and the national level.

Conclusion

The study shows that rail does not distinctly function as an encouragement-inducer towards migration to the periphery. Although it is perceived as such, silence and "rurality" are much more important for attracting migrants to the periphery. Generally speaking, the study shows that the main factors for the encouragement of migration are probably not of an economic nature. In this sense, one might look at the rail as an assisting factor for the development of the periphery, though being not the main one. For the people who are not used to commuting, it is most likely that the need to commute, even by rail, constitutes a repelling factor for migration. This makes the rail irrelevant in attracting such migrants.

Moreover, due to the relative short distances in Israel, rail reinforces the commuting patterns towards the core and it increases the core-periphery dependence. Consequently, rail assists the improvement of the local population's conditions – via rail, residents of the peripheral cities are able to profit from more diverse, higher-paid employment opportunities in the core. However, when the periphery is viewed as a region and as a group of municipalities, rather than as a group of individuals, it seems that rail does not, in fact, provide any unique elements (advantages). It makes the local less relevant and it makes the inter-local and the national, the essence. As such, rail acts as an anti-local development mechanism (on the regional – local level), since regional development includes an increase of the *local* expertise and capital, and an increase of the *local* employment, trade and finance. Regional development does, indeed, consider the needs and character of the local population, but this is done by using the *local resources*, creating *local initiatives* and encouraging *local leadership*. The rail indeed induces all that, but on the inter-regional level, rather than on the local level.

In addition, there is a possibility that investments in rail infrastructure to the periphery may represent an ineffective effort. The rail does indeed have the *potential* for development, but

Table 5

Housing prices 2008-2013

			2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Average	National	**Prices in NIS**	**831,708**	**942,503**	**1,080,677**	**1,147,037**	**1,180,057**	**1,260,733**
		Rate of real change		**9.7%**	**11.6%**	**2.6%**	**1.2%**	**5.2%**
		Index 2008=100	**100.0**	**113.3**	**129.9**	**137.9**	**141.9**	**151.6**
	Karmiel	Prices in NIS	445,413	495,195	594,547	692,336	779,031	916,461
		Rate of real change		7.6%	16.9%	12.5%	10.7%	15.8%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	111.2	133.5	155.4	174.9	205.8
	Nahariya	Prices in NIS	617,779	624,158	691,628	788,977	876,937	943,963
		Rate of real change		-2.2%	7.9%	10.2%	9.4%	5.9%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	101.0	112.0	127.7	141.9	152.8
3 rooms	National	**Prices in NIS**	**543,912**	**610,055**	**682,646**	**743,438**	**794,157**	**842,028**
		Rate of real change		**8.6%**	**8.9%**	**5.2%**	**5.1%**	**4.4%**
		Index 2008=100	**100.0**	**112.2**	**125.5**	**136.7**	**146.0**	**154.8**
	Karmiel	Prices in NIS	289,137	320,048	375,149	454,295	525,678	610,817
		Rate of real change		7.2%	14.1%	17.0%	13.8%	14.4%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	110.7	129.7	157.1	181.8	211.3
	Nahariya	Prices in NIS	362,376	421,303	463,328	508,899	578,070	616,334
		Rate of real change		**12.5%**	**7.1%**	**6.1%**	**11.8%**	**4.9%**
		Index 2008=100	**100.0**	**116.3**	**127.9**	**140.4**	**159.5**	**170.1**
4 rooms	National	**Prices in NIS**	**840,720**	**963,823**	**1,094,742**	**1,173,145**	**1,193,167**	**1,240,597**
		Rate of real change		**11.0%**	**10.6%**	**3.5%**	**0.1%**	**2.3%**
		Index 2008=100	**100.0**	**114.6**	**130.2**	**139.5**	**141.9**	**147.6**
	Karmiel	Prices in NIS	448,245	514,839	592,880	685,588	749,740	870,777
		Rate of real change		11.2%	12.1%	11.7%	7.6%	14.3%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	114.9	132.3	152.9	167.3	194.3
	Nahariya	Prices in NIS	631,784	649,655	770,670	829,087	928,422	977,629
		Rate of real change		-0.5%	15.5%	3.9%	10.2%	3.6%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	102.8	122.0	131.2	147.0	154.7

See the next page

Table 5

Housing prices 2008-2013

			2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
5 rooms	National	Prices in NIS	1,217,542	1,361,186	1,538,765	1,643,029	1,651,003	1,687,491
		Rate of real change		8.2%	10.1%	3.2%	-1.1%	0.6%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	111.8	126.4	134.9	135.6	138.6
	Karmiel	Prices in NIS	667,382	701,558	876,518	990,793	1,069,685	1,201,256
		Rate of real change		1.8%	21.6%	9.2%	6.2%	10.5%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	105.1	131.3	148.5	160.3	180.0
	Nahariya	Prices in NIS	916,166	988,594	1,085,359	1,204,339	1,253,344	1,299,553
		Rate of real change		4.5%	6.9%	7.2%	2.4%	2.1%
		Index 2008=100	100.0	107.9	118.5	131.5	136.8	141.8

Source: Ministry of Construction and Housing (Israel), 2014

perhaps public and political debates should be shifted from discussing the rail as an instrument for "making the periphery closer to the core" to discussing the "development of the periphery", and consider the rail as a factor which could, under the right circumstances, boost such development. This could be carried out by "making the core closer to the periphery". Perhaps first and foremost, local development, based upon local elements and characteristics, should be implemented in the peripheral regions – and after this has been accomplished, there should be carried out the integration at inter-regional and national levels. This kind of integration is, as shown by this study, best made by rail. Perhaps one should consider the rail not as an instrument for development, but rather as an instrument for binding different regions. One must remember, however, that such binding may assist the development of the core – while harming the development of the periphery. A suitable development policy (for example, emphasizing the relative advantages of the periphery, like quietness and "rurality"; giving financial incentives to peripheral entrepreneurs to employ local residents; improving quality of education, etc.) could provide advantages for the periphery once such binding is made. However, these advantages are not to be expected without such a policy.

References

BAR-EL R., PARR J. B. (2003), *Overreliance on the core-periphery model? The case of Israel*, Environment and Planning C 21, 353-370.

CBS ISRAEL (2008), *Peripherality Index of Local Authorities 2004 - New Development* [Online], Jerusalem CBS Israel, Available: http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2008n/24_08_160e.pdf, [Accessed Febuary 2014].

CBS ISRAEL (2013a), *Local authorities in Israel*, Publication no. 1531, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

CBS ISRAEL (2013b), *Statistical abstracts of Israel*, Jerusalem, Israel.

CLOUT H. D. (1981), *Western Europe in context*, in: CLOUT H. D. (ed.), Regional Development in Western Europe, Wiley, New York.

ERNSTE H., MARTENS K., SCHAPENDONK J. (2012), *The Design, Experience and Justice of Mobility*, Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie 103, 509-515.

FELSENSTEIN D. (2013), *Factors Affecting Regional Productivity and Innovation in Israel: Some Empirical Evidence*, Regional Studies, 1-12.

FELSENSTEIN D., PORTNOV B. (2005), *Critical Surveys Edited by Stephen Roper. Understanding regional inequalities in small countries*, Regional Studies 39, 647-658.

GARMENDIA M., ROMERO V., UREñA J. M. D., CORONADO J. M., VICKERMAN R. (2012), *High-speed rail opportunities around metropolitan regions: Madrid and London*, Journal of infrastructure systems 18, 305-313.

GIULIANO G. (2004), *Land use impacts of transportation investments: Highway and Transit*, in: HANSON S., GIULIANO G., The geography of urban transportation, 237-273.

HERRSCHEL T. (2011), *Regional Development, Peripheralisation and Marginalisation – and the Role of Governance*, in: HERRSCHEL T., TALLBERG P. (eds.), The role of regions? Networks, scale, territory, Kristianstads Boktryckeri, Sweden.

JONES P., LUCAS K. (2012), *The social consequences of transport decision-making: clarifying concepts, synthesising knowledge and assessing implications*, Journal of transport geography 21, 4-16.

LECK E., BEKHOR S., GAT D. (2008), *Equity impacts of transportation improvements on core and peripheral cities*, Journal of Transport and Land Use 1 (2), 153-182.

LIPSHITZ G. (1998), *Country on the Move: Migration to and within Israel, 1948–1995*, Springer.

LUCAS K. (2012), *Transport and social exclusion: Where are we now?*, Transport Policy 20, 105-113.

LYONS G., JAIN J., HOLLEY D. (2007), *The use of travel time by rail passengers in Great Britain*, Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice 41, 107-120.

MABOGUNJE A. L. (1981), *The development process: A spatial perspective*, Holmes & Meier, New York.

MARTíNEZ SáNCHEZ-MATEOS H. S., GIVONI M. (2012), *The accessibility impact of a new High-Speed Rail line in the UK – a preliminary analysis of winners and losers*, Journal of Transport Geography 25, 105-114.

NAUMANN M., REICHERT-SCHICK A. (2013), *Infrastructure and Peripheralization: Empirical Evidence from North-Eastern Germany*, Peripheralization, Springer.

PICKUP L., GIULIANO G. (2005), *Transport and social exclusion in Europe and the USA*, in: DONAGHY K., POPPELREUTER S., RUDINGER G. (eds.), Social dimensions of sustainable transport, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot UK.

PORTNOV B. A. (1998), *The effect of housing on migrations in Israel: 1988-1994*, Journal of population economics 11, 379-394.

RIETVELD P. (1994), *Spatial economic impacts of transport infrastructure supply*, Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice 28, 329-341.

RIETVELD P., BRUINSMA F. (1998), *Is Transport Infrastructure Effective? Transport Infrastructure and Accessibility: Impacts on the Space Economy*, Springer Verlag, Berlin - Heidelberg.

SCHWARTZ D. (2006), *The regional location of knowledge based economy activities in Israel*, The Journal of Technology Transfer 31, 31-44.

STANLEY J., LUCAS K. (2008), *Social exclusion: What can public transport offer?*, Research in transportation economics 22, 36-40.

VAN WEE B., GEURS K. (2011), *Discussing equity and social exclusion in accessibility evaluations*, European Journal of Transport and Infrastructure Research 11 (4), 350-367.

VICKERMAN R. (2014), *High-speed rail and regional development: the case of intermediate stations*, Journal of Transport Geography, doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2014.06.008.

Initial submission: 06.05.2012
Revised submission: 11.11.2014
Final acceptance: 21.11.2014

Correspondence: Department of Geography and Environment, Bar Ilan University,Ramat Gan 52900, Israel

E-mail: orit.rotem@biu.ac.il

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 129 - 141

THE DEGREE OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BALTIMORE CITY

Soyoung **PARK**[1)], *Sungchan* **KIM**[2)]
[1)] University of Baltimore, USA, [2)] Mississippi State University, USA

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to investigate influential factors that affect the levels of community engagement. Factors include community-level characteristics as well as demographic features of individuals in the community of Baltimore City. The study examines various community factors that affect the level of community engagement in the urban area, such as the level of homeownership, socioeconomic factors such as income and education, and demographic factors such as race, age, and sex. Findings from the study indicate that various factors from the social-cum-ethnic stratification influence the degree of community engagement in this urban area. Specifically, communities with high income levels and high levels of homeownership are more likely to induce residents to participate in their community. With regard to demographic factors, African-Americans and persons over the age of 65 years old are more willing to engage in community activities.

Key Words: *community engagement, social-cum-ethnic stratification, urban community.*

Introduction

Recently, community engagement has gained favor as a tool for solving community problems. Although the term 'community engagement' is defined in various ways, according to the CDC (1997), community engagement is defined as "the process of working collaboratively with and through groups of people affiliated by geographic proximity, special interest, or similar situations to address issues affecting the well-being of those people" (CDC 1997: 2). This definition implies that the attributes of citizen participation can influence the systems and uses of the resources of a community. This leads to environmental and behavioral changes in the community through the changing policies and practices of participation (Fawcett et al. 1995). For example, communities with higher levels of engagement easily attain better performance (i.e., lower crime rates) for governmental institutions.

Community engagement is also explained by the culture of a community (Blumenthal and DiClemente 2004, Malow et al. 2005, Silka et al. 2008). Studies on cultural influences argue that individual behaviors are directly affected by the culture of each community. As a result, several elements and rules of community culture may serve as potential tools for improvement in community conditions or individual behaviors. This is because culture is related to "the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, behavior, and material traits characteristic of a social group" (Braithwaite et al. 1994: 409). In addition, some scholars explain the local political engagement based on the social-cum-ethnic stratification in urban politics (Cox 2011). That is, the jurisdictional fragmentation of communities in a specific region has a different disposition in terms of engagement because of the social-cum-ethnic stratification.

Thus, a number of factors in a community's culture and social structure can influence the degree of community engagement. For example, a community with a high level of homeownership might demonstrate a more viable community engagement. This is because homeowners are more willing to invest their time and resources in the community, and they are also more likely to settle down and establish a foundation. Additionally, communities with more minorities may be less likely to expect their residents to engage in the community, because it is difficult to comprehensively include all people of diverse racial or ethnic backgrounds.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the causes of differences in community engagement in the metropolitan area of Baltimore City. Specifically, this research attempts to identify which factors in a given urban community lead to differing degrees of community engagement. This includes socioeconomic factors in the community, as well as the composition of residents. The paper examines various ‘community factors,’ which people attain through socialization rather than merely as a result of biological factors. They include the level of homeownership and other socioeconomic factors, such as income and educational level. Further, this study attempts to determine which factors, from the social factors of the community to individual characteristics, are more influential in explaining the differences in the degree of community engagement in urban areas.

The majority of the existing research explains this phenomenon by using only ‘traditional factors’ of individuals in the community, such as race, gender, and age. Additionally, the extant research focuses primarily on the effectiveness of community engagement on a community’s conditions. However, in our analysis, we attempt to identify more comprehensive factors that lead to differences in the community engagement level. In order to capture “community” more clearly, this study is also conducted empirically with the unit of the neighborhood level in a metropolitan area. Community engagement activities have been studied at a micro-level, such as neighborhoods in the urban area. As a result, this study may provide evidence as to why community engagement has a different pattern in each community and it anticipates some findings so that practitioners can better understand the socioeconomic dynamics of community engagement in metropolitan areas.

Materials and Methods

Meaning of Community Engagement

As society has become more democratized and decentralized, citizens have become more willing to participate in government work and they have expressed greater interest in improving the social conditions in their own jurisdiction. Such a trend change begins with the changes of the individual roles in a given society. The extent of the change is characterized as a move toward collective action. Civic engagement through collective action is a value choice, and the action of value choice is implemented by individual participation in the community. This civic engagement is explained through the concept of social capital (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, 1990, Putnam et al. 1993). Social capital might be helpful in understanding the collective action of self-interested individuals. Thus, community engagement is explained through social capital.

According to Putnam (1993: 167), “social capital refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”. There are many existing studies that use participation as a social capital indicator, such as engagement in the local community (Onyx and Bullen 2000) and political engagement. In recent history, during the process of policy-making and implementation, policy makers have created more chances for engagement from citizens and they have also induced greater participation. Additionally, “the jurisdictional fragmentation along with the serious powers and responsibilities delegated to individual municipalities” (Cox 2011: 2662) have provided decentralized and privatized characteristics for policy implementation in the local governments in the U.S. Thus, citizen engagement must be explained in the light of these conditions.

In terms of the meaning of community engagement, "community" is considered a somewhat vague and value-laden term. However, Head (2007: 441) characterizes it as a "euphemistic term that glosses over the social, economic and cultural differentiation of localities or peoples". In addition, "engagement" implies an active relationship with the government in policy setting. Thus, community engagement provides a new approach of covering a variety of groups, such as wide-ranging constituencies and disadvantaged groups, in the decision-making process (Head 2007). Community engagement plays an important role as a means of achieving positive consequences such as "mutual support, cooperation, trust, and institutional effectiveness" (Putnam 2000: 22). However, the level of engagement was considered to be on the decrease during the last third of the twentieth century. Recently, community engagement in urban areas has taken on a more depoliticized aspect due to privatization in the community. This implies that social-cum-ethnic stratification influences the degree of community engagement (Cox 2011).

Previous literature makes an effort to form institutional bridges between governments and citizens, often termed "community engagement" (Head 2007). Specifically rooted in geographic grounds, community engagement implies the collective action of individuals in pursuit of diversified participants in the community (Queensland Department of Emergency Services 2001). Moreover, as city resources and public service provisions have become scarce in urban areas, citizens have begun to take collective action in order to solve social inequities related to deteriorating neighborhoods. In conclusion, neighborhoods, as a unit of community engagement, play an important role as a social structure in promoting community improvement.

Therefore, community engagement pursues a coalition of citizens so that they not only share information and resources, but also support particular program changes (Cohen et al. 1994). Citizen coalitions have a grassroots base in the community, and they are strongly affected by community factors such as established rules/ procedures, type of leadership, degree of engagement, and diversity of participants in the community (Kellogg Foundation 1997, Zakocs and Edwards 2006). When community engagement becomes successful, citizens also benefit from it. In the final analysis, such benefits increase overall trust and lead to improvements in the delivery of services (http://www.homesandcommunities.co.uk).

The Framework for Community Engagement

The field of social ecology is interested in the "interrelations among environmental conditions and human behavior and well-being" (Stokols 1996: 285). Specifically, analyses in socio-ecology describe environmental situations with multiple physical, social, and cultural dimensions that can affect the process of social coalition. Additionally, the research of socio-ecology underscores the dynamic interactions between situational and personal dimensions. Stokols (1996) argues that the social ecology model may explain why citizens make an effort to participate in community: social cohesion and well-being are influenced by the physical, social, and cultural factors of community, as well as personal features. Citizens are affected by multiple environments, such as neighborhood, geographic elements, and community structure and these factors diffuse and influence each other. Thus, community engagement has different patterns that are dependent upon heterogeneous factors.

Traditional Factors in the Degree of Community Engagement

According to previous research, participation patterns are explained by demographic variables such as race, age, and gender. For example, older people are known to be more likely to interact with elected representatives. Additionally, rich and well-educated people are more likely to participate in voting (Keaney and Rogers 2006). Men and women tend to participate equally in traditional politics (Hansard Society 2009), and political analysts recognize that gender gaps in citizen participation have been diminished (Coxall et al. 1998). However, the gender gap in voting is still evident in some studies (Keaney and Rogers 2006).

Previous research has found that individuals recognize benefits in terms of their well-being and experience social relationships through community engagement. However, some individuals perceive unintended negative values of community engagement. For example, exhaustion and stress, as well as the time commitment and expenditure of financial resources, impede community involvement for some, because community engagement requires their physical and financial contributions (Attree et al. 2011). In summary, citizen engagement produces gains and losses, depending upon which characteristics are affected by it. In examining influential factors, most previous research has focused exclusively on demographic factors. Thus, this study attempts to demonstrate community engagement by examining different characteristics that apply to the socioecological framework: jurisdictional fragmentation of homeownership, median income in each community, and educational level, in addition to other traditional factors (Fig. 1).

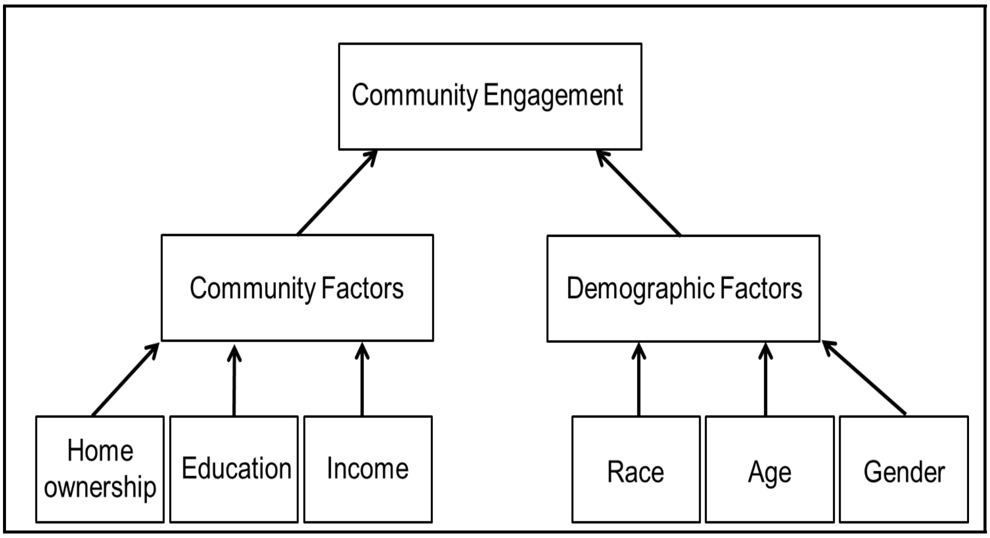

Fig. 1 **– Conceptual Framework of Community Engagement**

Hypotheses – Community Characteristics

In terms of quality of life in neighborhoods, homeownership is one of the most important factors to consider. It is related to externalities, such as schools and recreation, which residents create themselves or through interaction with the local government (Cox 2011). Homeownership has positive effects on both individuals and society, such as quality of citizens, constancy of neighborhoods, and durability of communities (Rohe et al. 2002). Research has yielded valuable evidence regarding the positive impacts of homeownership on community engagement. Homeowners tend to: a) be more satisfied with regions; b) contribute more to the community in voluntary activities; and c) be less mobile, which contributes to the stability of a community (Rohe et al. 2002).

Previous research demonstrates that people with a high income are more likely to participate in public activities than those with a low income (Keaney and Rogers 2006, Hansard Society 2009). This is because a lack of financial resources prohibits citizens from community engagement. According to Low et al. (2007), insufficient disposable income is consistently the most prominent reason people cannot afford to donate to charities and participate in charitable activities. Additionally, financial expenses associated with an increased role in community engagement can be an obstacle to involvement (CLG 2008).

The educational level of residents in a community is considered a significant predictor of participation, because education enlightens citizens and it propels them into community engagement (Brodie et al. 2009). Musick and Wilson (2007: 120) argue: “the more education people have, the more extensive and heterogeneous are their social networks, which increases the chance they will be asked.” Thus, citizens with a low level of education face challenges and difficulties in terms of participation. The Department of Communities and Local Government (CLG 2008) reveals that the educational gap can create barriers of engagement in community activities in other ways. Lack of understanding about the participation process can inhibit people with low educational levels from becoming engaged (Brodie et al. 2009).

H1: A community with a high level of homeownership has more viable community engagement.
H2: A community where people have a high level of education has more viable community engagement.
H3: A community with a high income level has more viable community engagement.

Hypotheses – Demographic Characteristics

Traditionally, some researchers, such as McGregor et al. (1992), have argued that demographic characteristics are critical factors in determining the degree to which people engage in their community. Brownill and Darke (1998) find that opinions of minorities and women are not well reflected in the ‘regeneration policy’ process, although they are one of the primary beneficiaries. Even in political activities, their voices are rarely represented, and it has been suggested that men are more likely to be interested and engaged in political activities (Hansard Society 2009). Additionally, Burton et al. (2004) found that women are less likely to participate in community activities because women have less confidence, they are subject to economic discrimination, and they are also typically disproportionately burdened with housework. Women are also excluded from participation because of the male-focused culture of regional government (Haberis and Prendergrast 2007).

Regarding race, minority groups have been excluded in social participation because of the application of stereotypes, such as language barriers and cultural differences (Burton et al. 2004). Research has found that African-Americans and other minority groups are less likely to participate in political activities than white groups (Hansard Society 2009). Blakey et al. (2006) suggest that particular groups may face higher barriers within their own communities, and this discourages individual engagement. In particular, Rai (2008) finds that minorities and minority women often face gender and race discrimination. This means that these groups cannot viably participate in political activities.

In terms of age, McGregor et al. (1992) argue that age influences participation in local government. According to these researchers, participation in local government is the greatest among groups of people of more than 30 years old. That is, older people participate more in community engagement. Other research demonstrates that people between the ages of 50 and 74 participate in citizen consultation twice as much as younger people (CLG 2009, Brodie et al. 2009).

H4: A community with a large proportion of minority groups has less viable community engagement.
H5: A community with a large female population has less viable community engagement.
H6: A community with a large older population has more viable community engagement.

Data and Methodology

In this analysis, we are interested in the varying degrees of community engagement in Baltimore City (Fig. 2). Accordingly, the dependent variable is the degree of community engagement in each neighborhood (Table 1). Community engagement implies diverse involvement, such as offering opinions, proposing ideas, influencing decision making, and taking responsibility. One of the fundamental factors in community engagement is the voting behavior (Costa and Kahn 2003, Jenkins et al. 2003). The Jacob France Institute (2013) employs the ratio of people who are registered to vote and who voted in the last general elections as a proxy of community engagement. In order to account for community engagement, this study refers to voting behaviors in the community by using both the 'registered to vote' rate and the 'general voter' rate, respectively.

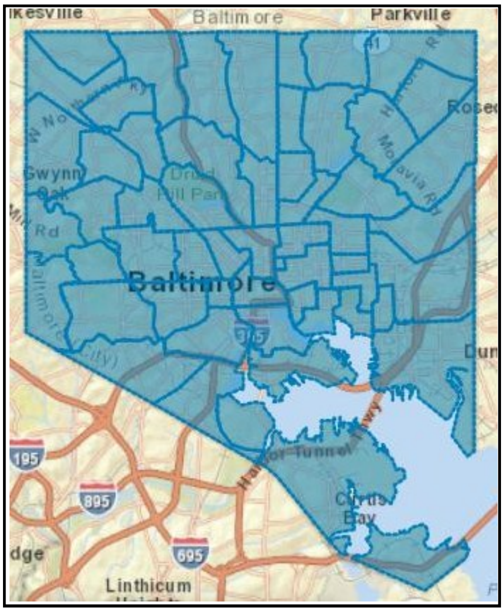

Fig. 2 **– Community Map of Baltimore City**
Source: Jacob France Institute (2013)

Table 1

Communities in Baltimore City

Community Name	
Allendale/Irvington/S. Hilton	Howard Park/West Arlington
Beechfield/Ten Hills/West Hills	Inner Harbor/Federal Hill
Belair-Edison	Lauraville
Brooklyn/Curtis Bay/Hawkins Point	Loch Raven
Canton	Madison/East End
Cedonia/Frankford	Medfield/Hampden/Woodberry/Remington
Cherry Hill	Midtown
Chinquapin Park/Belvedere	Midway/Coldstream
Claremont/Armistead	Morrell Park/Violetville
Clifton-Berea	Mount Washington/Coldspring
Cross-Country/Cheswolde	North Baltimore/Guilford/Homeland
Dickeyville/Franklintown	Northwood
Dorchester/Ashburton	Oldtown/Middle East
Downtown/Seton Hill	Orangeville/East Highlandtown
Edmondson Village	Patterson Park North & East
Fells Point	Penn North/Reservoir Hill
Forest Park/Walbrook	Pimlico/Arlington/Hilltop
Glen-Fallstaff	Poppleton/The Terraces/Hollins Market
Greater Charles Village/Barclay	Sandtown-Winchester/Harlem Park
Greater Govans	South Baltimore
Greater Mondawmin	Southeastern
Greater Roland Park/Poplar Hill	Southern Park Heights
Greater Rosemont	Southwest Baltimore
Greenmount East	The Waverlies
Hamilton	Upton/Druid Heights
Harbor East/Little Italy	Washington Village/Pigtown
Harford/Echodale	Westport/Mount Winans/Lakeland
Highlandtown	

To measure community characteristic factors, the study will measure homeownership rates, median income, and percentage of educational levels in the community. For education, we will measure the educational level according to those who have a high school diploma or higher. Finally, to measure the demographic factors, this study includes in its analysis the percentage of African-Americans and Hispanics, the number of people who are 24 to 65 years old and older, and the proportion of the female population. However, due to the high correlation between homeownership and median income, we divide the regression model into two: regression models with homeownership and with median income.

Using the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, this study will conduct a multiple regression analysis to examine variations in the level of community engagement. In our analysis, two dependent variables – the registered voter rate and the general voter rate – are employed as proxies for community engagement (Table 2).

Table 2

Variables Specification: Variables, Descriptions, and Data Sources

Variable	Description and Data Source
Dependent Variable	
Registered voter rate	Number of residents over the age of 18 who are registered to vote out of all persons 18 years and older in the community; Source: Baltimore City Board of Elections
General voter rate	Percentage of residents who voted in the last general election out of all persons 18 years and older in the community; Source: Baltimore City Board of Elections
Independent Variable	
African-American	Percentage of African-American population out of the total number of residents in each community; Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Hispanic	Percentage of Hispanic population out of the total number of residents in each community; Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Age 65 and under	Total number of people between 24 and 65 years of age out of all the people in the community; Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Age over 65	Total number of people 65 years of age and above out of all the people in the community; Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Female	Percentage of female population out of the total number of residents in each community; Source: U.S. Census Bureau
High school	Number of people who completed, graduated, or received a high school diploma divided by the total number of people in the community; Source: American Community Survey
College and above	Number of people who completed, graduated, or received a college diploma and have also taken some graduate courses divided by the total number of people in the community; Source: American Community Survey
Homeownership	Total number of households that own their house divided by the total number of households in each community; Source: American Community Survey
Median income	Middle value of the incomes earned by households within a given area for the prior year (expressed in thousand dollars); Source: American Community Survey

The model offered for our analysis measures how community characteristics and demographic factors affect community engagement. The two dependent variables are estimated as shown in the equation:

$$Dependent_i = \alpha + \sum (Community\ Variables_i) + \sum (Demographic\ Variables_i) + \varepsilon_i$$

where community characteristics variables consist of one of the two: 1) median income or homeownership rates in the community, and 2) the percentage of people who have a high school level of education or higher in the community. Demographic variables include the ratio of African-Americans and Hispanics out of the total population, the proportion of people who are between the ages of 24 and 65 years old and over, and, finally, the percentage of the female population (Table 3).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Dependent Variable				
Registered voter rate	75.82	10.92	53.20	102.59
General voter rate	52.13	10.39	28.34	81.76
Independent variable				
African-American	61.79	33.32	2.67	96.70
Hispanic	4.60	6.03	0.73	30.35
Age 65 and under	54.62	6.59	43.55	71.48
Age over 65	11.72	3.65	3.80	19.20
Female	53.33	2.48	47.97	59.24
High school	53.11	14.62	22.76	71.40
College and above	26.13	20.81	3.81	75.43
Homeownership	57.93	17.36	25.60	83.60
Median income	43.42	20.01	13.48	107.67

Results and Discussion

Table 4 provides the regression results for the model, with the registered voter rate as a dependent variable. The model indicates that the ratio of the African-American population has a positive impact on community engagement, while the ratio of the Hispanic population, on the other hand, does not have a significant relationship with community engagement. It provides some evidence that African-American residents participate in their community more than other ethnic groups. In addition, the percentage of people between the ages of 24 and 65 years old and over has a positive impact on community engagement. Specifically, the percentage of people over the age of 65 years old is statistically significant at the level of 5 percent. In terms of the percentage of homeownership, residents who are homeowners are likely to be more engaged in the community, even though it is not statistically significant. Finally, a community with a high median income demonstrates greater participation of the residents in the community, and this finding is statistically significant at the level of 1 percent.

Table 4

Regression Model Result (Dependent Variable: Registered Voter Rate)

Variable	Coefficient		Standard Error	Coefficient		Standard Error
African-American	0.218	**	0.097	0.286	***	0.077
Hispanic	-0.281		0.297	-0.289		0.256
Age 65 and under	0.492	*	0.257	0.340		0.233
Age over 65	0.938	**	0.374	0.780	**	0.329
Female	1.091		0.927	1.068		0.729
High school	-0.133		0.382	-0.359		0.238
College and above	0.121		0.250	-0.165		0.188
Homeownership	0.041		0.138			
Median income				0.336	***	0.100
R^2	0.539			0.630		

Note: ***, **, and * indicate significance at the level of 1%, 5%, and 10%, respectively.

Table 5 delineates the regression results by using different community engagement proxies. The regression model using the general voter rate as a dependent variable reveals similar results with the regression model using the registered voter rate as a dependent variable. The African-American population has a positive impact on community engagement, and this is statistically significant at the 1 percent level. The percentage of people over 65 years of age is also positively related to community engagement. In addition, this regression model finds a significant relationship in the percentage of homeownership in the community, and a high level of homeownership yields a higher degree of community engagement. Median income at the community level also improves the degree of community engagement, and this is statistically significant at the level of 1 percent. Finally, the model doesn't reveal any evidence of a significant relationship between community engagement and the educational level of people in the community.

Table 5

Regression Model Result (Dependent Variable: General Voter Rate)

Variable	Coefficient		Standard Error	Coefficient		Standard Error
African-American	0.262	***	0.078	0.265	***	0.060
Hispanic	-0.306		0.239	-0.217		0.201
Age under 65	0.375	*	0.207	0.270		0.182
Age over 65	0.823	***	0.300	0.778	***	0.258
Female	0.410		0.745	0.929		0.571
High school	-0.228		0.307	-0.101		0.186
College and above	0.171		0.201	0.964		0.147
Homeownership	0.209	*	0.111			
Median income				0.339	***	0.078
R^2	0.672			0.750		

Note: ***, **, and * indicate significance at the level of 1%, 5%, and 10%, respectively.

Conclusions

This research identifies some significant relationships as they relate to what affects community engagement. Both community and demographic factors influence the degree of community engagement. In particular, people with ample financial resources also exhibit a higher level of community engagement. As the extant literature indicates, sufficient financial resources, as evidenced by a high level of median income or a high homeownership rate, may compel citizens to engage more actively in their community. Conversely, the educational level of residents does not have any significant relationship with community engagement in our analysis. This finding indicates that intelligence as a resource makes no difference in community engagement, and, according to the results, educational levels do not play a key role in the participation level of the residents.

These results demonstrate that people with their own house are more willing to participate in community engagement. This is because they are less likely to move to other areas and they attempt to establish durable communities in which to live. Homeowners will contribute more to the community in their activities. This indicates that homeownership is an important factor in community engagement in the neighborhoods. Homeownership compels individuals to form coalitions with one another. In recent years, social capital has been decreasing in much of the country, and homeownership may be one solution to address the issue.

In addition, people with a high income are more likely to participate in the community. This reveals that financial resources promote citizen engagement in community activities. The necessary financial resources allow citizens more room to invest their time and their money in the community. However, this study has an interesting result related to the race variable. Regarding the demographic factors, African-Americans are more likely to engage in community activities when compared with other ethnic groups, such as the Hispanics. This finding needs to be further investigated in future research.

People over the age of 65 years old also demonstrate a positive relationship with community engagement, but the results reveal that community engagement is not limited to this age group but it rather occurs in a variety of age ranges under and over 65 years old. For future research, a study of the different characteristics based on ethnic groups will be necessary to determine why African-Americans and Hispanics have different results with regard to community engagement, even though they are treated equally as minorities for the purposes of this study. The results from the age groups also require further research to examine disparities more closely. The results imply that material factors are more important in community engagement when compared to racial differences. In urban areas, income level in the community is important in engagement, and African-Americans in the community are also important in engagement. These findings must be compared between rural areas and urban areas.

This study also has some limitations. First of all, it is difficult to identify a direct indicator for community engagement. In our analysis, we used the registered voter rate and the general voter rate as proxies of community engagement, but these proxies may not represent overall community engagement as an indicator. Second, the study used the community of Baltimore City, and Baltimore City has unique characteristics in terms of its poverty rate, racial make-up, and other factors. Thus, it is difficult to generalize the findings to other areas.

However, as mentioned above, there are a few studies on characteristics down to the community level using empirical models. Furthermore, most of the extant research addresses topics related to the effects of community engagement, and most of these studies have been conducted using a qualitative method. Governments have continuously focused on community engagement and its effects on policy adoption and implementation. Even though governments are interested in community-level activities and their impacts, they don't seem to focus much on how to enhance community engagement to improve utilization. This study regarding the influence of community characteristics on community engagement is meaningful in that it may play an important role in creating a bridge to connect government policy makers and the community.

References

ATTREE P., FRENCH B., MILTON B., POVALL S., WHITEHEAD M., POPAY J. (2011), *The experience of community engagement for individuals: a rapid review of evidence,* Health & social care in the community 19 (3), 250-260.

BLAKEY H., PEARCE J. J., CHESTERS G. (2006), *Minorities within minorities: Beneath the surface of South Asian participation,* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York, UK.

BLUMENTHAL D. S., DICLEMENTE R. J. (2004), *Community-based health research: issues and methods*, Springer publishing company, New York.

BOURDIEU P. (1986), *The forms of capital*, in: Richardson J. (ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, Greenwood, New York, 241-258.

BRAITHWAITE R. L., BIANCHI C., TAYLOR S. E. (1994), *Ethnographic approach to community organization and health empowerment*, Health Education & Behavior 21(3), 407-416.

BRODIE E., COWLING E., NISSEN N., PAINE A. E., JOCHUM V., WARBURTON D. (2009), *Understanding participation: A literature review,* London: National Council for Voluntary Organizations.

BROWNILL S., DARKE J. (1998), *Rich Mix: Inclusive Strategies for Urban Regeneration (Area Regeneration),* The Policy Press.

BURTON P., GOODLAD R., CROFT J., ABBOTT J., HASTINGS A., MACDONALD G., SLATER T. (2004), *What works in community involvement in area-based initiatives?: a systematic review of the literature*, Home Office, London.

CENTERS FOR DISEASE AND PREVENTION (CDC) (1997), *Principles of community engagement*, CDC/ATSDR Committee on Community Engagement.

COHEN L., BAER N., SATTERWHITE P., WURZBACH M. E. (1994), *Developing effective coalitions: an eight step guide,* Contra Costa County Health Services Department, Prevention Program.

COLEMAN J. S. (1988), *Social capital in the creation of human capital*, American Journal of Sociology, S95-S120.

COLEMAN J. S. (1990), *Foundations of social theory*, Belnkamp, Cambridge MA.

COSTA D. L., KAHN M. E. (2003), *Civic engagement and community heterogeneity: An economist's perspective*, Perspective on Politics 1 (1), 103-111.

COX K. R. (2011), *Commentary. From the New Urban Politics to the 'New' Metropolitan Politics*, Urban Studies 48 (12), 2661-2671.

COXALL B., ROBINS L., LEACH R. (1998), *Contemporary British Politics*, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

FAWCETT S. B., PAINE-ANDREWS A., FRANCISCO V. T., SCHULTZ J. A., RICHTER K. P., LEWIS R. K., LOPEZ C. M. (1995), *Using empowerment theory in collaborative partnerships for community health and development*, American journal of community psychology 23 (5), 677-697.

HABERIS A., PREDERGAST J. (2007), *Councilors Commission Research Report 1: Incentives and Barriers to Becoming and Remaining a Councilor: A Review of the UK Literature*, Basingstoke, London.

HANSARD SOCIETY (2009), *Audit of Political Engagement 6. The 2009 report: Political Participation and Citizenship*, Hansard Society.

HEAD B. W. (2007), *Community engagement: participation on whose terms?*, Journal of Political Science 42 (3), 441-454.

JACOB FRANCE INSTITUTE (2013), *Vital Signs 11. Measuring Progress towards a Better Quality of Life in Every Neghboorhood*, Baltimore Neighborhood indicators Alliance, University of Baltimore, Baltimore.

JENKINS K., ZUKIN C., ANDOLINA M. (2003), *Three core measures of community-based civic engagement: evidence from the youth civic engagement indicators project*, Child Trends Conference on Indicators of Positive Development, March 11-12, Washington, DC.

KEANEY E., ROGERS B. (2006), *A Citizen's Duty. Voter Inequality and the Case for Compulsory Turnout,* IPPR, London.

KELLOGG FOUNDATION (1997), *Sustaining community-based initiatives, Module 1: developing community capacity. An initiative of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in partnership with the Healthcare Forum,* Available online at http://community-wealth.org/_pdfs/tools/cdcs/tool-kellogg-cmty-cap.pdf.

LOW N., BUTT S., PAINE E. A., SMITH J. D. (2007), *Helping Out: A national survey of volunteering and charitable giving,* Cabinet Office, London.

MALOW R. M., ROSENBERG R., JEAN-GILLES M., SAMUELS D., ERGON-PEREZ M. E., JACOBS M. R. (2005), *Cultural adaptation in translational research: field experiences*, Journal of Urban Health 2 (3), 82-91.

MCGREGOR A., CLAPHAM D., DONNISON D. (1992), *Community participation in areas of urban regeneration*, Research Report no. 23, Scottish Homes.

MUSICK M. A., WILSON J. (2007), *Volunteers: A social profile*, Indiana University Press.

ONYX J., BULLEN P. (2000), *Measuring social capital in five communities*, The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 36 (1), 23-42.

PUTNAM R. D., LEONARDI R., NANETTI R. Y. (1993), *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

PUTNAM R. D. (2000), *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*, Simon and Schuster, New York.

QUEENSLAND DEPARTMENT OF EMERGENCY SERVICES (2001), *Charter for community engagement, community engagement unit, strategic and executive services*, Queensland Department of Emergency Services.

RAI S. (2008), *Routes and barriers to citizen governance*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

ROHE W. M., VAN ZANDT S., MCCARTHY G. (2002), *Home ownership and access to opportunity*, Housing Studies 17 (1), 51-61.

SILKA L., CLEGHORN G. D., GRULLON M., TELLEZ T. (2008), *Creating community-based participatory research in a diverse community: A case study*, J Empir Res Hum Res Ethics 3 (2), 5-16.

STOKOLS D. (1996), *Translating social ecological theory into guidelines for community health promotion*, American journal of health promotion 10 (4), 282-298.

ZAKOCS R. C., EDWARDS E. M. (2006), *What explains community coalition effectiveness?: A review of the literature*, American journal of preventive medicine 30 (4), 351-361.

Initial submission: 15.06.2014
Revised submission: 02.12.2014
Final acceptance: 15.12.2014

Correspondence: Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, MS 39762, 404-940-3777, USA

E-mail: sk1315@msstate.edu

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 143 - 160

FROM NATIVE TO OUTLANDER: EXPLORING INFORMAL COMMUNITY IN CHENGZHONGCUN OF CHINA

Xue Ni **PENG**, *Jin* **BAEK**
Seoul National University, South Korea

Abstract: In the existing research on Chinese migration, rural domestic Chinese migrants are often portrayed as a community of intruders with a detached culture who invade a host destination city. Usually, as a first step, they settle down in a so-called "Chengzhongcun" (literally a village encircled by the city boundaries, hereafter CZC), which is a kind of "urban village", or an undeveloped part of a city that is overshadowed by the more developed areas. The present paper tries to give an image of the rural-to-urban migrants as a more vigorous mediator that forms their migration destination. The aims are the following: first, to achieve a detailed written analysis of an existing CZC community and its functioning as a mirror of the discriminating division between the rural and urban life in China. Secondly, by taking into account the experiences of migrant communities in their host cities, this paper seeks to highlight the migrants' emotional conflict and increasing loss of values that occurs in the migration process from the rural to the urban. Thirdly, the migrants' household survival strategies shall be explored. Finally, weaving these strands together, this paper presents a case study of a Tulou collective housing project in Guangzhou Province, China.

Key Words: *Chengzhongcun, individuality and community, survival strategies, the new Tulou collective housing, China.*

Introduction

With China's implementation of economic reform over the past 20 years, the process of urbanization has been based on and accelerated by a mainly rural-to-urban migration flow. By 2011, the number of the off-farm migrant workers in China totalled 253 million, which represented an increase of 4.4% (11 million) compared to 2010 (HRSSD 2011)[1)]. By referring to a report on China's migrant population development in 2012, we can exclude the factor of executing social institutional reforms and the partial transformation of the off-farm migrants to urban residents. By 2030, China's urbanization rate is projected to reach 65% (IEAS 2010), and in turn the number of rural migrants is expected to swell approximately 400 million (Lian 2012). It would seem that, on the one hand, high speed urban innovation acquires an expanding amount of geographic space which imposes on the surrounding arable land of rural areas; and, on the other hand, a large quantity of labor is required. These so-called urban villages are in some cases geographically located in the city in built-up areas, and, in other cases, they are near the city, but finally they are often swallowed up by the extension of the urban space. Therefore, a number of rural villages have been encompassed or annexed by the newly advancing urban territories, forming a unique entity - the *CZC*. Although land for agriculture no longer exists, villages where local peasants reside still remain. Nevertheless, many *CZCs* have been developed as informal migrant settlements in conditions that contravene the regulations of the municipal government (Li 2008).

1) These data are collected through the development statistic bulletin published by the Human Resources and Social Security Department of the PRC, 2011.

In the process of forming a *CZC*, few locals or major migrants make up the actual dwellers there. Instead, Fan (2002) classifies migrants into two basic categories: those who are permanent and the temporary migrant population, a distinction which clearly depicts the dichotomy of such inhabitants. Both categories represent the most prominent examples of the 'floating population' or *liudongrenkou* (Goodkind and West 2002, Yu 2008). Figure 1 shows that two groups make the residents of a *CZC*. One, landlords — a limited number of locals are local land proprietors, among whom the majority has transformed their residential status from rural to non-rural or urban residents, even though a small minority of them remains with the status of rural households. Two, floating migrants — a large number of dwellers who belong to a group known as 'floating laborers' are composed of off-farm workers (*Nongmin gong*) at the bottom of the labor market (John and Song 1995), graduate students with an education or qualification (Ant group, *Yizu*)[2)] and Beijing vagabonds (*Beipiao*)[3)].

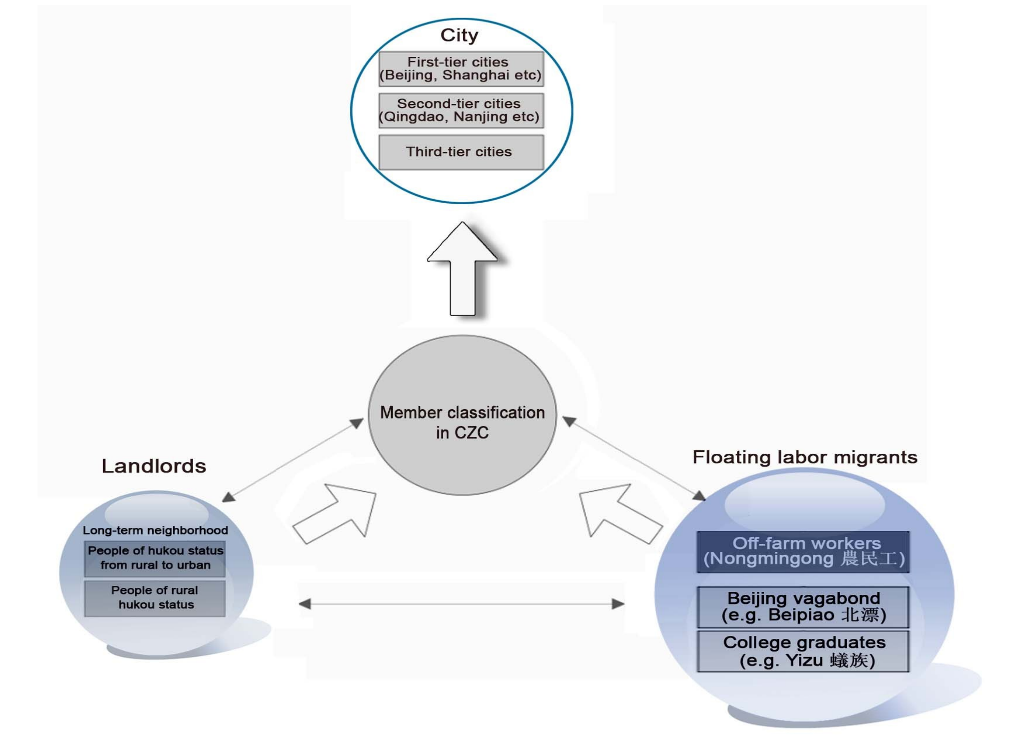

Fig. 1 – **Member's classification in CZC of China**

2) The term of 'Ant group' or *Yizu*: *蟻族,* is originally used to define a mass community of the Post-80s generation of those with a better education or a well-trained background. They live a poor life without stable dwellings, normally living in collective dormitories, which are shared with other 'Ants', but they dream to live in the big cities of China.

3) *Beipiao:北漂*, Literally "Beijing vagabond", regarding the community of people who do not have a Beijing hukou (household of permanent residence), who migrated to Beijing from other places of China pursuing a Beijing Dream - better opportunities and a better future. Beipiao is also the life of a drifter in Beijing.

These migrants form a huge community, since they have arrived at their journey's destination, and their experiences have been those of a poor physical silhouette of life — full of mental, physical and economic hardships. At this juncture, I would like to draw attention to an area which has been largely overlooked by scholars, namely the way in which migrants experience their host city. I aim to consider their emotional conflict and some strategies they employ during their rural-urban migration. My understanding of the conflict results in the transformation from the egoless to the individual-full society. Recent studies of migrants focus either purely on their negative social problems or trace the inharmonious aspects of migrants' lives in China (Liu and Liang 1997). However, I believe the stereotyping of those troubles is caused by a deviation from their self-cognition, which is the 'I' in the family-unit-oriented society against the 'I' in the individual-full society. Therefore, the rural or Chinese traditional family patterns that I am suggesting are given a positive evaluation in the recorded list of modern urban lifestyles in China. In line with this, my study objectives in this paper are limited to the following:

- To build a detailed written account of the community of a *CZC* by noting its typical geographical location in mega-cities and show how such relocation did not merely concern itself with human's geographical moving;
- By means of considering the migrants' experience of a community life in the host cities, I seek to highlight the emotional conflict of their rural-urban mobility;
- To explore the migrants' survival strategies with regard to housing between the host city and their left-behind home;
- With reference to migrants' struggle to find suitable urban accommodation, I would like to make a suggestion to construct a specific form of lodging for migrant enclaves within a city (Xu 2008), an idea that has mostly been disregarded in the early urbanizing of China.

Relocation is beyond spatial movement

The word 'relocation' did originally refer to human moves. Rossi (1980: 18) describes a 'human move' as:

"[…] A shift in address […] involving a shift in location through space that can vary from a few feet in the case of a shift from one apartment or room to another within a structure to thousands of miles to another country or from one end of the country to the other."

Movement (internal or external) is defined as any permanent/temporary alteration in residence. It is in this sense that in its most significant perspective it is spatial by description. Along the way, the idea of relocation has eventually acquired its sense of physical space change, and the comparatively perpetual movement of people over a noteworthy distance (Eisenstadt 1953). In short, it does not seem to be a full-scale understanding to think about domestic migration as merely a spatial change. Consideration to relocation arguments have augmented in recent years due to the influence of the population movement on household lifecycles (Bailey and Giroux 1998). Relocation can make the change from native to outlander and from in-system to out-system. This idea of relocation is ultimately extended to take in reposition that it affords a measure of re-forming the geographical and psychological alterations. Our research focuses on the rural-urban migrants' emotional conflict and increasing loss of values within the context of emerging urbanization in China as involved by the rural-urban transformation processes (Fig. 2, Fig. 3).

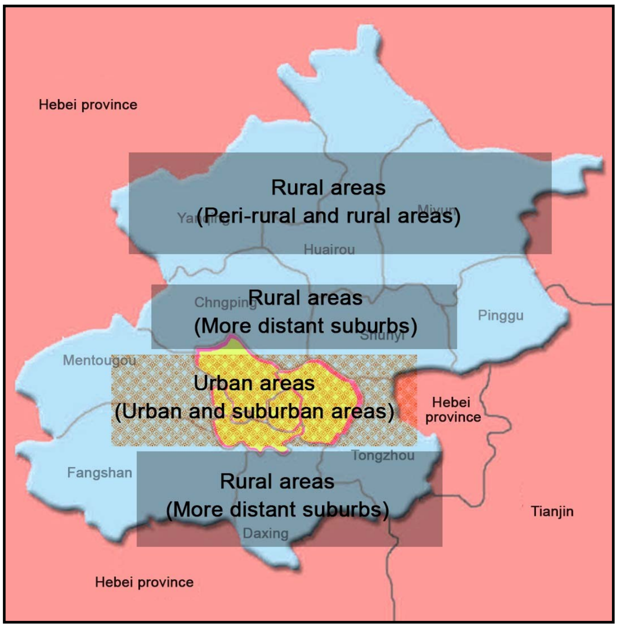

Fig. 2 – **Urban areas and rural areas in Beijing**
Source: Zhifeng (2009)

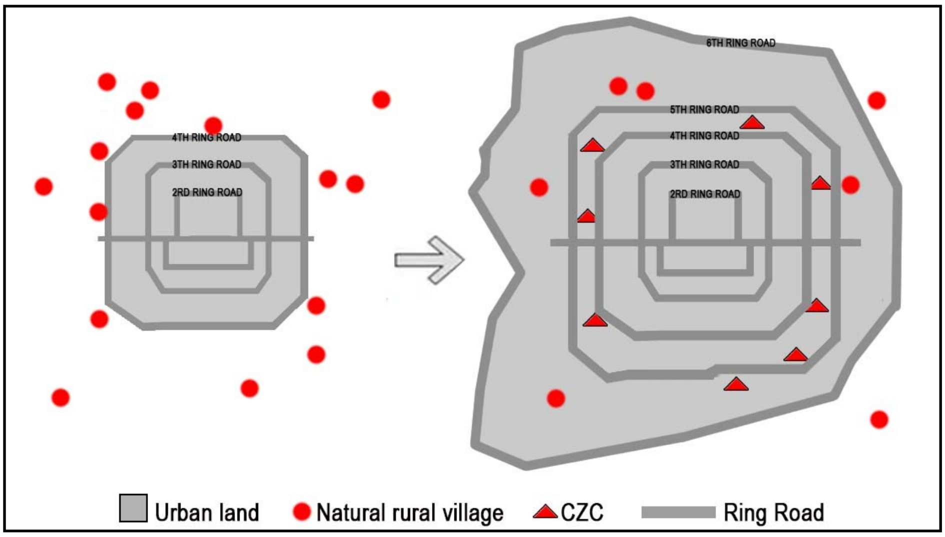

Fig. 3 – **The processing of how rural villages transformed into urban villages within the urban boundary in Beijing city**

Distance and spatial borders that once functioned as a constraint to migrants have been curbed decreasingly as countrywide obstacles lowered, and they are nowadays moderated by the influence of globalization and distance by more progressive communications in terms of physical and psychological connection. Also, in migrants' narratives, "travel itself embedded an enormously significant portion of their migration experience" (Burrell 2011: 1025).

The 6th national census in China (2010) reveals that 261.39 million, or 19 percent of the whole domestic population (1,370,536,875 people), were temporary residents. Rail can be one of the principal means of transport (Glaeser et. al. 2008), while commercial railway transported over 1.456 billion people that travelled 772.8 billion km in 2008 and it carried 1.893 billion passengers in 2012. However, several trans-provincial tourists have one-way tickets. Obviously, it is challenging to differentiate migrants from travellers and calculate the exact quantity of this group. Moreover, it is now assessed as a 3.9 percent increase in quantity based on the 2011 figures, or approximately 262 million rural migrant workers in Nongmingong, as shown by the NBSC investigation report on national rural migrant workers in 2013 (NBSC 2012). Actually, working and living afield claims to be not purely a measure for achieving financial enhancement but also a progression for male and female migrants who have deliberated at variance in conjunction with the large pool of motivations, while they risk their likelihoods for their dreams (Curran and Saguy 2001).

Population movement is not new though this migration covers unheard levels: "All the world seems to be on the move", as said by Sheller and Urry (2006). This is also the case in China, especially for the most speedily urbanized cities where the issue of people's fluidity arises. For instance, the presence of migrants in the *CZCs* is witnessed in the long history of movement within the mainland of China. Figure 4 shows the staging of the transformation from a traditional village to a *CZC* over a year in the Beijing Yimuyuan neighborhood.

Twilight zone: A brief note

Through speedy urbanization, social transformation (Guo and Zhang 2006, Feng 2011) has followed with the result of a growing social inequality, the urbanization of poverty, and enormous rural-to-urban migration over the past three decades (John 2002, Laurence and Ma 2004, Li 2008). One of the crucial issues, which makes *CZCs* a dilemma, is their 'twilight zone' (John and Moore 1967) locations within cities. However, importance has been focused on the 'intrinsic troubles' of *CZCs*, such as the lack of inhabitants' self-discipline and morals in following public order, which have resulted in clashes with urban administrators.

Furthermore, a discriminatory institution – the household registration system – intensifies in essence the geographical duality in China and it deepened the conflict between the city and the countryside (Cheng and Selden 1994). That reality toughens and exploits at the same time the identities of such outsiders. In addition, most migrants fail to seek assurance of their own worth from their host community. The social categorization of migrants as outsiders stems from these institutional obstacles which by extension entail exclusion from their place of origin.

On the one hand, this exclusion includes the urban society's rejection of a certain group of migrants, in particular off-farm migrants. Such discrimination against migrant groups is mirrored in terms of urbanites' attitude of exclusion towards migrants in general and disparate treatment and refusal to build equivalent social relationships with outsiders. On the other hand, the urban community bestows little social worth, recognition or sense of belonging to migrants. Therefore, for the floating migrants, their social links and community participation, as well as their

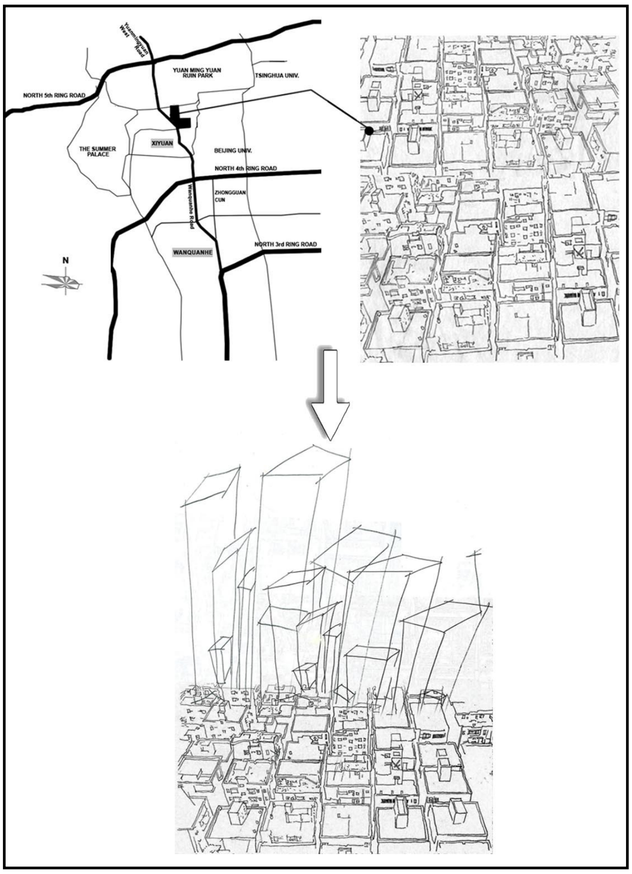

Fig. 4 – **Typical plot viewing the staging of increasing over-compacted buildings over the years in Beijing Yimuyuan neighborhood, China**

subjective awareness of social belonging, are likewise discouraged or dampened due to being part of the invisible periphery.

Moreover, my understanding of ‘invisible periphery’ stems from what Michel Foucault (1990) proposes as the ‘techniques of the self’ concerning the community bounded by one’s concurrent consciousness of their relation to the internal of the external and/or the exterior of the interior. Thus, through this awareness, it projects within ourselves who we are to ourselves and to other people. Finally, this person conducts him/herself and acts through his/her day-to-day experience with such rules (Foucault 1990). That is to say, ‘invisible periphery’ can be considered a community experienced differently by natives and non-locals. Through the perceivable difference, the mutual parts will locate their selves and others. Lastly, this projects on their subsequent behaviour, physically and mentally. As an outsider, the invisible periphery reinforces the emotional conflict, and, in turn, rural migrants are further weakened by trying to blend easily into the city community.

Self-cognition in society

Up to now, a large body of research has explored the emotional and community experience of migrants in urbanized spaces, probing into how their community sentiments are built upon the axis of differences and transformations (Liu et al. 2010, Du and Li 2010). However, such works concentrate on documenting migrants' emotional experience in given situations rather than considering the different social formation, as the key factor underlying the inevitable intergroup conflict. Noticeably, the countryside and the city are the specific sites where the cultural differences between rural Chinese and urban Chinese are most clear-cut. At this point, it is pertinent to revisit an image of the family unit in the eyes of the Chinese population.

Family *(Jia)*, for Chinese people, is more like a symbolic area of kinship. The ideal family is in fact an extended family living under one protecting roof. In China's countryside, until now, this family type stands for the permanence of a family's full lineage. It is generally well maintained by the populous, extended family, in which the members exceed a dozen, or by all inhabitants in a hamlet which have the same surname (Fukuyama 1996). In terms of a village encircled by a city, I am concerned in this article with the rural home of China as an archetype.

In that sense, the rural and urban parts control a number of differently respective dimensions. First, the rural represents the kinship (clan) family-based social structure while the city mirrors the inclination of a relatively individual-dominating social order; so to speak, the rural and the urban of China translate into 'who we (kinship family) are' and 'who I am'. One great challenge that the newly-urbanite rural people face is the understanding of the notion of the individual and entering into the spirit of the city. Individualism in the context of Chinese history and culture is a deviation (Smith 1992). To a certain extent, the traditional Chinese concept of a man is not presenting the self as an individual person but as one who is inescapably immersed in a group – the family.

Placed into our case study, the 'I' is formed out of the self-consciousness on his/her activities that leads to the formation of a self-appearance. *CZC* dwellers have a tendency to grasp themselves as isolated resources and fail to see the others with whom they interact and continue various conversations with. The solo I-oriented city lifestyle, however, does not live in the society of the countryside. For people living in a *CZC*, his/her social life takes place in the migrant groups that are not given to cooperative activities.

This fact is illustrated in the detail that settlement house dwellers show their non-expectation to sensitive statements concerning their affection for this area - as "an absence of self-belonged group". This passive evaluation towards his-settling situation is also reflected in opinions toward living in a *CZC*: insecurity due to a lack of "village unit" organization and management model; crowds of unknowns and absence of public services.

Barriers in observing the actions and attitudes of others generate encumbrances in touching with individuals who are not fully acquainted, and this results in *CZC* dwellers restraining their interaction to peer groups in which the living risks can be minimized to a degree. Passive or negative, the *CZC* dwellers have considerable problems in feeling people organized in cooperative group activity. Perhaps the *CZC* dweller can see, observe, and describe this action; the *CZC* dweller cannot see himself/herself in such a circle. Standards, for instance, equivalence, reliance, and mutuality are considered as they only apply to their origin-based community relationships in lieu of being outside of these peer groups. For migrants, the peer group is a routinized congregation or community covering a small range: similar kin-relatives or physical origin.

This narrow living circle, of course, impedes cooperative activity. Resources are not shared within a framework of reciprocity norms which necessitate migrants to contribute his/her own resources to swell the adaptive potential of the group as a whole. *CZC* dwellers, for instance, pursue a minimal number of improving community where they are housed, or they are not interested in being outside of the peer group, because they want to make money and save their energy for their own family-oriented behavior within the peer group.

Such a living circle constitutes the typical adaptive mode of many cooperative, kin-based rural communities, and contrast with the individualistic strategies more common within an urban community. It can be argued that the different dimensions we see now do not just bring inevitable emotional conflicts; this definition of self-cognition, together with migrants' role and location in work and at home, makes the *CZC* a ground for conflicts. In this sense, the *CZC* is doomed to be a hybrid of going-between, in which modern urban identity and traditional rural identity coexist throughout urbanization. Moreover, a correlated research (Fukuyama 1996, Li et al. 2009) appears to reveal that lodgers' subjective awareness of exclusion treatment, emotional encounters and weakened community networks significantly reduce their positive influence on the cohesion in the city. Also, such factors have had a noticeable effect on their diminishing degree of trust in a wide variety of social relationships.

Social Cohesion

The emphasis in this paper is on the prevailing attitude towards rural migrants as permanent, second-tier *sojourners* or 'others' in urban society (Fan 2002). The portrait drawn of them is as outsiders and most are relegated to focusing on a narrow section of industries in frontline production, involved in menial work, restaurants, and low-skilled enterprises (Kam and Li 1999). As a result of their cohesion being grounded in the lower levels of society and in the long absence of stable support or protection from the government, *CZC* dwellers have naturally formed themselves into self-sufficient groups in their living environments (Zhang et al. 2003, Zhu and Wu 2003).

According to the Japanese philosopher Watsuji (1996), humans are simply the hybrid of individuality and sociality; humanity is constituted, first of all, neither of individuals nor of society, but rather of the dialectical movement between the two. Those principles in China's traditional society represent what makes it possible for people to live in a cooperative community. As a consequence of this, China's traditional society is comprised of networks of well-known acquaintances. In rural China, the principal social configuration and position in kinship is based on the family, that is to say, this cultural orbit determines the social radius which is drawn within the kin-tie groups or lineage bond. However, in a *CZC*, for the local villagers left behind and the migrant dwellers, they lose their rural identities as they no longer take part in agricultural activities despite their continued ownership of a distant land (Li et al. 2009). The former relation based on those lands has already faded away with the collapse of the household organization while the kin bond is broken and it is too distant to be connected with again. Robert Park (1928) calls such a person "the marginal man", who finds him/herself struggling to breathe in two diverse cultural communities.

Zhen (2001) finds that a rural area supports a network of familiar communities, and people live within their well-defined territory. Conversely, a city is a society revolving around the integration of uncertain elements. In Chinese society, the neighbourhood has always been considered as the second layer of social cohesion just next to kinship ties. Before urbanization, a market-driven economic society initiated the influence on and change in loosening relations in traditional neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the effect has been minimal and even though the degree of mutual support has decreased, being an outsider is still often looked down upon by the locals. In addition, the absence of social and psychological support (Li et al. 2009) in the newly adopted city is likely to make it more difficult to engender a positive impression of the new and unknown, particularly since community sentiments are supposed to be built upon shared equal status and contact (Rothwell 2012). The majority of migrants, however, develop their relationship to the world from simply dealing with the land to making a livelihood without the land. They are not familiar with their host destination, nor do they have intimate local kin ties or friendship networks, nor do they make a complete transformation to living a life full of unfamiliar people and new things.

Instead of depending on kinship ties as before, rural migrants rely on the migrant associations established on the same circumstances or place of origin as their emotional source and social connections. Migrant networks are more likely to engender a community that connects migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of ‘kinship, friendship, and shared community origins’ (Massey et al. 1999). However, migrant networks are more prone to be narrowed down within groups of geographical origin due to their low-level trust of each other in the urban area.

Furthermore, another predicament arises, especially for the young migrants, since on the one hand, they encounter exclusion from the host society, and on the other hand, their identification to rural society becomes weaker and weaker. This ambiguity involves a double negation, that of non-identity with urbanity and rural life which occurs with the majority of migrants. Finally, the migrants face the dilemma of “non-survival in a city or ‘non-return’ to the countryside”, both of which are unfeasible.

Since the start of such difficulties during migrants’ mingling in urban areas, my study continues to show what the migrants’ basic household survival strategies have been (such as, the separation of home and work duties and self-help on lodging) and how they work in reality (Zhang et al. 2003, Fan et al. 2011). If we can understand the migrants’ experiences in their community and the dreams that motivate them to leave their place of origin, we can better see the hidden cultural resonances and gaps. Through these realizations, we suggest practical proposals for housing, such *‘floaters’,* building a harmonious community and creating a convenient urban landscape.

Household survival strategies: The Separation of Home and Work

One of the features recognized as archetypal of rural families and as an indication of cultural continuity is the wide-reaching relations and close ties between generations as directly shown in the geographical expression of the housing pattern. That is, more than four generations dwell under the same roof. But nowadays, increasing numbers of migrants, estimated at between 20 and 80 million, are moving across county boundaries (Liang and Ma 2004), with a significant proportion moving from rural to urban areas. When arable lands through which people earn their living vanish under the rapid process of urbanization, this clearance categorizes previous countryside villagers differently; one, the house renter’s livelihood is altered from ‘‘growing grain’’ to ‘‘growing house’’ (Liu et al. 2010) and some native peasants become well-off landlords through building and leasing (Yan and Yves 2011); two, able-bodied youth villagers become the circular migrant group between home or origin and the place of migrant work. However, the vast majority of migrants were formerly laborers who came alone; over half of them left wives and children behind in the countryside (Stack 2010).

The main direct influence that migrants face is related to the former family structure and must be simplified or greatly separated from the loss of a physical home place. That is to say, family members who were living in typical conditions would reside in the same place, but in fact they are now living in separate places. This sojourning circumstance has led to a distinctive family form and a household split between two or more spaces. The split-household form of local peasants presents a fairly apparent increasing tendency after lost land. By 1990, the proportion of three-generational and multi-generational families respectively occupied 44% and 2%, however, both figures fell to 17% and 1% by 2007, accompanying various patterns of increase in household structure (Shao 2008). As in Figure 5, the proportion of single migrants occupies the majority of households, where the spouse and children are all in a home village or the main family members are separated among three places (a couple may work in different cities, while their children are left behind in the home village).

In the split-household formed by sojourning strategies and geographical severance, the function of China's traditional moral framework-family organization, production and the rest of consumption gradually weakens due to geographical alienation. Much more widely accepted is the fact that the family unit keeps providing mutual support, and accommodation, while in this manner achieving the portrayal of "we are family". Consequently, individual migrants are presently living within the extended family sphere in the countryside. Most of them even experience real urban life, but their main values do not fit in properly with the urban communities due to the fracture in household ethics between urban and rural life.

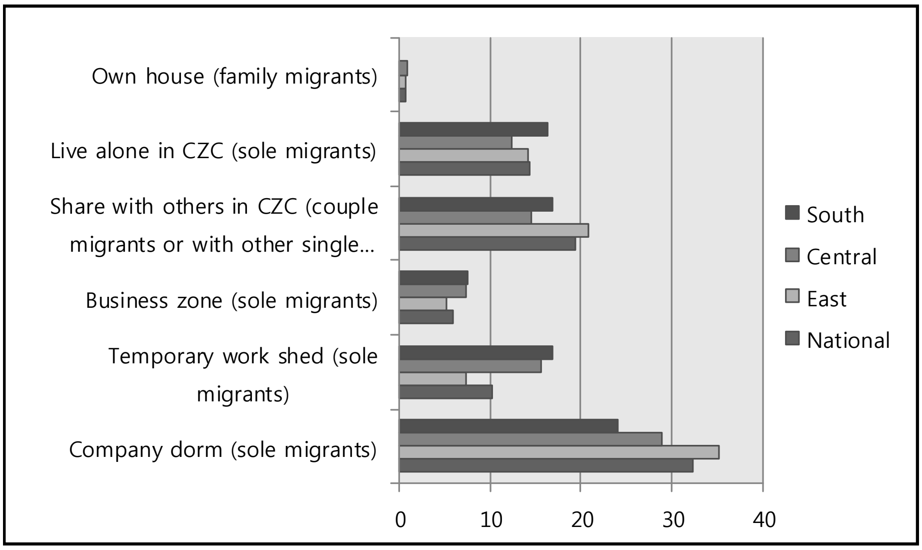

Fig. 5 – **Comparison of household situation of the migrants in different areas of China, 2011**
Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2011)

Left-behind family

More importantly, Chinese culture has long depended on the extended family to shelter and bring up children, but as China modernizes, this traditional moral principle is actually being called into question. For example, the fracture in family patterns whose reliance on parent-based kinship networks indicates the decisive impact of increased migration. It is estimated that of at least 58 million children are left behind — approximately a quarter of those in rural areas and 1/5 of China's total number of children (Zhu 2010), while among them more than half are taken care of by single parents. It is revealed that 79.7% are raised by their grandparents' generation, 13% are put in relatives or friends' hands and those without any guardians occupy around 7.3% (Suizhou 2006). Instead of having the closest kin ties, in sharp contrast, the left-behind children rely more on their attachment to grandparents due to the absence of their parents. Lengthened absence inevitably alienates parents from their offspring. A long period without face to face contact dooms the children to having an emotional distance from their parents. Furthermore the stability and continuity of the whole family is definitely impaired by the deepening fissure between the parents and their offspring.

In reality, compared to the separation from their offspring, due to obstacles preventing them from being a normal family, the presence of the reunion of couples is evident in the major *CZCs*. This is due to the fact that in a city, a wide cross-section of menial work is suitable for female laborers, such as housekeeping, restaurant work, and work in sanitation. Faced with these alternatives, unlike the earlier migrants who came to the cities as individuals, most new migrants appear in couple groups, typically due to the low economic return from their agricultural lands.

Nevertheless, the main problem migrant couples face is accommodation. If they live together, they have to rent a house to have an ordinary family life; in which case, it will definitely increase living costs. Otherwise, they can live in a dormitory provided by the employer with other singles. While this couple migration particularly suits migrants except in certain occupations like construction, the couple migration-cycle is hard to realize on account of the lack of stability of working places. In this way, the majority of migrants choose to live in a work shed - a prefabricated form of accommodation. Therefore, this situation discourages the mode of couple migrant-cycle and excludes the rural females from the city, since they would rather stay in the countryside.

Lodging struggle in urban areas

The demand for accommodation

Some of the concern over housing these migrants has tended to be the chief motivation for the housing demand in China during recent years. The masses of young migrants flocking to the cities have created a more severe situation in the supply of low-paid housing which was already in short supply. Admittedly, the number of male migrants commonly outstrips that of females, seeking to earn enough money to raise their children. Further concern for caring for their left-behind extended family has fueled this occupational segregation of migrants in host cities.

For such migrants, low-rent housing is the most common way to lower living costs. Therefore one of the greatest methods is to look for low-cost lodging which makes the *CZC* in each city so attractive to both rural migrants and the urban poor. This is due to weak urban governance; for one thing, the local government lacks the ability to cope efficiently with the overwhelming demand for housing in the cities. Another fact is that *CZCs* facilitate the livelihood of the present land-lost peasants, and the introduction of self-financed accommodation has been the most effective method to serve both the needs of migrants and the local government.

Large-scale flourishing of *CZCs* might aid to fill the need of availability of affordable housing in cities. That is to say, before the arrival of major reforms in urban comfortable housing programs, the presence of *CZCs* alludes to the complement of an innovative affordable answer to urban housing difficulties. With regard to the market of housing alternatives in China, since the late 1990s, the 'Comfortable Housing Project' (*anju gongcheng)* was launched in China; within 20 years, 5 million units of retitled 'Economic and Affordable housing' had been constructed (*jingji shiyong fang*) (Wu 2002). After one further year had passed, the government added another 5.9 million units; so in 2011, 10 million more units were built. Ultimately, the government seeks to provide affordable housing for 20% of China's urban population by 2017, which was reported as part of the 12th Five-Year (2012-2017) plan (Lou 2011).

One of the greatest benefits of increasing low-rent or subsidized housing units being available for low-waged households is to provide respectable, comfortable accommodation in urban areas. However, this institutionalized arrangement does not cover rural migrants so well, as they are typically disqualified from the same treatment as local residents. Also, in any case, the local residents make no exception for migrants, if they do not have the correct registration for the local household residence[4)].

An improvement has been seen since 2006, in that a great housing bubble continues to spread throughout the whole China, and low-rent housing is in demand on a wide scale for the lower to middle-class migrants[5)] and the lowest placed residents in society. It could be further argued that such a resource as rental housing is imperative for native households; nonetheless, it has not made much of a contribution to rural migrants until now. Recently, in October 2011, the Beijing daily reported that a notice regarding the strengthening of the construction and the management of public-rental housing in Beijing *[Guanyyu jiaqiang ben shigonggongzulinzhu-fangjianshe he guanli de tongzhi]* was announced as a new governmental policy. It was revealed that for certain applicants (who continue to work in Beijing for a certain number of years with a stable salary, a temporary residence book and a certificate of public housing fund or social security), their family members have no house in Beijing and they get access to subsidized public-rental housing in Beijing. It deserves to be noted that this is in fact the first time in Beijing that low-renting housing has been open to newcomers.

Despite a number of migrants having benefited from housing policies that were introduced almost 10 years ago, it has often been reported that well-equipped and low-rent apartments built for migrants in many cities have encountered a chilly welcome from rural workers (People's Daily and Xinhua Daily Telegraph 2006)[6)]. Why is this? First, there are high commuting costs due to the long distance between work and housing settlements; second,

4) For example, referring to IEAS, in the case of public rental housing in Chongqing China, the candidates need to meet demands issued by Chongqing CCP Municipal Committee and Municipal Government, as follows: 1. They must be an urban family; 2. They must be in the low-income category: moderate or minimal wage or a new employee with stable employment and an income source (including college graduates and migrant workers); 3. They must have a lack of housing or their area of housing is less than 13m^2 per-capita; 4. the applicant is exempt from the registered permanent residence restrictions.

5) The lower to middle-class migrants consist of people who feel "squeezed" — the income of this class group is slightly better than the general earning public, but they are barred outside eligibility from receiving any government assistance in affording/satisfying decent shelter accommodation needs in the cities of China.

6) The People's Daily and Xinhua Daily Telegraph (2006) reported on the situations of two 'migrant workers' apartments'. According to the reports, the Changsha city government in Hunan Province made an investment to build 618 'migrant workers' apartments' in January 2005, but only 26 apartments have since been rented out. In late 2004, 4,800 apartments were built for migrant workers in Tianjin by Tianjin Port Development Holdings Ltd, but up to now they have attracted only 1,800 rural migrant workers.

there is a demand for applicants' documents; third, it is the result of construction, the migrant-focused work domain, normally supplies free sheds (a dormitory on a construction site) to meagre-waged migrant workers; four, the rejection of accommodation shared with other people which is not acceptable to couple migrants.

It is not surprising that the huge demand and building costs have put the government in a very awkward position, plus the need for several additional documents. As a result, for the next several years, the former villagers in a *CZC* will continue to maximize the housing units for the constantly arriving migrants. However, as well-received enclaves for migrants, *CZCs* normally bear a resemblance to slums in several of their nastiest features (Gransow 2010), lacking unifying arrangements or state intervention. Here, I suggest a decent model for a new *CZC* design which incorporates traditional *Tulou* architectural essentials to create a sense of southern *Min* identity (the *Hakka* of China).

Tulou housing case

Collective housing (*Tulou* housing) was built in 2008 on the outskirts of China's biggest migrant -receiving city — Guangzhou in the Guangdong province of China. This project (Fig. 6) could be considered as a relatively successful case of low-rent housing in the area, according to the regulation requirements of the local government. Namely, a certain percentage of the units in large scale housing developments need to be of lower lease for meagre-waged workers. In this project, the larger housing complex which is outsized is of little worth, because the dwellers are comprised of few people; the average number of residents per house in most migrant families is no more than three or four. For these rural migrants, what is preferential is above all to house a normal family, however small it is. The offer of a separate room for the migrants' own family is not purely a conscious matter of people's privacy, but it confirms the increasing human concerns of the *floaters* - a rising attention to families' internal life - and the necessity to convey this concept of 'we are family' in physical means. Together with the equivalent housing assignment of the new *Tulou*, 287 units are expected to accommodate 1800 people, of which 245 are apartments for a lease of 40m², 24 are to be used as dormitories and 18 will function as hotel rooms. The lodging circumstances present a sharp comparison with the living situation in *CZCs*.

In the new *Tulou* project, the housing conditions involved with providing both an intimate interior and a sheltered exterior present the original imprint of the *Hakka*'s heavily-defended spherical, multi-household earthen structure. Within the constrained space available, the central-focused arrangement resonates consciously the organization of the internal and the exclusion and the resistance of the external. This configuration is an auxiliary implication of the large conversion from the insecure fringe of the city to the big communal houses. Reviewing the objective of this new form of housing, the aims of the design are (Mallick 2010):

- To provide easy access to affordable apartments for low income rural migrants and the urban poor group;
- To provide living spaces that enable a community to evolve and to allow it to emphasize the sharing of the interpersonal or of a collectivity and it fosters the nature of intermediary individuals;
- To provide living spaces which are well lit, ventilated, comfortable and protected.

This new *Tulou* building has been built and designed for all Chinese to dwell in, without the institutional limitations of the rural/urban household residences or local/outside inhabitants. Moreover, such a construction is an exceptional experiment and a project built with the

Fig. 6 **– Collective Housing in Tulou Guangdong province of China**
Source: Mallick (2010)

absence of the government and its developer (Shenzhen Vanke Real Estate Company) was not concerned with the profit. This can be considered a decent approach in response to the dilemmas posed to migrant workers in search of affordable accommodation. Both the practices of finance and improved housing policy proceed in the absence of state participation in such matters as site selection, and the dwellers' status restriction. This is even though *CZC* case studies show that houses are often coupled with the creation of a shantytown and squatter settlements. For a general perspective, both (*CZCs* and *Tulou* housing) are undeniably becoming a buffer zone for rural migrants before the government demolishes the *Hukou* policy and they make sure of their status within a host city.

Conclusion

This examination of the *CZC* has emphasized three main points: first, throughout the history of China, rural migrants have faced several forms of inherent social and political discriminatory treatment that have had a direct influence on their self-cognition in host cities. Secondly, the massive movement of the rural population during the speedy urbanization presents two key conflicts, self-identity of twilight zones and weak social cohesion. This causes the *CZC* to be the 'first step' for floaters blending into the urban community. In any case, the *CZC* could be profiled as means of segregation in host societies and congregation of the outsiders.

In this context, in order to survive in a host city, the separation of home and work is understood as the inevitable consequence of the survival strategies of migrants. The fracture in traditional Chinese family patterns, together with rural migrants' self-location of work and home, has become an arena of conflict. The reunion of a natural family remains only a dream for most migrants. Normally, for the sake of children and a better life, they go to the city alone or with a spouse, but the remaining family (children, parents and parents-in-law) live in the countryside. The characteristically bare-boned and sub-standard environment in *CZCs* echoes these migrants' craving to have better lives, representing the rural-urban status of transformation in cities (Hsing 2012); while facing sacrifices through their split-families and the livelihoods they pursue in their day-to-day lives. The welcoming of *CZCs* plays a supporting role in migrants' struggles faced with such disparities, as standards of class status and a longing to change their family's destiny.

Finally, a sizable number of rural migrants who float towards the city are doomed to be treated as outsiders, and relegated to concentrating on the availability of low-level jobs in society. Low-waged economic situations do not allow them to afford better-settled housing in the city centre; rather they must live in a *CZC* or in other run-down and deprived areas. Since 2003, the Chinese State Council has issued a series of policies on the protection of migrant workers' rights in terms of improvements in their living conditions and forming a better living environment (China Labour Bulletin 2006) although the government still only writes the names of the non-rural natives on the applicants' list of affordable housing.

At the same time, the urban *Tulou* case demonstrates that in the absence of government participation (e.g. subsidized land from a government-funded program), the private real estate developers first offered another favorable model for decently accommodating low-waged workers. In more detail, by focusing on the housing suppliers, the urban *Tulou* is a unique experiment in terms of having low-rent housing being invested in by developers and it could become a promising example of an affordable, comfortable and visually attractive urban model for the expanding number of low-renting migrants. However, one point that cannot be ignored is the importance of making every effort to enable the Chinese people to live a happier life with more dignity, as proposed by the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao[7)].

Nowadays, affordable housing in all cities in China is all organized by the local government, and the gap between demand and supply is partially due to unilateral investments. It could be further argued that in view of the current land organization in China, only the state has the ultimate authority to decide on whom the urban land belongs to and, to some degree, it is at the disposal of the various levels of governments (Zuo 2008). The importance of the urban *Tulou* case allows us to reassess the hidden shortage of affordable housing projects in China in recent times and it can be developed into a reproducible archetype in China's cities. By doing this, the respective local government can create more favorable housing policies and also

7) During the 3rd annual plenary session of the 11th National People's Congress held in March 2010, Chinese premier Wen Jiabao declared: 'Let people live with greater dignity'. It indicates that with the rapid economic development of recent years, the Party and the country should endeavor to enable the Chinese people to live a happier life with greater dignity, with policies such as fair income distribution and the easing of the predicament of accommodating rural migrant workers floating into the fabric of urban society. Available online: http://topics.redcome.com/html/report/2205412-1.htm.

provide economic assistance to this project, such as making low-cost land available to real estate developers if their construction projects address the needs of low-renting rural migrants.

References

BAILEY M., GIROUX M. (1998), *Relocation of Custodial Parents. Final Report*, Status of Women Ottawa, Canada.

BURRELL K. (2011), *Going steerage on Ryanair: cultures of migrant air travel between Poland and the UK*, Journal of Transport Geography 19, 1023-1030.

CHINA LABOUR BULLETIN (2006), *Why don't rural migrant workers live in government -subsidized low-rent apartments*, [http://www.clb.org.hk/en/node/39615].

CHENG T. J., SELDEN M. (1994), *The origins and social consequences of China's Hukou system*, The China Quarterly 139, 644-668.

CURRAN S. R., SAGUY A. C. (2001), *Migration and cultural change: A role for gender and social networks?*, Journal for International Women's Studies 2 (3), 54-77.

DU H. M., LI S. M. (2010), *Migrants, urban villages, and community sentiments: a case of Guangzhou, China*, Asian Geographer 27 (1-2), 93-108.

EISENSTADT S. N. (1953), *Analysis of patterns of immigration and absorption of immigrants*, Population Studies: A Journal of Demography 7 (2), 167-180.

FAN C. C. (2002), *The elite, the natives, and the outsiders: migration and labour market segmentation in urban China*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers 92 (1), 103-124.

FAN C. C., SUN M. J., ZHENG S. Q. (2011), *Migration and split households: a comparison of sole, couple, and family migrants in Beijing, China*, Environment and Planning A 43, 2164-2185.

FENG, X. Y. (2011), *Study on transformation of Chengzhongcun in Beijing (Beijing Chengzhongcun gaizao de diaochayusikao)*, China Reform Forum [http://www.chinareform.org.cn/forum/crf/69/paper/201008/t20100804_39040.htm].

FOUCAULT M. (1990), *The history of sexuality*, Vol 1: An Introduction. Trans, Robert Hurley, Pantheon Books, New York, USA.

FUKUYAMA Y. F. (1996), *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*, Free Press.

GLAESER E. L., KAHN M. E, JORDAN R. (2008), *Why do the poor live in cities? The role of public transportation*, Journal of Urban Economics 63 (1), 1-24.

GRANSOW B. (2010), *Slum formation or urban innovation? — Migrant communities and social change in Chinese megacities*, Proceeding from Rural-Urban Migrations in Mega Cities and 'Mega-Slums' Our Common Future, Essen, Germany.

GOODKIND D., WEST L. A. (2002), *China's floating population: definitions, data and recent findings*, Urban Studies 39 (12), 2237-2250.

GUO F., ZHANG Z. (2006), *Transforming urban villages: social stratification in migrant communities in China*, presented at the ACESA Annual Conference 2006 - Emerging China: Internal challenges and global implications, Melbourne, Australia.

HRSSD (2011), *Development Statistic Bulletin by Human Resources and Social Security Department of PRC*, China.

HSING Y. T. (2012), *The great urban transformation: politics and property in China*, Oxford University Press, USA.

IEAS (2010), *The State of China's Cities 2010/2011: Better City, Better Life*, China Science Centre of International Eurasian Academy of Sciences China Association of Mayors, and UN-HABITAT, Foreign Language Press, China.

JOHN L. (2002), *The new Chinese city: globalization and market reform*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.

JOHN R., MOORE R. (1967), *Race, community and conflict: a study of Sparkbrook*, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London, UK.

JOHN K., SONG L. (1995), *Towards a labour market in China*, Oxford University Press, USA.

KAM W. C., LI Z. (1999), *The Hukou system and rural-urban migration in China: processes and changes*, China Quarterly 160, 818-855.

LAURENCE J. C., MA F. L. (2004), *Restructuring the Chinese city: Changing Society, Economy and Space*, Routledge, London, UK.

LI T. (2008), *The Chengzhongcun land market in China: boon or bane? - A perspective on property rights*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 32 (2), 282-304.

LI S. M., ZHU Y. S., LI L. M. (2009), *Community type, gateness and neighborhood experiences: a study of Guangzhou, China*, Occasional paper, Hong Kong Baptist University, Centre for China Urban and Regional Studies 93.

LIAN Y. M. (2012), *Report on the innovation of China's social administration. 2012*, Social Sciences, Academic Press of China, China.

LIANG Z., MA Z. D. (2004), *China's floating population: new evidence from the 2000 census*, Population and Development Review 30 (3), 467-488.

LIU X. L., LIANG W. (1997), *Zhejiangcun: social and spatial implications of informal urbanization on the periphery of Beijing*, Cities 14 (2), 95-108.

LIU Y. T., HE S. J., WU F. L., CHRIS W. (2010), *Urban villages under China's rapid urbanization: Unregulated assets and transitional neighbourhoods*, Habitat International 34 (2), 135-144.

LOU J. B. (2011), *China's massive affordable housing project: how it works and my concerns. China Debate*, [http://www.chinadebate.com/2011/08/chinas-massive-affordabale-housing-project-how-it-works-and-my-concerns, Accessed 22 August 2011].

MALLICK F. (2010), *2010 on Site Review Report*: *Tulou Collective Housing,* China.

MASSEY D. S., JOAQUIN A., HUGO G., KOUAOUCI Ali. (1999), *Worlds in motion: understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*, Oxford University Press, USA.

NBSC (National Bureau of Statistics of China) (2012), *Chinese statistical yearbook 2012*, China Statistics Press, Beijing.

PARK R. (1928), *Human migration and the marginal man*, The American Journal of Sociology 33 (6), 881-893.

ROSSI P. H. (1980), *Introduction to second edition*, in P. H. Rossi, Why families move. Beverly Hills, Sage, CA.

ROTHWELL J. T. (2012), *The effects of racial segregation on trust and volunteering in US cities*, Urban Studies 49 (10), 2109-2136.

SHAO F. (2008), *The influence of household structure change upon the dwelling and mode of community for the aged – case study of urban village in Qingdao*, Economic 7 (Chinese version).

SHELLER M., URRY J. (2006), *The new mobilities paradigm*, Environment and Planning A 38, 207-226.

SMITH D. C. (1992), *The Chinese family in transition: implication for education and society in modern Taiwan*, Proceeding from the Comparative Education Association/World Bank Seminar, Spring, Annapolis Maryland.

STACK M. K. (2010), *China raising a generation of left-behind children*, Los Angeles Times [http://articles.latimes.com/2010/sep/29/world/la-fg-china-left-behind-20100930, Accessed on 29 September 2010].

SUIZHOU (2006), Baidu Encyclopedia [http://baike.baidu.com/view/109106.htm, Accessed on 5th May 2006].

WATSUJI T. (1996), *Rinrigaku: ethics in Japan*, trans. Yamamoto Seisaku and Robert E. Carter, State University of New York Press, Albany.

WU W. P. (2002), *Migrant housing in urban China: choices and constraints*, Urban Affairs Review 38 (1), 90-119.

XU F. (2008), *Gated communities and migrant enclaves: the conundrum for building 'harmonious community/shequ'*, Journal of Contemporary China 17 (57), 633-651.

YAN S., YVES Z. N. (2011), *Urban villages and housing values in China*, Regional Science and Urban Economics 42, 495-505.

YU X. J. (2008), *The distribution of China's floating population in Guangzhou and other 9 provinces* (Zhongguoliu dong renkou fen bujijuguang dong jiangsudeng 10sheng zhanliucheng duo), [http://www.china.com.cn, Accessed on 23 October 2008].

ZHANG L., SIMON X. B., TIAN J. P. (2003), *Self-Help in housing and Chengzhongcun in China's urbanization*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 27 (4), 912-937.

ZHEN Y. F. (2001), *Trust (Xinrenlun)*, China Radio and Television Press, China.

ZHIFENG Z. (2009), *Research on the Beijing rural villages' classification & development under urbanization*, Conference Proceedings, Qu L., Yang C., Hui X., Sepúlveda D. (Eds.), The New Urban Question – Urbanism beyond Neo-Liberalism, International Forum on Urbanism, Amsterdam/Delft, 1387-1394.

ZHU H. L. (2010), *Study on left behind children of China*, [http://www.chinaedunet.com/kh/thesis/content.asp?id=436].

ZHU Q. Z., WU H. F. (2003), *The cultural role and perception of agriculture in China*, Roles of Agriculture Project International Conference, Rome, Italy.

ZUO X. J. (2008), *China's decentralization and its impact on urbanization*, in Shinichi Ichimura and Roy Bahl, Decentralization Policies in Asian Development, World Scientific Publishing Company.

Initial submission: 15.10.2013
Revised submission: 06.05.2014
Final acceptance: 15.12.2014

Correspondence: Department of Architecture & Architectural Engineering, Seoul National University, 1 Gwanak-ro, Gwanak-gu, Seoul, South Korea

Email: xueni.peng@gmail.com

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 161 - 180

RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS CONSERVATION IN GEORGE TOWN WORLD HERITAGE CITY: A POST-UNESCO LISTING SCENARIO

Yoke Mui **LIM,** *Suet Leng* **KHOO**, *Kean Sing* **CH'NG**
Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract: Being inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage City since 2008, this scenario calls into question the voices, the participation and the aspirations of George Town residents themselves in the process of planning and conserving their city. As an extension of a similar project undertaken in 2006, prior to the UNESCO listing, the present study sought to explore and understand the residents' perceptions and preferences of George Town as a Heritage City after the UNESCO listing. Using the same set of samples (i.e. 400 inner city residents), the findings from this study revealed the change of residents' preference as well as their appreciation towards the value of heritage and its economic potential. More respondents are supportive on the protection of heritage buildings and maintaining a heritage city. The older generations are the advocates of the heritage houses and they are more willing to pay higher prices to own a heritage house in the city.

Key Words: *heritage awareness, urban conservation, resident perspectives, George Town.*

Introduction

The aspiration of governments for a 'renaissance' of their cities is central to the existing urban policy. Urban policies and rhetoric around the world are shaped towards this renaissance, or more popularly known as urban regeneration, to attract investment and middle-class populations back to the inner city. Simply put, regeneration will mean reinvestment in a location after a period of disinvestment (Shaw and Porter 2009: 1-2).

This phenomenon is also rapidly unfolding in the city state of Penang, Malaysia. Penang or 'Pulau Pinang' is one of the thirteen states found in Malaysia comprising of two separate areas, namely, the Penang Island (approximately 285 sq. km) and Seberang Perai (approximately 760 sq. km) which is on the mainland of Peninsular Malaysia. In terms of economic growth and development, arguably, Penang is considered one of the more developed states in Malaysia located on the north-western coast of Peninsular Malaysia. In the context of this paper however, the discussion revolves around Penang Island only, where the unequivocal process of gentrification and regeneration is rapidly happening.

In the island state of Penang, the investment pattern in its capital city George Town is unique and worth exploring, especially after the city's inscription into UNESCO's Heritage List in 2008. Recent data from Penang Institute reported that the capital city of George Town has a population of approximately 1,253,748 persons (MacDonald 2012). Founded in 1786, George Town started off as a port-city and it was a vibrant hub for commerce (Lim 2005: 16). Traders from near and far as well as migrant workers from China and India came to George Town and this influx of migrant workers back then marked the start of change for the city of George Town. Inevitably, these early settlers have physically and spatially transformed George Town from uninhibited, lush forest into highly urbanized physical settings that we see today.

Undoubtedly, George Town's urban morphology is influenced by the intermeshing of values, culture and way of life between natives and these newcomers to the island that they now call home. Such early traces of pluralism and diversity of cultures and socio-economic activities are attributable to the eclecticism of cultures that modern George Town portrays today. Collectively, these tangible and intangible outstanding universal values are instrumental towards George Town's inscription into UNESCO's World Heritage List on 7 July 2008. The city is also home to a large stock of about 10,000 pre-war buildings. These historic buildings date back to between late eighteen century and early nineteenth century. In George Town's World Heritage Site alone, there are a total of 4,665 historic buildings of which 2,344 buildings are located in the core zone and 2,321 buildings in the buffer zone (SGP 2011). The different zones are shown in Figure 1. The size of the core heritage zone is 99.35 hectares while the buffer zone is 89.29 hectares.

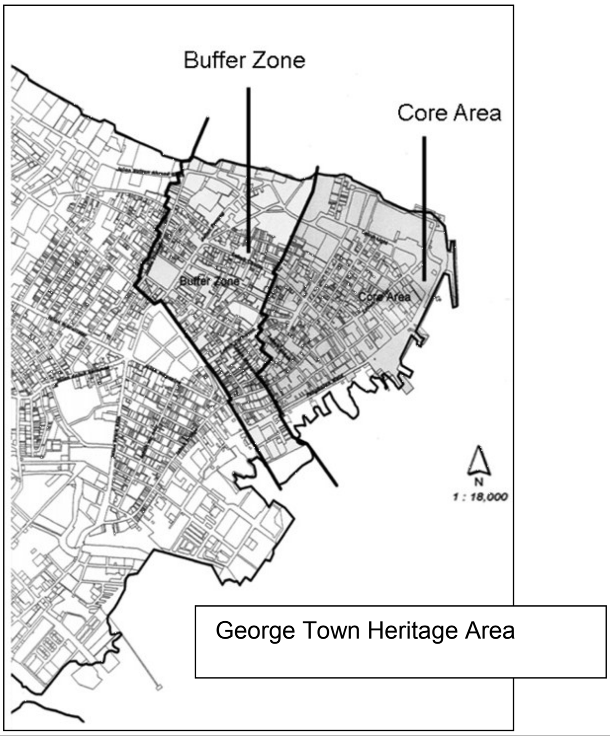

Fig. 1 **– Core and Buffer Zones of George Town World Heritage Site**
Source: Lee et al. (2009)

However, the city later felt into decline with the abolishment of the Rent Control Act in 2000. Collectively, the repeal of the Rent Control Act together with rapid new development in the out-skirts and suburban areas of Penang have witnessed a hollowing out process in the inner city of George Town. Many George Town residents and businesses have left the inner city in droves. In turn, this has caused George Town to fall into decline with many abandoned and dilapidated buildings where home owners are uninterested to maintain them due to the inability to rent their properties out after the repeal of the Act (Lim et al. 2008).

All these changed when George Town was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage City on 7 July 2008. The entire city immediately experienced a 'renaissance' (i.e. rebirth) and spruced into a regeneration mode with renewed interest to move people, businesses and other socio-cultural activities back into the inner city. In tandem, the dilapidated properties in the inner city are now considered as 'cash cows' that are marketable, tradable and deemed valuable assets to both local and foreign investors alike. To some quarters, this scenario of property tradability and reinvestment might be taken as reaping the benefits from a successful urban regeneration initiative. However, amidst all these transformations necessitated by the UNESCO listing, inevitably, this calls into question the voices, the participation and the aspirations of the George Town residents themselves in the process of planning and conserving their city. Besides the Government, effective planning policies would require integrated and strategic partnership, co-operation and participation by all stakeholders (Lim et al. 2008, Peerapun 2012). In essence, a bottom-up approach with extensive community participation is the way forward.

Specifically, this study is an extension of a similar project that was undertaken in 2006 prior to George Town's listing as a UNESCO heritage city. The findings from the earlier study revealed that the community was neither consulted nor were their preferences sought when the Penang State Government (2011) was applying to be listed as UNESCO's World Heritage City back in 2005. This indicated that the voices of the inner city residents were not heard and acknowledged in the planning process. Thus, this study aims to build on and extend from this previous research by enquiring and revisiting these similar concerns four years after George Town has been inscribed as a UNESCO Heritage City. Undoubtedly, this inscription has accelerated the need to hasten the processes of conservation and preservation of physical as well as socio-cultural environments of George Town to protect the Outstanding Universal Values of the city. These are processes that cannot and should not be undertaken by only the government without consulting other stakeholders. Heritage conservation may bring potential gains for heritage property investment but conservation work requires cooperation from and among all property owners. Public relation, consensual commitment and unwavering support from all stakeholders are vital towards successful urban conservation.

Before the listing, conservation was not popular in this city because of low public awareness (Holland 2001) due to the fact that most residents do not actually know what is heritage or the importance of conservation. It is because of this that most developers often choose to clear the whole site to carry out redevelopment rather than restore or rehabilitate old buildings. One of the main challenges for towns attempting to conserve heritage properties is to strike a balance between the protection of historical homes and the individual rights of property owners (McInnis 2001). Thus, good public understanding about the importance of heritage to the community is vital to encourage participation from the community. Therefore, this extended study aims to explore, examine and understand the residents' attitudes and preferences in the urban planning of George Town as a Heritage City after the UNESCO listing.

In an overview, this paper is divided into five sections. Section one introduces the background and research aim of this study. Section two reviews the relevant literature on sustainable urban conservation and the community's awareness, experience, appreciation and perception of their urban environment in the planning process whilst section three briefly outlines the methodology of this study. The key findings will be discussed in section four and section five highlights some of the issues encountered after George Town was inscribed as a UNESCO heritage city.

Finally, section six concludes this paper by suggesting some pragmatic policy implications towards more sustainable urban conservation in George Town.

Literature Review

Recently, issues related to heritage preservation and management, especially those referring to sustainability of a historical city, are closely tied to topics and theories of participation of citizens in the city (Adeniran and Akinlabi 2011). It is widely accepted that sustainable development of cities depends greatly on the functions of public participation (Azman et al. 2010). Public participation is currently regarded as a key to conflict resolution and sustainable development (Sirisrisak 2009). The 2008 revision of UNESCO's Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention explicitly recognizes the need for local participation in heritage management with the addition of a fifth organizational strategic objective: "*Enhance the role of communities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*" (UNESCO 2008).

Recognizing the difficulty in identifying, understanding and protecting heritage features without the input of its cultural owners, a philosophical shift involves an increased focus upon community participation from the part of cultural heritage managers (Grimwade and Carter 2000, Hodges and Watson 2000, Smith et al. 2003). Mire's (2007) study of heritage management in Somalia provides an example of this reality where she finds that sustainable management of Somali heritage resources is dependent upon the inclusion of local perspectives, knowledge systems and management techniques.

Participation enhances access to and ensures greater transparency in the decision-making process in both local governance and resource management (Nabwire and Nyabenge 2006). The advantages of community participation are manifold. Among them are the ability to obtain a more accurate understanding of the needs of the community, an improved ability to adapt the project to meet the local conditions and an improved spirit of cooperation both within the community itself and between the community and outside stakeholders (La Frenierre 2008).

The level of participation in any development or planning project is immediately driven by the locals' perceptions and locals' attitudes towards the project. Although communities express support for tourism development associated with events, many local residents are also concerned with the associated inconveniences such as traffic congestion, crime and overcrowding (Twynam and Johnston 2004) as well as noise pollution, parking difficulties, crime and increase of the cost of living (Bob and Swart 2009).

The study on the residents perception of mega impacts (Kim and Petrick 2005, Adriaanse 2007) shows that it is advantageous to allocate more resources to effectively increase residents' perceived positive impacts and at the same time reduce their perceived negative impacts. In studies focusing on urban green spaces (Jim and Chen 2006), Jupp et al. (2002) expressed that studies to explore the mind-set of stakeholders could allow cities to build spaces that are socially inclusive rather than just spaces to serve narrow segments of the population.

Based on a series of studies carried out by Spennemann (1992), Spennemann and Harris (1996) and Spennemann et al. (2001), there are substantial differences between the values held by the heritage professionals and those held by the community in historic preservation. According to Spennemann (2003), the education of the public about the need of historic preservation is one of the main strategies in historic preservation. Stephenson et al. (2004) in Bannockburn Heritage Landscape Study discovered that people are unlikely to protect or care for places unless they perceived the importance of the places. Undoubtedly, people's attitude towards heritages immediately affects the sustainability of any heritage conservation project.

People's awareness, experience, appreciation and perception of their urban environment are essential dimensions of urban design (Carmona et al. 2003). This could be seen in the study of the Vietnamese Australians' perception towards national parks which provides an insight into the attitude of people towards heritages, in which many Vietnamese people perceived national park as peaceful contrasts to the stresses of working lives and cities, a place for recreation that provides leisure and serves as an important venue for religious and scouting activities (Thomas 2002: 126). Therefore, this explains their support for provision of parks. The same could apply to conservation of heritage city. If the perception of the residents is positive, the support of the people will make the conservation effort a success.

According to Assari et al. (2011, 2012), the success of heritage conservation and development in a historical city mainly depends on two set of factors: 1) Awareness, participation and appreciation towards heritage values and its economic potential; and 2) Education programs designed for each historical cities. There are these two factors that this paper will look into to have an idea of the success of George Town efforts in conservation since 2007. All the concepts that are discussed above are encapsulated in the diagram shown in Figure 2 below.

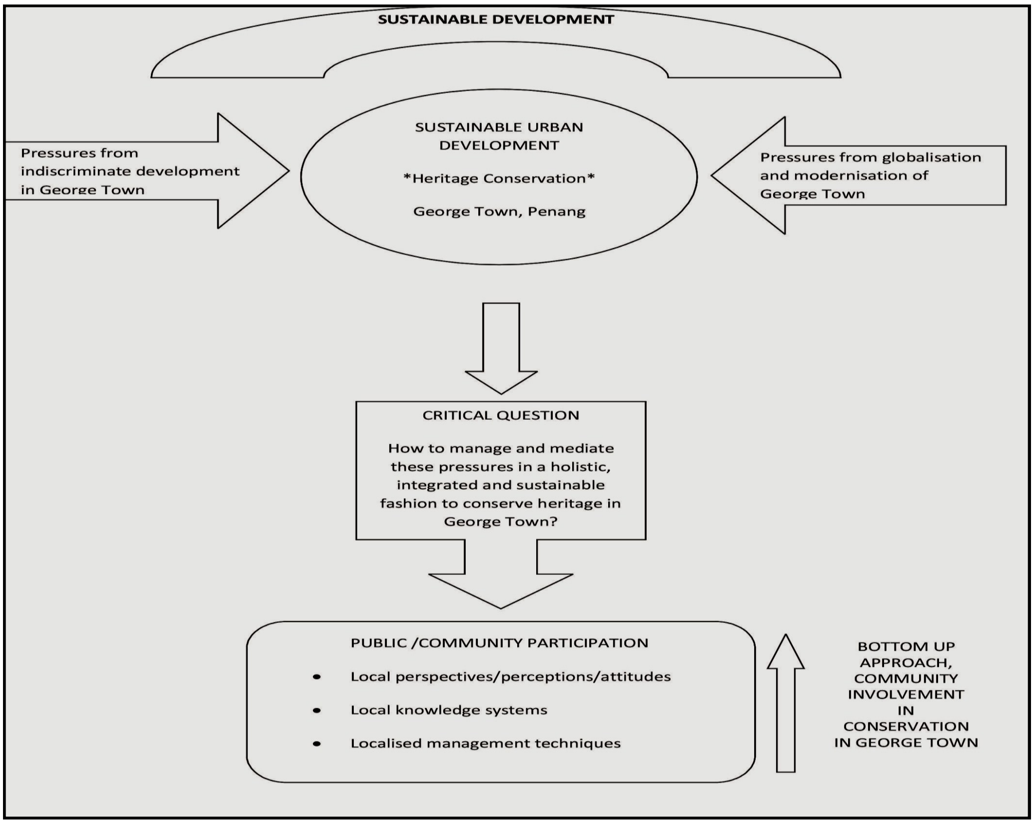

Fig. 2 – **Conceptual Framework of the Study**

Material and Methods

According to Adler and Clark (1999), people who are involved in or are affected by a programme are called stakeholders. Their perspectives are important to help influence and determine appropriate strategies in shaping efficient planning for urban development (Potter 1985, Chetwyn 1999). In other words, by studying the perspectives of the stakeholders, we can capture the picture of a development issue and the real needs of the community involved. In this way, constructive solutions or alternatives can be formulated to meet their needs.

In the case of George Town, although various programmes have been implemented, the impact of these activities and programmes are not known as there is no study on the residents' perspectives on the conservation of George Town after the UNESCO inscription. Without constant feedback from the community, it is difficult to assess whether the programmes conducted are achieving its objectives. Therefore, as a quick evaluation of the perspectives of the stakeholders four years after the inscription, a "before" and "after" comparison was conducted. The data for the "before inscription" was based on a previous survey undertaken in 2006. The data for the "after inscription" was collected from a survey conducted in 2012. The framework of the current survey was based on the previous survey to enable an "apple to apple" comparison.

Following the previous survey, we identified our target of survey to be the 'residents' from three administrative districts, namely George Town 1, George Town 2 and George Town 3. According to MPPP (Municipal Council of Penang Island) Design Guidelines for Inner City of George Town 1987, George Town 1, and a part of George Town 3 are designated as conservation areas, which consists of the core area and buffer zone, while George Town 2 is located at the boundary of the conservation area. The objective of the survey was to obtain the awareness/preferences of George Town's residents regarding urban conservation activities that have been carried out in the heritage area of George Town.

To achieve our objective, the questionnaire survey method was used as it is an established method to obtain information from the target population about their attitudes, behaviours, thoughts and opinions through a set of standardised questions (Moser and Kalton 1979, Adler and Clark 1999, Lanthier 2002, Wates 2002). A structured interview approach was adopted for the survey. This method was adopted to mitigate the problem of non-response due to illiteracy in English as most of the residents in the survey area were either elderly people or educated in Chinese medium schools. Furthermore, the structured interview method used a standardised interview schedule where data were collected from a sample of population based on a same set of predetermined questions (Adler and Clark 1999); and this will help to ensure uniformity in the questions asked although the study used several interviewers/enumerators to cover the 400 samples.

The sampling frame used in the survey mirrors the sampling frame used in the earlier study. This is done deliberately because the new study intends to find out if the preferences of the residents have changed since 2006 and to obtain a comparable study, the same samples were used. The samples were derived from the sampling frame compiled from the Assessment List 2005 that was obtained from the local authority. It contained the complete addresses of all the properties in the study area. The target respondents were the heads of households or their representatives who were staying in George Town (residents) at the time of the survey. In order to cover most of the residents in the study areas, the research team decided to select residents from four types of buildings, namely house, shop, shop-house and apartment/flat. Offices and warehouses were excluded from the survey. The samples were then selected from the sampling frame using the simple random method. At the confidence level of 95%, a sample size of 400 was determined for this survey.

The questionnaire used in this survey was designed based on the previous questionnaire. The style of the language and the format of the questions were maintained as it has been proven in the previous study that the respondents were able to understand and answer the questions. Although some questions were replicated in this study, the majority of the questions were designed to explore and understand the current awareness and preferences of the residents of George Town.

However, due to a lapse of 6 years since the previous study, some of the respondents were no longer in the area. Some of the samples have relocated or passed away. There were also cases where the building of the previous samples had been demolished. In order to maintain the sample size, the unavailable samples were replaced by new samples using the convenient sampling method. The interviewers were told to interview the neighbour of the sample that was no longer available. The interviewers selected to conduct the survey were fluent in both English and Chinese languages as well as local dialects (i.e. Hokkien, Cantonese) to ensure that there were minimal language problems while conducting the survey interviews. In order to ensure a good response rate, the interviewers also visited the site during and after the working hours.

In this survey, the respondents were from three main groups, namely tenants (45%, 180), owners (37%, 150) and others (18%, 70). Both owners and tenants were quite proportionately represented in the survey. Most of the respondents (245 persons) were between 31 to 60 years old (Table 1). In terms of education level, Table 2 shows that the majority of the respondents received only up to secondary level of education (60%, 240). This percentage mirrored the situation back in 2006 where those with secondary education also scored the highest percentage. In the 2012 survey, only a very small percentage (6%, 24) of the respondents received university degree education. Respondents under the category of 'other' (2%, 8) represented those with higher education qualifications such as postgraduate degrees and professional qualifications. This indicates that the population with secondary level education are still residing in the heritage areas in George Town and this creates a pocket of lower income residents in the heritage areas.

Table 1

Respondents' Age Group for Surveys in 2006 and 2012

Age Group (years)	Survey in 2006		Survey in 2012	
	Count	***%***	***Count***	***%***
< 21	8	3	24	6
21 – 30	48	18	58	14
31 – 40	60	22	83	21
41 – 50	74	28	82	20
51 – 60	50	19	80	20
61 – 70	21	8	50	13
> 70	8	3	23	6
TOTAL	**269**	**100**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork surveys, 2006 & 2012

Table 2

Respondents' Educational Level for Surveys in 2006 and 2012

Educational Level	Survey in 2006		Survey in 2012	
	Count	*%*	*Count*	*%*
None	23	9	23	6
Primary	52	19	51	13
Secondary	141	52	240	60
Certificate	17	6	16	4
Diploma	20	7	38	9
Degree	14	5	24	6
Other	2	1	8	2
TOTAL	**269**	**100**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork surveys, 2006 & 2012

Results and Discussion

In order to examine the residents' awareness and appreciation towards the heritage values and their economic potentials, the survey investigated the respondents' concerns on the importance of protecting historic buildings and their willingness to pay more for a heritage property. In the real estate market, people are usually willing to pay more for a property which has a promising value for investment. In some scenarios, people will pay more for a property which is meaningful or important to them.

Importance to Protect Historic Buildings

The study in 2006 reported that 71% of the respondents indicated it was important to protect historic buildings while 13% said otherwise (Fig. 3). The remaining 16% indicated that they have no opinion on the subject. This survey undertaken six years later revealed that historic buildings have become even more important to the residents. As shown in the same figure, 83% of the respondents of the survey in 2012 indicated that it is important to protect the historic buildings. This shows an increase of 12% from the previous survey. Currently, only 6% said it is not important to them as compared to 13% in 2006. The current finding augurs well for the historic city of George Town as this means that more residents now appreciate the historic buildings as compared to six years ago. This could also imply that the awareness programmes and other heritage based activities have positively influenced the perspectives of the residents towards the historic buildings.

The survey also tried to dissect further the categories of respondents that find it important to protect the historic buildings. Again, the survey found that all three categories of 'owner', 'tenant' and 'others' (workers/owner's relatives) unanimously agreed that it is important to protect the historic buildings as shown in Figure 4 below.

Referring to Figure 5, the results from the 2006 survey showed that those people having the highest awareness for protecting historic buildings were those people with higher levels of education. Amongst university degree holders, more than 90% of the people considered urban heritage as being important to them. This may be due to the fact that the better educated group

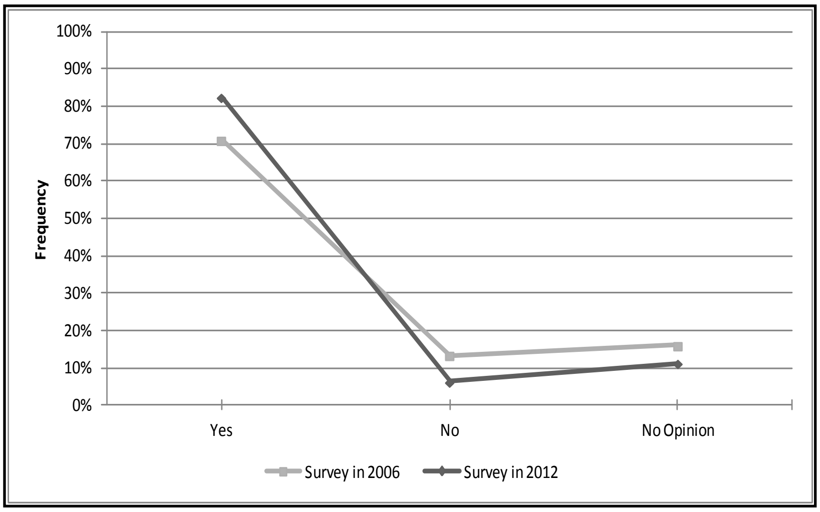

Fig. 3 **– Opinion about the Importance to Protect Historic Buildings**
Source: Fieldwork surveys, 2006 & 2012

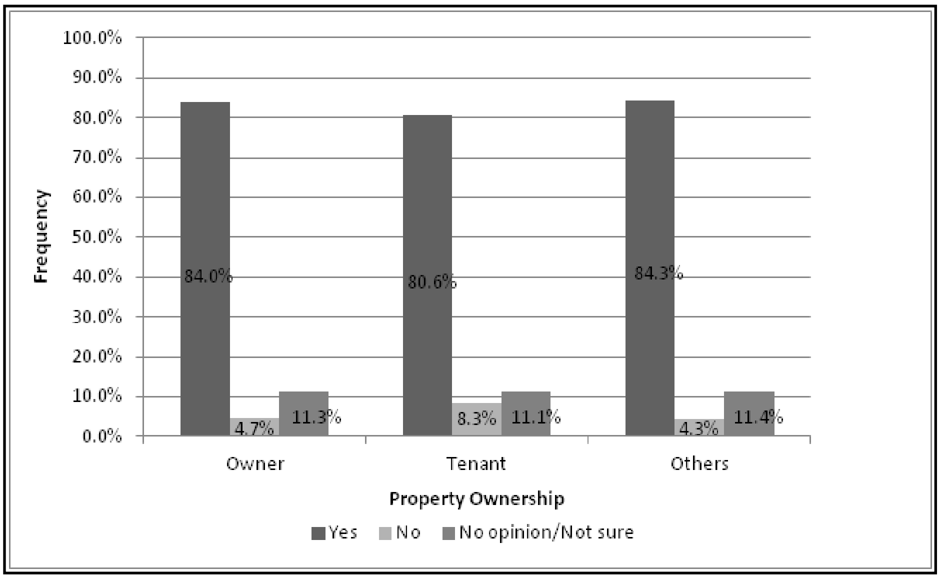

Fig. 4 **– Opinion about the Importance to Protect Historic Buildings, by Property Ownership (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

was more exposed to literature and publicity related to the urban heritage. As compared with the 2006 survey, obviously, the 2012 survey shows arising appreciation on historic buildings among all groups except the respondents with degree and those without formal education attainment. More than 80% of the respondents with primary and secondary education, as well as certificate and diploma holders now opined that it is important to protect historic buildings. Nevertheless, degree holders no longer hold protection to historic building as important as in the 2006 survey. It is interesting to note that all respondents under the category of 'other', which comprises of those with postgraduate degree or professional qualification, opined that it is important to protect the historic buildings. This could be due to their greater awareness of the benefits of heritage conservation. Based on the findings from the 2012 survey, the level of appreciation in historic buildings has increased across all the levels of education while the lack of education is still a barrier to the conservation of historic buildings.

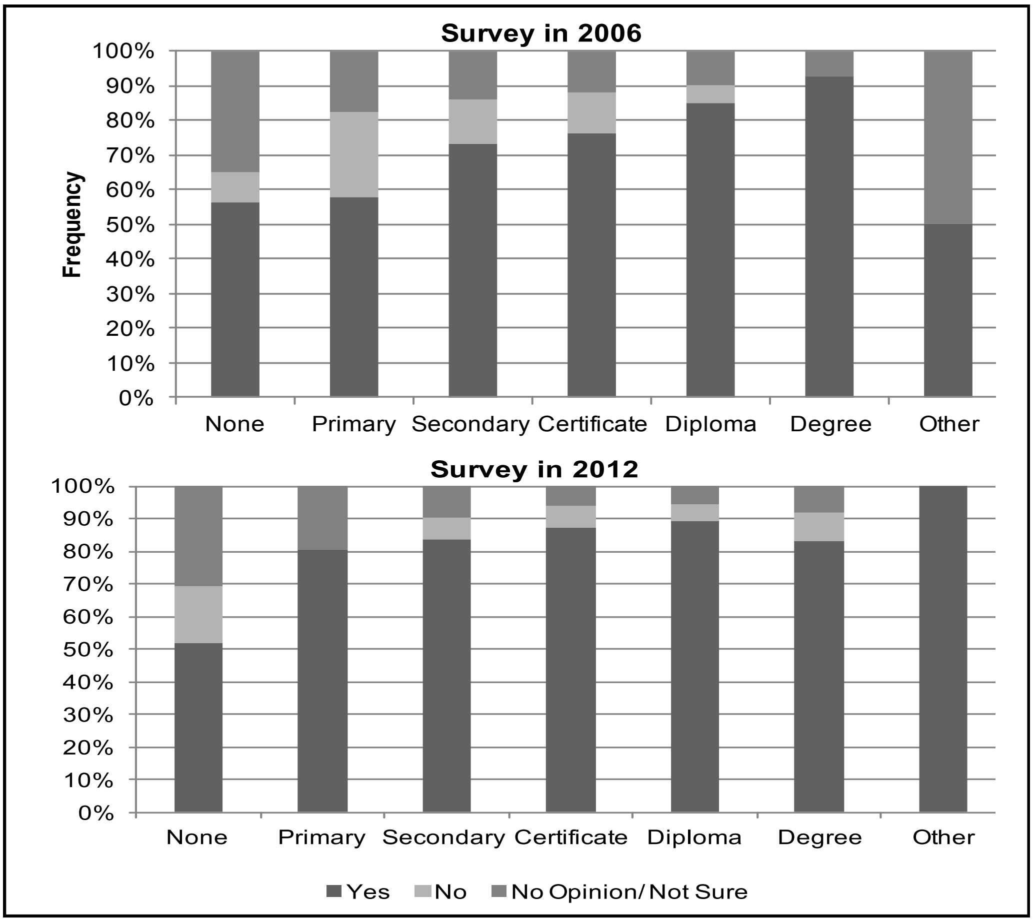

Fig. 5 – **Opinion about the Importance to Protect Historic Buildings, by Level of Education**
Source: Fieldwork surveys, 2006 & 2012

Willingness to Pay More for Heritage Properties

The study also attempted to find out the willingness to pay higher for historic buildings by the respondents. Referring to Figure 6, 40% of the respondents of the 2006 survey were willing to pay more for heritage properties while 45% were not. The 2012 survey showed that the percentage of the respondents that were willing to pay more has decreased slightly from 40% in 2006 to 37% in 2012. However, this did not translate into the market price for historic buildings as historic property prices has been increasing since 2006. As reported by Wong (2012) in The Star Online recently, the cost of buying a pre-World War II shophouse in George Town has now reached RM 2,000 per square foot which is equivalent to the price of the most luxury KLCC condominium units. Before the UNESCO listing in the year 2008, pre-war shophouses in Penang were generally about RM 200,000 to RM 800,000 depending on size and location. The contradictory findings from the survey in this subject revealed that typical local residents from the inner city of George Town do not share the same views with the local or international investors. They in fact value the heritage buildings differently, either simply due to their different preferences on the types of property or the lack of awareness and confidence on the potential economic value of the heritage buildings.

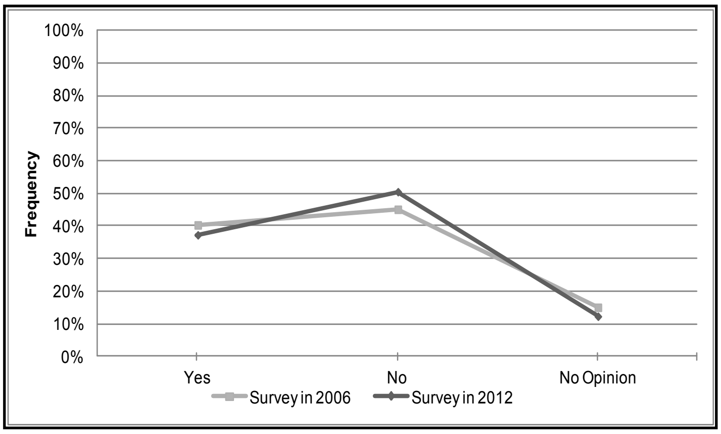

Fig. 6 **– Willingness to Pay More for Historic Buildings**
Source: Fieldwork surveys, 2006 & 2012

In addition, this study also compared the willingness to pay for heritage buildings between the tenants and owners. In 2006, more than half (55.8 %) of the tenants were willing to pay for heritage buildings if they were to buy a property in George Town. The amount was higher than the percentage of property owners (39.6%) who were willing to pay for heritage buildings (Tan and Fang 2007).

In the 2012 survey, as shown in Figure 7, the situation has reversed and now it is the owners (42%) who are more willing to pay more as compared to the tenants (35%). It seems that the increase in awareness and appreciation of historic buildings in the last six years has increased the willingness of owners to pay higher. This could also be due to the benefits that the owners may have received or anticipated to receive, such as grants from the government agency to conserve their properties.

Comparing the education level and willingness to pay, the 2012 survey found that the respondents with postgraduate and professional qualification (listed under 'Other') were most willing to pay more (50%) while those with secondary school qualification (35%) were at least willing to pay more followed closely by diploma holders (37%) as shown in the Figure 8 below. This finding suggested that those highly educated tend to be more confident to invest in heritage properties as they are well aware of the positive effects of UNESCO listing brought to the market value of heritage properties. Nevertheless, those without formal education registered the third highest percentage (43.5%) in willingness to pay more for a heritage building. The respondents without formal education were possibly the older generation who have spent most of their lifetime in a heritage house at the site. Their strong affection to the traditional and cultural elements of a heritage building makes them willing to pay more for it.

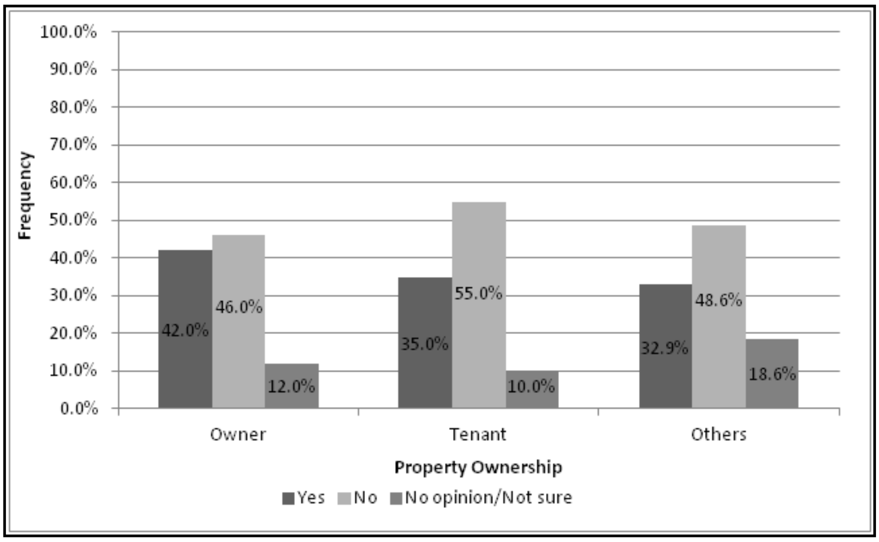

Fig. 7 – **Willingness to Pay More for Historic Buildings, by Property Ownership (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

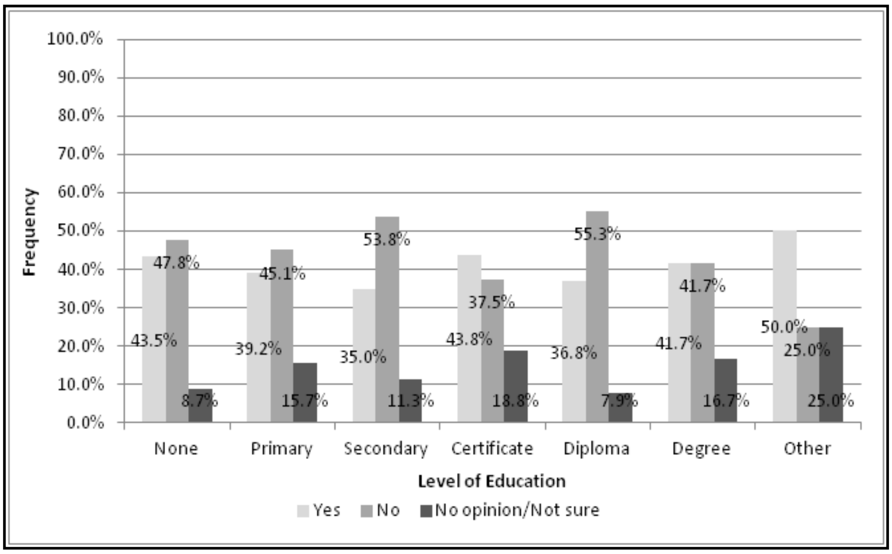

Fig. 8 – **Willingness to Pay More for Historic Buildings, by Level of Education (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

Preference between Heritage and Modern

To elicit the local residents' preference between a heritage city and a modern city, this study examined the respondents' preference to develop George Town into a modern city. Besides, the survey also enquired the respondents' preference in selecting the types of houses (heritage house or modern house). A person's preference for a heritage city does not necessarily translate into a similar preference to live in a heritage house. Likewise, it is not surprising to note that some people may be fond of a heritage house that is located in a modern city.

Heritage City versus Modern City

When being asked whether they wanted George Town to be developed into a modern city, the majority of the respondents (64%, 257) said "No" to a modern city whilst one third (34%, 137) stated that they preferred a modern urban environment (Fig. 9). Interestingly, this finding differed from the earlier study in 2006 where more than half (52%) of the respondents back then opted for a modern vertical city as opposed to less than half (45%) that preferred a historic town (Fig. 10). Arguably, the change in preference could be motivated by the inscription of George Town in the UNESCO Heritage List in 2008.

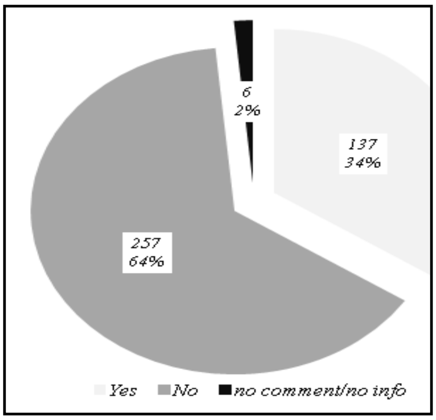

Fig. 9 – **Preference to Develop George Town into a Modern City (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

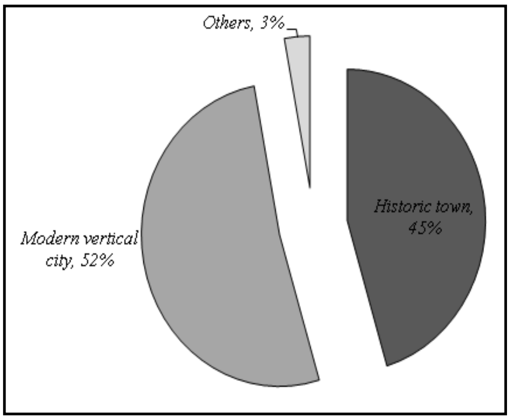

Fig. 10 – **Preferred City for Residency (2006)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2006

Based on the findings from the 2012 survey, generally, non-owners (i.e. tenants, others) preferred to develop George Town into a modern city compared to the owners themselves, as shown in Figure 11. This could be due to a strong sense of sentiment by the property owners to retain the status quo.

Age was also another critical factor that determined the preferences of the respondents. Both the surveys in 2006 and 2012 found that the younger generation preferred George Town to be developed into a modern city. In 2012, about 46% of those below 21-years-old favoured this idea. On the other hand, the older generation (> 70 years old) was less favourable of this idea. Only 12% of the people preferred a modern city.

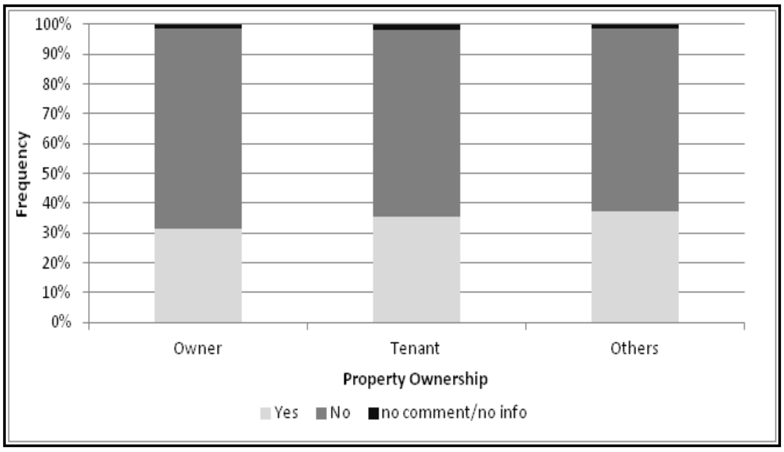

Fig. 11 **– Preference to Develop George Town into a Modern City, by Property Ownership (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

Heritage House versus Modern House

In the 2012 survey, when enquiring their preferences to live in a modern house or heritage house, it was found that more than half (54%) of the owners preferred heritage houses (Fig. 12). The situation was almost similar for the tenants while approximately 50% of them also opted for heritage houses. Amongst home owners, a tiny percentage (4%) expressed their preference for both types of houses. In fact, the findings showed an almost equal split between their respective preferences for home owners.

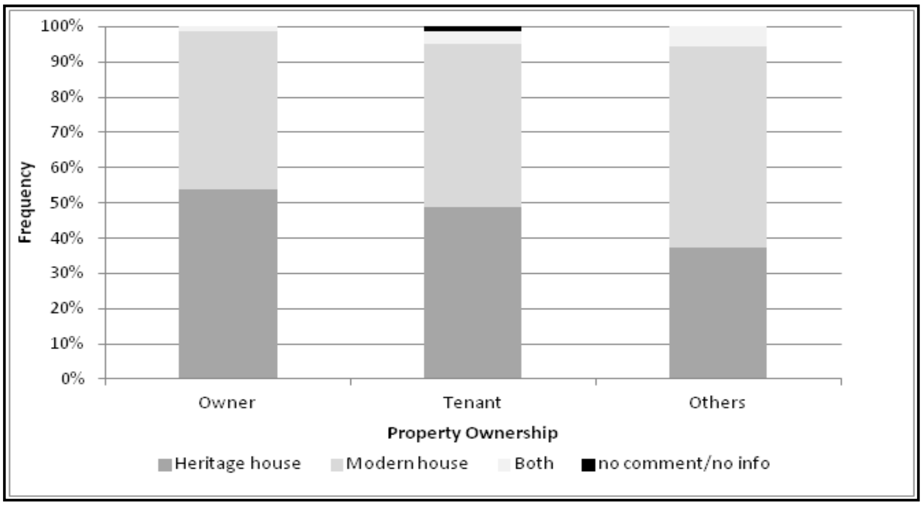

Fig. 12 **– Preference to Stay in Modern House or Heritage House, by Property Ownership (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

Further analysis revealed that the age factor influenced again the choice of the house a person chose to live. Again, both the 2006 and 2012 surveys recorded the same findings. It is clearly reflected that the younger generation was not very keen to live in heritage houses if compared to their older counterparts. In 2012, only slightly more than a quarter (29%) of those below 21-years-old preferred heritage houses. It is observable that the preference for heritage houses increased with a person's age. For instance, in the 51-60 age group, preference for heritage houses rose to 53% and the percentage continued to hike to almost 70% especially amongst those above 70 years of age. This could be due to the nostalgic sentiments that the older generation harbour towards their heritage houses. Educational attainment inadvertently also shaped a person's choice of house. Though the study in 2006 suggested that education could be the key to successful conservation efforts, however, an educated person's heritage and conservation knowledge and appreciation does not necessarily mean that they will choose to live in a heritage house. Like in 2012 survey, it is interesting to note that it was those respondents without any formal education (82%) that preferred heritage houses compared to their more educated counterparts. Less than one third (31%) of diploma holders opted for heritage houses and a slightly higher percentage of about 41% of degree holders preferred heritage houses (Fig. 13). The general picture depicted that those with higher education tend to prefer modern houses despite having more heritage knowledge and awareness.

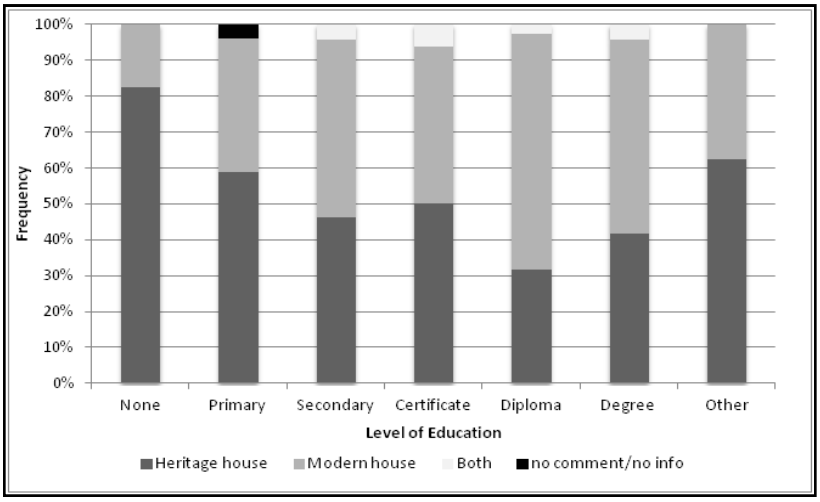

Fig. 13 **– Preference to Stay in a Modern House or Heritage House, by Level of Education (2012)**
Source: Fieldwork survey, 2012

Discussions

The above findings show that a higher education would increase the level of appreciation for heritage buildings but it does not translate into willingness to own and live in one. In George Town, its residents are mainly in the lower income group, as shown in the findings of this survey under the section on education level. These residents continue to stay put as they could not afford the expensive modern houses in the other parts of the island. However, as mentioned earlier in this paper, property prices have soared due to the demand from external investors and many owners are selling out as this is an opportunity for them to afford modern housing. In view of this, the people of Penang (the state which George Town is the capital) is now concerned that if the selling continues, one day the city of George Town may not belong to the people of Penang but to foreign investors. Currently, this is one of the challenges faced by the city of George Town. With the influx of foreign investors bringing in the new culture and lifestyle, would this ruin the intangible heritage which George Town is recognised for? Conservationists are foreseeing this and they are working hard to arrest the situation.

However, at the moment, there is no specific restriction by the local authority in curbing the purchase of heritage properties by foreign investors. Market forces prevail and owners are very much tempted to sell as it is now very profitable to do so. If the owners do not sell, they face problems in repairing and maintaining the property. The owners' main grouse is the lack of funds as heritage properties require maintainance and repairing constantly to upkeep the property to the standard required by the authority. The survey shows that 66% of the respondents mentioned that they lack funds to conserve and repair their properties (Table 3). This financial problem is compounded by the fact that the residents are from the lower income group and yet the cost of repairs are high due to specialised work and materials needed to maintain heritage houses.

Table 3

Issues Post Inscription

Immediate Issues/Problems	Yes	Yes (%)	No	No (%)	TOTAL
Lack of funds to conserve & repair property	**263**	65.8	137	34.3	400
Lack of funds to maintain property (after conservation)	**200**	50.0	200	50.0	400
Lack of technical knowledge to conserve & repair property	119	29.8	281	70.3	400
Lack of technical knowledge to maintain property (after conservation)	84	21.0	316	79.0	400
Lack of knowledge about which formal institution to approach & consult	78	19.5	322	80.5	400
Lack of heritage awareness	95	23.8	305	76.3	400
Unsure about what to do with heritage property after listing	60	15.0	340	85.0	400
Others	48	12.0	352	88.0	400

In terms of funding, the Malaysian Government has intervened through its conservation arm, Think City Sdn Bhd, to disburse subsidies to heritage home owners. An allocation of RM 20 million has been allotted by the Malaysian Government to subsidize conservation works. Private property owners can submit their conservation proposals and budgets for consideration by Think City. Amongst the criterion stipulated to evaluate the grants are as follows: 1) contribution to the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) stipulated in George Town's Special Area Plan (SAP); 2) contribution to a sustainable city and 3) improvement towards social and economic conditions. Generally, grants will be disbursed depending on the quantity of works, the proposed use of the building and the contribution to the aforementioned criterion of the OUV. Applicants will apply for this grant on a competitive basis.

The survey further shows that other than funding, the residents have no problem in seeking information on heritage and conservation of heritage buildings. This is in part due to the efforts of George Town World Heritage Incorporated, the body responsible for the management, monitoring and promotion of the city of George Town as a World Heritage Site, various pro-heritage non-government organisations (i.e. Penang Heritage Trust) and the news media in constantly creating awareness and technical support programmes to educate and assist the residents in the heritage areas.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the objective of revisiting the awareness of residents of George Town on issues of conservation has been met through the conducted survey. A comparison of the current findings with a similar survey conducted in 2008 provides insight into the perception of the residents regarding conservation four years after the inscription. The findings indicate that since the UNESCO listing in 2008, efforts in promoting heritage conservation in George Town have increased the awareness and appreciation of local residents especially amongst property owners. This could be due to the efforts (i.e. campaigns, incentives, conservation grants) initiated by the Government to create awareness of the importance of protecting and conserving heritage buildings. However, as this study revealed, some of the local residents are still not convinced with the economic returns/potentials of heritage properties as they refuse to pay more for a heritage property. Nonetheless, the older generation are found to be more willing to pay higher to own heritage properties given their sense of belonging and affection to the traditional and cultural elements of heritage buildings.

Besides that, the findings from this study clearly depicted that George Town's inscription into the UNESCO Heritage List has changed the local residents' preferences and awareness towards heritage conservation. More residents, especially property owners, prefer not to develop George Town into a modern city. A paradoxical situation has occurred whereby the younger generation tend to prefer modern city living and modern houses as opposed to the older generation who still prefer to remain in the historic city of George Town and dwell in heritage houses.

Though there are signs of increasing awareness and greater preferences towards heritage conservation by the local residents in this period after the UNESCO listing, nevertheless, more concerted efforts need to be undertaken by the various stakeholders to encourage more participation and foster inclusion within the local community, especially amongst the younger generation. Without doubt, the participation and awareness of the younger generation are of utmost importance and pivotal towards achieving sustainable urban conservation and development for George Town to remain as a historic city for posterity. As such, the management of the heritage site is not only just to preserve the old but also to encourage the young to embrace the traditional way of life as their own. In this respect, it is important that future research should focus on the perceptions of the young population and how they can be engaged in the conservation effort of the city of George Town.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to express their thanks and appreciation to Universiti Sains Malaysia for funding this study under the USM Research University Grant Ref: 1001/PSosial.816188 and special thanks to our research assistant, Ms Nicole Chang Shu Fun for her dedicated help. The authors are grateful to all the respondents and parties involved for their time, assistance and cooperation.

References

ADENIRAN A. J., AKINLABI F. J. (2011), *Perceptions on cultural significance and heritage conservation: A case study of Sussan Wenger's building, Osogbo, Nigeria*, African Journal of History and Culture 3 (5), 73-88.

ADLER E. S., CLARK R. (1999), *How It's Done: An Invitation to Social Research*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont.

ADRIAANSE C. C. M. (2007), *Measuring residential satisfaction: A residential environmental satisfaction scale (RESS)*, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 22, 287 -304.

ASSARI A., MAHESH T. M., EMTEHANI M. R., ASSARI E. (2011), *Comparative sustainability of bazaar in Iranian traditional cities: Case studies in Isfahan and Tabriz*, International Journal on Technical and Physical Problems of Engineering (IJTPE) 3 (9), 18-24.

ASSARI A., MAHESH T. M., ASSARI E. (2012), *Role of public participation in sustainability of historical city: Usage of TOPSIS method*, Indian Journal of Science and Technology 5 (3).

AZMAN N., ABDUL HALIM S., KOMOO I. (2010), *Public education in heritage conservation for Geopark community: A case for Langkawi global Geopark*, Procedia Social & Behavioral Sciences 7 (C), 504-511.

BOB U., SWART K. (2009), *Resident Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup Stadia Development in Cape Town*, Urban Forum 20, 47-59.

CARMONA M., HEATH T., OC T., TIESDELL S. (2003), *Public places-urban spaces, The Dimensions of Urban Design*, Architectural Press, Oxford.

CHETWYN D. J. (1999), *Constructive design intervention: The city of Stoke-on-Trent design strategy for the built environment*, Built Environment 25 (4), 356-370.

GRIMWADE G., CARTER B. (2000), *Managing small heritage sites with interpretation and community involvement*, International Journal of Heritage Studies 6 (1), 33-48.

HODGES A., WATSON S. (2000), *Community-based heritage management: A case study and agenda for research*, International Journal of Heritage Studies 6 (3), 231-243.

HOLLAND L. (2001), *Whose Heritage?*, Far Eastern Economic Review, Retrieved December 22, 2012, from http://pgoh13.free.fr/feer030501.html.

JIM C. Y., CHEN W. Y. (2006), *Urban Green Spaces in Guangzhou*, Environmental Management 38 (3), 338-349.

JUPP E., MUSGRAVE L., REEVE J., MASON M. (2002), *People and places: Social inclusion policy for the built and historic environment*, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, London.

KIM S. S., PETRICK J. F. (2005), *Residents' perceptions on impacts of the FIFA 2002 World Cup: The case of Seoul as host city*, Tourism Management 26 (1), 25-38.

LANTHIER E. (2002), *Questionnaire*, Retrieved October 3, 2012, from http://www.nvcc.edu/home/elanthier/methods/questionnaire.htm

LA FRENIERRE J. (2008), *Mapping heritage: A participatory technique for identifying tangible and intangible cultural heritage*, The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum 1 (1), 97-104.

LEE L. M., LIM Y. M., NOR'AINI Y. (2009), *Urban Conservation as a Real Estate Development Strategy for Revitalising the Inner City of George Town, Penang*, NAPREC, Kuala Lumpur.

LIM B. C. (2005), *My Penang. The Inside Guide to Where To Go and What To Eat*, Lim Bee Chin, Malaysia.

LIM Y. M., LEE L. M., NOR'AINI Y., TAN S. F. (2008), *Georgetown as a heritage city: The voices of residents*, Paper presented at 14th Pacific Rim Real Estate Society Conference, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

MACDONALD S. (2012), *Secondary cities are an untapped resource in Penang*, Penang Institute, Retrieved on 15 October 2014, from: http://penangmonthly.com/secondary-cities-are-an-untapped-resource/

MCINNIS T. (2001), *Pros and cons of establishing historic districts pondered in the Port*, York Country Coast Star, Retrieved on December 20, 2012 from http://www.seacoastonline.com/articles/20010905-NEWS-309059975?cid=sitesearch.

MIRE S. (2007), *Preserving knowledge, not objects: A Somali perspective for heritage management and archaeological research*, African Archaeological Review 24, 49-71.

MOSER C. A., KALTON G. (1979), *Survey methods in social investigation. 2nd Edition*, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., London.

NABWIRE B., NYABENGE M. (2006), *Community resource mapping in sustainable natural resource management: A case study of SW Uganda*, The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries 25 (4), 1-8.

PEERAPUN W. (2012), *Participatory planning in urban conservation and regeneration: A case study of Amphawa Community*, Procedia Social & Behavioral Sciences 36, 243-252.

POTTER R. B. (1985), *Urbanisation and planning in the 3rd world: Spatial perception and public participation*, Croom Helm, London.

SHAW K., PORTER L. (eds.) (2009), *Whose Urban Renaissance? An international comparison of urban regeneration strategies*, 1-7, Routledge, Oxon.

SIRISRISAK T. (2009), *Conservation of Bangkok old town*, Habitat International 33, 405-411.

SMITH L., MORGAN A., VAN DER MEER A. (2003), *Community-driven research in cultural heritage management: The Waanyi women's history project*, International Journal of Heritage Studies 9 (1), 65-80.

SPENNEMANN D. H. R. (1992), *World War II remains on Central Pacific Islands: Perceptions of heritage versus priorities of preservation*, Pac. Rev. 5 (3), 278-290.

SPENNEMANN D. H. R., HARRIS K. (1996), *Cultural heritage of Culcaim Shire: Some considerations for strategic planning*, Johnstone Centre of Parks, Recreation and Heritage Report 71, Charles Sturt University, Albury.

SPENNEMANN D. H. R., LOCKWOOD M., HARRIS K. (2001), *The eye of the professional vs. opinion of the community*, Cult. Resour. Manage. 24 (2), 16-18.

SPENNEMANN D. H. R. (2003), *Teacher and student perceptions of the cultural heritage of the CNMI: An empirical snap-shot*, Micronesian J. Humanities and Social Sciences 2 (1-2), 50-57.

STATE GOVERNMENT OF PENANG (2011), *Draft Special Area Plan. George Town. Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca*, State Government of Penang (ungazetted), Penang.

STEPHENSON J., BAUCHOP H., PETCHEY P. (2004), *Bannockburn heritage landscape study*, Department of Conservation, New Zealand, Retrieved on December 20, 2012, from http://csl.doc.govt.nz/Documents/science-and-technical/SfC244.pdf.

TAN S. F., FANG H. L. (2007), *Preference and Awareness on Urban Heritage in George Town. A Survey Report*, Research Project "Urban Conservation as a Real Estate Development Strategy for Revitalising the Inner City of George Town, Penang (Phase One)" for NAPREC, INSPEN, Unpublished Research Report.

THOMAS M. (2002), *Moving landscapes: National parks and the Vietnamese experience; studies in the cultural construction of open space*, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Sydney NSW.

TWYNAM G., JOHNSTON M. (2004), *Changes in host community reactions to a special sporting event*, Current Issues in Tourism 7(3), 242-261.

UNESCO (2008), *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage*

Convention, Retrieved on October 24, 2012, from http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf.

WONG J. (2012), *Skyrocketing shophouses*, The Star Online, Retrieved on December 11, 2012, from http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2012/3/21/metrobiz / 10824184 &sec=metrobiz

WATES N. (2002), *How people can shape their cities, towns and villages in any part of the world,* The Community Planning Handbook, Earthscan Publications Ltd., London.

Initial submission: 09.07.2014
Revised submission: 07.12.2014
Final acceptance: 15.12.2014

Correspondence: Department of Quantity Surveying, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 1800 Pulau Penang, Malaysia

Email: ymlim@usm.my

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 181 - 201

FINANCES AND GOVERNANCE OF URBAN LOCAL BODIES: AN APPROACH OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE FROM A DEVELOPING COUNTRY (INDIA)

Suman **PAUL**
Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal College, India

Abstract: With rapid urbanisation and the pressure on urban areas for service delivery, the role of urban local governments is undoubtedly becoming important and, here, their financial capacity can hold the key. At the same time, there are several issues in urban governance that need to be addressed yet. Delegation of decision making powers to urban local bodies (ULBs), which are traditionally considered as a part of the system of State government and acting on behalf of it, is one of them. The constitutional mechanisms like inter-governmental fiscal transfers were an attempt to reduce the gap of ULBs, but they were not effective in implementation at ground. It has become imperative now to understand the financial position of ULBs in order to move forward with the new means of fund flow. This paper presents a cross sectional analysis of the finance of 27 ULBs in North 24 Parganas District of West Bengal, India in terms of their financial base and its adequacy vis-à-vis norms, and their revenue and expenditure performance. Using certain ratios, the relative performance of municipalities on dependency measures was also assessed. The implications of finances of ULBs, in terms of raising resources, improving inter-governmental transfers and charting new mechanisms are also discussed. Lastly, an approach has been made to develop an index, i.e. Urban Governance Index (UGI) to a better understanding of the per-capita expenditure scenario of ULBs.

Key Words: *urban local bodies, municipal finance, inter-governmental transfers, revenue and expenditure, governance.*

Introduction

India has been experiencing a rapid growth of urban areas and an increasing level as well as pace of urbanisation in the last few decades (Tiwari 1997). Mohan and Dasgupta (2004, 2005) assert that that this led to the world looking at Asia and its two main pillars India and China with rather greater attention. The urban population has been growing at a rate of 30-40 per decade since after 1961, which is well above the rural population growth rate of 20 per cent. The level of urban population has also been increasing from a fairly stable level of 10 per cent of the total population at the beginning of the 20th Century to a current level of around 30 per cent. With increasing levels of population and its growth, the demand for urban civic infrastructure services also rises, which is expected to be catered through adequate supply of it. Yet, the performance of urban local governments are far from satisfactory – the production of these services is insufficient and inefficient, the service quality is very poor and the municipal organizations are not geared to delivering them in a professional manner.

Increasing level and pace of urbanisation calls for the gearing up of municipal service delivery on one hand, and the emergence of growth opportunities would require efficient supply of civic infrastructure – water supply, drainage, solid waste management (Srinivasan 2006), roads and street lights – on the other. As pointed out by Government of India (Rakeshmohan Committee), infrastructural investments are very large in a rapidly growing country like India. Besides the delivery efficiency, the supply of civic infrastructure is dependent, to a good extent, on the amount of financial resources available for undertaking various development projects of civic infrastructure services. Here, municipal finances hold an important key to the production and delivery of these civic infrastructure services.

Municipal finances hold the key to the overall status and progress of service delivery in the right direction. Poor finances of municipality result into poor basic services and they result of low capital investment. In this fashion low credibility of municipality took place and poor revenue collection efficiency lead the personnel for corruption and the lack of innovation in resource mobilization. This vicious cycle (Fig. 1) leads to poor delivery and low quality of services, which will hamper the growth potential of the urban local bodies. It is well evident from literature that there is a significant pressure on the amenities and services in urban centres and yet the city finances are woefully inadequate in terms of meeting the pressure. Bahl and Linn (1992) discuss it in an analytical context and Mathur and Thakur (2004) show it empirically. The quantum of financial resources available to several urban local bodies is less than what is required for the delivery of core urban civic services, which are defined under respective municipal legislations. The result is the lack of incompatibility between the investment requirements of civic infrastructure for economic growth and the pool of the resources available for expenditure on various municipal services.

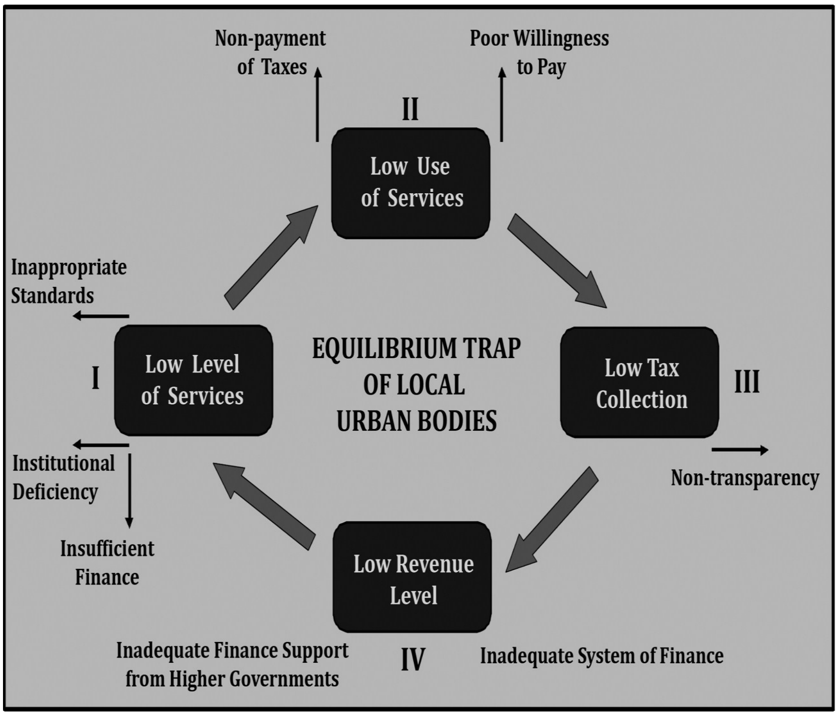

Fig. 1 – **Financial Equilibrium Trap of Local Urban Governance System**

In this context, it is useful to take a stock of the finances of urban local governments and analyse their performance on the set measures to get hold of where they are heading and how well they measure. At the same time, the lack of adequate resources, which affects the municipal performances, can be on account of several reasons – poor tax base and levy, incomplete exploitation of user charges and low amount of transfers from upper tiers of government. Incomplete decentralization (Rondinelli et al. 1989, Arora 2002, Bahl 2002) both in finances and functions can also result in imbalance of resources vis-à-vis functions (Shah 1994). Insufficient spending could also occur on account of resource crunch, organization structure and systemic problems, over-staffing and inadequacy of appropriate manpower. The resource gap would make the municipal bodies resort to borrowings, which needs to be backed up by user charges. Jha (2002) examined it in the context of rural local bodies where Mathur and Thakur (2004)) did it in an urban context. There were few isolated attempts e.g. Pethe and Lalvani (2006), Bagchi and Chattopadhyay (2004), but they are limited either in their scope or in their approach.

The following basic objectives have been taken to pursue the present research work:

- to analyse the income-expenditure performance of the urban local bodies of North 24 Parganas district,
- to find out the nature of revenue generation and the degree of dependency of urban local bodies of North 24 Parganas district, and
- finally, to assess the governance condition of ULBs on the basis of Urban Governance Index (UGI).

Study Area

The district of North 24 Parganas in West Bengal (Fig. 2) extends from latitude 22º 11' 06" north to 23º 15' 02" north and from longitude 88º 20' east to 89º 05' east. It is bordered by Nadia in the north, Bangladesh (Khulna Division) in north and east, South 24 Parganas and Kolkata to the south and Kolkata, Howrah and Hooghly to the west. Barasat is the district headquarters of North 24 Parganas district. North 24 Parganas is the most populous district in West Bengal. It is also the tenth-largest district in the State by area and the second-most populated district in the country, after Thane district of Maharashtra (Census of India 2011). 27 Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) i.e. municipalities are taken for the study.

Materials and Methods

The analysis of municipal finances looks first at the current financial status of municipal bodies in providing civic amenities, which is carried out in terms of current spending vis-à-vis the standard norm. The revenue and expenditure sides of municipal finances are then analysed in terms of the growth and their normalized indicators are used to benchmark the cities. The performance is also measured through relative ranking/grading of the municipalities in the cross section in terms of absolute figures and their growth. Although, the debt/borrowed funds can play an important role, it is not examined here as only a few of them have actually gone to market and made borrowings. Therefore debt sustainability of the local urban bodies is not looked upon in this study.

Revenue-Expenditure Scenario

The per capita revenue and expenditure are compared with growth in total receipts and expenditures to see whether there are any inherent constraints in the provision of services by the urban local bodies. This need to be further extended by identifying constrains of the local bodies in meeting the norms of service provision in the revenue source, non-tax and transfers.

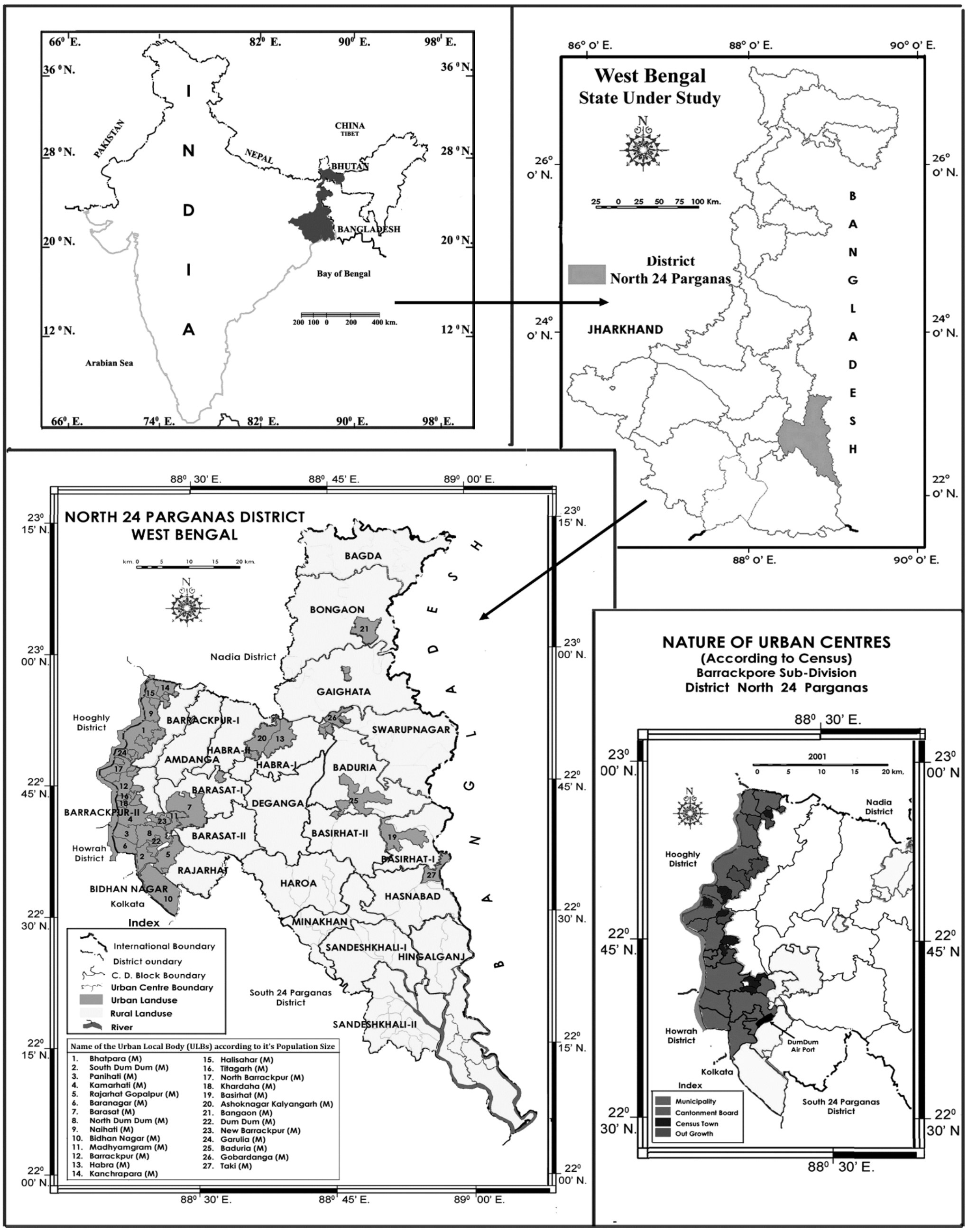

Fig. 2 – **The district of North 24 Parganas in West Bengal**

Revenue Performance

The ability of a local body to generate revenue depends upon an array of factors: (I) the level of economic activity in the region; (II) fiscal powers delegated to the local government; (III) tax efforts of municipal governments itself; and (IV) transfers out of the sharable pool of revenue by the state government to local government (Rao and Das-Gupta 1995). The revenue performance of the municipality can be gauged by computing the following two groups of indicators:

Group I	Group II
Growth of per capita revenue	Grants / Total Income (Dependency Ratio)
Growth of total revenue receipts	
Composition of tax and non-tax revenue	

The rise and fall in the first group of indicators would indicate either the rise/fall of fiscal powers delegated to local government or the improvement/deterioration in the tax effort or administration of local government. Movement in second group of ratio, on the other hand, would reveal the trend in the level of dependency.

Urban Governance Index (UGI)

The level of expenditure is, to some extent, reflective of the level of services rendered by an urban local body. While the trend in per capita expenditure would provide the first approximation of the level of service rendered by a municipal government, a further segregation is needed to assess the quality of service deliberation. Urban local bodies are expected to render a minimum level of services to the citizens in order to ensure the provision of a minimum standard of living to the citizens. The performances of local urban bodies on this aspect are gauged by comparing their levels of revenue expenditure on water supply, roads, sewerage, street lightning etc. To assess the governance of the urban local bodies, the Urban Governance Index (UGI) was developed (UN-HABITAT 2006). The stages through which the performance of urban local bodies (ULBs) can be measured are shown by the flow chart (Fig. 3).

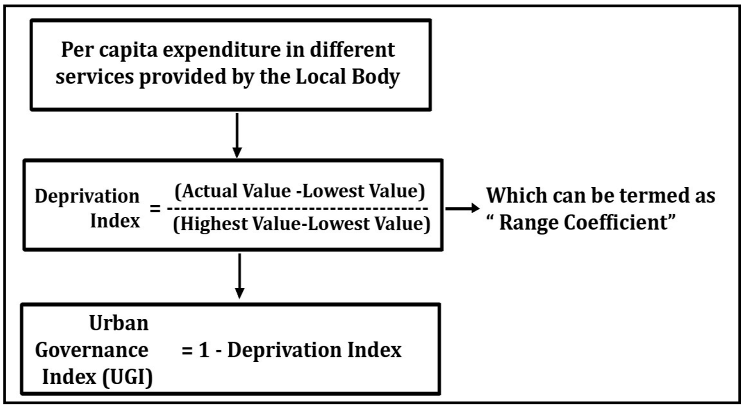

Fig. 3 **– Formulation stages of the Urban Governance Index (UGI)**

Results and Discussion

Urban Local Bodies (ULB's), as institutions of local government, are constitutes of the third tier that play an important role in the local economic development; these bodies have a sizeable proportion of overall public financial resources but they are nevertheless subject to the scrutiny in terms of physical and financial performance. Normally, an analysis of municipal finance begins with taking stock of their revenue and expenditure in terms of the composition, trends and balance. Here, 27 urban local bodies (Municipalities) of North 24 Parganas district have been selected to analyse the finances and to get an understanding of how well they are organised in meeting their functions. The analysis of municipal finances is made and presented thereafter successively in terms of the identified parameters and their measures.

Income and Expenditure Performance of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)

Urban local bodies are expected to provide certain minimum levels of services to the citizens. However, the availability of civic amenities in an urban centre is directly influenced by: a) per capita income and expenditure and b) growth of income and expenditure. Here, an attempt has been made to gaze the performance of urban local bodies.

a) Per Capita Income and Expenditure

The per capita income and expenditure of an urban local body (ULB) are important parameters that determine the availability of civic services and, thereby, the municipal performance, so that it is interesting to observe the relative performance of ULBs within the group on these parameters (Fig. 4a, Fig. 4b).

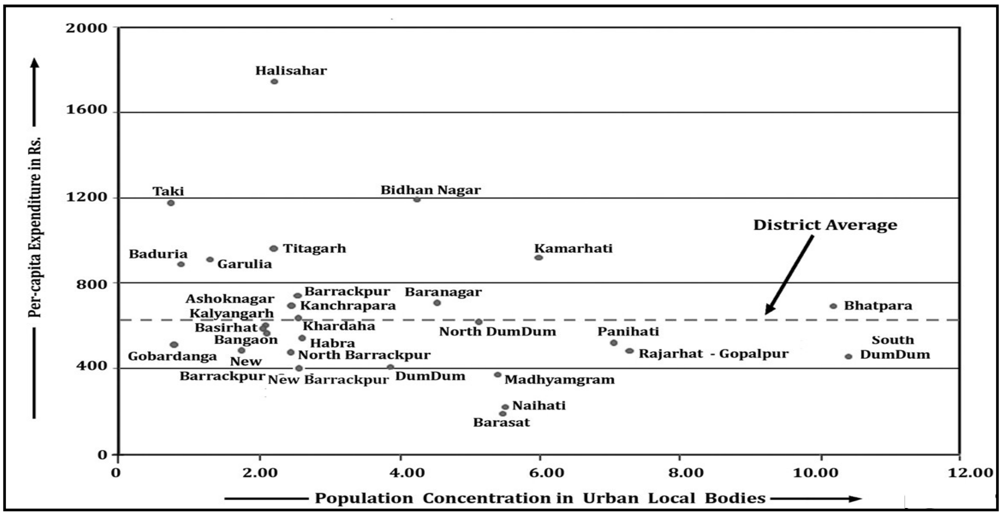

Fig. 4 a – **Per capita income of Local Urban Bodies (ULBs) of North 24 Parganas district during 2007-2008** (Source: Table 1)

It is evident that Halisahar, Bidhan Nagar, Taki, Panihati, Titagarh, Garulia and Baduria lie well above the district average (Table 1). Halisahar, Bidhan Nagar, Taki are Panihati have fared very well in terms of per capita revenue generation and expenditure while Barasat, Naihati, It is evident that Halisahar, Bidhan Nagar, Taki, Panihati, Titagarh, Garulia and Baduria lie well above the district average (Table 1). Halisahar, Bidhan Nagar, Taki are Panihati have fared very well in terms of per capita revenue generation and expenditure while Barasat, Naihati, Madhyamgram, Rajarhat-Gopalpur, dumdum, South DumDum, Barrackpur are lying at the bottom part and below the district level. Halisahar, Bidhan Nagar and Taki have consistently performed well on both the parameters. Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh, Baduria and Bongaon are under the anomaly with a high per capita expenditure relative to the per capita revenue generation, suggesting not a very healthy status.

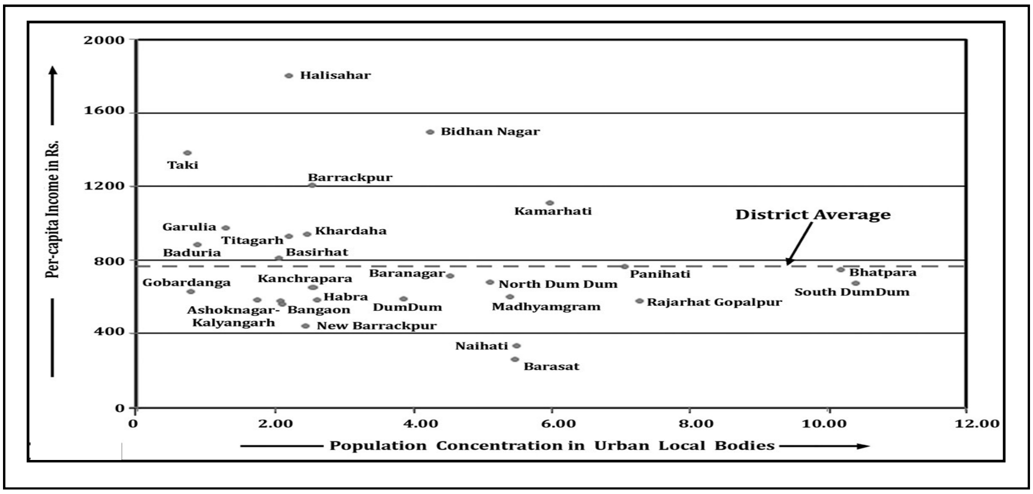

Fig. 4 b – **Per capita expenditure of Local Urban Bodies (ULBs) of North 24 Parganas district during 2007-2008** (Source: Table 1)

Table 1

Per capita Income and per capita expenditure of Urban Local Bodies, District North 24 Parganas, 2007 – 2008

Urban Centres	Per capita (in Rs.)		Urban Centres	Per capita (in Rs.)	
	Income	Expendi-ture		Income	Expendi-ture
Ashoknagar Kalyangarh	602.75	577.78	Kamarhati	921.06	1111.45
Baduria	888.55	884.73	Kanchrapara	636.92	648.17
Bongaon	566.48	558.69	Khardaha	694.99	940.98
Baranagar	708.83	710.22	Madhyamgram	371.74	599.72
Barasat	189.89	259.52	Naihati	221.27	330.92
Barrackpur	743.81	1207.66	New Barrackpur	485.25	584.91
Basirhat	588.36	809.89	North Barrackpur	477.04	441.54
Bhatpara	692.10	746.33	North DumDum	619.37	677.93
Bidhan Nagar	1194.58	1494.29	Panihati	521.71	765.93
DumDum	407.99	588.35	Rajarhat -Gopalpur	484.53	579.00
Garulia	910.58	974.84	South DumDum	456.75	671.87
Gobardanga	512.58	628.07	Taki	1177.21	1379.07
Habra	544.23	580.41	Titagarh	963.25	929.79
Halisahar	1745.77	1800.83	**District**	**633.37**	**769.18**

Source: Computed by the author based on Municipal Statistics, Govt. of West Bengal, 2007-2008

The Local Government Budgets and Expenditure Review highlighted the fact that municipalities faced a range of challenges arising from the high levels of economic growth and urbanisation that characterised the period 2007-2008. These challenges remain: the increased demand for economic infrastructure, ageing assets that require upgrading, rehabilitation or replacement, and changes in the location and nature of poverty. However, the economic and fiscal context to address these challenges has changed. Due to the recession, municipal revenues are growing slowly; which makes it all the more important to ensure that spending is prioritized appropriately, and the implementation is effective and efficient. Good governance is critical in this regard. While there are many examples of councillors and municipal managers striving to provide effective leadership and making progress with strengthening governance, there are instances where serious governance shortcomings remain. The systems that are under greatest pressure are procurement, billing and revenue collection, staff appointments and the planning and zoning functions.

Good level of per capita income is essential by the ULB's for the provisions of core (basic) services. In the absence of strong income from internal sources, the poorly performing ULB's have to augment their revenue by improving levy and collection of taxes and to utilise new taxes to strengthen the same, some of which were already analysed. At the same time, it is also necessary to ensure that the per capita expenditure is also high but it should also ensure that most of the spending goes into productive assets.

b) Growth of Income and Expenditure

Apart from the levels of income and expenditure, for a progressive urban local body, it is also essential to sustain performance by showing good growth. The categorisation of ULB's has been made on the basis of growth to determine which of them are growing first on both parameters. Therefore, the average growth rates of total income and expenditure were calculated for all the 27 ULBs from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008 (Fig. 5a, Fig. 5b).

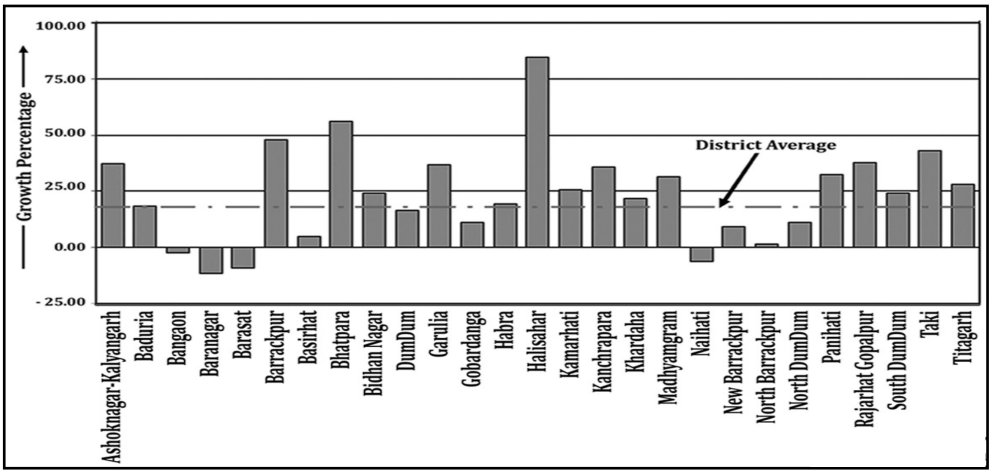

Fig. 5 a **– Income growth rate of Local Urban Bodies (ULBs) of North 24 Parganas district from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008** (Source: Table 2)

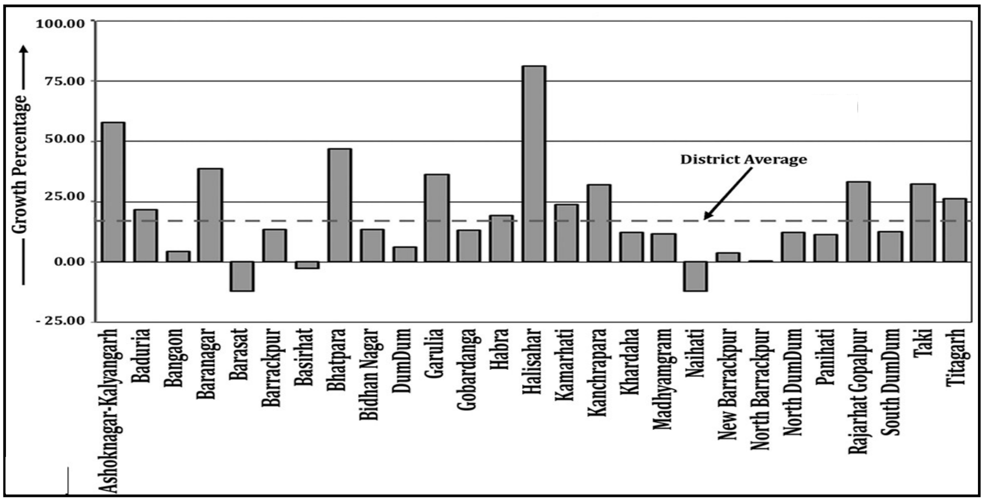

Fig. 5 b – **Expenditure growth rate of Local Urban Bodies (ULBs) of North 24 Parganas district from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008** (Source: Table 2)

Table 2

Growth Rate of per capita income, expenditure and difference of Urban Local Bodies, District North 24 Parganas from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008

Urban Centres	Growth Percentage of			Urban Centres	Growth Percentage of		
	In-come	Expendi-ture	Diffe-rence		In-come	Expendi-ture	Diffe-rence
Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh	37.01	57.93	-20.92	Kamarhati	25.39	23.75	1.64
Baduria	18.41	21.73	-3.32	Kanchrapara	35.92	31.98	3.94
Bongaon	-2.23	4.51	-50.41	Khardaha	21.55	12.42	9.13
Baranagar	-11.64	38.77	2.81	Madhyamgram	31.41	11.63	19.78
Barasat	-9.11	-11.92	33.99	Naihati	-6.49	-12.01	5.52
Barrackpur	47.63	13.64	7.13	New Barrackpur	9.31	3.67	5.64
Basirhat	4.62	-2.51	8.73	North Barrackpur	1.38	0.40	0.98
Bhatpara	55.83	47.10	10.32	North DumDum	10.87	12.28	-1.41
Bidhan Nagar	23.89	13.57	-6.74	Panihati	32.44	11.32	21.12
DumDum	16.32	6.16	10.16	Rajarhat Gopalpur	37.77	33.15	4.62
Garulia	36.66	36.23	0.43	South DumDum	24.33	12.57	11.76
Gobardanga	11.08	13.28	-2.2	Taki	42.80	32.38	10.42
Habra	19.52	19.29	0.23	Titagarh	27.94	26.31	1.63
Halisahar	84.53	81.28	3.25	District	17.98	16.57	1.41

Source: Computed by the author based on Appendix Table 1.1 and 1.2.

Most of the urban local bodies have an income and expenditure growth in range of 80 to -11 per cent during this period (2004-2005 to 2007-2008). It is evident that Barrackpur, Panihati Madhyamgram, South DumDum, Taki, Bidhan Nagar and DumDum (Table 2) have a good growth difference between income and expenditure growth of above 10 per cent (Barrackpur has nearly 34 per cent difference between income and expenditure growth). Barasat and Naihati shown an unhealthy pattern – decline on both parameters (i.e. income growth and expenditure growth), whereas Baranagar and Bongaon are anomalies among the ULBs with respect to negative income growth with high positive expenditure growth.

Revenue Performance of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)

The revenue generation of ULBs can be observed in terms of: a) growth of tax revenue, b) growth of total (tax as well as non-tax) revenue, c) composition of tax and non-tax income and d) transfer ratio of grants from different sources (dependency). In this portion, the analysis provides how each of the urban local body has fared on each of the above parameters in the group.

a) Growth of Tax Revenue

Good growth of tax revenue is an important indicator which reflects the strength of a ULB to undertake service provisioning responsibilities. The performance of each ULBs in terms of average growth of tax revenue receipts of the municipalities from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008 was find out. It is evident that most of the municipalities have not fared well with an average growth of tax in respect to district status (4.52 Per cent). Only Kanchrapara and Panihati shown an increase of more than 100 per cent which is a very important picture for the rest of the municipalities. Nearly 50 (13 ULBs out of 27) per cent of ULBs have shown negative growth in tax receipts which is a serious matter of concern. South DumDum, Barrackpur, Garulia, Gobardanga, Kamarhati, Naihati, North Barrackpur and Taki have shown a growth of tax receipts in between 5 to 10 per cent (except South DumDum – 44.42 per cent).

Since some of the municipalities have shown a very low tax revenue growth and most of them shown a decline trend, it is imperative that the municipalities take a comprehensive evaluation of their tax revenues sources, levy methods and collection efficiency. The municipalities have to strive to perform well on all these counts in order to provide a sustained financial performance and improved service delivery.

b) Growth of Revenue Receipts

The growth of total revenue is an indication of healthy state of finances of ULBs. Nearly 30 per cent (8 out of 27 ULBs) of the ULBs have, however, shown below district growth of revenue receipts (which is 7.13 per cent for the district), suggesting the decline of non-tax revenue and/ or non-plan grants in the overall growth of revenue receipts (Fig. 6). Only Gobardanga, Kanchrapara and Panihati have shown a good growth of revenue receipts. Baduria, Bongaon, Baranagar, Halisahar and Naihati have shown a declining trend of revenue receipts, which might be related to either their inability to rise their own tax revenue and/or to their receiving lesser and lesser grants.

The reasons for the poor revenue receipts of certain municipalities need to be explored further. While higher dependence on grants is not recommended, a declining share of grants to the municipalities, if found to be the case, warrants reconciliation of grant system (particularly, revenue grants) in tune with the raising gaps in local finances (due to the rise of population, economic growth and responsibilities). However, the municipalities have to augment their revenues by resorting to all means such as: I) improving the tax revenue, particularly the property tax, through better levy methods and collection procedures, II) enhancing the tax base through proper assessments, III) revising tax rates in tune with rise of property value/local economic development and financial requirements of civic bodies. The essentiality means that the municipalities need to be on the reform and innovation path for sustained performance.

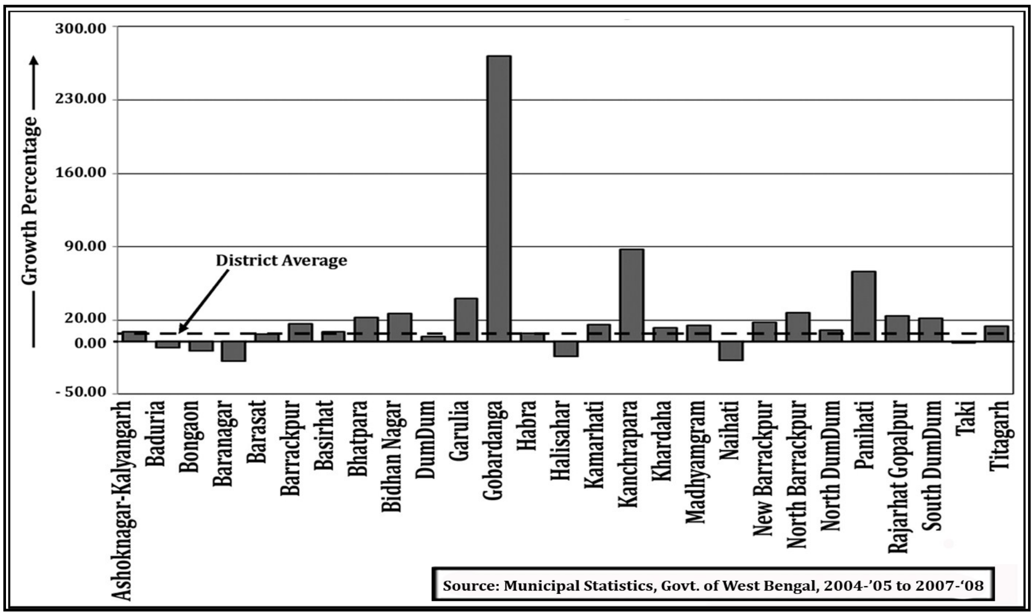

Fig. 6 – **Growth percentages of tax and no-tax revenues of Local Urban Bodies (ULBs) of North 24 Parganas district from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008**

The reasons for the poor revenue receipts of certain municipalities need to be explored further. While higher dependence on grants is not recommended, a declining share of grants to the municipalities, if found to be the case, warrants reconciliation of grant system (particularly, revenue grants) in tune with the raising gaps in local finances (due to the rise of population, economic growth and responsibilities). However, the municipalities have to augment their revenues by resorting to all means such as: I) improving the tax revenue, particularly the property tax, through better levy methods and collection procedures, II) enhancing the tax base through proper assessments, III) revising tax rates in tune with rise of property value/local economic development and financial requirements of civic bodies. The essentiality means that the municipalities need to be on the reform and innovation path for sustained performance.

c) Composition of Tax and Non-tax Revenue

Achieving a good proportion of own tax revenue to total revenue receipts is one way of establishing creditworthiness, and a greater share of tax revenue is desirable as it is a reliable revenue source. A proportion of more than 50 per cent is considered to be good and more than 70 per cent is considered to be favourable from the viewpoint of creditworthiness (Bahl and Linn 1992). Though there are no provisions, a normative proportion of tax and non-tax revenue at 40-30 per cent and 30-20 per cent of the total revenue could be considered as attainable by the municipalities (Nallathiga 2008).

The composition of the revenues of the top five municipalities (Table 3) on each of the respective parameters indicates that property tax, profession and entertainment tax have a proportion of 27 per cent of the revenue whereas they represent nearly 4 per cent for the bottom 5 municipalities. The municipalities must strive to improve their tax share, particularly the property tax, by improving their revenue mobilisation.

Table 3

Composition of Revenues of Municipalities of North 24 Parganas (2007-2008)

Share of the component in the total Revenue Receipts	Top 5 Municipalities (average composition)	Bottom 5 Municipalities (average composition)
Own Taxes (Property tax, Profession and Entertainment tax)	27.12%	37.68%
Non-tax revenue (User Charge and Fees)	3.96%	1.84%

Source: Computed by the author based on Appendix Table 1.3.

d) Dependency

The dependency measure is the proportion of total grants in aid in total expenditure. Table 4 and Figure 7 provide the measure of all municipalities on this parameter. Municipalities like Halisahar, Basirhat, Taki, Naihati, Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh, Baduria, Habra and Khardaha demonstrate a high dependency (above 80 per cent of income) on grants/external support, which reflects their weak base of their own revenues. The cause of such high dependency needs a detailed study, but it appears that they have been insufficient in mobilizing tax revenues while they lack the buoyant tax sources. They need to exploit the main sources of municipal revenue – property tax – and start making the levy of few other taxes like vacant land tax (Hong 1996, Deng 2005). Bidhan Nagar, Gobardanga and South DumDum show a low dependency rate (below 40 per cent of income) on the support of grants to meet their expenditures.

Table 4

Categorisation of Municipalities as per Dependency Ratio (2007-2008)

Parameter	Municipalities	Top 3 Municipalities
Above 60 Per cent of Income (High dependency)	Halisahar, Basirhat, Taki, Naihati, Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh, Baduria, Bongaon, Habra, Khardaha, Bhatpara, DumDum, Barrackpur, Garulia	Halisahar, Basirhat, Taki
40 – 60 Per cent of Income (Moderate dependency)	Baranagar, Panihati, Madhyamgram, North DumDum, Kanchrapara, Rajarhat-Gopalpur, North Barrackpur, Barasat, New Barrackpur, Kamarhati, Titagarh	Baranagar, Panihati, Madhyamgram
Below 40 Per cent of Income (Low dependency)	Gobardanga, Bidhan Nagar, South DumDum	Gobardanga, Bidhan Nagar, South DumDum

Source: Computed by the author based on Appendix Table 1.4.

High degree of dependency makes the states to rely on the state governments to some extent in sharing the revenues, particularly in the absence of well-established sharing formulas and strict adherence made to them by the State government. Therefore, complete devolution of tax resources should be done by the corresponding States in order to make the municipalities more independent, as emphasized in the 74th Constitutional amendment.

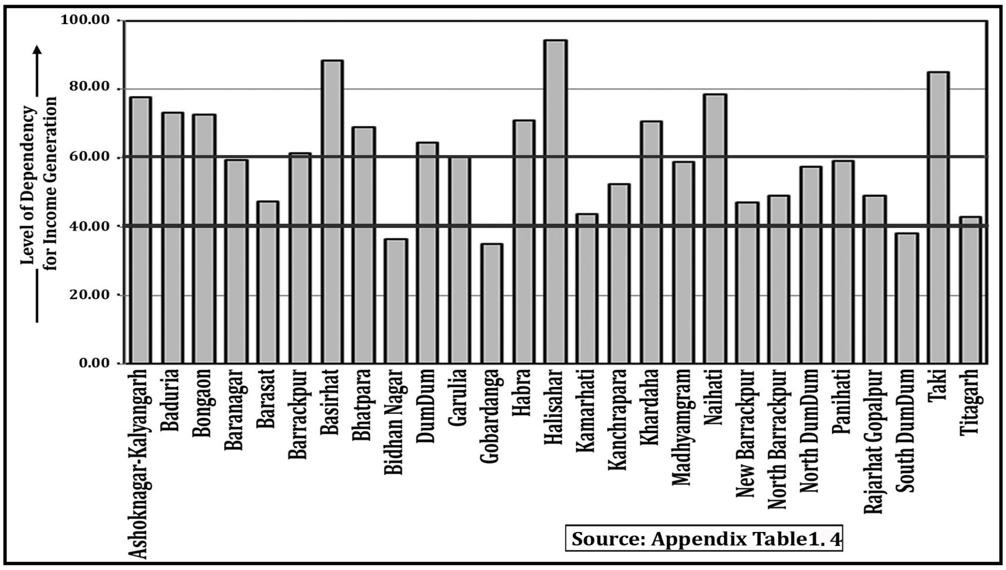

Fig. 7 – **Level of Dependency of Local Urban Bodies (ULBs) of North 24 Parganas District, 2007-2008**

Urban Governance Index

Measuring the service levels of civic agencies implies measuring the outcomes, and it indirectly reflects also on the institutional capacity, the financial performance and other parameters. Service level parameters can be measured either from a utility manager's/planner's perspective or from a citizen's or consumer's perspective. In addition, to facilitate the comparison between cities/service delivery jurisdictions, and changes in performance over time, it is important that the performance levels are benchmarked, and monitored against those benchmarks.

Service level performance parameters have been identified for nine basic urban services given by the ULBs:

- General establishment and collection charges,
- Public safety and street lightning,
- Supply of drinking water,
- Waste disposal, drainage and sewerage,
- Conservancy,
- Medical and Vaccination,
- Public works department,
- Educational infrastructure and
- Miscellaneous purposes.

These parameters have been defined primarily from a utility manager's/planner's perspective. In other words, the parameters highlight the performance as it would be monitored by the leadership/management of the ULBs or other civic agencies. These performance measurements will need to be carried out by the service delivery agencies themselves, reported to higher levels of management and also disseminated widely. Clear definitions and methodologies are expected to eliminate the bias in measurement and reporting.

Urban governance index (UGI) is a multi-dimensional concept and each of these dimensions is measured by different units. As it is difficult to analyse development with respect to all these dimensions, researchers prefer to aggregate them into a composite index to find out the overall status of a municipality. Keeping all these in mind, the study applies the Deprivation Index (Iji) and the Urban Governance Index (UGI) which is a weight free index. Levels of deprivation at each municipality and parameters leading to the deprivation have been examined using the deprivation method. In the deprivation method, Deprivation Index (Iji) is constructed in three following steps:

- The first step is to define a measure of the deprivation from which a municipality suffers in each parameter. But before that, the total expenditure in different items by the municipalities was converted into a free scale by dividing it with 1,000,000 people.

- Then for the calculation of the deprivation index, the second step is to find out the range coefficient of the values and the result will be positioned between 0 and 1. Here, 1 denotes the highest level of deprivation and 0 denotes the lowest level of deprivation.

$$\text{Deprivation Index} = \frac{(\text{Actual Value} - \text{Lowest Value})}{(\text{Highest Value} - \text{Lowest Value})}$$

After having the value of Deprivation Index for each parameter, the Average Deprivation Index has been extracted. Then the value of the Average Deprivation Index subtracted from 1 was used to find out the value of the Urban Governance Index (Table 5, Fig. 8). The high value indicates better performance and vice-versa. The resulted values have been categorized into four groups:

- Municipality having a High UGI Index (an UGI value of > 0.75): Baranagar, Bidhan Nagar, Halisahar, Kanchrapara.
- Municipality having a Moderate UGI Index (the UGI value ranges from 0.5 to 0.75): Garulia, New Barrackpur.
- Municipality having a Low UGI Index (the UGI value ranges from 0.25 to 0.5): Naihati, Habra, Kamarhati, Titagarh, Baduria, Barrackpur, Rajarhat-Gopalpur, South DumDum, Panihati, Barasat, DumDum, Khardaha, Ashoknagar, Basirhat, north DumDum, North Barrackpur.
- Municipality having a Very Low UGI Index (the UGI value of < 0.25): Madhyamgram, Bhatpara, Taki, Bongaon and Gobardanga.

Table 5

Deprivation Index and Urban Governance Index of the Municipalities of North 24 Parganas District, 2010

Urban Centres	Deprivation Index (Iji)									Total Deprivation Index (Iji)	Average Deprivation Index (∑ Iji / 9)	Urban Governance Index (1-∑ Iji/9)
	General Establishment and Collection	Lighting	Water Supply	Drainage	Conservancy	Medical & Vaccination	Public Works	Education	Others			
Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh	0.86	0.72	0.47	0.86	0.75	0.54	0.62	0.44	0.85	**6.11**	**0.68**	**0.324**
Baduria	1.00	0.72	0.85	0.24	0.99	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.63	**5.32**	**0.59**	**0.409**
Bongaon	0.86	0.76	0.93	0.98	0.80	0.99	0.83	0.28	0.76	**7.17**	**0.80**	**0.206**
Baranagar	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.03	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.87	**2.53**	**0.28**	**0.833**
Barasat	0.96	0.68	0.73	0.51	0.00	0.98	0.94	0.00	0.99	**5.78**	**0.64**	**0.359**
Barrackpur	0.20	0.93	0.28	0.83	0.95	0.26	0.39	0.66	0.96	**5.45**	**0.61**	**0.397**
Basirhat	0.88	0.74	0.66	0.85	0.86	0.61	0.92	0.00	0.75	**6.26**	**0.70**	**0.307**
Bhatpara	0.61	1.00	0.63	0.98	1.00	0.99	0.87	0.00	0.70	**6.78**	**0.75**	**0.250**
Bidhan Nagar	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.03	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	0.36	**2.62**	**0.29**	**0.823**
DumDum	0.56	0.00	0.91	0.86	0.00	0.71	0.82	0.98	1.00	**5.84**	**0.65**	**0.354**
Garulia	0.75	0.58	0.00	0.59	0.18	0.00	0.82	0.31	0.80	**4.03**	**0.45**	**0.554**
Gobardanga	0.77	0.90	0.95	0.88	0.99	0.66	0.91	0.96	0.78	**7.79**	**0.87**	**0.137**
Habra	0.58	0.73	0.60	1.03	0.00	0.80	0.43	0.55	0.94	**5.65**	**0.63**	**0.486**
Halisahar	0.36	0.00	0.00	1.03	0.00	0.00	0.81	0.48	0.00	**2.68**	**0.30**	**0.816**
Kamarhati	0.85	0.75	0.50	0.00	0.53	0.75	0.42	0.62	0.70	**5.13**	**0.57**	**0.430**
Kanchrapara	0.15	0.00	0.00	1.03	0.00	0.00	0.93	0.00	0.82	**2.93**	**0.33**	**0.789**
Khardaha	0.55	0.66	0.51	0.97	0.38	0.61	0.23	1.00	0.95	**5.85**	**0.65**	**0.352**
Madhyamgram	0.99	0.68	0.48	0.74	0.81	0.53	0.74	0.86	0.94	**6.77**	**0.75**	**0.250**
Naihati	0.68	0.85	0.00	1.03	0.00	0.00	0.99	1.00	0.97	**5.53**	**0.61**	**0.500**
New Barrackpur	0.62	0.81	0.92	0.80	0.00	0.00	0.34	0.00	0.94	**4.44**	**0.49**	**0.508**
North Barrackpur	0.29	0.68	0.57	1.00	0.67	0.61	1.00	0.93	0.96	**6.72**	**0.75**	**0.256**
North DumDum	0.95	0.69	0.52	0.70	0.74	0.67	0.40	0.78	0.84	**6.29**	**0.70**	**0.304**
Panihati	0.72	0.80	0.32	0.56	0.40	0.61	0.58	0.72	1.00	**5.71**	**0.63**	**0.367**
Rajarhat Gopalpur	0.92	0.74	0.67	0.24	0.76	0.36	0.53	0.39	0.94	**5.55**	**0.62**	**0.384**
South DumDum	0.78	0.68	0.67	0.45	0.58	0.81	0.49	0.28	0.94	**5.69**	**0.63**	**0.369**
Taki	0.97	0.81	0.91	1.01	0.91	0.82	0.00	0.69	0.96	**7.08**	**0.79**	**0.217**
Titagarh	0.75	0.47	0.76	0.70	0.38	0.01	0.89	0.68	0.62	**5.26**	**0.58**	**0.417**

Source: Computed by the author based on Municipal Statistics of West Bengal, 2007-2008

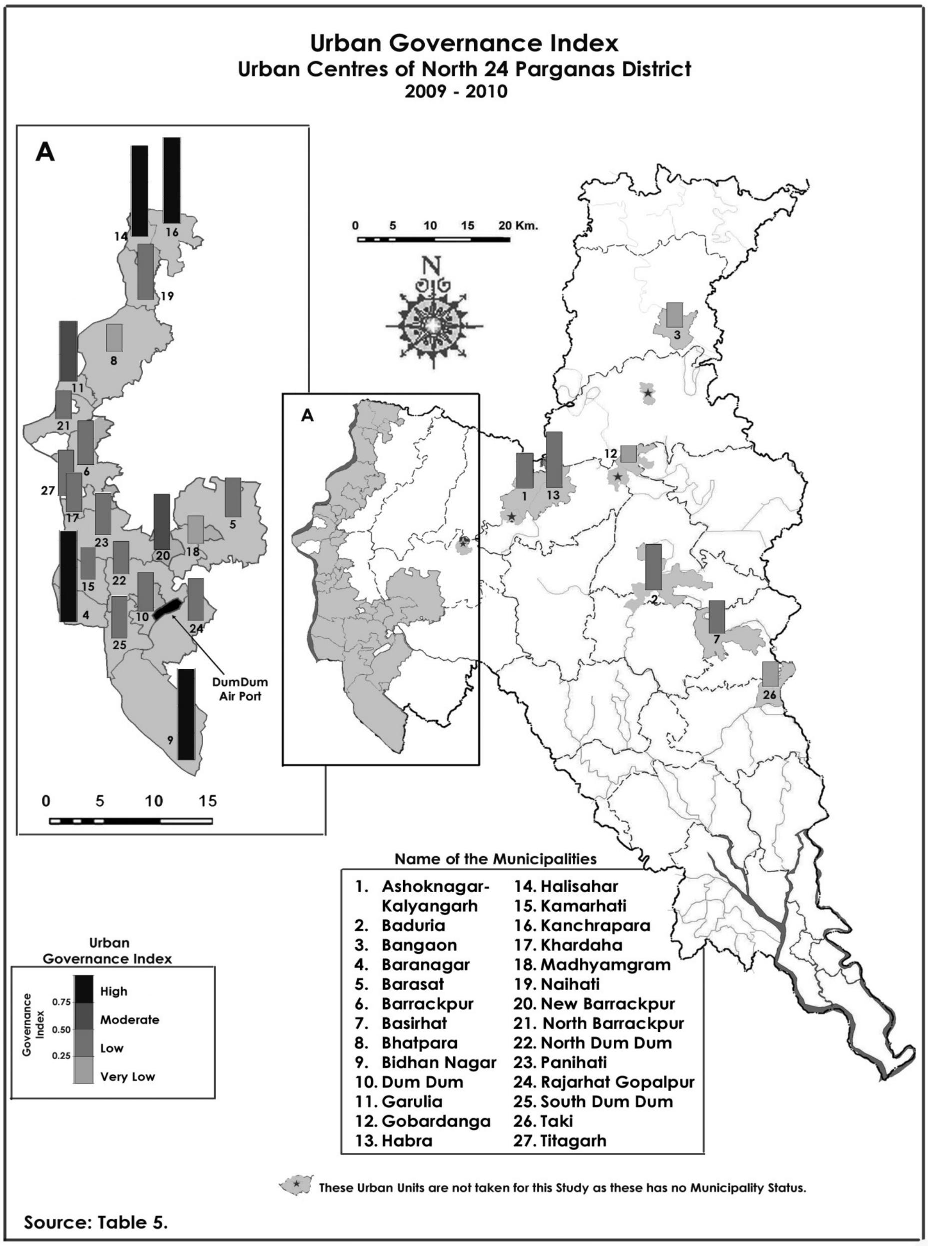

Fig. 8 – **Urban Governance Index of the Urban Local Bodies**

Conclusion

The analysis of municipal finances reveals that most of the ULBs are generating small revenue surplus with low resources gaps. More than that, they are spending lower than required for providing a minimum level of civic amenities. This apparent contradiction is on account of some of the design issues of inter-governmental system under which the ULBs are not independent in functioning and decision making. There are also regional disparities in financial performances. Municipalities belonging to eastern part of the district (i.e. Taki, Baduria, Basirhat, Bongaon Habra etc.) fare worse as compared to those belonging to Barrackpore Sub-division (i.e. South DumDum, Bhatpara, Panihati, Kamarhati, Khardaha, DumDum etc.). The design of inter-governmental transfers (Bird and Smart 2002) may attempt to address it partly. But, there is scope for improving own performance by improving tax collection and raising user charges in the ULBs, which also paves the way for public-private-partnerships (PPP Model) and accessing market funds (Chattopadhyay 2006) for financing their projects.

The level of ULBs expenditure for the urban services (Polese et al. 2002) of the area need to be increased substantially if deficiencies in the exiting level of services provided are not to be eliminated. This should be made possible through the new mechanism of inter-governmental transfers. Without such mechanism, resource flow of huge magnitude required by the local governments in a developing country like India would not be feasible. At present, the local municipal governments are not able to play the expected level due to the lack of their clear mandate and competencies in the constitution or local laws. As the potentials for higher mobilisation of resources in urban areas are increasing, fiscal powers of local governments should be strengthened (Weingast 2009). Serious attempts should be made at the highest level to reduce this distortion by the way of: I) increased taxation powers of the local government; II) delegation of fiscal power to the local government to have considerable discretion to set their own level of local taxes and user charges; III) defining distinct tax domain to be imposed at the local level to increase the local revenue source base; IV) rationalization and broadening of shared taxes and grants from higher levels of government and V) formulation of inter-governmental transfers from the centre and state governments through the planning commission.

References

ARORA G. K. (2002), *Globalization, Federalism and Decentralization — Implications for India*, Bookwell, New Delhi.

BAGCHI S., CHATTOPADHYAY S. (2004), *Decentralized Urban Governance in India*, Economic and Political Weekly 39 (49), 5253-5260.

BAHL R., LINN J. F. (1992), *Urban Public finances in Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press, New York.

BAHL R. (2002), *Implementable Rules of Fiscal decentralization*, in GOVINDA R. M. (Ed.), Development, Poverty and Fiscal Policy, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 253-277.

BIRD R. M., SMART M. (2002), *Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfers: Lessons from International Experience*, World Development 30 (6), 899-912.

CENSUS OF INDIA (2011), *District Census Handbook*, West Bengal Series, North 24 Parganas District.

CHATTOPADHYAY S. (2006), *Municipal Bond Market for Financial Urban Infrastructure*, Economic and Political Weekly 41 (26).

DENG F. (2005), *Public land leasing and the changing roles of local government in Urban China*, Annals of Regional Science 39 (2), 353-373.

HONG Y.-H. (1996), *Can Leasing Public Land Be An Alternative Source of Local Public Finance?*, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Working Paper WP96YH2. http://66.223.94.76/pubs/

dl/145_hong96web.pdf, Retrieved on April 30, 2008.
JHA S. (2002), *Strengthening Local Governments – Rural fiscal Decentralisation in India*, Economic and Political Weekly 87 (26), 2611-2623.
MATHUR O. P., THAKUR S. (2004), *India's Municipal Sector: A Study for the Twelfth Finance Commission*, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi.
MOHAN R., DASGUPTA S. (2004), *Urban Development in India in the Twenty First Century: Policies for accelerating Urban Growth*, Fifth annual Conference on Indian Economic Policy Reforms at Stanford Centre for International Development, June 4-5.
MOHAN R., DASGUPTA S. (2005), *The 21st Century: Asia Becomes Urban*, Economic and Political Weekly 40 (3).
MUNICIPAL STATISTICS OF WEST BENGAL – 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007 and 2007-2008, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Government of West Bengal, Kolkata.
NALLATHIGA R. (2008), *Trends and Perspectives of Urban Public finances in select Countries and India*, ICFAI Journal of Urban Policy 3 (1), 16-32.
PETHE A., LAVANI M. (2006), *Towards Economic Empowerment of Urban Local Bodies in Maharasthra*, Economic and Political Weekly, 41 (7).
POLESE M., ECHEVERRIA P., FREIRE M. (2002), *The Missing Link. Connecting Cities with Macroeconomic Concerns: The Impact of Urban Services on Productivity*, Presented at the Urban Research Symposium, The World Bank, Washington DC.
RAO M. G., DAS-GUPTA A. (1995), *Intergovernmental Transfers and Poverty Alleviation*, Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 13 (1), 1-23.
RONDINELLI D., MCCULLOCH J. S., JOHNSON R. W. (1989), *Analyzing decentralization policies in developing countries: The case for cautious optimism*, Development and Change 20 (1), 57-87.
SHAH A. (1994), *The Reform of Inter-governmental Fiscal Relations in Developing and Emerging Market Economics*, World Bank, Washington DC.
SRINIVASAN K. (2006), *Public, private and Voluntary Agencies in Solid Waste Management: A Study of Chennai City*, Economic and Political Weekly 41 (22).
TIWARI V. K. (1997), *Urbanization in India: Patterns and Perspectives*, Urban India 17 (1-2).
UN-HABITAT (2006), The Global Campaign on Urban Governance. Urban Governance Index, http://ww2.unhabitat.org/campaigns/governance/activities_6.asp.
WEINGAST B. R. (2009), *Second generation fiscal federalism: The implications of fiscal incentives*, Journal of Urban Economics 65 (3), 279-293.

Appendix

Table 1.1

Income Growth Rate of Municipalities of North 24 Parganas, from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008

ULBs	Figure in Lakh Rupees		Growth Rate in %	ULBs	Figure in Lakh Rupees		Growth Rate in %
	2004-2005	2007-2008			2004-2005	2007-2008	
Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh	295.92	733.99	37.01	Kamarhati	2012.83	4056.9	25.39
Baduria	271.02	470.64	18.41	Kanchrapa-ra	414.06	1008.94	35.92
Bongaon	786.85	716.63	-2.23	Khardaha	757.16	1409.78	21.55
Baranagar	3678.26	1966	-11.64	Mad-hyamgram	876.07	1976.65	31.41
Barasat	1364.29	866.93	-9.11	Naihati	1501.74	1111.62	-6.49
Barrackpur	645.32	1874.78	47.63	New Barrackpur	451.58	619.75	9.31
Basirhat	854.18	1012.03	4.62	North Barrackpur	624.21	658.69	1.38
Bhatpara	1435.29	4640.81	55.83	North DumDum	1476.73	2119.09	10.87
Bidhan Nagar	1979.16	4087.38	26.63	Panihati	1435.94	3299.28	32.44
DumDum	838.54	1386.05	16.32	Rajarhat Gopalpur	1024.31	2572.03	37.77
Garulia	312.4	770.55	36.66	South DumDum	2160.8	4263.87	24.33
Gobardanga	206.92	298.66	11.08	Taki	228.35	619.24	42.80
Habra	518.18	922.7	19.52	Titagarh	588.95	1247.19	27.94
Halisahar	554.1	2427.72	84.53	District Total	27293.16	47137.9	18.18

Source: Computed by the author based on Municipal Statistics, Govt. of West Bengal, 2004-2005 to 2007-2008

Table 1.2

Expenditure Growth Rate of Municipalities of North 24 Parganas, from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008

ULBs	Figure in Lakh Rupees		Growth Rate in %	ULBs	Figure in Lakh Rupees		Growth Rate in %
	2004-2005	2007-2008			2004-2005	2007-2008	
Ashoknagar -Kalyangarh	230.84	765.7	57.93	Kamarhati	113.9	991.43	192.61
Baduria	252.89	472.67	21.73	Kanchrapara	695.71	1041.24	12.42
Bongaon	615.65	726.62	4.51	Khardaha	836.29	1225.22	11.63
Baranagar	769.95	1962.15	38.71	Mad-hyamgram	237.23	500.04	27.70
Barasat	1212.03	634.33	-11.92	Naihati	448.42	514.16	3.67
Barrackpur	747.15	1154.69	13.64	New Barrackpur	700.4	711.66	0.40
Basirhat	817.09	735.21	-2.51	North Barrackpur	1298.44	1936.04	12.28
Bhatpara	506.86	1040.83	26.34	North DumDum	1546.71	2247.29	11.32
Bidhan Nagar	2005.72	3094.24	13.57	Panihati	925.34	2152.4	33.15
DumDum	771.19	961.15	6.16	Rajarhat Gopalpur	1928.93	2898.64	12.57
Garulia	436.12	394.24	-2.40	South DumDum	230.32	528.6	32.38
Gobar-danga	159.17	243.74	13.28	Taki	629.5	1292.08	26.31
Habra	488.38	865.18	19.29	Titagarh	27293.16	46921.08	17.98
Halisahar	107.17	2353.49	524.01	District Total	27293.16	47137.9	18.18

Source: Computed by the author based on Municipal Statistics, Govt. of West Bengal, 2004-2005 to 2007-2008

Table 1.3

Composition of Revenues of Municipalities of North 24 Parganas (2007-2008)

Urban Local Bodies	Revenues (Percentage) collected from		Urban Local Bodies	Revenues (Percentage) collected from	
	Tax	Non-tax		Tax	Non-tax
Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh	6.33	11.49	Halisahar	3.30	2.36
Baduria	2.45	1.40	Kamarhati	15.94	5.25
Bongaon	17.38	1.58	Kanchrapara	28.48	12.69
Baranagar	19.24	19.28	Khardaha	10.37	13.28
Barasat	19.55	16.17	Madhyamgram	6.51	22.25
Barrackpur	11.31	17.80	Naihati	13.37	0.90
Basirhat	5.10	4.99	New Barrackpur	9.32	43.75
Bhatpara	7.91	11.77	North Barrackpur	23.08	20.95
Bidhan Nagar	7.18	49.10	North DumDum	12.36	13.90
DumDum	22.86	9.15	Panihati	28.58	6.43
Garulia	7.95	21.42	Rajarhat Gopalpur	15.82	17.18
Gobardanga	5.67	51.92	South DumDum	32.61	19.20
Habra	4.91	18.91	Taki	4.10	2.97

Source: Computed by the author based on Municipal Statistics of West Bengal, 2007-2008

Table 1.4

Dependency Ratio (2007-2008) in Respect of Grants Allocated to ULBs

ULBs	Percentage of Grant in Aid to Total Income	ULBs	Percentage of Grant in Aid to Total Income	ULBs	Percentage of Grant in Aid to Total Income
Gobardanga	34.91	Kanchrapara	52.47	Khardaha	70.76
Bidhan Nagar	36.22	North DumDum	57.50	Habra	70.86
South DumDum	37.89	Madhyamgram	58.78	Bongaon	72.76
Titagarh	42.70	Panihati	59.10	Baduria	73.14
Kamarhati	43.59	Baranagar	59.47	Ashoknagar-Kalyangarh	77.66
New Barrackpur	46.93	Garulia	60.37	Naihati	78.46
Barasat	47.45	Barrackpur	61.27	Taki	84.96
North Barrackpur	48.88	DumDum	64.38	Basirhat	88.40
Rajarhat Gopalpur	48.93	Bhatpara	69.06	Halisahar	94.34

Source: Computed by the author based on Municipal Statistics of West Bengal, 2007-2008

Initial submission: 28.11.2012
Revised submission: 09.12.2014
Final acceptance: 15.12.2014

Correspondence: Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal College, Cooch Behar, West Bengal, 736101, India

Email: suman.krish.2007@gmail.com

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 203 - 218

ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREATER BAKU

Vusat **AFANDIYEV**[1], *Zakir* **EMINOV**[2], *Saleh* **NAGIYEV**[1]
[1]Baku State University, Azerbaijan
[2]Institute of Geography, National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan

Abstract: Globally, the responsible factors for the ongoing development of urbanization are the high speed of population growth, and the mass migration of humans to cities and large urban areas. In most countries, this process resulted in the emergence of 'pseudo-urbanization' which is difficult to be regulated. The purpose of the carried researches to determine the development priorities in the territory of Greater Baku – the capital city of the Republic of Azerbaijan; to define the problems that take place in this connection; and to develop ways of elimination of these problems. The reason of taking Baku as a research area is connected with some of the factors. Firstly, studies on Baku have been conducted based on the Soviet geographical and urban planning school and their methods for a long period. In this regard, it is necessary to carry out research in this field based on the principles adopted in most countries. Secondly, since 1992, the intensive accumulation of population in the territory of the capital city and the surrounding areas is being observed because of socio-economic problems. As a result, the process of pseudo-urbanization intensified, entailing a densely-populated area. Thirdly, low-rise buildings still continue to exist in the large areas within the territory of Baku, and they are not associated with the functional structure of the city. This situation creates many challenges, particularly in terms of density growth and effective use of the city's territory. Finally, numerous new buildings have been constructed in the residential areas of Baku in recent years, and this may entail serious problems in water supply, energy provision, and utilities. The study is carried out referring to previous works of researchers, statistic data, and the results of the population census conducted in 1959-2009.The practical significance of the scientific work is that positive and negative factors affecting the further development of Greater Baku are defined together with showing the optimal ways of development.

Key Words: *city, settlement, district, urbanization, agglomeration of Baku, Greater Baku.*

Introduction

Development and growth of the population number of cities intensify the speed of urbanization. The regulation of socioeconomic and demographic development of large cities, efficient land use in core and surrounding areas, the distribution of cities as separate functional zones, protection of the ecological balance, solutions to problems of employment and housing conditions, improvement of socio-cultural services are typical issues targeted in most large cities. However, it is increasingly difficult to solve these problems in the context of high population growth rate, strengthening the socio-economic base and with the enlargement of the cities' territory. In the same time, more and more countries and regions in the world are facing such situation. Therefore, many studies globally deal with the large cities, looking at the scientific and theoretical foundations of their development management as well as at the corresponding practical measures.

The second half of the twentieth century is a period of high population growth rate. Since gaining independence, most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries have had success in reaching socio-economic stability, and improvement of health care and social services compared to previous years. This positively affected the demographic conditions in these countries. High natural increase in the rural population has been taking place besides with socioeconomic problems faced by the villagers. As a result, mass migration of the population from rural areas to cities has been observed, and the urban population has grown rapidly in these countries. In the middle of the twentieth century, the yearly growth of the population has arrived to 40-50 million people (United Nations 1985), whereas it is of 85-90 million today (Demographic indicators 2013). The high population growth was followed by wide studies carried out by researchers since the middle of the 20th century, on cities from the United States (Vance 1971, Berry and Gillard 1977, Palm 1981), France (Bozhe-Garnye and Shabo 1967), Great Britain (Dickinson 1962, Kholl 1993, Taylor 1993) and other countries. These studies were devoted to the regulation of the urban population distribution, to urban planning, and to the demographic overloading of capital cities (Chatel 2011). Providing social security is increasingly becoming a serious problem in most of the European large cities (Stilwell 2010). These problems are characteristic also for the U.S. (Yang et al. 2012), and Canada (Xu 2011, Fong and Shen 2011).

In most cities of the developing countries, the high natural increase of the population leads to an increase in number of the urban population. The world's population, including the urban population of the planet, is growing mainly due to these countries. In this connection, the geographical expansion of cities, and the demographic development regulation are among the chiefly studied topics (Ferreira and Marques 2006, Müller-Mahn and Abdelghani 2006, Tallet and Valette 2010).

The shown urbanization problems were typical also for Eastern Europe and the CIS countries during the transition period. Important research on cities, the management of urbanization, the development problems in the transition period etc. were conducted in Russia (Khorev 1975, Maergoyz 1987, Pivovarov 1994, Lappo 1997, Pertsik 2009) and Poland (Flaga 2010, Grabkowska 2011).

The management of the urbanization development has its specific problems in the United States, Western Europe and Australia, and these issues are still of research interest (Wilczynski and Wilczynski 2011, Pacione 2009). The studied problems include the regulation of the relations between cities and their surroundings, population ageing, intensification of external migrations, increase of ethnic diversity, adaptation of migrants to place of destination, and the relations between the immigrants and the indigenous population (Catney and Simpson 2010, Xu 2011, Fong and Shen 2011), social conditions and job supply, keeping the ecological balance. Some studies are devoted to the territorial enlargement of cities and its impact on the growth of economy efficiency (Gardiner et al. 2011).

As many regions and countries are at different stages of socioeconomic and demographic development, the problems of cities are regionally different. On the other hand, there are many common ways to solve the problems that may be practiced by most of them. Therefore, the results as well as the theoretical and methodological bases of the carried studies can be practically applied in many countries along with the needed measures to solve the cities' problems. In this regard, these studies can be taken into consideration and used to solve the problems of Greater Baku.

In the cities of the U.S., Canada, Western Europe and other developed regions, the population growth rate is lower. From this point of view, the management of urbanization and the measures of urban planning are essential to be taken into consideration. It is necessary to displace many financial centres, enterprises and facilities as well as buildings of secondary and tertiary sectors with large territories out to the suburb areas in order to benefit more effectively from the inner areas of the cities, and to prevent the unnecessary territorial enlargement of cities. These objects may be relocated to other regions, if needed. Overgrowth of cities impedes their management, increasing the requirements for water, land, energy and heat (Yang et al. 2012). In some developed countries, the studies are devoted to the development of medium-size cities because of the challenges related to high urbanization, and the need of great financial amounts to manage the megalopolises (Korpi et al. 2011).

Study area

Baku is the biggest capital and port city in the Caspian Sea with its large population, social, economic, cultural and scientific potential. In 2012, the population of Azerbaijan was about 9235.1 thousand persons, of which 52.9% (4888.7 thousand) were dwellers of cities. Greater Baku covers 2130 sq. km of area. Taking into consideration the neighbouring settlements, the population of the city is about 2122.3 thousand people. 1194.8 thousand persons, or 56.9% of the population, are concentrated in the core city, and 927.5 thousand people are dwellers of the suburban settlements. 23% of the total population of Azerbaijan and 43.4% of the urban population of the country live in Baku (Azərbaycanın əhalisi 2012). Sumgayit city, the territorial unit of Absheron, Khirdalan city and 11 other settlements are included into the Baku agglomeration as well.

The high-speed development of Greater Baku led to the emergence of numerous problems in the last 20 years. Banished from Armenia, tens of thousands people have been settled in the territory of Greater Baku in the 90s. Besides this, the high growth and migration of the rural population have been responsible for the gradual enlargement of the territory of Baku. As a result of the enlargement of residential areas both in Baku and in the surroundings, the urban settlement as well as the cities of Khirdalan and Sumgait physically merged with Baku. This situation led to the irrational use of lands which could be destined for rest and green areas, or the development of agriculture. Urban-type settlements have been created as transition ones in order to convert villages into cities during the Soviet period. Since the 30s of the twentieth century, many small clusters near Baku city enlarged and they were given the status of ‘urban-type settlement’ due to the rapid development of the petroleum industry. The conversion of villages into urban-type settlements as well as the emergence of new settlements was observed also in other regions of Azerbaijan in relation to the use of natural resources, and the creation of industrial and agricultural facilities (Əfəndiyev 2002). At the present, many settlements, of which most dwellers are not engaged in farming, are classified as urban-type settlements. About 70 such settlements are situated around Greater Baku.

Chaotic development of settlements and unregulated territorial enlargement of Baku resulted in the arising of ‘pseudo-urbanization’. As a result of this process, the great agglomeration was formed and it is difficult to be regulated. In the meantime, overconcentration of population and economic areas in the territory of Greater Baku is negatively affecting its economic and demographic potential, and the development of other regions in Azerbaijan.

The development of petroleum industry in Absheron area is particularly mentionable here. Thus, the exploitation of the oil and gas reserves of the Caspian Sea since 1994, the creation and development of numerous foreign companies in the petroleum industry, the involvement of large portions of foreign investments and manpower into Baku resulted in the high development of this territory. Therefore, the development of the non-oil sector in the regions is necessary in order to reduce the great difference between Baku and other regions.

In addition to the significant expansion of Greater Baku, it is also notable that many old, low-rise and unfit areas, in term of living, encompass large territories within the core city. New buildings are being constructed in inside green areas or in places with old buildings, industrial, service and trade facilities that pulled down in recent years. Great challenges are faced concerning the maintenance of habitation because of the expensiveness of the construction works, or when funding is managed at the expense of state budget. It also should be noted that the prices for lands both within the territory of Baku and its surroundings increased in recent years. Rules of urban planning are not observed in the central parts of the city where buildings were constructed in 20-80s of the twentieth century, and the situation continues to exist along with the new buildings. In the meantime, the overgrowth of automobiles and population number in recent years is responsible for the city's overloading with vehicles and public transport, causing jams on the roads. Traffic stoppers take place not only in the central districts but also in the edge areas as they face the outward flow of population from the city in the morning and in the opposite direction in the evenings because significant parts of the population are dwellers of the suburban areas.

It should be noted that land is a valuable resource in Greater Baku. There are numerous large living blocks in the territory of agglomeration. In the meantime, lands usable for the farming activity area and the former areas of industrial activity as well as territories of oil fields have been converted into living blocks. As a result, natural and environmental potential of the lands have been deteriorated. Challenges in the provision of hot water, electricity and heat are faced by the dwellers. Also, it is necessary to determine the land reserves suitable for the creation of industrial, commercial, green and leisure-time areas.

In order to solve the above-mentioned problems of Greater Baku, a number of facilities of industry, transport, commercial and infrastructure are being relocated in the surroundings and the other regions. These include the Seaport, Ship-repairing and Shipbuilding, Oil Refinery Plant, Oil Engineering Plant, Bus Station, a number of trade centers, storehouses and facilities of infrastructure. Also, new buildings and living blocks are being formed in Gara Sheher area. The ring roads, bridges, arterial highways, many-branched roads, and tunnels are also constructed around the city in order to prevent traffic jams and to facilitate the transport functioning. However, the taken measures are not sufficient yet and the implementation of influential works is still needed.

Research on the studied area

Regulation on the development of cities and effective urban planning are necessary issues in terms of managing the urbanization processes. Urban planning is analyzed by many scientific works. The important problems taken into consideration when developing urban planning are the following: management of transport; grouping of cities as functional territories; rational use of land resources; preservation and restoration of natural and environmental conditions; distribution of areas of habitation and manufacturing; maintaining the historical and architectural monuments; ethnic traditions as factors in urban planning.

The enlargement of territories in the process of urban development was the study subject in several works of the researchers in the United States, Russia and Poland. The development and expansion of cities as well as the economic potential of urban areas are studied by researchers from China (Qin et al. 2006, Zhang and Sun 2011), India (Jesitha et al. 2011), Brazil (Goncalves et al. 2006), Mexico (Tallet and Valette 2010), and other countries.

The management of cities' development, the regulation of cities and their suburbs and employment provision are studied in the United Kingdom (Krueger and Gibbs 2010, Greasley et al. 2011, Champion and Townsend 2011), Germany (Heinelt and Zimmermann 2011), Poland (Grabkowska 2011), Southern Europe, and the CIS countries (Lappo 1997, Pertsik 2009). Not only large cities but also developing small clusters are the study objects of works of scientists from the United States or the United Kingdom. All of this research deals with the priorities in the development of cities and the ways to solve the involved problems (Jesitha et al. 2011, Lee 2011).

In the second half of the twentieth century, research on urban planning was carried out in the United States (Kresl and Singh 2012, Woo and Guldmann 2011), Canada (Yeates 1990), Australia and Western Europe. Special attention is given also to the investigation of cities of global importance (Sassen 1994, Taylor 1993), experience which is worth to be used.

Cities have been also studied by researchers from the rapidly developing countries such as China, or from the Middle East (Abramson 2006, Paquot 2006, Ning 2011). In particular, the population dynamics and the enlargement of small and medium cities are investigated. For example, in the Ranchi city of India, which has an area of 177 sq. km., the number of new constructed buildings has increased by 15% in the last 10 years whereas the growth of the population number was about 29%. Consequently, the lands usable for farming were reduced, the ecological situation was deteriorated, and traffic jams increased in this city (Shikha and Singh 2011).

The management of capital cities and the maintenance of proportional socioeconomic development hold significant place among different studies. These problems are studied in most countries as an important issue (Champion and Townsend 2011). As studies carried out in Western Europe show, the political factors influence the employment rate and the population growth at less extent (Greasley et al. 2011). The development of infrastructure and environmental protection (Torranse 2009, Polinna 2012), the cities' place within the global urban network (Ancien 2011, Krueger and Gibbs 2010, Chubarov and Sluka 2012), influence the changing factors of the capital cities development (Heinelt and Zimmermann 2011).

In China and India, the process of cities' physical extension is driven by the development of market relations while strict demographic policies target the elimination of this process (Chaberko et al. 2011, Jesitha et al. 2011).

Development and urban planning of Greater Baku was conducted on the basis of the socialist division of labour. The principles of city-planning in Baku were followed on the basis of the soviet methodology, and equally by various cities with different functions, natural-geographic conditions, and economic structure. Micro-geography, management and planning of urban districts have not been taken into consideration properly, whereas studies on core cities are usually devoted on defining the future priorities of cities' development. Micro-geography of core cities plays an influential and defining role in solving the development problems. In this regard, solutions at the problems of city-planning in Greater Baku can be reached only in a definite time. It would be useful to take into consideration the experience gained by the studies carried out in the United States, Western Europe and other countries in order to find solutions to problems related to the field of city planning: the demographic development of cities; balanced ways of development concerning the capital city and its peripheries; regulation of the urban areas expansion and connections between cities, etc. Despite the high concentration of population in the surrounding areas of cities, these countries have gained success in the improvement of activities with social objectives, and also in the urban planning of the suburbs.

For many years, substantial differences were observed in the research methodology, theoretical base and solving of cites problems and urbanization between the USSR and Western Europe. Isolated development of regions in relation to each other resulted in differences both for the management of development and planning, and the approaches taken to solve the involved problems. In cities of Europe and America, the emphasis is laid upon the study of solutions to problems appeared in the core areas of the agglomeration. In the mean-time, special attention is given to the micro-geographical approach and the solving of socio-cultural problems of certain territories.

In the last 20 years, the approaches of different studies in terms of methodology and scientific analysis are getting to be relatively similar between the scientific schools of Europe and

America, and the post-Soviet space as well as Azerbaijan. The previously isolated studies carried out by these sides become closer and integrated to each other. In this paper, the analysis of the problems of Greater Baku as well as the development of their solutions are considered as main issues of the study, with making reference chiefly on the theoretical and methodological theses.

Description, analysis, statistic method and mapping were applied as main methods in conducting the studies. In the meantime, field works were implemented during this research. Results of the lay-out taken from different entities and agencies were used as well.

Results and discussion
Social-economic and demographic dynamics

At the end of the 19^{th} century, the growth in the exploitation of oil reserves and the development of oil industry gave an impetus to the emergence and development of hard economic base in Baku and its surroundings, being also responsible for the higher rate of the population growth, and the creation of new manufacturing facilities in the cities of other regions (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2; *Black dots represent the industrial facilities; the others are agricultural areas; circumferences are drawn by each 5 km*).

Looking at the historical development of the capital city of Azerbaijan in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is mentionable that Baku developed as an isolated area from the other regions of Azerbaijan. This resulted in sharp differences between the social-economic and demographic potentials of Baku and the other regions. In 1873, Baku was the fifth biggest city after Shamakhi (25.1 thousand people), Shusha (24.6 thousand people), Sheki (21.4 thousand people) and Ganja (18.6 thousand people). By 1916, the population of Baku having 262.4 thousand residents was 4.55 times larger than the second biggest city, Ganja, which had 57.7 thousand residents (Eminov 2005).

Rapidly developing, Baku covered the amphitheatre zone completely by 1918. In 1920, there appeared new city areas like New Baku, Bayil, Gara Sheher and Ag Sheher ('White City') in addition to the Old City of Baku. Around the city, the territories of Keshla, Ahmadli and Zigh also existed. Nevertheless, the city planning and developing was not well organized, and this resulted in irregular territorial development.

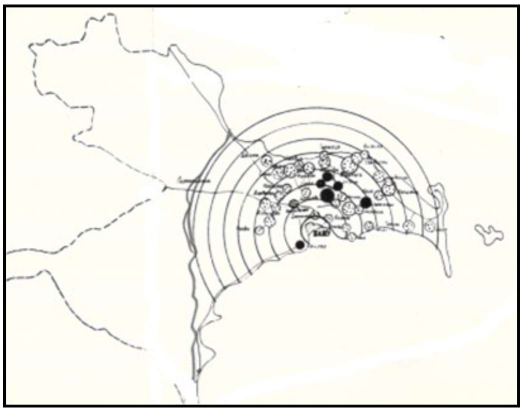

Fig. 1 **– The development of Greater Baku before 1870**

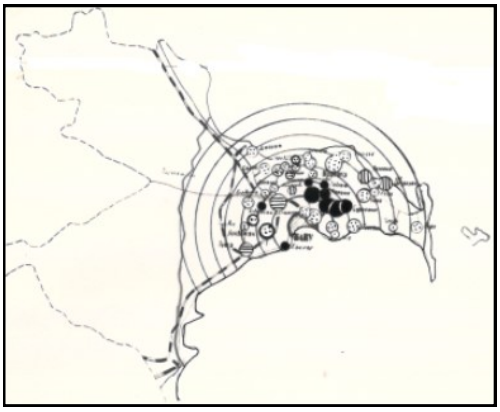

Fig. 2 – **The development of Greater Baku in 1870-1913**

Sharp differences in the population growth rates continued in the 20s and 30s, particularly in the 50s and 60s of the 20th century (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). At present, the population of Baku is 6.6 times larger than the population of the second most populated city of Azerbaijan which is still Ganja (320.7 thousand people). There were many problems in the development of the regions while Baku became a large industrial center (Davidovich 1971).

Looking through the scale of the former USSR, it also should be mentioned that the social-economic and demographic development rates of the cities of the USSR were depending on their socio-political and economic function, economic structure, geographic position and climate. State agencies were controlling the social and economic development, the supply of housing and work places, the passport registrations and the employment based on this registration. The management of the cities was implemented through different administrative ways and measures. This allowed maintaining the equilibrium in the economic and social-demographic development but the problems of city planning impeded the effective solving of the cities' issues. The surrounding areas of the cities were covered with living districts in the conditions of large areas full of old buildings previously constructed in the center. The territories of cities were increasing due to the arising of new living blocks at the edges. Significant amount of financing was needed in order to demolish the old buildings in the centers, and to rebuild new housing, socio-cultural and educational facilities. The central apparatus was not interested to find solutions to the problems at the expense of financial allocations

Many features of the development of cities in the former USSR were typical for Azerbaijan and its capital city as well. There are many problems in the regulation of the population distribution in Baku and its settlements concerning the water supply, rendering natural gas, energy provision and meeting the communal needs of the population.

The period after 1988 may be characterized as a special stage in the social-economic and demographic development of Baku. Although the number of settlements (9) outside Baku did not increase in 1989-1999, the number of urban-type settlements reached to 51 by 1999 due to the concentration of army refugees and mass migration of population from other regions. There were 704.4 thousand people living in those urban-type settlements outside Baku by the shown year (Table 1). This is 39.4% of the population living in the territorial unit of Baku city.

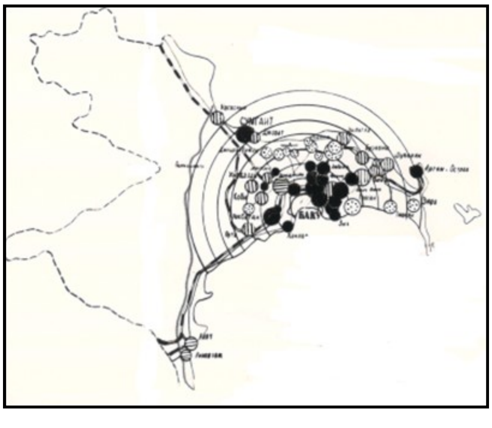

Fig. 3 – **The development of Greater Baku during 1913-1939**

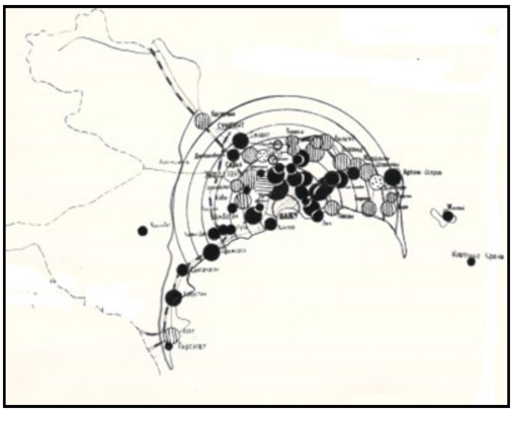

Fig. 4 – **The development of Greater Baku during 1939-1990**

Table 1

The population growth in the cities and settlements of Baku agglomeration

Year	Population (thousand people)					City population (percentage)			
	Baku Agglo-meration	Ab-sheron and Sumgait	Greater Baku	of which		Ab-sheron and Sum-gait	Greater Baku	Share within Greater Baku, (percentage)	
				Baku	Sur-round-ing settle-ments			Baku	Sur-rounding areas
1842	33.5	-	33.5	6.0	27.5	-	-	17.9	82.1
1873	66.2	-	66.2	15.1	51.1	-	-	22.8	77.2
1886	141.4	-	141.4	86.6	54.8	-	-	61.2	38.8
1897	193.7	-	193.6	112.0	81.6	-	-	57.9	42.1
1913	361.9	-	361.9	214.7	147.2	-	-	59.3	40.7
1926	567.3	-	567.3	453.3	114.0	-	-	79.9	20.1
1939	794.6	19.8	774.8	544.0	230.8	2.5	97.5	70.2	29.8
1959	1039.9	68.8	971.1	642.5	328.6	6.6	93.4	66.2	33.8
1970	1422.1	156.6	1265.5	851.6	413.9	11.0	89.0	67.3	32.7
1979	1798.8	249.0	1549.8	1022.0	527.8	13.8	86.2	65.9	34.1
1989	2104.5	309.6	1794.9	1190.3	604.6	14.7	85.3	66.3	33.7
1999	2130.9	342.0	1788.9	1084.5	704.4	16.1	83.9	60.6	39.4
2009	2512.7	466.9	2045.8	1140.9	904.9	14.6	81.4	55.8	44.2
2012	2602.5	480.2	2122.3	1194.8	927.5	18.5	81.5	56.3	43.7

Notes: The population of Greater Baku and the surrounding areas includes also the rural settlements according to the data of 1842-1913. The data of the following years is given taking into account only the population of the settlements. In 1926, 53246 villagers, and in 1939, 21.1 thousand people lived in Greater Baku. This decrease is related to the status of urban settlements given to clusters. The data on settlements by 2009 includes the inner ones too (i.e. the settlements of Keshla and Ahmadli). The population number behind the boundaries of Greater Baku is very small and therefore not given by 1939.

Sources: The data by 1842 is given based on Berezin's book "Travelling in Dagestan and Caucasus" (Petersburg 1850); the statistics by 1873 and 1913 is based on V. A. Afandiyev's book "The planning of the Baku agglomeration zones" (1985: 42-46) and his PhD thesis; the data by 1886 is based on Svod Statisticheskikh (1893); the data by 1926 is based on Muradov's "İnsan potensialı" (2004: 51); the data by 1939 and 1959 is based on Itogi 1963 (p.15); the data by 1970-1999 is based on Z. N. Eminov's "Azərbaycanın əhalisi" (2005, p. 369) and Itogi 1981; and the data by 2009 and 2012 is based on "Azərbaycanın əhalisi-2011" (2012: 63-67).

The population of the settlements of Baku increased by 100.0 thousand people despite the mass migration of Russians, Armenians and other Russian-speaking populations after 1989 (Azərbaycan Respublikasi 2000). The number of Russians decreased from 295.5 thousand to 119.4 persons. The number of Armenians fell from 180.0 thousand to 400 persons. The number of Jews also became 20.0 thousand lesser in Baku city within 1989-1999. Most Azerbaijani refugees expelled from Armenia in 1988 (200 thousand people) settled in Absheron. This process accelerated the concentration of the population in this territory. The population of the settlements in the Absheron region and Sumgait city increased by 85.2 thousand people. The population of Sumgait increased up to 256.8 thousand people. In 1999, the total population of the agglomeration was of 2130.9 thousand people, 342.0 thousand people or 16.1% of which were the population living outside Greater Baku (Eminov 2005).

According to the 2009 census (Azərbaycan Respublikasi 2010), the population of Greater Baku was of 2045.8 thousand people. Taking into consideration the refugees and displaced people, this indicator was 2246.0 thousand. Most of the latter group of people was temporarily settled in the surrounding settlements of Baku. For the present, new housing buildings are being constructed for them in the urban settlements. In some cases, special settlements (surrounding areas of Umid, Mushfigabad and Masazir settlements) are being created for this group of population.

The concentration of population in large numbers in the vicinity of Greater Baku has been reflected also on the migration data. As the following table shows, in 2001-2005, the number of the population increased by 7,8 thousand people, whereas from 2006 to 2010 this growth was of 213,0 thousand people. Most new comers were settled in Baku city. In the meantime, the number of the Khirdalan population grew several times. This settlement reached the status of city, and its population number has grown by 93 thousand people (Table 2).

Table 2

The natural increase and net migration of the population in Baku and the surrounding administrative regions (Absheron economic region), in thousand people

Area unit	2001-2005			2006-2010		
	Natural increase	Net migration	Overall growth	Natural increase	Net migra-tion	Overall growth
Baku city	61.0	+5.3	66.3	104.4	114.4	218.8
Sumgait city	10.3	-2.8	7.5	15.6	4.8	20.4
Absheron region	3.8	+5.1	8.9	6.2	93.5	99.7
Khizi region	0.5	+0.2	0.7	0.7	0.3	1.0
The economic region in total	75.6	+7.8	83.4	126.9	213.0	339.9

Therefore, new settlements and residential areas have to be displaced to other regions and to be close to sources of agricultural production. This would also positively affect the employment.

The creation of huge living areas in the Absheron peninsula will lead to the deficiency of land resources in the future. At present, the population density of Baku is 5430.9 people/km^2 whereas it is 489.2 people/km^2 in the economic region of Absheron. The average population density in Azerbaijan is 106.6 people/km^2 (2012).

Since 2010, a new city as residential area for over 600 thousand people is being constructed in southern Absheron. In this connection, a territory with an area of 2.0 thousand hectares has been destined. The initial investment has been identified at 125 billion USD. It would have been more efficient to build this city outside of the Absheron peninsula, for example in Guba-Khachmaz or Lankaran-Astara regions, where tourism is highly developed and the opportunities to use the skilled work force is high. These territories are favourable for developing special technologically based economic zones as well. As for the project in Absheron, it will result in further concentration of population in the Absheron peninsula. Another big project in Baku is the redevelopment of Gara Sheher in order to convert it to a modern residential and business territory that will be called White City. The works are carried out based on initial planning and we can consider this as great steps towards the renovation of the districts of Baku. At the same time, the creation of a head plan of Baku until 2030 is underway.

The management of this plan would allow regulating the urbanization process in Baku and Absheron region.

Depicting priorities for the further development of the agglomeration

The landscape of Baku city looks like an amphitheatre. The first zone in the shape of terrace is covering 1.5 km long area alongside the Caspian Sea, and its height varies between 15-20 metres. The second terrace is above the first one, and the third zone is 140-160 metres of height and more and it is located in western and eastern parts of the amphitheatre. The maximum height is 200 metres, with 150 metres in the eastern part. The landscape in Bilajari and Bakikhanov rises in weak form (Aliyeva 1988). The most intensive exploitation took place on the third terrace in the modern period.

According to the development planning of Baku in the beginning of 20th century, the western area from Chambarak (presently, west from M. Huseyn Street) was considered a landslide and unsuitable for construction. The landslides were regularly observed in this area. The mentioned area has not been populated for a long time, and it was occupied by private low buildings in recent years. In subsequent periods, as a result of the landslide on the Bayil part of Salyan highway, the Lukoil gas station was seriously damaged in 2000. Resettlement in this territory, as well as Badamdar, Shikh and Bibi Heybat settlements, was being observed later. This process must be prevented. In 2013, there was a landslip in Badamdar and the works on overcoming the effects are being implemented.

The stages of Baku's development are clearly visible in its planning. Feudal, capitalist (Vance 1971), socialist and modern stages of development are easily observable in urban planning, architectural design and construction areas. Old City Castle, the symbol of the development at middle ages (IX-XIX centuries) is located in the nucleus of the city centre. The part of Baku remaining from the feudal ages has not incurred any major changes and there is no need to do so. These parts represent the historic architectural style of Baku.

The flow of finances through the oil boom started in the 1870s entailed the creation of the second zone of Baku. This zone of construction could be called the 'capitalist Baku' which includes the surrounding areas of the Old City Walls and the areas from the current avenues of Neftchilar, Istiglaliyyat, 28 May, Nizami, Azerbaijan, Khagani and Bulbul to the Caspian Sea. These areas must be planned as residential, socio-political, cultural and service areas. Nowadays, many modern buildings of capitalist architecture were constructed in these areas, but this is not advisable from the view of urban planning and this kind of constructions should not be allowed in the future.

Buildings constructed between 1920 and 1990, occupy 60-70% of the city's territory. 5-7-storey residential buildings constructed during socialism are less in the territory compared with the low storey houses of that period. The reconstruction of these areas should be completed in the near future.

In the urban agglomerations, the core part of the cities affects and regulates the development of the neighbouring settlements. In the Baku agglomeration, the economic and demographic developments have interconnected with each other. Starting from the 60s and within the following decades, disruptions in the functional division of Baku in the process of territorial development has been observed. This process is underway at present as well. The expansion of the city's territory was irregular and unplanned. The elimination of this problem is difficult in the present. It is not urgent and very necessary to create new living blocks in the place of all the old demolished buildings that had less height. Most five-storey buildings built in the 60s and the following years are not actually useful for living. The construction of buildings and the creation of new residential blocks at slopes and territories with high risk of landslip is another problem. The increase of buildings density in the conditions of the shortage of unpopulated areas represents the features of several suburban districts like Nizami, Bilajari, Patamdar, Sulutepe, Bail, Yeni Nizami, Gunashli, Gunashli, but it happens also in some new residential areas. Limitations on further construction of residential buildings must be defined in the mentioned areas where landslips is continuously taking place as a result of which the population suffers, and economy is seriously being damaged.

It is necessary to implement different works of prevention referring to the territorial enlargement of the settlements within the agglomeration. Improving the planning works within the boundaries of the settlements is necessary as well. The development of the settlements located inside the recreational areas as well as the population growth in these areas must be strictly controlled in particular. At present, most de facto recreational areas have turned into permanent residential areas.

The joining between the settlements and Baku took place a few years before the collapse of the USSR. Bilajari, Bakikhanov, Sabunchu, Bulbula, Garachukhur, Amirjan settlements de-facto became a part of Baku. 1-2 storey buildings constructed in these settlements were added to the previously constructed ones as a result of which the situation became more complicated in the Greater Baku.

The growth rate of the demographic enlargement of the surrounding settlements is higher compared to Baku in the recent years. Garachukhur (81.1 thousand people), Bakikhanov (70.6 thousand people), Bilajari (45.8 thousand people), Amirjan (29.8 thousand people) and Badamdar (21.6 thousand people) settlements are already a component part of Baku. As these settlements are still administratively independent, the situation results in the disorderly expansion of their territories.

In 2003-2008, the newly created working places in the economic regions of Azerbaijan have not positively affected the balanced development of the Baku agglomeration. The main proportion (41.6%) of the newly created jobs, information based on the “State Program on social and economic development of regions (2004-2008)”, was created by private individuals. The following places are occupied by companies functioning in agriculture and forest industry (11.1%), machinery industry (10.3%), construction (9.0%), and wholesale and retail (8.4%). The labour-intensive industries are growing with lower rates. The number of companies in machinery, chemical, light- and food industries engaged in processing of agricultural products is very small. Only 8-13% of the permanent jobs in the regions are concentrated in the industries.

The new workplaces are distributed unevenly by the regions of the country. Most of them are shared by Absheron (Greater Baku), Aran and Ganja-Gazakh economic regions. 61.4% of all workplaces, including 65.1% of constant ones, fall to the share of these three regions. The share of Baku may grow further, and such situation is not desirable.

Although Greater Baku is a highly concentrated industrial area, this concentration is still a continuing process. 27.6% of the permanent work places (153.2 thousand) that were created fall to the share of Baku, according to the State Program. The development of other regions is lagging behind Absheron considerably. The intensity of migration is unfavourably increasing. At the same time, there are big gaps between the regions and the capital cities in terms of social and economic development. The previously shown processes complicate the use of the natural resources and the economic and demographic potentials of the regions.

The statistic data on employment in Greater Baku and the regions are also very different. 67.2% of the industrial workers are employed in the Absheron peninsula (Greater Baku). Since 2003, the number of the workers in the secondary sector has increased in Absheron, Nakhchivan, Guba-Khachmaz, Daglig Shirvan and Lankaran-Astara regions. Baku exceeds other regions of the country by several times in the absolute number of doctors and nurses, and also when considering these indicators per 10 000 people. In 2007, 62.1% of the doctors and 37.9% of the nurses represented the medical enterprises staff of Baku.

The development of the labour-intensive areas of economy is going slowly in the regions of Azerbaijan. Many industrial facilities benefit from the favourability of their functioning in the suburban areas and the surroundings of Baku. The number of workplaces created in Absheron administrative region exceeds the corresponding figure, fixed for Baku by 2.0 times. The number of workplaces in the processing industry of Absheron is 2.4 times much more than the one of Baku. These processes entailed the expansion of the housing areas in the surrounding areas of Baku. As we think, it is necessary to give the agricultural lands in the Absheron region to the administration of Binagadi and Surakhani settlements. This is necessary in order to prevent the land deficit that will arise in Baku in the next decade. Both land deficiency and shortage in water supply have turned to serious problems. The non-populated favourable areas are decreasing. The water supply should be organized in a better way in the Absheron peninsula. The surface of the useful lands is small because most unpopulated land reserves were polluted by the oil industry and the sewage or solid wastes thrown inside the territory.

At present, in terms determining the development priorities of Greater Baku, 4 functional zones (areas) can be distinguished in the studied territory. This division is based on the economic and geographic position, specialization of economic areas, and also local on the natural and economic potential, including the recreational resources (Fig. 5):

1.North-Eastern zone located in the districts of Khazar and the newly created Pirallahi. Recreational business, services and agriculture could be the leading directions of economic development;

2. South-Western zone located in the Garadagh region. The development of industrial and transportation areas could be prioritized here. The construction of shipbuilding- and ship-repairing factories as well as the foundation of the new port on the bay of the Caspian Sea would positively affect the economic development of this zone;

3. North-Western zone which includes Sumgait city. Industry and recreational business can be developed as main economic areas here;

4. Western zone within Absheron administrative region. Agriculture should be developed as the main economic field in this zone.

Conclusion

In order to prevent the territorial expansion of Greater Baku and the overloading of the city, scientific and public explanations as well as economic, administrative and demographic regulations must be conducted. The administrative subordination of Greater Baku to a unique center is seen as advisable in terms of solving the existing problems.

It is the time to liquidate the status of (urban-type) settlements of Ahmadli, Keshla, Bibi-Heybat, Bilajari, Bakikhanov, Garachukhur and Badamdar at present. Connected to Baku, the noted settlements should be included into the city as its integral parts.

The prevention of mass migration of the population to Great Baku necessitates also the rapid development of the large cities due to their advantageous economic potential.

The industrial areas operating on the basis of bringing, storage and procession of agricultural products must be removed not only from Baku but from Absheron itself. The displacement must be related also to the enterprises whose functioning is not in harmony with the economic structure of Baku. This displacement would facilitate the functioning of Baku as a city, and it would give an impetus to the development of small and medium cities.

Since gaining the independence, many measures were taken for the development of the Greater Baku under the state control. Actually, different works on urban planning and development are currently covering the overall territory of the agglomeration. Urban planning works were carried out without taking into consideration the requirements concerning mainly the residential buildings with less height. Regretfully, the construction works were resulting in the enlargement of the territory of Baku and the surrounding settlements as well as in

Capital of Azerbaijan Republic and large cities
Administrative and territorial centers
Other human clusters

KHIRDALAN Cities
SarayUrban settlements
NovkhaniVillages

Functional development zones within Greater Baku
I – Northern and eastern zones
II – South-eastern zone
III –North-western zone
IV – Western zone

Administrative regions within Baku city:
1. Binagadi
2. Sabunchu
3. Khazar
4. Yasamal
5. Nasimi
6. Narimanov
7. Nizami
8. Khatai
9. Sabail
10. Surakhani
11. Garadagh

Fig. 5 – **The settlement areas in Greater Baku in the contemporary period**

decreasing the green- and parking areas. Therefore, the following requirements of the urban planning works are necessary in the process of creating new residential blocks, and they must be carried out under the strict control. The unique urban planning must be carried out in Baku, with taking into consideration the experience of the large cities of the world. In this regard, the role of the restriction measures is significant.

References

ABRAMSON D. B. (2006), *Urban planning in China: Continuity and Change: What the Future Holds May Surprise You*, J. American Planning Assoc. 72 (2), 197-215.

AFANDIYEV V. A. (1985), *The planning of the Baku agglomeration zones*, PhD thesis, Baku.

ALIYEVA A. S. (1988), Planirovka i zastroyka goroda Baku *(Planning and construction of Baku), (1946-2000)*, Baku.

ANCIEN D. (2011), *Global city theory and the new urban politics twenty years on: The case for a geohistorical materialist approach to the (new) urban politics of global cities,* Urban Studies 48 (12), 2473-2493.

AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLIKASI ƏHALISININ SIYAHIYA ALINMASI 1999 (Population census in Azerbaijan Republic 1999) (2000), Bakı.

AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLIKASI ƏHALISININ SIYAHIYA ALINMASI 2009 (Population census in Azerbaijan Republic 2009) (2010), Bakı.

AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLIKASI ƏHALISININ 2001-2010 illərdə sayı və təbii hərəkəti (Number and natural movement of population in Azerbaijan Republic in 2001-2010) (2002-2011), Baku.

AZƏRBAYCANIN əhalisi 2011 (Population of Azerbaijan 2011) (2012), Baku, 63-67.

BEREZIN I. I. (1850), *Travelling in Dagestan and Caucasus*, S-Petersburg.

BERRY B. J. L., GILLARD Q. (1977), *The changing shape of Metropolitan America. Commuting patterns, urban fields and decentralization process 1960-1970*, Cambridge MA.

BOZHE-GARNYE J., SHABO J. (1967), *Ocherki po geografii gorodov (Essays on the geography of cities)*, Moskva.

CATNEY C., SIMPSON L. (2010), *Settlement area migration in England and Wales: assessing evidence for a social gradient*, Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers 35 (4), 571-584.

CHABERKO T., FEDIRKO A., KRETOWICZ P. (2011), *Social and spatial dimensions of demographic processes in Beijing municipality at the turn of the 21st century,* Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series 16, 5-19.

CHAMPION T., TOWNSEND A. (2011), *The fluctuating record of economic regeneration in England's second-order city-regions, 1984-2007*, Urban Studies 48 (8), 1539-1562.

CHATEL C. (2011), *Une mesure du déclin démographique des villes allemandes de 1820 á 2010*, Géocarrefour 86 (2), 81-93.

CHUBAROV I. G., SLUKA N. A. (2012), *Krupneyshiye agglomeratsii KNR v sisteme global'nykh gorodov (The largest agglomerations of the People's Republic of China within the system of global cities),* Vestnik MGU 5 (2), 32-39.

DAVIDOVICH V. G. (1971), *Rasselenie v promyshlennykh uzlakh (Settling in the industrial centers)*, Moskva.

DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS OF AZERBAIJAN (STATISTICAL PUBLICATION) 2012 (2013), *State Statistical Committee of Azerbaijan Republic*, Baku.

DICKINSON R. (1962), *The West European City*, Routledge, London.

EMINOV Z. N. (2005), *Az^lrbaycanın ^lhalisi (Population of Azerbaijan)*, Bakı.

ƏFƏNDİYEV V. Ə. (2002), *Urbanizasiya v^l Az^lrbaycanın ş^lh^lryaşayışm^lsk^lnl^lri (Urbanization and urban clusters of Azerbaijan*), Bakı.

FERREIRA M. C., MARQUES M. L. (2006), *Análise da densidade de ocupação do aglomerado urbano de região metropolitana de São Paulo pela estimativa de dimensão fractal*, Geografia 31 (2), 293-316.

FLAGA M. (2010), *Demographic consequences of suburbanization in selected towns in the eastern borderlands of Poland*, Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series 14, 5-22.

FONG E., SHEN J. (2011), *Explaining ethnic enclave, ethnic entrepreneurial and employment niches. A case study of Chinese in Canadian immigrant gateway cities*, Urban Studies 48 (8), 1605-1633.

GARDINER B., MARTIN R., TYLER P. (2011), *Does spatial agglomeration increase national growth? Some evidence from Europe*, J. Economic Geography 11 (6), 979-1006.

GONCALVES C. D. A. B., SOUZA I. M., PEREIRA M. N., FREITAS C. C. (2006), *Análise do ambiente residencial urbano visando a inferencia de populace utilizando dados de sensoriamento remoto orbital de alta resolução,* Geografia 31 (2), 371-402.

GRABKOWSKA M. (2011), *Inner-city of pre-war tenement houses in Gdansk*, Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series 15, 117-129.

GREASLEY S., JOHN P., WOLMAN H. (2011), *Does government performance matter? The effects of local government on urban outcomes in England*, Urban Studies 48 (9), 1835-1851.

HEINELT H., ZIMMERMANN K. (2011), '*How can we explain diversity in metropolitan governance within a country?' Some reflections on recent developments in Germany*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 35 (6), 1175-1192.

ITOGI VSESOYUZNOY PEREPISI NASELENIYA. AZERBAIDJANSKAYA SSR 1959 (All-Union Population Census, Azerbaijan SSR) (1963), Moskva.

ITOGI VSESOYUZNOY PEREPISI NASELENIYA 1970 G. PO BAKINSKOMU GORSOVETU (All-Union 1970 Population Census by Baku City Council) (1981), Baku.

JESITHA K., BINDHYA M. K., HARIKUMAR P. S. (2011), *Environmental footprint of Calicut, a city in the west coast of India*, III International Geography Congress, Abstract Volume, Kozhikode, 30-31.

KHOLL P. (1993), *Gorodskoye i regional'noye planirovaniye (Urban and regional planning)*, Moskva.

KHOREV B. S. (1975), Problemy gorodov (Urbanizatsiya i yedinaya sistema rasseleniya v SSSR) (The problems of cities. Urbanization and a unified settlement system in the USSR), Moskva.

KORPI M., CLARK W. A. V., MALMBERG B. O. (2011), *The urban hierarchy and domestic migration: the interaction of internal migration, disposable income and the cost of living, Sweden 1993-2002*, Journal of Economic Geography 11 (6), 1051-1077.

KRESL P., SINGH B. (2012), *Urban competitiveness and US metropolitan centres*, Urban Studies 49 (2), 239-254.

KRUEGER R., GIBBS D. (2010), *Competitive global city regions and 'sustainable development': An interpretive institutional account in the South East of England,* Environmental and Planning A 42 (4), 821-837.

LAPPO G. M. (1997), *Geografiya gorodov (Geography of cities)*, Moskva.

LEE N. (2011), *Ethnic diversity and employment growth in English cities*, Urban Studies 48 (2), 407-425.

MAERGOYZ I. M. (1987), *Geograficheskoye ucheniye o gorodakh (Geographical theory of cities)*, Moskva.

MÜLLER-MAHN D., ABDELGHANI M. (2006), *Urbanisierung in Ägypten*, Geographische Rundschau 58 (11), 12-20.

MURADOV Ş. M. (2004), *İnsan potensialı (Human potential),* Bakı, 51-63.

NING Y.-M. (2011*), Definition of Chinese Metropolitan Areas and Large Urban Agglomerations: Role of Large Urban Agglomerations in Regional Development*, Scientia Geographica Sinica 31 (3), 257-263.

PACIONE M. (2009), *The view from the tower: Geographies of urban transformation in Glasgow*, Scottish Geographical Journal 125 (2), 127-181.

PALM R. (1981), *The geography of American Cities*, New York.

PAQUOT T. (2006), *The urbanization of customs is at work in India*, Villes en développement 71, 7-34.

PERTSIK E. N. (2009), *Geourbanistika: Geografiya mirovoy urbanizatsii (Geourbanistics: Geography of the world urbanization)*, Moskva.

PIVOVAROV I. L. (1994), *Sovremennaya urbanizatsiya. Kurs lektsiy (Contemporary urbanization: The course of lectures)*, Moskva.

POLINNA C. (2012), *London – Erneuerung einer Metropole*, Geographische Rundschau 64 (6), 12-18.

QIN G., ZHANG P.-Y., JIAO B. (2006), *Formation mechanism and spatial pattern of urban agglomeration in Central Jilin of China*, Chinese Geographical Science 16 (2), 154-159.

SASSEN S. (1994), *Cities in a World Economy*, London.

SHIKHA K., SINGH P. R. (2011), *Impact analysis of urbanisation activities on land use: A study of Ranchi municipal corporation*, III International Geography Congress, Abstract Volume, Kozhikode, 166.

STILWELL J. (2010), *Ethnic population concentration and net migration in London*, Environment and Planning A 42 (6), 1439-1456.

SVOD STATISTICHESKIKH dannykh o naselenii Zakavkazskogo kraya, izvlechennykh iz posemeynykh spiskov 1886 g. (Compilation of statistic data on the population of Caucasus region based on the 1887 year family census) (1893), Tiflis.

TALLET B., VALETTE J. F. (2010), *Une ville qui bouge, une ville qui change : Métropolisation et redistribution de la population dans l'agglomération de Mexico*, Espace, populations, sociétés 2-3, 379-393.

TAYLOR P. J. (1993), *Political Geography: World-economy, Nation-state and Locality*, Longman, London.

TORRANSE M. (2009), *Reconceptualizing urban governance through a new paradigm for urban infrastructure networks,* Journal of Economic Geography 9 (6), 805-822.

UNITED NATIONS (1985), *Estimates and projections of urban, rural and city populations, 1950-2025: the 1982 assessment*, United Nations, New York.

VANCE JR. J. E. (1971), *Land assignment in the precapitalist, capitalist and postcapitalist city*, Economic geography 47(2), 101-120.

WILCZYNSKI W. J., WILCZYNSKI P. L. (2011), *Population of American cities: 1950-2009*, Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series 16, 153-172.

WOO M., GULDMANN J.-M. (2011), *Impacts of urban containment policies on the spatial structure of US metropolitan areas,* Urban Studies 48 (16), 3511-3536.

XU L. (2011), *Inter-metropolitan migration of the newly landed immigrants in Canada: 1991-1996 and 1996-2001*, GeoJournal 76 (5), 501-524.

YANG J., FRENCH S., HOLT J., ZHANG X. (2012), *Measuring the structure of US metropolitan areas, 1970-2000*, Journal of the American Planning Association 78 (2), 197-209.

YEATES M. (1990), *The North American City*, Harper and Row, New York.

ZHANG X.-H., SUN T. (2011), *Urban space production: Urbanization of Wujiaochang area in Jiangwan Town of Shanghai in 1900-1949*, Scientia Geographica Sinica 31 (10), 1181-1188.

Initial submission: 14.03.2014
Revised submission: 10.12.2014
Final acceptance: 15.12.2014

Correspondence: 23 Zahid Khalil, Baku State University, Baku, Azerbaijan

Email: vusat.afandiyev@mail.ru

Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis,
vol. VI, 2, 2014, p. 219 - 221

BOOK REVIEWS

Mobilizing Against Inequality: Unions, Immigrant Workers, and the Crisis of Capitalism

Lee H. Adler, Maite Tapia, Lowell Turner, Ithica, New York
Cornell University Press, 2014, 178 p.
ISBN 978-0-801479335

Reviewed by SHAWN SICKLER, Arizona State University, United States

In a time of growing inequality and shrinking unions, it is important that we learn how we got to this point and what we can do from here. Lee Adler, Maite Tapia, and Lowell Turner's edited volume M*obilizing Against Inequality, Unions, Immigrant Workers, and the Crisis of Capitalism* helps us address these questions. This book provides concrete evidence to demonstrate the connection between declined union participation, and increased income inequality due to wage stagnation. It argues that we must reverse these trends if we are to improve the current condition. This means we need to start including previously excluded groups, such as immigrants, and break down old barriers of race, class, and gender. The authors provide us a cross national and industrial analysis of immigrant worker movements and union organization in industrial nations, including Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The cross cultural analysis helps us to understand and learn from the successes and failures of the union and social movements in various nations, while shedding light on common trends and the potential for international engagement. This is important because of the growing globalization of labor.

The book is broken down into three parts. The third and final part of the book talks about key findings, policy implications, and possible directions for the future. Some of the key findings are that: (1) traditional union strategies of restriction and neglect of immigrant workers are no longer sustainable, (2) attitudes in the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Germany have changed significantly over the last two decades, and (3) unions face challenges to include immigrant workers in labor movements seeking revitalization.

The first two chapters discuss unions and the mobilization of immigrant workers. They provide context for deeper discussion. These chapter discuss how unregulated capitalism has created a long term wage stagnation and financial deregulation resulting in an upward redistribution of wealth. Although capitalism adverts crises with temporary solutions such as inflation and debt, this economic system has proved to be unstable.

In the times of instability there is usually a backlash on immigrants, many citizens claiming they are taking their jobs. The challenge is getting unions to see the immigrants as low wage workers, who also deserve union protection, just like them. Low wage workers are those who earn two thirds of the median income, this makes up about 22.1% of the workforce. By forming class consciousness and acting together, the unions would see an increase in membership and influence.

The second part of the book, chapters three through seven, provides cross-national data and analysis. These chapters are all organized in the same manner. The authors start with a historical context which is important because they also provide the framework for understanding contemporary data and analysis that follow. Then the authors move on to explain current union strategies. They also highlight several key campaigns throughout the four countries such as the Los Angeles CLEAN Car Wash Campaign and the Nashville Taxi Cab Driver campaign in the United States. Both of these movements had gained the support of trade unions and non-profit organizations to raise awareness for a living wage, safe working conditions, safer neighborhoods, and the right to unionize. Some campaigns in the book may seem like small victories but they signify the change of the labor movements to incorporate the immigrant workers. The unions across all four countries deployed different strategies, some of which are of direct contact between union leaders, members, and immigrant workers, with an openness to experimentation and a willingness to risk failure. Campaigning for policy changes is most successful with collaboration with community organizations, and offering educational and legal advice to immigrant workers. Finally the authors leave us with ideas for further development, to confront the distaste for unions young adults have, gain their trust, and hopefully membership, that low wage unions should collaborate with professional unions, and to intervene in moments of civil unrest. The foreign born population in all four countries is on the rise, while organizing immigrant workers is the key issue.

Starting with the U.S. the authors investigate the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), a nation-wide organization of unions, and the reversal of its policy to start to support immigrants after a long history of practicing exclusion. Mexico is where most of the foreign born population in the United States come from accounting for about 55% or 11.7 million people; although there is a large rising population of Muslim immigrants, with three million coming in the 1990's. This is represented by the key campaigns they talk about in the book, two of them being the Los Angeles CLEAN Car Wash Campaign and the Nashville Taxi Cab Driver campaign. The United Kingdom also has an umbrella organization for unions, much like the AFL-CIO, called the Trade Union Congress (TUC). Most of the immigrant workers in the United Kingdom come from Poland. A key campaign in the United Kingdom was the Justice for Cleaners campaign, where unions worked with community groups to help cleaners earn a living wage. The lesson learned in the United Kingdom being that, organizing migrant workers is an opportunity to go beyond the workplace and engage civil society.

In France, the primary view of immigrants in the workplace is assimilation and exclusion, to become like them in culture and language or they are not welcome; although unions are pushing for attitudes of acceptance and Integration, they don't have to change themselves and they are welcomed to stay. Although the European Union has free worker mobility, that does not mean that immigrants have workers' rights. The Sans Papiers (without papers) campaign had six thousand protesters, at one point, for living wages, good working conditions, and to get legal documents. Strides have been made in France, but the fragmentation of unions along with the government and employers presenting many obstacles have slowed down progress. Germany has the most foreign born people of any country in the European Union. Integration of immigrants into political and social spheres is limited. Key campaigns have focused on social and political integration such as in the Kiel region where many immigrants are of Turkish origin. In addition, only a small portion of immigrants reach leadership position in the unions representing a lack of migrant integration across all spheres of society.

As the authors have shown, unions in multiple industrial nations are beginning to mobilize against growing inequality, integrating immigrant workers into their policies and movements. Mobilizing immigrant workers is mobilizing against inequality. The book argues that so many low wage jobs are unprotected by unions, and immigrants unprotected by countries, that we need to make a change.

The biggest weakness of this book is the lack of a theoretical framework. It offers no theories behind why our society has ended up this way, and it also offers no theories that tie into their future solutions. This book would not be helpful for people looking at union organizing and immigration from a theoretical standpoint. The book also offers a general overview of the issues at hand, and not an in depth analysis of any issue, fact that can be seen as a strength or a weakness, depending on the intended use of the book. There are many strong points in this book, the first being that it gathers many experts on the subject, to include: Lee H. Adler, Gabriella Alberti, Daniel B. Cornfield, Michael Fichter, Janice Fine, Jane Holgate, Denisse Roca-Servat, Maite Tapia, and Lowell Turner, to create cross country evaluations of immigrant workers, unions, and movements with data to support their arguments. The chapters are well structured and easy to follow. The book leaves us with strategies and thoughts about the future implications. This book also makes the reader aware of many union and civil rights organizations in the United States and the European Union. This is a great book for anyone studying labor rights and movements or just for someone looking to deepen his knowledge, and it can be used in the future as a reference tool.

Aims and scopes

Analysis of the urban and regional condition needs to be interdisciplinary. In reality, urban researchers usually tend to belong to a discipline reflecting their training whether as sociologists, geographers, planners or any number of subjects concerned with the study of space and place. Our training very often endorses an appreciation of how other disciplines explore the city. For the journal the acknowledgement of the many disciplines that concerned with understanding cities and regions will be indicated by the different disciplinary back-grounds reflected in the papers published. Articles will be published by geographers, sociologists, planners, economists, political scientists, to mention just few of the disciplines involved in urban and regional study.

The Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis plans to be a key outlet publishing topical articles dealing with cities and regions. In later issues we plan to include sections devoted to notes and comments as well as a policy section outlining and discussing state and non-state initiatives aimed at improving cities and regions, together with the problems confronted by their implementation.

Instructions to Authors

1. The Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis seeks to redefine and revigorate the links between geography, sociology, planning, economy, political science. It aims to publish original academic research, critical studies and discussions of the highest scholar standard in the field of urban and regional development. Submitted papers will be evaluated on the basis of their creativity, academic quality and contributions to advancing understanding of the complex problems related to urban and regional development.

2. Submitted manuscripts must be original, unpublished contributions. They must not be submitted or accepted by any other publications. All articles submitted to the Journal will be available online, free of charge.

3. One electronic copy of the manuscript (sent by email in PDF format) should be submitted to either of the two Editors listed below.

Ioan IANOŞ University of Bucharest - Interdisciplinary Centre for Advanced Research on Territorial Dynamics, 030018, Bucharest, Romania 4-12, Regina Elisabeta Blv. E-mail: office@cicadit.ro	Ronan PADDISON University of Glasgow - Department of Geographical and Earth Sciences East Quadragle University Avenue, Glasgow G12 8QQ UK E-mail: Ronan.Paddison @ges.gla.ac.uk

4. Layout: Manuscripts should be written in English and contain no more than 8000 words. Page setup: A4 size, 3 cm. all margins; title: Arial Bold, 12 pts, all caps, centered.; 2 empty rows (same font); name of authors using Arial, 10 pts.: first name italic, last name upper-case, centered. Affiliation follows below, centered; 2 empty rows (same Font). The abstract: start with the word "Abstract", followed by the text, not to exceed 150 words. Use Arial, 8 pts., justified alignment, indent 2 cm. left and right; 1 empty row, same font. Three or four keywords should start after the word "keywords", written using Arial, 8 pts., justified alignment, indent 2 cm. to the left. Keywords should be written using Arial Italic, 8 pts.; 2 empty rows, same font. The text uses Arial, 9 pts., Justify alignment. Headings use Arial Bold, 9 pts., centered. Research articles should use the following headings: Introduction, Materials and Methods, Results and Discussion, Conclusions, References. The text of tables uses Arial, 9 pts. Captions and tiles of tables are centered and use Arial Bold, 9 pts. Tables and figures should be centered and numbered consecutively throughout the manuscript and referred in the text using Arab numbering. Captions should use the word table/figure with italic characters followed by the title with bold font. Citations in the text should use the Harvard System of short references, for example, (Geyer 2002) followed by a, b,... when two or more references to works by one author are given for the same year, e.g. (Geyer 2002a, 2002b). Page numbers should be indicated for quotations. At the end of the article, a full listing of references in alphabetical order should be provided in the following style; use Arial, 9 pts, hang at 1cm:

GIDDENS A. (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

MARSHAL R. (1995), *The global job crisis,* Foreign Policy, 100, 50-68.

*** (1938-1941), *General Romanian Population and Settlements Census on December the 29th 1930*, I-X, ICS, Bucharest.

Images should be submitted in their final form, both as good quality hard copy and electronically.
Authors not proficient in English should have their manuscripts checked before submission by a competent English speaker. To edit your manuscript, use the template available at www.jurareview.ro.

5. Paper submissions must be printed on one side of A4 or US Letter-sized paper, double spaced (including footnotes and references) with a 1.5 inches margin and numbered pages. Submissions will not be normally returned to authors. Avoid excessive use of footnotes. Tables and figures should be attached on separate pages at the end of the manuscript and their approximate position indicated in the text .

6. Final versions of papers accepted for publishing should be submitted electronically in a MS Word compatible format suitable for editing.

7. The Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis also publishes reviews of selected books in the field of urban and regional development. Books should be sent for potential review by JURA to the University of Bucharest - Interdisciplinary Centre for Advanced Research on Territorial Dynamics, 030018, Bucharest, Romania, 4-12, Regina Elisabeta Blv .

Open-access journal

ISSN 2067-4082
9772067408006
www.editurauniversitara.ro