

CHARACTERISTICS OF MULTIFAMILY HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN THE POST-SOCIALIST PERIOD: CASE STUDY, THE CITY OF NIŠ

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Abstract. *The paper deals with characteristics of multifamily housing development (MHD) in specific conditions of post-socialist transition. Multi-layered political, institutional and socio-economic changes have influenced the change in the urban structure of cities, including housing areas. Time distance of thirty years from the beginning of transition in Serbia, gives us a good position to monitor and fully understand the effects of changes, including the last and longest-term phase of transitional process – urban changes. The development of multifamily housing is examined on the example of the city of Nis, a typical socialist industrial city that underwent dramatic changes in the post-socialist period and represent a good testing ground for transitional changes and their effects. The goal of the paper is to recognize different types of multifamily housing and the transitional changes that led to certain type of development and their spatial distribution in the city. The research suggests that multifamily housing development is especially influenced by privatization in the initial phase of transition, restitution in the later phase of transition, changing role of public and private sector in housing development, as well as changes in urban planning.*

Key words: *multifamily housing, urban changes, post-socialism, transition, City of Niš*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Period between 1989 and 1992 was marked with fall of communist regimes throughout the Central East and South East European countries (CEE and SEE), accompanied with a deep political and economic crisis, and in some countries, ethnic wars and disintegration of states. The end of state socialism marks the beginning of reforms leading to market economies and democratic governance, hence the term “transition” is commonly used for the post-socialist period [1][2]. Transition in former SFR Yugoslavia took place under specific political and socio-economic circumstances, with a delay of a decade compared to other countries in the region. It can be said that Serbia is still going through the transition process, i.e. is in the phase of “mature transition” [3][4]. Post-socialist transformations can be described by a series of transitions: the first - institutional transformations, the second - social transformations and the third - urban transformations [5]. The transition begins with political decision-making, which is the fastest, short-term change, while other changes are slower and last longer. The change of urban structure is the third and longest-lasting phase of transition, the effects of which can be seen only after a certain period of time. The transformation of the built environment is the result of functional changes in cities, the most significant of which are the expansion of commercial areas, the transformation of industrial zones and the changed character of housing [6].

Despite significant differences in public policies and institutions in the CEE countries, housing models in the socialist period share numerous similarities that make the so-called “Eastern European housing model” [7]. The Eastern European housing model had a large number of sub-models and variations, but two major common characteristics of all sub-models stand out: 1) state domination in housing construction and distribution with limited and subordinate market functioning; 2) housing as a social right, intended to meet housing needs, and not as a commodity [8]. However, the peculiarities of the Yugoslav self-management socialist system, such as greater importance of market-like relations in the mainstream economy with more liberalised income regime and consumption patterns [9] led to several divergences in comparison with the ‘pure’ East European housing model and its sub models. The first important divergence is the different state role in housing, in the sense of early decentralization and transfer of state responsibility in housing provision, while the second is the decisive role of socially owned enterprises as housing developers from the early 1950s. However, the development of the housing sector during the socialist period was determined by two important drivers: 1) housing was a political priority and 2) centralized management of the economy enabled governments to direct resources to certain sectors [10]. The consequences of transition in the housing sector can be shortly described as the disintegration of the Eastern European housing model [11][12]. By moving away from this housing model, market mechanisms gain a more significant role in the housing sphere, while state responsibility, power, and resources weaken. State budgets for investment in housing and subsidies are reduced, with a simultaneous reduction of state housing funds due to privatization and / or restitution [8]. As stated by Stanilov (2007), the main principles of housing reform are: privatization, deregulation, and reduction, i.e. cessation of state funding [13]. Rapid withdrawal of state participation in the housing sector, through a drastic reduction in state subsidies and a reduction in the direct supply of housing, resulted in an escalation of the housing crisis, which was noticeable even in the period of socialism. The intensity of housing construction was reduced at the end of

the 1980s, before experiencing a sharp decline in all CEE countries in the early 1990s [14] and reached a minimum in 1993-94 [13][15].

Recovery of the housing sector began in the mid-1990s, first in the countries that started political and economic reforms earlier (Czech Republic, Hungary), and later it was transferred to other countries. The recovery process was very slow, so in the year 2000 none of the CEE countries reached the level of housing production from 1990. On the average, new housing construction in the CEE countries declined from 4.4 dwelling units per 1,000 residents in 1990, to 1.8 units in 2000. In comparison, during the same period, housing production in Western European countries showed a slight decrease from 6.5 to 5.8 units, while in the United States the rate of new housing construction increased from 5.2 to 5.5 units [13]. Simultaneously with the state withdrawal from housing construction, started the privatization of the existing housing stock and housing development with private capital. The conversion of the state property into private was carried out through mechanisms of restitution (reprivatization) and sale of state /socially owned apartments to the sitting tenants [2][13]. Apartments were sold to tenants at prices significantly lower than the market ones - through so-called "gifted privatization" or low-price model of privatization [12][16] in order to mitigate the negative social effects of the transition [8][17]. The degree of application of these mechanisms varied from one CEE country to another. In the Balkans and Lithuania and Hungary, the housing privatization process was largely completed by the mid-1990s, using socialist "top-down" approach in reform leading to the sale of most socially owned housing units [14], while in other countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, East Germany) privatization was slower and restitution was more prevalent.

In Serbia, the privatization of social housing began in 1990 with the adoption of the *Law on Housing Relations* ("Official Gazette of the RS", No. 12/90, 47/90, 55/90 and "Official Gazette of the RS", No. 3/90 and 7/90), while the restitution process began much later, in 2011, with the adoption of the *Law on Restitution of Confiscated Property and Compensation* ("Official Gazette of RS", No. 72/2011, 108/2013, 142/2014 and 88/2015 - US decision) and establishment of Directorate for Restitution. First requests for restitution were submitted in 2012, and the deadline for submitting requests for restitution was 2014. Housing privatization and restitution, combined with the strengthening of private capital, have greatly influenced the development of multifamily housing. In Serbia, where the privatization of the housing stock was carried out first, the upgrades of existing multi-story buildings appeared as dominant form of housing construction for the market in the early transition, especially in second-tier cities [18]. New construction on greenfield locations first developed on the outskirts of the city, and only at a later stage, along with land restitution and strengthening of private capital, multifamily housing construction spread to central city zones.

This paper deals with characteristics of housing in the period after the 1990s, with research focus on multifamily housing (MH). Accordingly, the key research aims are:

- to investigate the specific economic, political and social changes until the 1990s that set a platform for the emergence and evolution of multifamily housing (re)development modes, focusing on links between the housing system and its characteristics, housing institutional arrangements and regulatory framework.
- to scrutinize the impact of development changes on the chosen MHD mode - new construction on greenfield locations on the outskirts of the city, assessing the extent of its physical and socio-economic effects on the quality of everyday life at the neighborhood level.

The research is conducted in the city of Niš - former industrial and macro-regional center which undergone significant urban changes in post-socialist period, including those in housing sector.

2. MULTIFAMILY HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN THE CITY OF NIS AFTER THE 1990S

The city of Nis was one of the most important industrial centers in Serbia in the socialist period. The development of the industry was accompanied with increase in the number of inhabitants and increased needs for housing. In the period from 1961 to 1981, the housing stock of Nis developed intensively, following the dynamics of population growth. From 1981 to 1991, the increase in the number of housing units was even more visible, given the gradual slowdown in population growth. Statistics show that since the 1980s Niš had an average of 1.1 apartment per household. This is mainly due to a higher share of flats in private family houses with a very low occupancy rate, while multi-story housing areas experienced continuous overcrowding and low space consumption. In general, 19.6 % of the population lived in overcrowded apartments, three or more persons per room, while 23.6 % was on the borderline of falling into this category [19][20]. Under the influence of the economic downturn and reduced budget allocations for housing development (approximately 0.1% of the city budget from 2000 to 2005), the housing sector in Nis has experienced regressive changes since the first phases of post-socialist period [19]. In 1991, about 1,450 housing units were built (approx. 5 apartments per 1,000 residents), and in 2003 that number was reduced to 450 housing units (approx. 1.8 apartments per 1,000 residents). In line with the trend of privatization of social housing in Serbia, the housing stock in Niš was almost completely privatized during the 1990s (98.4%) [21]. In 2002, only 385 socially owned housing units were unpurchased, which is a negligible percentage of the total housing stock [20].

The main characteristics of housing development in Niš during the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s include the following [22]:

- lack of significant public investments in housing construction and complete absence of investments in construction of apartments for rent;
- lack of subsidies for individual housing construction, as well as insufficient number of locations for this type of construction;
- emergence of a larger number of “small” private investors, trying to build with money from pre-sold apartments or with money acquired through other business activities;
- lack of available construction sites in the center and insufficient interest of investors for the construction of MH in suburban settlements, long and complicated procedures for resolving property-legal relations and unsatisfactory situation in the cadastral system;
- construction of apartments on the flat roofs of existing buildings (multi-story housing extensions - MHE) of varying, but mostly poor quality;
- design and construction of small (often substandard) housing units;
- business difficulties of “traditional” builders - public construction enterprises and the emergence of small and medium-sized construction companies, only partially qualified for larger construction tasks.

The following period is characterized by the complete disappearance of large socially owned enterprises from housing construction, due to their privatization and collapse. "Građevinar", the leading construction company in Niš in socialist period, was unsuccessfully privatized in 2007, sharing the fate of many other socially owned companies. Private sector, comprised of former socially owned enterprises and new medium - small construction enterprises, strengthens over time and takes the leading role in housing construction. The gradual economic recovery and strengthening of financial institutions made possible the introduction of mortgage financing. Housing construction was encouraged by establishment of the National Corporation for Housing Loans Insurance (established in 2004) which covers up to 75 percent of losses incurred by financial institutions and the reduction of VAT rate on new apartments from 18 to 8 percent [13].

The state intervention had positive effects on housing construction, which has been increasing since 2005. The withdrawal of public sector and strengthening the private sector marked housing development in later phase of transition and affected the type, scale and spatial distribution of MHD.

2.1. Public and private sector in multifamily housing development

Having in mind the changing role of public and private sector, multifamily housing can be classified according to the source of financing as follows: 1) construction in public sector; 2) construction in private sector; and 3) public-private partnership. In addition to direct impact of the capital, the change of public-private relations in ownership of housing and construction land through privatization and restitution affected the development of certain types of housing, as well as their spatial distribution.

The participation of the public sector in multi-story housing construction occurs in three forms: 1) remnants of the socialist system in form of solidarity funds in companies, i.e. investment in apartments for workers; 2) apartments for armed forces (army, police) and university staff; and 3) social housing.

From the early 1950s, in the Yugoslav housing sub-model provision of housing was transferred from the state level to socially owned enterprises [23]. Solidarity funds continued to exist in the period of transition and companies still were obliged to allocate part of the monthly income for housing. In addition, companies in all sectors of ownership could finance housing for their employees, with no legal obligation to define transparent criteria for distribution of apartments, even for the state-owned companies [9]. As the ownership of enterprises changes from public to private, the source of financing changes too, so it can be only partially considered a construction in public sector. This type of construction is represented in a small share and it is related to successfully privatized enterprises, such as Tobacco Factory.

Another form of construction in public sector is housing for members of armed forces, funded from the national budget. This type of housing development makes a small share in overall housing construction and it is being funded from the national budget, so it is not of great importance for this study. The exception is the project "Novi Niš", which is significant from the aspect of land-use planning and public-private partnership in housing construction. Large portions of land in inner city area of Niš are occupied with former military complexes. These locations are very attractive for development of new city sub-centers, so the Ministry of Defense, as a land user, concedes the land to the City,

in exchange for apartments for the army members. In order to fulfill the commitments, the city of Niš enters into a public-private partnership.

The third and most important form of construction in the public sector is social housing. After the mass privatization of apartments in the early 90's, socially owned housing stock almost completely disappeared, but the privatization did not provide the expected funds for meeting the housing needs of lower income population [24]. Namely, during socialism and until the early 2000s, social housing was financed from solidarity housing funds (SHF) in accordance with legal obligations. After 2004, the SHF have gradually extinguished or have been transformed into new city housing agencies, first basic institutions of the future social housing system in Serbia. The main problems of social housing construction were: 1) lack of public finances and 2) lack of municipal-owned construction land, due to the nationalization of property of local government by the *Law on Funds Owned by the Republic of Serbia, 1995* ("Official Gazette of the RS", No. 53/95). As a result, local governments could not acquire the land on the market and create "land banks" for housing construction for non-profit sale or lease [24]. Social housing development in Niš started in 2004, after the City Housing Agency was formed, but it is still on a very low level. Dealing with extremely negative economic trends, the city municipality did not succeed in establishing the promised housing strategy until as late as 2007 [25].

Unlike the socialist period, when multi-family housing construction was almost entirely in hands of public sector, in the post-socialist period the private sector becomes dominant, while the participation of public sector is almost negligible. Namely, apart from the before mentioned examples of construction in public sector and public-private partnership, the rest of construction is exclusively in the private sector.

In the following, the paper deals with various modes of multi-family housing appearing and shaped by private developers, their characteristics and spatial distribution, with emphasis on new construction on greenfield locations on the outskirts of the city.

2.2. Types of multifamily housing in the post-socialist period

The scale of housing construction and its spatial distribution can be briefly explained through the interrelation of available construction land (land ownership) and private capital. In the initial period of transition, private sector was weak and still undeveloped, while the construction land in the inner city area was unavailable due to unresolved property rights, which resulted in construction "without building parcel" - multistorey housing extensions in inner city area, and new construction on greenfield locations on the outskirts of the city. The next phase is characterized by strengthening of private sector, greater availability of construction land in the central city zone, spread of construction to the city center and increased scale of construction. In line with this, the following types of post-socialist multi-family housing can be noticed in urban fabric of the city of Niš:

- 1) multi-story housing extensions of existing residential buildings (Fig. 1);
- 2) new construction on greenfield sites on the outskirts of the city (Fig. 2) ;
- 3) infill development (Fig. 3);
- 4) reconstruction of the city core (Fig. 4);
- 5) construction of larger scale on brownfield sites (Fig. 5).

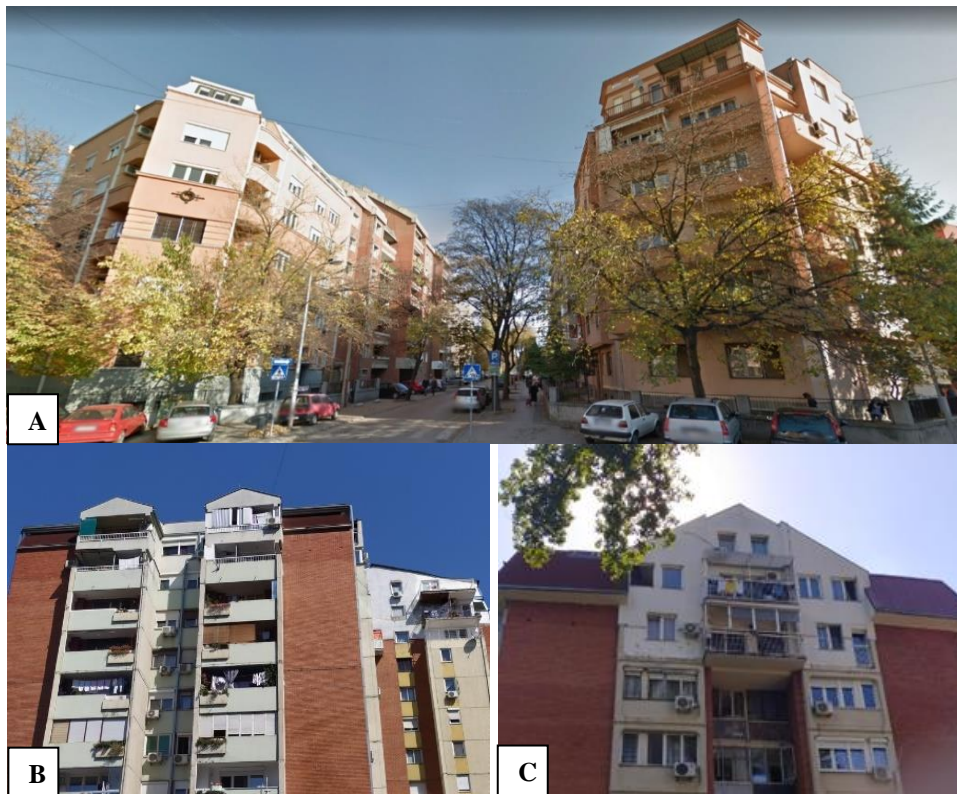


Fig. 1 Type of multi-family housing: Multi-story housing extensions of existing residential buildings. A - pre-socialist period (1950s); B, C - socialist period (1980s) (source: authors)



Fig. 2 Type of multi-family housing: Multifamily housing on greenfield locations on the outskirts of the city – the layout of housing area Somborska-Studenička. A - 2006 (source: <https://gis.ni.rs>, accessed 2019); B - 2021 (source: <https://a3.geosrbija.rs/>)



Fig. 3 Type of multi-family housing: New infill development - LHE Bulevar Nemanjića (source: authors)

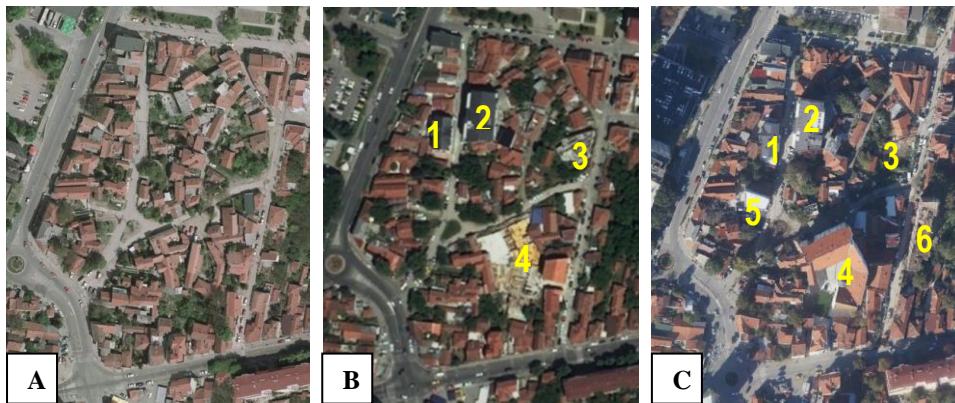


Fig. 4 Type of multi-family housing: Reconstruction of the city core period 2006-2021. A - 2006 (source: <https://gis.ni.rs>, accessed 2019.); B - 2011-2013 (source: www.geosrbija.rs/); C - 2021 (source: <https://gis.ni.rs>)

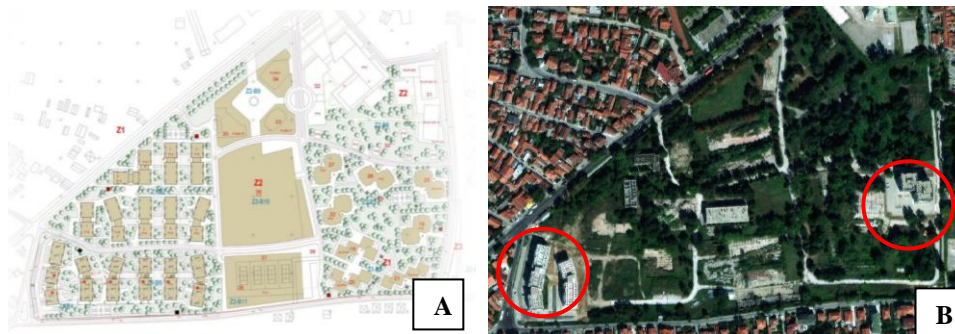


Fig. 5 Type of multi-family housing: Construction of larger scale on brownfield sites - Novi Niš. A - project of a residential area (source: <https://novinis.com/>), B - aerial view of location with marked new construction (source: <https://a3.geosrbija.rs/>)

The following section deals with multifamily housing on greenfield sites on the outskirts of the city as one of dominant post-socialist housing development types. Although similar to socialist large housing estates, it originated under modified conditions in post-socialist period, which resulted in specific physical-functional features. Shaped by private capital from the very beginning, accompanied with poor planning and weak institutional control, it represents a typical example of what is better known as “investor urbanism” [26].

3. MULTIFAMILY HOUSING ON GREENFIELD SITES ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CITY – SOMBORSKA-STUDENIČKA

The multi-story housing development in Niš was in full swing in 1970s, which caused the need for considering directions of further development, i.e. analyzing new locations for housing development and their economic viability. For the purpose of further development, the Study of Long-Term Development of Collective Housing in Nis 1981-1991-2000 was prepared in 1981 [27]. The Study analyzed three possible variants - two of which were greenfield sites and the third one a reconstruction of the city core. Cost analysis showed that the reconstruction of the city core is about 30% more expensive than construction on greenfield locations, due to the high costs of displacement of residents. Therefore, recommendations were given for the construction on greenfield locations, while the reconstruction of the city core was seen as a continuous activity throughout the whole period 1981-2000 [27]. The proposed locations were built into the General Urban Plan of Nis 1995-2010 (“Official Gazette of the City of Nis”, No. 13/95), thus providing a planning framework for future MH construction on greenfield locations on the outskirts of the city. Housing area along Somborska and Studenička streets (see Fig. 2) is one of two greenfield locations proposed for further development by the Study and the General Urban Plan.

3.1. Development conditions

Development of the Somborska-Studenička multifamily housing area began in the early 2000s on the very outskirts of the city, next to the family housing area. In the last fifteen years, the area has experienced rapid development with the strengthening of private capital. Unlike socialist housing estates, built on state owned land with no market value, this area has developed on fragmented plots of agricultural land acquired by investors from private owners. Since the housing was exclusively intended for the market, private investors strived for maximum utilization of construction plots, often disregarding the rules of construction set in planning documents. Weak institutional control over the implementation of planning documents has led to multiple deviations in construction such as exceeded maximum number of floors, occupancy index, floor area ratio, insufficient distances between buildings, etc.

Although the area was covered with General Urban Plan 1995, detailed zoning plans followed only later, after it was already affected by illegal construction. As Vasilevska et al. (2014) pointed out, the area is unique because development began before planning [28]. The first Detailed Zoning Plan (DZP) for this area, DZP “Somborska-centar” (“Official Gazette of the City of Nis” no. 106/04), was adopted in 2004 and the existing illegal housing was incorporated in the plan which partially affected the shape of building blocks. According to the DZP, the whole area was intended for housing and was divided in the following zones: “A” - neighborhood center with housing (max. allowed number of floors: GF+4); “B” - family or multifamily housing (max. allowed number of floors: GF+3)

and “V” - multifamily housing and commercial use (max. allowed number of floors: GF+4) (see Fig. 6). The largest part of planning area was intended for low-rise housing (GF+3). Maximum allowed number of floors, as well as other planning parameters defined within the DZP, were already exceeded before the plan came into force, which led to “re-planning” of the area and adoption of new DZPs.

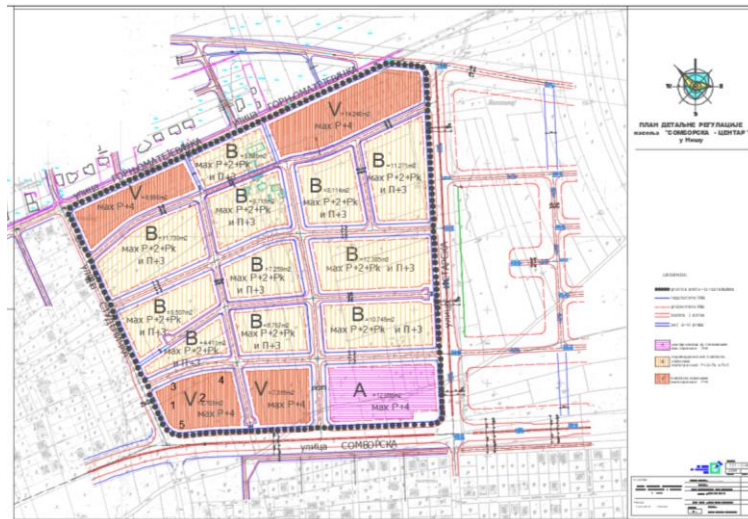


Fig. 6 Detailed Zoning Plan “Somborska-centar” (“Official Gazette of the City of Nis” no. 106/04).

New planning documents, i.e. modifications of existing planning documents, were adopted with aim to establish control over the development of the area, but they only legalized the existing deviations and created a basis for further deviations. Namely, subsequent planning documents increased the allowed parameters to enable the legalization of existing buildings, but later construction often exceeded even the newly set parameters. As Kiss (2007) pointed out, in the spirit of the neo-liberal thinking, which quickly took over the post-socialist states, the decisive factors in urban development became the forces of the market, almost to the exclusion of any other concerns [29].

Development of the Somborska-Studenička housing area was shaped by the following factors:

- private ownership of agricultural land on the outskirts of the city;
- strengthening of private capital, which enables the acquisition of land for construction;
- lack of detailed zoning plans in the initial phase of development (first detailed zoning plan for the area was adopted in 2004) and illegal construction;
- remnants of socialist urban planning / mismatch between the planning and implementation level (planning parameters for building block are not applicable at the level of individual building plot);
- weak institutional control of implementation of planning documents;
- investor-driven planning - modifications of planning documents aimed at legalizing the deviations in construction and adjustment to investor requirements.

These factors shaped the physical and functional structure of the area, affecting the residents' quality of life.

3.2. Physical and functional characteristics

The development of the Somborska-Studenička housing area, although formally "sketched" by planning documents, was actually shaped by investors' interpretation of the planning rules, aimed at achieving the highest possible profit. Although illegal construction on the periphery appeared in the socialist period and was tolerated by authorities as "exit" strategy in housing, it gained its full momentum in the post-socialist period. Investor urbanism reflected in the formation of privately owned individual plots with individual multi-story housing exclusively assigned to the market, without any consideration of the wider context, which led to total space fragmentation and the absence of spatial integrity [28].

Violation of planning rules

The violation of planning rules was not an individual phenomenon, but a common practice in development of Somborska-Studenička. Although it was previously planned as low-rise housing (max. number of floors GF+4), the current state in the area indicates a different development. The most common deviations include:

- exceeded number of floors – almost doubled in some parts of the area (up to GF+7), paired with construction of multistory attics (two or even three stories);
- exceeded occupancy index and floor area ratio;
- use of underground floors (basements) for residential use (see Fig. 7B);
- insufficient number of parking spaces (garages are often transformed in residential or commercial space);
- insufficient distance between building, often below the minimum allowed values not only for MH, but for any form of construction (Fig. 7);
- insufficient percentage, or even more often, total lack of green areas, etc.

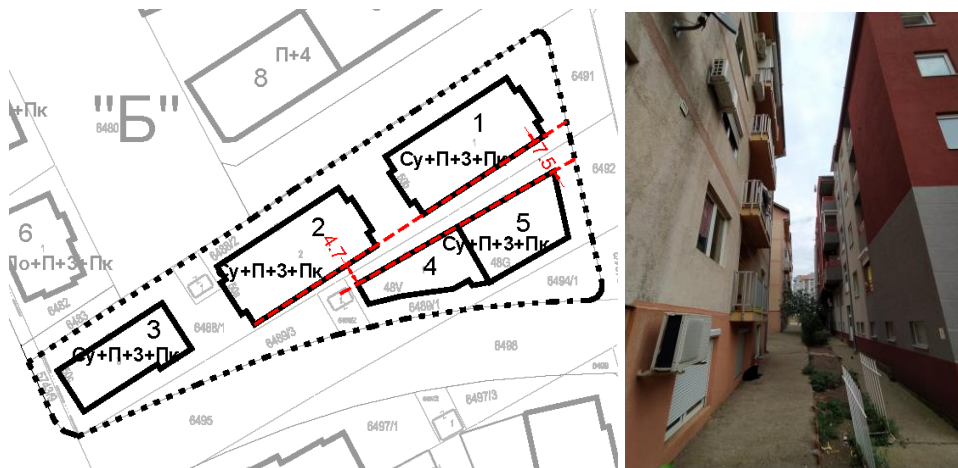


Fig. 7 Building arrangement and distance between buildings (source: authors)

Presence of such amount of deviations, indicates some additional deficiencies of planning documents, such as:

- poor definition of underground floors and their use;
- poor definition of attic and the number of attic floors - in some cases it is almost impossible to define the number of floors, since there are more attic floors;
- no distinction of green and open spaces and their use, etc.

Public open spaces and public services

The shift of power from the public to the private sector deeply affected the urban planning. Lack of public finances for the acquisition of agricultural land for public uses (public open space and public services) led to planning solutions that abolish most public uses and retain only the necessary ones, such as access streets. Streets are still considered public open spaces (POS), whereas other forms of POSs are completely ignored [28]. Somborska-Studenička area, which was primarily planned as a neighborhood unit within the GUP 1995, has been transformed into a residential and business zone by subsequent changes of GUP and DZP “Somborska-centar”. Public uses (school, kindergarten, park etc.) were replaced by profitable ones - residential and commercial uses. Due to the lack of public funds, infrastructure development lagged behind the multi-family housing development financed by private capital. The internal street network, necessary for functioning of the housing area, was partially built only at the beginning of 2021. Basic public services (school and kindergarten) have been relocated by plan to the eastern, undeveloped part of the location to delay their construction. So, the housing area with more than 5,000 inhabitants develops without any form of public open /green space and basic public services.

Lack of private open/green space

Negative effects have materialized not only in the case of POS but also in the case of open spaces in general. The disappearance of open / green space is partially a result of remnants of “socialist mindset” in urban planning. Green areas were substantial part of socialist LHE, making up more than 50% of their area. That is partially a reason why in post-socialist urban plans, including DZP “Somborska-centar”, green spaces were defined only formally, without binding percentage in total area of building plot. In GUP 2010 („Official Gazette of the City of Nis“ No. 43/11) the percentage of open space and greenery is expressed as one (10% of building plot), there is no binding percentage of greenery, so the entire open space around the building can be paved [30], which is often the case. The planning documents oblige all investors to provide parking and open green areas within their plots. Because parking is strictly defined, and open space only formally so, in practice, open space has been completely neglected [28]. Extreme examples indicate complete disappearance of greenery at the plot level (Fig. 7).

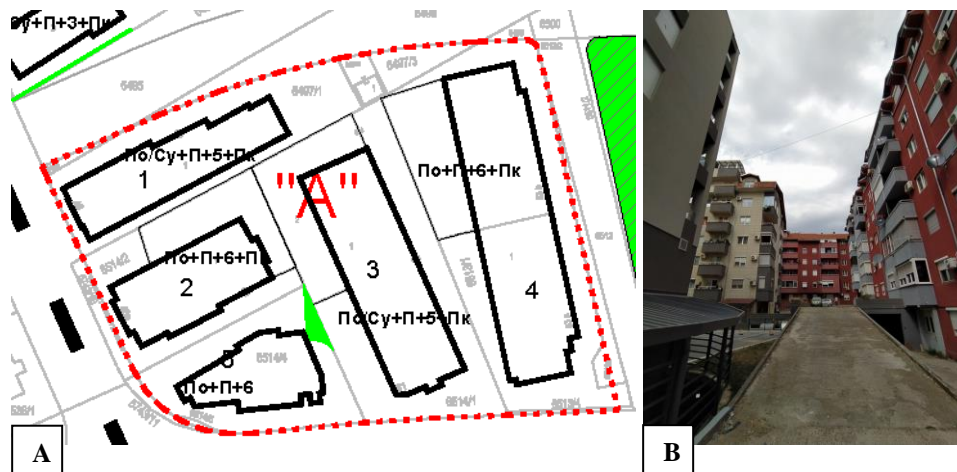


Fig 8 Greenery and open space in building block “A” (source: authors)

Organization of pedestrian and car traffic

Due to its compact urban structure, the City of Niš has managed to retain the efficient traffic network system on the entire city territory, including the suburban belt [31]. That makes the area Somborska-Studenička well connected to the city center and easily accessible, which is a good basis for further development. As opposed to well organized external street network, the internal traffic, both vehicle and pedestrian is very poorly organized. Street network is dense and composed of oversized streets dividing the area into small blocks. Due to private land ownership, blocks are organized randomly - “plot by plot”, with a criterion of maximum land utilization and with no consideration of spatial integrity and pedestrian connections (see Fig. 7 and Fig. 8). Individual development of plots caused numerous denivelations at the ground level, additionally reducing the walkability and limiting the pedestrian paths to street sidewalks only (see Fig. 8B).

Physical and functional manifestations of investor urbanism supported by planning documents can be summarized in the following:

- congestion of space caused by high occupancy level, building density, exceeded object height and insufficient distance between buildings;
- space fragmentation and absence of spatial integrity;
- lack of open /green space (public and private);
- poorly designed pedestrian and vehicle traffic patterns;
- lack of basic public services.

CONCLUSION

Transformation of urban structure is third and the longest lasting phase of post-socialist transformation. As Hirt (2012) pointed out, the following features of the transformation were especially important for cities: the return of market mechanisms and the re-commodification of space, change of ownership patterns, a shift of control from state to local levels, a sharp increase in the number of actors participating in city-

building, and a fundamentally changed role for planning [32]. Being an integral part of the urban structure, MH was also deeply affected by these changes.

Multifamily housing in post-socialist period is analyzed on the example of the City of Niš, one of the most important former industrial centers in Serbia, which undergone dramatic changes after the collapse of the socialist system. Having in mind almost complete withdrawal of public sector from housing, except small-scale projects (social housing, housing for university staff and armed forces), we can say the private sector and landownership had a decisive role in MHD in post-socialist period. Accordingly, two characteristic development phases can be distinguished. The first, initial phase is characterized by weak private sector, low availability of construction land in inner-city area due to unresolved property rights and multifamily housing development in form of MHEs and construction on greenfield sites on the outskirts of the city. Second phase is marked with the strengthening of the private sector, greater availability of construction land and the spread of different types and scale of multifamily housing to all parts of the city: infill development (mostly in socialist LHEs), reconstruction of the city center, larger-scale construction on brownfield and greenfield sites.

The analysis of the Somborska - Studenička housing area, showed that physical and functional structure of the area is largely a result of systematic violations of building rules set in planning documents, as well as deficiencies of planning documents. Investor-driven development resulted in spatial and functional fragmentation of space, loss of open and green areas (both public and private), lack of basic public services, pedestrian inaccessibility and congestion of space, affecting the quality of life of residents at the neighborhood level.

Numerous changes to the existing planning documents proved to be a bad solution because they mainly focused on specific problems, without reevaluation of overall planning concept. Namely, the changes to the plans were aimed at establishing a control over the future development of the area, but they actually legalized the existing deviations and made a basis for further abuse. It seems that the planning lagged behind the construction from the very beginning of development. Instead of development following the plan, plans usually followed the development.

The fact that section Somborska - Studenička is only a part of wider area, which is currently under the pressure of housing development, arises the need for profound changes in the way of planning. Long-term solutions need to be devised in collaboration between planners and market actors, though it is obvious that this delicate balance between planning and market forces in post-socialist circumstances in Serbia has not yet been established [33].

The authorities of the City of Niš recently launched an initiative to change the general zoning plans for the city municipalities. The most significant change compared to the existing plans could be the increase of the allowed number of stories (up to twelve or fourteen) in suitable locations, among which the Somborska area is often mentioned. Although this initiative may resemble the socialist planning of LHE, modified conditions of development must be carefully analyzed in order to avoid the effects of investor urbanism present in the built-up part of the area.

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KARAKTERISTIKE RAZVOJA VIŠEPORODIČNOG STANOVANJA U POST-SOCIJALISTIČKOM PERIODU- STUDIJA SLUČAJA, NIŠ

Rad se bavi karakteristikama razvoja višeporodičnog stanovanja (MHD) u specifičnim uslovima postsocijalističke tranzicije. Višeslojne političke, institucionalne i društveno-ekonomske promene uticale su na promenu urbane strukture gradova, uključujući i stambena područja. Vremenska distanca od trideset godina od početka tranzicije u Srbiji daje nam dobru poziciju da pratimo i u potpunosti razumemo efekte promena, uključujući poslednju i najdugotrajniju fazu tranzicionog procesa – urbane promene. Razvoj višeporodičnog stanovanja u postsocijalističkom periodu sagledan je na primeru grada Niša, tipičnog socijalističkog industrijskog grada koji je pretrpeo dramatične promene u post-socijalističkom periodu i predstavlja dobar poligon za praćenje tranzicionih promena i njihovih efekata. Cilj rada je da se prepoznaju različiti tipovi višeporodičnog stanovanja i tranzicione promene koje su dovele do određenog tipa razvoja i njihovog prostornog rasporeda u gradu. Istraživanje daje klasifikaciju tipova višeporodičnog stanovanja prema mestu razvoja, poreklu kapitala, obimu izgradnje, vremenu pojavljivanja. Istraživanje sugerise da na razvoj višeporodičnog stanovanja posebno utiču privatizacija u početnoj fazi tranzicije, restitucija u kasnijoj fazi tranzicije, promena uloge javnog i privatnog sektora u stambenom razvoju, kao i promene u urbanističkom planiranju.

Ključne reči: višeporodično stanovanje, urbane promene, postsocijalizam, tranzicija, Grad Niš