

PREGLED RAZVOJA TEORIJA U PROUČAVANJU ZADOVOLJSTVA STANOVANJEM

THEORIES OF HOUSING QUALITY SATISFACTION: AN OVERVIEW

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Zadovoljstvo stanovanjem jedan je od pokazatelja kvalitete života koji utječe na sve aspekte životnih dimenzija, od fizičkih, ekonomskih, socijalnih do psiholoških. Zbog svoje kompleksnosti, stanovanje se smatra interdisciplinarnim područjem istraživanja, pa različite struke primjenjuju različite pristupe, koncepte, modele i mjere. Da bi neko istraživanje o stanovanju moglo biti sveobuhvatno, nužno je dati teorijski okvir u njegovu proučavanju. U velikom broju znanstvenih radova, istraživanja i projekata, teorije stanovanja često nisu objašnjene potpuno. Na temelju proučene recentne literature ovaj rad donosi pregled i sintezu najčešće korištenih teorija o zadovoljstvu stanovanja na jednom mjestu. To su teorija stambenog zadovoljstva na kojoj počiva model zadovoljstva stanovanjem, a polazi od subjektivnih percepcija; teorija stambene prilagodbe kao najcitiranija teorija u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem; teorija stambene pokretljivosti koja poseban naglasak stavlja na stambeno okruženje kao važnog prediktora zadovoljstva stanovanjem; teorija formiranja impresija koja se rabi pri ispitivanjima dojmova o fizičkim aspektima stambenog okoliša i fizičkoj strukturi zgrade/kuće; bihevioralna teorija kao najčešće korištena teorija u geografskom ispitivanju zadovoljstva stanovanjem; teorija hedonističkog ergometra kao najpoznatija teorija afektivnih iskustava; teorija aspiracijske spirale koja predviđa adaptacijske efekte; teorija troškova stanovanja koja zadovoljstvo stanovanjem povezuje s troškovima; funkcionalistička teorija koja je usmjerena društvenoj harmoniji; marksistička teorija prema kojoj svako biće ima pravo na adekvatno stanovanje neovisno o ekonomskom statusu i pozitivistička teorija stanovanja koja prednost daje objektivnom pristupu. Cilj pregleda navedenih teorija je njihovo sveobuhvatnije korištenje u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem od mikrorazine do makrorazine. U radu je objašnjen koncept zadovoljstva stanovanjem i kritički osvrt za navedene teorije te su navedene njihove prednosti i nedostaci u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: teorije stanovanja, zadovoljstvo stanovanjem

Housing satisfaction is one of the indicators of the quality of life. It affects all aspects of life dimensions, from physical, economic, social and psychological well-being. Because of its complexity, housing is considered an interdisciplinary research area. Different professions apply different approaches, concepts, models and measures in exploring housing satisfaction. For housing research to be comprehensive, it is necessary to formulate a theoretical framework first. In a large number of scientific papers, researches and projects, housing theories are often partially explained. For this reason, and based on a review of the latest literature,

this paper provides a synthesis and overview of the following theories of housing quality satisfaction: the theory of housing satisfaction on which the model of housing satisfaction is based, starts with subjective perceptions, the theory of housing adjustment as the most frequently cited theory in the study of housing quality satisfaction; the housing mobility theory, which places particular emphasis on the housing environment as an important predictor of housing quality satisfaction; the theory on impression formation which is used in examining impressions of the physical aspects of the housing environment and the physical structure of buildings / houses; behavioural theory as the most commonly used theory in geographic study of housing satisfaction; the theory of the hedonistic ergometer as the most well-known theory of affective experiences; the theory of the aspiration spiral that anticipates adaptation effects; the housing price theory that combines housing satisfaction with costs; a functionalist theory that is oriented towards social harmony; the Marxist theory that every living being has the right to adequate housing regardless of economic status and the positivist housing theory which gives precedence to the objective approach.

The purpose of this overview is to establish a more comprehensive image in the study of housing satisfaction at all spatial levels (from micro to macro). The concept of housing satisfaction and a critical review of the aforementioned theories, as well as their advantages and disadvantages, are explained and presented in this paper.

KEY WORDS: housing theory, housing satisfaction

UVOD

Zadovoljstvo stanovanjem može se definirati kao subjektivna prosudba koja proizlazi iz cjelokupne percepcije onoga što osoba vidi kao važan element u stambenom okruženju u određenom trenutku. Budući da se proučavanje stanovanja ubraja u interdisciplinarno područje, njezine sastavnice su heterogene, no vrlo često međusobno povezane. Različiti autori pojam stanovanja, kao i zadovoljstvo stanovanjem, različito definiraju što ovisi i o teoriji na koju se oslanjaju u svojem istraživanju. Tako prema R. J. Lawrenceu (1995.), stanovanje je koncept koji nije statičan, ni apsolutan. Odnosno, zadovoljstvo stanovanjem nije jednako u različitim zemljama zbog specifičnosti pojedinih skupina ljudi, no kod svih zemalja jednaka je činjenica da se zadovoljstvo stanovanjem „izdiže“ iznad fizičke kvalitete zgrada (BUCKENBERGER, 2009.). Time su osim fizičkih odrednica stanovanja obuhvaćene i stambene percepcije. U međunarodnoj literaturi stanovanje je definirano kroz proviziju i dostupnost. Ono je fizička cjelina koja se očituje kroz kodove zgrada, regulacije i standarde (GOODCHILD, 1997.; CARMONA, 2001.; FRANKLIN, 2001.). Drugi pristup u definiranju zadovoljstva stanovanja polazi od „doma“. Prema H. Lutz-Struliku i R. Vale (2002.), P. Sommervillu i C. Chanu (2001.) i P. Kingu (1996.), dom je viša razina kvalitete od fizičkog objekta, odnosno domovi pružaju obiteljsku i socijalnu interakciju te razvoj osobnog identiteta.

Sastavnice stanovanja počinju se proučavati 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća s pojavom prvih istraživanja kvalitete života (KNOX, 1975.; CAMPBELL I DR., 1976.; PACIONE, 1986.). Od tada do danas teorijski koncepti stanovanja mijenjali su se s promjenama potreba stanovnika. Važan aspekt istraživanja stambenog zadovoljstva je i prostorna dimenzija što određuje razinu generalizacije u shvaćanju njene kvalitete. Na to su posebno upućivali N. Helburn (1982.), te R. A. Murdie i dr. (1992.) koji su naglašavali „geografsku dimenziju zadovoljstva stanovanjem“. Mjerenje zadovoljstva stanovanja utječe i kao određujući čimbenik na mnoge druge aspekte istraživanja kvalitete života. To se odnosi na izbor indikatora, metode

INTRODUCTION

Housing satisfaction is defined as a subjective judgment derived from the overall perception of what a person sees as an essential element in a housing environment at a given moment. Since housing studies are considered as an interdisciplinary field, their components are heterogeneous but very often interrelated. The concept of housing and housing satisfaction, are defined differently by different authors depending on the theory that they rely on in their research. Thus, according to R. J. Lawrence (1995), housing is a concept that is neither static nor absolute. In other words, housing satisfaction is not the same in different countries due to the specificity of particular groups of people, but what is equally visible in many countries is the fact that housing satisfaction “rises” above the physical quality of the buildings (BUCKENBERGER, 2009). Besides the physical dimension of housing, other perspectives of housing have also been included. In international literature, housing is defined through commissions and availability. This represents a physical entity that is manifested through development and building control codes, regulations and standards (GOODCHILD, 1997; CARMONA, 2001; FRANKLIN, 2001). The second approach to defining housing satisfaction starts from the “home”. According to H. Lutz-Strulik and R. Vale (2002), P. Sommerville and C. Chan (2001) and P. King (1996), the home has a higher level of quality than a physical object, i.e. home provides for family and social interaction and the development of a personal identity.

Housing components were first explored in the 1960s in the 20th century with the emergence of the first research in quality of life (KNOX, 1975; CAMPBELL ET AL., 1976; PACIONE, 1986). Since then, theoretical concepts of housing have changed, with transformations in the needs and demands of residents. An important aspect of housing satisfaction is the spatial dimension that determines the level of generalization in understanding its quality. This was pointed out in particular by N. Helburn, (1982), and R. A. Murdie et al. (1992), who emphasized the “geographic dimension of housing satisfaction.” Measurement of housing satisfaction also affects the determining factor for many other aspects of research in quality of life. This refers to the selection of indicators, meth-

prikupljanja podataka, obradu i vizualizaciju podataka. U bavljenju stambenom problematikom istraživači se često oslanjaju na konceptualne i teorijske okvire razvijene u društvenim znanostima. Primjerice, J. Kemeny (1992.) navodi koncept stambenih klasa J. Rexa i R. Moora (1967.), te pokušaj P. Saundersa i P. Williamsa (1988.) da u razmatranju stanovanja više pozornosti usmjere na kućanstvo i socijalne procese povezane s korištenjem stanova (MILETIĆ, 2012.). No budući da je stanovanje u prvom redu višedimenzionalan koncept te se na njega može gledati kao na objekt, proizvod, proces, resurs, okoliš, simbol ili čak stanje uma ljudi (STEGGELL I DR. 2001.; SIDI, SHARIPAH, 2011.) ono je objašnjeno kroz nekoliko različitih teorija.

KONCEPT ZADOVOLJSTVA STANOVANJEM

Ideje o konceptu stambenog zadovoljstva prisutne su u sve većem broju znanstvenih disciplina, a one su toliko različite da ne postoji jedinstvena definicija. Pojednostavljeno objašnjenje bilo bi da je zadovoljstvo raskorak između želja, potreba i ostvarenog cilja. No ono se može definirati i kao složeni konstrukt izložen utjecaju raznih ekoloških i društveno-geografskih varijabli (MOHIT I DR., 2010.) ili pak kao višedimenzionalna evaluacija pojedinaca o značajkama njihova fizičkog i socijalnog okruženja (BELESTRA, SULTAN, 2013.). Istraživanja stambenog zadovoljstva uglavnom su usmjerena na analizu stambene jedinice i njezina susjedstva, a najčešće integriraju objektivne i subjektivne pokazatelje (ŠILJEG, 2016.). Ovakav pristup proučavanju zadovoljstva stanovanjem posebice je postao popularan s početkom istraživanja kvalitete života (CAVRIC, 2011.). Osim fizičkih i strukturnih obilježja interijera i eksterijera stambene jedinice, na zadovoljstvo stanovanjem utječu i osobna obilježja pojedinca, ali i socijalna, bihevioralna, kulturna i demografska obilježja kućanstva (BELESTRA, SULTAN, 2013.). Posljedica toga je različito gledanje na definiciju što zadovoljstvo stanovanjem zapravo jest. Upravo zbog toga neki autori slijede svrsishodan pristup gdje su osobni ciljevi stanovnika u cen-

ods of data collection, processing and mapping results. In dealing with housing issues, researchers often rely on conceptual and theoretical frameworks that have been developed within the social sciences. For example, J. Kemeny (1992) mentions the concept of housing classes by J. Rex and R. Moore (1967). The attempt of P. Saunders and P. Williams (1988) gives more attention to household and social processes related to the use of flats when considering housing (MILETIĆ, 2012). But since living, in the first place is a multidimensional concept, which can be viewed as an object, product, process, resource, environment, symbol or even a state of mind (STEGGELL ET AL. 2001; SIDI, SHARIPAH, 2011), it is explained through the prism of several binding theories.

THE CONCEPT OF HOUSING SATISFACTION

Ideas about the concept of housing satisfaction exist in numerous scientific disciplines, and they are so different that there is no single definition of the concept. A simplified explanation would be that satisfaction is a discrepancy between desire, needs and the achieved goal. However, it can be defined as a complex construct exposed to the influence of various ecological and socio-geographic variables (MOHIT ET AL., 2010) or as a multidimensional evaluation of individuals on the characteristics of their physical and social environment (BELESTRA, SULTAN, 2013). Housing satisfaction studies are mainly focused on the analysis of the dwelling unit and its neighbourhood and most often integrate both objective and subjective indicators (ŠILJEG, 2016). This type of approach to studying housing satisfaction has become particularly popular with the beginning of quality of life research (CAVRIC, 2011). In addition to the physical and structural elements of the interior and exterior of the dwelling unit, housing habits are influenced by the personal characteristics of the individual as well as the social, behavioural, cultural and demographic characteristics of the household (BELESTRA, SULTAN, 2013). The consequence of this is a different view at the definition of the real style of living. It is precisely for this reason that some authors follow a purposive approach, where the residents' personal goals are at the centre of the evaluation of

tru vrednovanja stambenog zadovoljstva, dok ga drugi definiraju kao „odraz stupnja koje stanovnici osjećaju prema stanovanju, a pomaže im u ostvarenju njihovih ciljeva“ (BELESTRA, SULTAN, 2013.). Ova i slična razmatranja objašnjavaju različite teorije objašnjene u ovom radu. Faktori stambenog zadovoljstva razlikuju se prema autorima, što utječe na definiranje i strukturu koncepta. Neki od njih su stupanj obrazovanja, dob, primanja, stambeni izbor, društvena obilježja susjedstva i sl. i svi oni u manjoj ili većoj mjeri utječu na zadovoljstvo stanovanjem. Prema G. Francescatu i dr. (1989.), početna točka za evaluacijske studije kojim bi se mjerila povezanost između obilježja stambenog okruženja i zadovoljstva stanara upravo je zadovoljstvo stanovanjem. To bi pomoglo i arhitektima i planerima da se više usmjere na aspekte stanogradnje koji će utjecati na povećanje zadovoljstva stanovanjem (FRANCESCATO I DR., 1989.). Zadovoljstvo stanovanjem može imati velik utjecaj na kvalitetu života, odnosno stambeno nezadovoljstvo najčešće uzrokuje stambenu mobilnost. Postoje i one socijalne kategorije koje nisu zadovoljne svojim stanovanjem, ali si istodobno ne mogu priuštiti preseljenje u drugu stambenu jedinicu. U takvim slučajevima odvija se kognitivna rekonstrukcija koja stambeno zadovoljstvo drži u ravnoteži sa stambenim okruženjem (AMERIGO, ARAGONES, 1997.). Koncept stambenog zadovoljstva najsveobuhvatnije su predstavili autori M. Amerigo i J. I. Aragones (1997.). Oni su svoja empirijska istraživanja usmjerili na određivanje prediktora kako bi objasnili varijacije unutar koncepta te su odredili četiri osnovne dimenzije: društvenu, fizičku, objektivnu i subjektivnu (AMERIGO, ARAGONES, 1997.). Sve češće primjenjivan konceptualni model zadovoljstva stanovanjem je i onaj autora M. A. Mohita i dr. (2010.) koji se temelji na ideji složenog konstrukta sastavljenog od značajki stambene jedinice, njezinih popratnih usluga, javnih objekata, društvenog okruženja i objekata ili primjerenih sadržaja unutar susjedstva (MOHIT I DR., 2010.). Prema M. A. Mohitu i dr. (2010.), stambeno zadovoljstvo definira se na temelju objektivnih i subjektivnih obilježja, pri čemu se subjektivna vrednuju kroz pet komponenti, a objektivna kroz društveno-gospodar-

housing satisfaction, while others define housing satisfaction as “a reflection of the degree to which the inhabitants feel their housing is helping them reach their goals” (BELESTRA, SULTAN, 2013). These and similar considerations explain the various theories that are explained in this paper. Housing satisfaction factors vary among authors, which affects the definition and the nature of the concept. Some of them are the level of education, age, income, housing choices, social features of neighbourhoods, and so on, and all of them to a lesser or greater extent affect housing satisfaction. According to G. Francescato et al. (1989), the starting point for evaluation studies to measure the correlation between the characteristics of the housing environment and the satisfaction of tenants is precisely satisfaction with housing. This would also help both architects and planners to focus more on aspects of housing construction that will bring about an increase in housing satisfaction (FRANCESCATO ET AL., 1989). Housing satisfaction can have a major impact on the quality of life, i.e., housing dissatisfaction usually causes housing mobility. However, there are also those social categories that are not satisfied with their housing, but at the same time they cannot afford to move to another dwelling unit. In such cases, a cognitive reconstruction takes place which keeps the housing satisfaction in balance with the housing environment (AMERIGO, ARAGONES, 1997). The concept of housing satisfaction was most comprehensively presented by M. Amerigo and J. I. Aragones (1997). They focused their empirical research on determining the predictor in order to explain variations within the concept and determined four basic dimensions: social, physical, objective and subjective (AMERIGO, ARAGONES, 1997). The more often used conceptual model of housing satisfaction is that of M. A. Mohit et al. (2010), based on the idea of a complex construct comprised of the characteristics of the dwelling unit, its accompanying services, public facilities, social environment and facilities or appropriate content within the neighbourhood (MOHIT ET AL., 2010). “The model shows that the respondents’ evaluation of objective attributes of housing, through their socio-economic and demographic characteristics becomes subjective attributes which can be captured into five components of housing satisfaction and these five components together form the basis of res-

ska i demografska obilježja. Navedeni konceptualni modeli nadograđuju se kroz različite struke, ovisno o objektu i ciljevima istraživanja, a svaki od njih polazi od određene teorije koje su objašnjene u tekstu.

TEORIJE U PROUČAVANJU STANOVANJA

1. Marksistička teorija stanovanja

Marksistička teorija javila se u razdoblju od 1844. do 1848. kao teorija društvenih promjena. Njezini kreatori bili su Karl Marx i Friedrich Engels, a njihov je cilj bio pomoći proletarijatu da ponovno počnu nadzirati svoje živote u svakom smislu. Iako se teorija temelji na ekonomskom pogledu na aspekte ljudskog života, rabila se i u ispitivanjima stambenog zadovoljstva i to kod upotrebe zemljišta, najamnina stanova, pogoršanju uvjeta stanovanja i sl. Marksistička teorija smatra se jednom od prvih teorija stanovanja, a polazi od pretpostavke da svako biće ima pravo na kvalitetno stanovanje neovisno o ekonomskom statusu, odnosno da bi ekonomske razlike između bogatih i siromašnih slojeva što se tiče stanovanja morale biti najmanje vidljive. Budući da marksizam počiva na „rušenju“ kapitalističkog pogleda na zadovoljstvo stanovanjem, Marx i Engels pisali su da bi se ekonomske razlike između buržoazije i proletarijata trebale smanjiti što bi za posljedicu imalo i smanjenje razlika u zadovoljstvu stanovanjem. Protivnici ove teorije bili su S. E. Barton (1977.) te A. Skarburskis i M. Moos (2008.) koji su se priklonili kapitalističkoj teoriji stanovanja s objašnjenjem da bi proletarijat pod kapitalističkim režimom postao svjestan svojega lošeg položaja i da bi to bio pokretač promjena kod te klase društva. Odnosno, da bi nešto postalo bolje, prvo mora biti loše kako bi se u pojedincu dogodila spoznaja o napretku. Marksističkom teorijom stanovanja najviše se bavio A. M. Soliman. U svojim radovima dao je nekoliko definicija stanovanja koje su kasnije citirali mnogi, osobito geografi. Marksistički pogled definira stanovanje u smislu tri temeljne dimenzije (SOLIMAN, 2004.): 1. stanovanje je osnovna

idential satisfaction of the inhabitants” (MOHIT ET AL, 2010). These conceptual models are upgraded by different professions, depending on the object and objectives of the research, each starting from the particular theory explained in the text.

THEORIES OF HOUSING STUDIES

1. Marxist Housing Theory

The Marxist theory emerged in the period from 1844 to 1848 as a theory of social change. Its creators were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and their goal was to help the proletariat to resume control over their lives in every respect. Although the theory is based on economic aspects of human life, it has also been used in housing satisfaction studies, where the analyses of land use, rented housing and worsening of housing conditions, etc. were in research focus. Marxist theory is considered one of the first housing theories and starts from the assumption that every human has the right to quality housing irrespective of economic status, i.e. that the economic differences between the rich and the poor in terms of household incomes should be least visible. Since Marxism rests on the “destruction” of capitalist views on housing satisfaction, Marx and Engels have written that the economic differences between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat should be reduced, which would also result in a reduction in the differences in housing satisfaction. Opponents of this theory were S. E. Barton (1977), A. Skarburskis and M. Moos (2008), who sided with the capitalist housing theory, explaining that the proletariat under the capitalist regime would become aware of its deprived position and that it would be a driver of change in that class of society. Namely, to make things better, first it must be less developed to get a sense of progress in the individual. Marxist housing theory was most dealt with by A. M. Soliman in his works, in which he gave several definitions of housing that were later cited in many works, especially by geographers. The Marxist view defines housing in terms of three fundamental dimensions (SOLIMAN, 2004). “1) Housing is a necessary good, a means of subsistence that is necessary for the reproduction of the labor force and is therefore a good whose cost enters directly or indirectly into

potreba čija je funkcija preživljavanje, 2. stanovanje nije moguće bez zauzimanja zemljišta na određenoj lokaciji i 3. stanovanje se gleda prema uporabnoj vrijednosti, a mogu je ostvariti samo oni pojedinci koji posjeduju određena financijska sredstva. Ova treća dimenzija najpopularnija je bila u vrijeme kapitalizma (SOLIMAN, 2004.). Prema ovoj teoriji, svrha ekonomskih aktivnosti je zadovoljstvo općih ljudskih potreba u koje se ubraja i stanovanje i njegova kvaliteta. Pobornici liberalne teorije dali su drukčije definicije stanovanja. Za njih je stanovanje osnovna društvena komponenta u kojoj se održava život stanovnika, a stambeni objekt ima funkciju ispunjenja potreba stanovnika. U središtu ovoga procesa su i običaji i interakcije među članovima zajednice (SOLIMAN, 2004.). Poseban naglasak kod liberalne teorije je na socioekonomskim razlikama obitelji o čemu ovise i stambene potrebe i različit pogled na stambeno zadovoljstvo. Marksistička teorija bila je polazište za razvoj novih teorija koje su svojim postulatima pridonijele razvoju koncepta stambenog zadovoljstva.

2. Pozitivistička teorija stanovanja

Začetnik pozitivističkih ideja je Auguste Comte. Temeljna pretpostavka pozitivizma je da se određena pojava može mjeriti, odnosno pozitivistička teorija uključuje sve pojave kod kojih se može utvrditi uzrok i posljedica, dok osjećaji nisu posebno važni. Pozitivisti su, prema A. M. Solimanu (2004.), stanovanje definirali kroz tri dimenzije: 1. ekonomski status o kojem ovisi fizičko poboljšanje stambene jedinice, čime stambena jedinica podiže svoju ekonomsku vrijednost, 2. zdravstveno stanje unutar stambenih jedinica koje se može mjeriti, odnosno pojedinci bi trebali živjeti u zdravstveno prihvatljivim objektima radi daljnjega potrebnog napretka cijele zajednice i 3. doprinos vlasti u osiguranju stambenih jedinica gdje bi vladajući trebali osigurati dostupnost adekvatnog stanovanja svakom pojedincu (SOLIMAN, 2004.). Pozitivistička teorija se ponajprije oslanja na „objektivan“ pristup vrednovanju određenih pojava, no u istraživanju zadovoljstva stanovanjem važna je i „subjektivna“ komponenta, odnosno percepcije i osjećaji

the production of all commodities. This means that housing in a capitalist social formation is of interest to classes of people other than those who immediately consume it.” 2) “Housing is a fixed good. A material precondition for producing a house is that it has to occupy land in a specific location. Land is a limited product and the right to use it is preserved by legal regulations (SOLIMAN, 2004). “3) In a capitalist social formation, housing not only has a use but also an exchange value; it is, or can become, a commodity whose consumption can only be realized by those with a housing need and who can afford to purchase it” (SOLIMAN, 2004). According to this theory, the purpose of economic activities is the satisfaction of basic human needs, which include both housing and its quality. Supporters of liberal theory gave different definitions of housing. “Living for them is a dynamic process that takes place in accordance with the needs of the residents, and the connectivity and interactivity with the members of the community. In addition, housing is a vital component of life that, because of the materials, elements and services it uses, follows economic, social and cultural changes, and the dwelling unit reflects the life of the residents, the customs and backgrounds of every social group” (SOLIMAN, 2004). A particular emphasis of liberal theory is on the socioeconomic differences of the family, on which both the housing needs and the different views on housing satisfaction depend. Marxist theory was the starting point for the development of new theories whose postulates contributed to the development of the concept of housing satisfaction.

2. The Positivists Housing Theory

The originator of positivism is Auguste Comte, and the fundamental premise of positivism is that a certain phenomenon can be measured, i.e. the theory includes all phenomena for which the cause and effect can be determined, while emotional attitudes are not particularly important. According to A. M. Soliman (2004), Positivists defined housing by three dimensions: 1) the economic status on which the physical improvement of the dwelling unit depends, and with which the dwelling unit increases its economic value; 2) the health situation within the dwelling units that can be measured; i.e. individuals should live in health-friendly facilities for the further development

pojedinaца. O sinergiji objektivnih i subjektivnih mjera u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem pisali su brojni autori (CAMPBELL I DR., 1976.; MATTIKA, 2001.; BHADA, HOORNWEG, 2009.; ŠILJEG, 2016.) s ciljem da se dobije što potpunija slika stambene stvarnosti. Ova teorija važna je zbog elementa „objektivnih pokazatelja“ koji su često bili isključeni u nekim drugim teorijama. O važnosti objektivnih mjera raspravljalo se i u konceptu kvalitete života koji na neki način objedinjuje i stambeno zadovoljstvo. Stoga se istraživanja o zadovoljstvu stanovanjem ne mogu temeljiti samo na pozitivističkoj teoriji nego je u koncept zadovoljstva potrebno uključiti i neke druge teorije koje uključuju i subjektivnu komponentu.

3. Funkcionalistička teorija stanovanja

Funkcionalizam se kao društvena teorija javlja u američkoj sociologiji 40-ih i 50-ih godina prošloga stoljeća te naglašava društvenu harmoniju i njezino očuvanje. Usredotočena je na sklad dijelova unutar nekog sustava, a počiva na načelima ekonomičnosti, jednostavnosti, prilagođenosti ambijentu i funkcionalnosti. U geografiji se funkcionalistička teorija najviše rabila u sklopu urbane geografije, posebice u određivanju hijerarhije funkcija u gradovima (na manifestne i latentne). Funkcionalistička teorija stanovanja počivala je na tvrdnji da „forma uvijek slijedi funkciju“ što se posebice primjenjivalo u arhitekturi. Prema ovoj postavci, funkcija stambenog objekta trebala bi biti okosnica svih ostalih obilježja (veličine objekta, odnos prostora unutar objekta i sl.), a kada bi bile zadovoljene funkcije stambenog objekta i zadovoljstvo stanovanjem bilo bi veće. I. Rogić (1990.) je kritizirao funkcionalistički pristup stanovanju zbog ideje „masovne kuće“ gdje se u sklopu urbane i stambene reforme nastojalo povećati zadovoljstvo stanovanjem. On je tvrdio da su stanovi u konceptu „masovne kuće“ zamišljeni samo kao objekti koji služe za zadovoljavanje funkcije prehrane, zaštite i sna, dok su druge funkcije smještene izvan stambenog objekta. Taj koncept autor naziva konceptom „protektivnog stana“ (ROGIĆ, 1990.). Pri tome autor ne osporava reforme koje su proizašle iz funkcionalističke

of the community as a whole, and 3) the contribution of the government in ensuring dwelling units where the authorities should ensure the availability of adequate housing for each individual (SOLIMAN, 2004). Positivist theory primarily rests on an “objective” approach to evaluating certain phenomena, but in housing satisfaction studies, the “subjective” component is also important, that is, the perceptions and feelings of individuals. Numerous authors (CAMPBELL ET AL., 1976; MATTIKA, 2001; BHADA, HOORNWEG, 2009; ŠILJEG, 2016) have written about the synergy of objective and subjective measures in housing satisfaction studies aimed at obtaining as complete a picture of housing reality as possible. This theory is important precisely because of the element of “objective indicators” that were often excluded in some other theories. The importance of objective measures was also discussed in the concept of the quality of life that in some way encompasses housing satisfaction. Thus, housing satisfaction studies cannot be based solely on positivist theory, but the concept of satisfaction should include some other theories that also include the subjective component.

3. Functionalist Housing Theory

Functionality as a social paradigm emerged in American sociology in the 1940s and 1950s and emphasizes social harmony and its preservation. It focuses on the harmony of parts within a system, based on the principles of economy, simplicity, townscape adaptation and functionality. The functionalist theory was most widely used in urban geography, especially in determining the hierarchy of functions in cities (both apparent and underlying). The functionalist theory of living was based on the statement that “the form always follows the function”, which was particularly applied in architecture. According to this premise, the function of the dwelling unit should be the basis of all other features (the size of the building, the floor area ratio within the building, etc.), and when the form and function of the dwelling unit were satisfied, housing satisfaction would be greater. I. Rogić (1990) criticized the functionalist approach to housing because of the idea of “mass housing” where, within the urban and housing reform, the aim was to increase housing satisfaction by constructing a larger number of residential units. He

teorije stanovanja, a odnose se na *higijenizaciju grada*. Osnovni nedostatak jednom i drugom konceptu je da se stanovanje gleda isključivo kao sredstvo unutar kojeg se ispunjava potreba za zaklonom i sigurnošću, a prema I. Rogiću (1990.), takvu funkciju imale su i pećine (ROGIĆ, 1990.). Osim toga nedostatak je i manjak društvenih interakcija i veza u stambenom okruženju, dok bi prednost bila nova konstruktivna rješenja (osobito u aspektu arhitekture), slobodno oblikovanje unutarnjeg prostora koje utječu na zadovoljstvo stanovanjem. Tu se postavlja pitanje jesu li za zadovoljstvo stanovanjem važniji stambeni pokazatelji ili pak oni o stambenom okruženju. Prema funkcionalističkoj teoriji, to bi bili stambeni pokazatelji, dok su neki autori (ŠILJEG, 2016.) u svojim istraživanjima utvrdili upravo suprotno, da na zadovoljstvo stanovanja više utječu pokazatelji kvalitete stambenog okruženja. Kako bi nadopunile postojeće, javljaju se nove teorije o zadovoljstvu stanovanja.

4. Teorija stambene mobilnosti

Teorija stambene mobilnosti predstavljena je 1955. godine u Rossiovoj knjizi „Why Families Move“. Rossie je teoriju razvio na temelju Reinerove ideje o nezadovoljstvu u obiteljskom domu koje pokreću obitelj na preseljenje, a i on se oslonio na koncept obiteljskog životnog ciklusa kroz potrebe stanovanja. Istraživao je stambenu mobilnost u SAD-u jer je upravo ona bila temelj promjena u urbanim područjima. Naglasak istraživanja bio je na tipologiji stanovanja i obilježjima neposrednog društvenog i gospodarskog okruženja. Ove varijable u svojim radovima spominjali su i S. Weidemann i J. Anderson (1985.) koji su relativno rano uočili važnost utjecaja stambenog okruženja. Oni navode da „stambena vrijednost jednog stana ne ovisi samo o veličini stana i opremljenosti prostorija nego i o djelatnostima i ustanovama koje omogućuju socijalnu komunikaciju i dovoljnu ponudu prometnih, obrazovnih, informativnih i rekreacijskih mogućnosti, te mogućnost stana opskrbljivanjem dobrima i uslugama“ (SEDA, 1972.). Time je potvrđena teza da su obilježja susjedstva iznimno bitni prediktori koji će utjecati na stambenu mobilnost. Sve varijable

argued that flats in the “mass housing” concept were conceived only as objects that serve to satisfy the functions of nutrition, protection and sleep, while other functions are housed outside the dwelling unit. This concept is called “protective dwelling” by the author of the concept (ROGIĆ, 1990). Thereby, the author does not refute the reforms that arise from the functionalist theory of housing, which refer to the improved level of public health and hygienisation of the city. “Both concepts are based on the assumption that man is solely a being of necessity, and therefore none of the above concepts are well accepted in the scientific sphere. This is why there is disagreement over the view of housing as a practice in which only the need for shelter and security is fulfilled, since from the standpoint of need, both the cave and the house are authentic” (ROGIĆ, 1990). The main disadvantage of this theory would be the lack of social interactions and relationships in the residential neighbourhoods, while the new building technology solutions (particularly in civil engineering and architecture) would be the advantage, the free formation of the inner space that would affect housing satisfaction. There is a question of whether housing indicators of individual dwelling units or those of the residential neighbourhoods are more relevant for housing satisfaction. According to the functionalist theory, this would be housing indicators, while some authors (ŠILJEG, 2016) claimed exactly the opposite in their studies, namely that indicators of the quality of the residential neighbourhoods have a greater impact on housing satisfaction due to more complex socio-economic and environmental phenomenon. That is why new theories on housing satisfaction are emerging to complement the existing ones.

4. Housing Mobility Theory

The theory of housing mobility was presented in 1955 in Rossi's book “Why Families Move”. Rossi developed the theory based on Reiner's idea of family home-based irregularities that trigger the relocation of a family (household), and also relied on the concept of a family life cycle for different housing needs. He studied housing mobility in the United States because it was precisely the foundation of changes in urban areas and emphasised in his studies the typology of housing and the features of the immediate so-

koje utječu na stambenu mobilnost nalaze su u tri čimbenika prema A. C. Brummellu (1977.), a to su aspiracije, korisnost prostora i stres. Pojam aspiracije u proces pokretljivosti uveo je J. Wolpert (1965.) koji je teoriju mobilnosti temeljio na pristupu da pojedinci ne reagiraju na okoliš nego na procjenu stanja okoliša. Odnosno, da pojedinac ili obitelj posjeduju ograničenu racionalnost što se reflektira na ograničenost u ljudskom odlučivanju. Stoga su „pojedinci u složenim odlukama ograničeni ili spriječeni da donesu optimalne odluke nesavršenim znanjem o promjenama i posljedicama, nesavršenim predviđanjima o posljedicama i nesavršenim ovlastima za izračun relativnih vrijednosti glede stanovanja“ (SIMON, 1957.). To znači da kod pojedinca postoji prag tolerancije nezadovoljstva što se tiče stambenih potreba i kada se taj prag prijeđe dolazi do stambene mobilnosti. Ovu teoriju pokušali su proširiti L. A. Brown i E. G. Moore (1970.) s prijedlogom da kućanstva definiraju donju i gornju granicu svojih stambenih potreba na temelju kojih bi se mogao točnije odrediti trenutak u kojem dolazi do stambene mobilnosti, a ta mobilnost može se promatrati kao proces prilagodbe novoj stambenoj lokaciji. Drugi važan čimbenik je korisnost prostora koji predstavlja mjeru relativne vrijednosti vezane za prebivalište nekog kućanstva, odnosno ako se radi o adekvatnom prebivalištu, znači da su zadovoljeni i određeni aspekti kućanstva u percepciji zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Termin korisnosti prostora u svojim radovima opisao je geograf J. Wolpert 1965. godine, a može se izraziti kao pozitivna ili negativna količina prostora koja zadovoljava ili ne zadovoljava pojedinca na lokaciji kojoj se nalazi. Prema J. W. Simmons (1968.), korisnost prostora označavala bi atraktivnost ili neprivlačnost nekog mjesta u odnosu na alternativne lokacije koje percipira pojedinac donositelj odluka, dok bi prema L. A. Brownu i D. B. Logbrakeu (1970.), ona označavala mjeru relativne vrijednosti koja se temelji na iskustvima, postignućima i budućim očekivanjima u zadovoljstvu stanovanjem. Ovaj čimbenik naglašava sinergiju varijable lokacije i neto korisne površine stambene jedinice koje su često primarne varijable u subjektivnim vrednovanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Treći

cial and economic environment. These variables were also mentioned in the work of S. Weidemann and J. Anderson (1985), who observed relatively early, the importance of the impact of the housing environment. They state that “the residential value of a flat does not depend only on the size of the flat and the facilities of the premises, but also on the services and facilities that enable social communication and sufficient provision of transport, education, information and recreational opportunities, as well as the possibility of the flat being supplied with goods and services” (SEDA, 1972), in a wider area (i.e. neighbourhood, urban zone or district). This is confirmed by the thesis that neighbourhood features are extremely important predictors that will affect housing mobility. All variables affecting housing mobility are summed up in three factors according to A. C. Brummell (1977), which are aspirations, usability of space and stress. The concept of aspiration in the process of mobility was introduced by J. Wolpert (1965) who based the theory of mobility on the approach that individuals do not react to the environment but to an evaluation of the state of the environment. Namely, that an individual or a family possesses limited rationality reflecting the limitation of human decision-making. Therefore, “individuals facing complex decisions are constrained or prevented from making optimal choices because of imperfect knowledge of the changes and consequences, imperfect predictions of consequences and imperfect powers to calculate the relative value of housing” (SIMON, 1957). This means that each individual possesses a threshold of tolerance with respect to dissatisfaction with housing needs and when that threshold is passed, housing mobility occurs. L. A. Brown and E. G. Moore (1970) attempted to broaden this theory by proposing that households define the lower and upper limits of their housing needs, on the basis of which to pinpoint more precisely the moment of housing mobility, and that mobility could be viewed as a process of adaptation to a new housing location. Another important factor is the usability of space that corresponds as a measure of the relative value associated with the residence of a household, and if the residence is adequate it means that certain household aspects are satisfied in the perception of satisfaction with housing. The term usability of space was described by the geographer J. Wolpert in his works in 1965 and can be expressed as a posi-

čimbenik u teoriji stambene mobilnosti je stres koji je prvi primijenio J. Wolpert 1965. godine, a definirao ga je kao mjeru nejednakosti ili neusklađenosti između kućanstva i okoline. Prema ovoj definiciji, stres bi ovisio samo o lokalnom okruženju stambene jedinice i djelovao bi kao poticajni čimbenik u pokretljivosti. No on može biti i privlačni čimbenik u neko mjesto ovisno o čimbenicima koje prostor stanovanja nudi. Stoga se ovakva vrsta stresa može nazvati stambeni stres koji u teoriji stambene mobilnosti može biti čimbenik *push* ili *pull*. Čimbenik *push* temelji se na trenutačnom stambenom nezadovoljstvu stambenom jedinicom u kojoj pojedinac živi, i kao čimbenik *pull* u neko mjesto za koje pojedinac smatra da će zadovoljiti njegove stambene želje i potrebe. Tako su W. A. V. Clark i M. Cadwallader (1973.) definirali stres kao mjeru nejednakosti između zadovoljstva u sadašnjem mjestu stanovanja i potencijalnog zadovoljstva u mogućem mjestu stanovanja. Taj stres nazvali su „lokalni stres“. Stambeni stres u teoriji stambene mobilnosti mogao bi se definirati kao psihološki stres koji je posljedica interakcije pojedinca i okoline, a najbolji primjeri toga su interakcionistička teorija stresa ili teorija procjene (COX, FERGUSON, 1991.; HOBFOLL I DR., 1998.). Osnovni doprinos ove teorije je u uvođenju triju temeljnih čimbenika: aspiracija, korisnost prostora i stambeni stres s posebnim naglaskom na stambeno okruženje.

5. Teorija stambenog zadovoljstva

Začetnici ove teorije bili su G. C. Galster i G. W. Hesser koji su razvili i jednu od prvih definicija zadovoljstva stanovanjem koje, prema njima, označava prosudbu pojedinca ili kućanstva o tome koliko se njihova trenutačna situacija poklapa s idealnom situacijom koju zamišljaju za stanovanje. O toj trenutačnoj situaciji ovisi njihovo zadovoljstvo ili nezadovoljstvo stanovanjem i daljnja potreba za trajnim promjenama. Istraživanja stambenog zadovoljstva uglavnom su usmjerena na analizu stambene jedinice i njezina susjedstva. No u takvim istraživanjima teško je definirati pojam susjedstva jer nema čvrste geografske granice, nego ovisi o percepciji poje-

tive or negative amount of space that satisfies or does not satisfy the individual at the location. According to J. W. Simmons (1968), the usability of the space would mean the attractiveness or unattractiveness of a place in relation to alternative locations perceived by a particular decision-maker. In a similar manner, L. A. Brown and D. B. Longbrake (1970) refer to a measure of relative value based on past experiences, achievements and future expectations in housing satisfaction. This factor emphasizes the synergy of the location variables and usability of areas with dwelling units that are often the primary variables in subjective estimates of living satisfaction. The third factor in the theory of housing mobility is the stress first applied by J. Wolpert in 1965 and defined as a measure of inequality or discrepancy between the household and the environment. According to this definition, stress would depend solely on the local dwelling unit environment and would act as an incentive factor in mobility. But it can also be a factor of attraction in some place, depending on the factors that the living space offers. Therefore, such kind of stress can be called housing stress that in the theory of housing mobility can be a *push* or *pull* factor. The *push* factor is based on the current housing discontent with a dwelling unit in which an individual lives and the pull factor on the place in which an individual thinks he or she will satisfy his or her housing wishes and needs. Thus, W. A. V. Clark and M. Cadwallader (1973) defined stress as a measure of inequality between satisfaction in the present place of residence and potential satisfaction in a possible place of residence and named this stress “local stress”. Housing stress in the theory of housing mobility could be defined as psychological stress resulting from the interaction between the individual and the environment, and the best example of this are the interactionist theory of stress or the theory of assessment (COX, FERGUSON, 1991; HOBFOLL ET AL., 1998). The basic contribution of this theory is the introduction of three fundamental factors: aspiration, usability of space and housing stress with a special emphasis on the housing environment.

5. Theory of Housing Satisfaction

The originators of this theory were G. C. Galster and G. W. Hesser who developed one of the first definitions of living satisfaction in order to evaluate the

dinca o prostoru kojem pripada i s kojim se poistovjećuje (AMERIGO, ARAGONES, 1997.). Stoga percepcija susjedstva ovisi isključivo o pojedincu. Zadovoljstvo stanovanjem određuju tri čimbenika: objektivna obilježja kućanstva, objektivna obilježja stambenog okoliša i subjektivno blagostanje definirano vlastitim percepcijama, vrijednostima i težnjama (GALSTER, 1987.; DIAZ-SERRANO, 2006.). Objektivna obilježja mogu obuhvaćati kvadraturu stambene jedinice, broj soba, razmještaj i sl., dok objektivna obilježja stambenog okoliša mogu biti dostupnost do stambene jedinice, broj parkirnih mjesta, zelene površine oko stambene jedinice i sl. Težište zadovoljstva kod svih autora ove teorije usmjereno je na subjektivno zadovoljstvo stanovanjem koje se razlikuje po kućanstvima ili pak po različitim životnim ciklusima obitelji. Stoga bi se u ovu teoriju mogla uklopiti i teorija Charlotte Büchler o modelu psihičkog razvoja ljudskog života¹ jer stambene potrebe pojedinca ili obitelji nisu jednake u razdoblju kulminacije kao one u razdoblju opadanja, ostvarenja ciljeva ili osjećaja neuspjeha. Ako u pojedinom životnom ciklusu postoji nezadovoljstvo stanovanjem, dolazi do potrebe mijenjanja stambenih obilježja ili pak do promjene stanovanja. U ovom segmentu teorija stambenog zadovoljstva mogla bi se dovesti u vezu i s Morrisovom teorijom stambene prilagodbe proizašlom iz tog nezadovoljstva stanovanjem, a koja počiva na kulturnim normama stanovanja za razliku od teorije stambenog zadovoljstva koja počiva na stambenim atributima koji čine ili ne čine zadovoljstvo pojedinca ili obitelji u segmentu stanovanja. Stoga su elementi susjedstva i okoliša u ovoj teoriji sekundarni pokazatelji zadovoljstva iako bi mogli biti i ključni. Odnosno, što je niže zadovoljstvo stanovanjem, veća je vjerojatnost za preseljenjem u drugu stambenu jedinicu. O korelaciji ovih dviju varijabli pisao je L. Diaz-Serrano (2006.) koji je u svojim istraživanjima došao do zaključaka

judgment of an individual or household regarding the extent to which their current situation coincides with their ideal living situation and future expectations. Their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing depends on the current situation as does the need for permanent changes. Housing satisfaction studies are mainly focused on the analysis of the dwelling unit and its neighbourhood. However, in such research, it is difficult to define the concept of the neighbourhood because there is no firm geographic boundary, so it depends on the individual's perception of the space to which he or she belongs and with which he or she is identified (AMERIGO, ARAGONES, 1997). Therefore, the perception of the neighbourhood depends solely on the individual. Housing satisfaction is determined by three factors: the objective characteristics of the household, the objective features of the housing environment and the subjective well-being defined by their own perceptions, values and aspirations (GALSTER, 1987; DIAZ-SERRANO, 2006). Objective features can include the dwelling unit size, number of rooms, spatial organization, and so on, while objective features of the housing surroundings can be access to the dwelling unit, number of parking spaces, proximity and the size of green areas, social services, etc. The focus of satisfaction with all the authors of this theory is directed at the subjective housing satisfaction that contrasts among households or different family life cycles. Therefore, Charlotte Büchler's theory of human development on the model of the psychological development of human life¹ could be incorporated into this theory because the housing needs of an individual or family are not the same in the culmination period as in the period of decline, the achievement of goals or the feeling of failure. If there is housing dissatisfaction in a particular life cycle, there arises a need to change the housing characteristics or to change the housing opportunity. In this segment, the housing satisfaction theory could be linked to Morris's theory of housing adjustment, which also stems from housing discontent, and is based on cultural standards of living, unlike the theory of housing satisfaction that

¹ Model psihičkog razvoja ljudskog života odvija se kroz pet osnovnih razdoblja: 0 – 15 godina razdoblje progresivnog rasta, 15 – 25 godina razdoblje reprodukcije, 25 – 45 godina razdoblje kulminacije, 45 – 65 godina razdoblje opadanja reprodukcije, 65 godina i više razdoblje opadanja, ostvarenja ciljeva ili osjećaj neuspjeha.

¹ The model of psychological development of human life takes place through five stages: 0-15 years of progressive growth, 15-25 years of reproduction, 25-45 years of culmination, 45-65 years of decline in reproduction, 65 years and more of the period of decline, achievement goals or a sense of failure.

da se zadovoljstvo kod pojedinaca povećava preseljenjem u adekvatniju i atraktivniju stambenu jedinicu, dok je M. Lu (1999.) dobio drukčije rezultate. U njegovim je istraživanjima utvrđeno da nema veće promjene u zadovoljstvu ni nakon preseljenja, odnosno ako ono i postoji, da je vrlo kratkotrajno. Rezultati navedenih istraživanja potvrđuju su tvrdnji da je zadovoljstvo stanovanjem isključivo subjektivna kategorija prosudbe, da nije konstantna i da nije primjenjiva na sve demografske kategorije. Zaključak je i da će istraživanja zadovoljstva stanovanjem i u budućnosti biti jednako atraktivna u svim disciplinama, od psihologije do geografije, jer se velik broj struka dotiče dimenzije stanovanja koja utječe na cjelokupnu kvalitetu života pojedinca ili obitelji. Postavke ove teorije na neki način su podloga za razvoj teorije stambene prilagodbe čiji su autori E. W. Morris i M. Winter.

6. Teorija formiranja impresija

Ovu teoriju oblikovao je S. Asch 1964. godine koji je u svoja istraživanja uveo eksperimentalnu metodu koja se primjenjivala u ispitivanju stvaranja dojma. On je utvrdio da ranije informacije koje ima pojedinac utječu na stvaranje prvog dojma. Taj fenomen je nazvao efekt primarnosti. Iako je teorija u osnovi bila usmjerena na stvaranje dojmova prema nekoj osobi, u kasnijim se istraživanjima primjenjivala u ispitivanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Ako je pojedinac tražio novi stambeni objekt i o njemu imao neke informacije iako ga osobno nije vidio, jesu li te informacije utjecale na njegov prvi dojam kada je vidio novi stambeni objekt. L. A. Brown i D. B. Longbrake (1970.) nadopunili su S. Ascha tvrdnjom da stvaranje dojma ovisi o iskustvima i da se proces stvaranja prvog dojma događa toliko brzo da pojedinac u tom trenutku ne može prepoznati prednosti ili nedostatke objekta koji gleda. U slučaju stanovanja svakako je bolje ne oslanjati se na prvi dojam, odnosno pojedinac bi trebao biti osviješten i ne bi se trebao oslanjati na selektivno opažanje koje se odnosi na sklonost da se na ili u stambenom objektu vide samo oni atributi koji su u skladu s potrebama i vrijednostima pojedinca (PENNINGTON, 2004.).

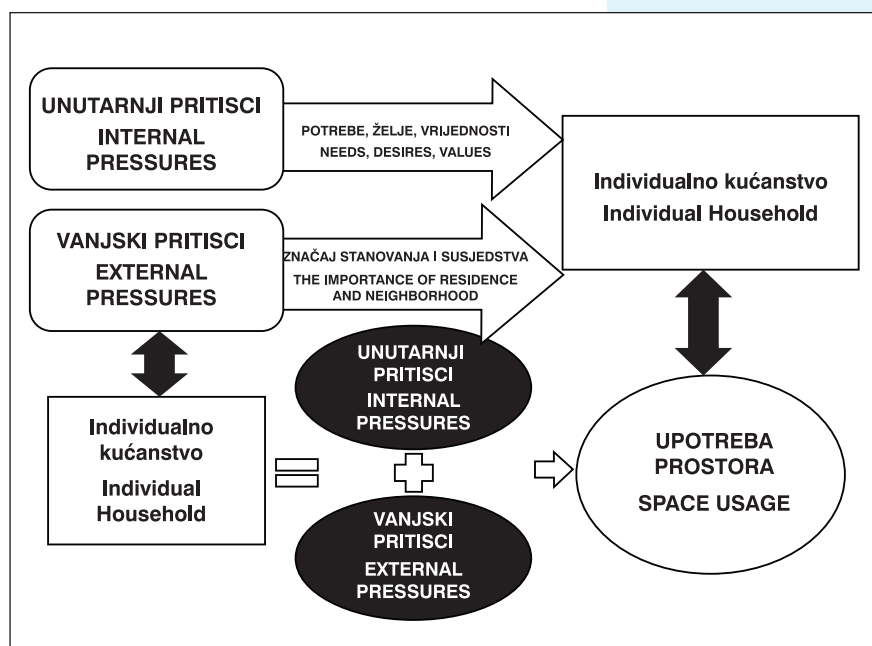
is based on housing attributes that do or do not contribute to the satisfaction of an individual or family in the housing segment. Consequently, in this theory, the elements of neighbourhood and environment are secondary indicators of achievement, although they could be crucial. That is, the lower the housing satisfaction, the more likely the move to another residential unit or type. The correlation between these two variables was noted by L. Diaz-Serrano (2006), who in his research came to the conclusion that satisfaction in individuals, increased by moving to a more adequate and attractive dwelling unit, while M. Lu (1999) got different results. His research established that there is no significant change in satisfaction after relocation, and even if there is, it is very short term. The results of the above-mentioned research confirm that housing satisfaction is only a subjective category of judgment, that it is not constant and that it is not applicable to all demographic cohorts. The conclusion is that housing satisfaction research in the future will be equally attractive in all disciplines, from psychology to geography, because a large number of professions touch upon the dimensions of housing that affect the overall quality of life of an individual or a family. The premises of this theory are somehow the basis for developing a theory of housing adjustment whose authors are E. W. Morris and M. Winter.

6. The Theory of Impression Formation

This theory was introduced by S. Asch in 1964, in a research that introduced an experimental method for investigating the forming of impressions. He found that the earlier information that an individual has, influences the forming of the first impression and he called this phenomenon, the primacy effect. Although the theory was basically focused on forming impressions of a person, in later research it was also applied in housing satisfaction studies. That is, if an individual was looking for a new dwelling unit and had some information about it, even though he or she did not personally see it, this information would affect his or her first impression when seeing the new dwelling unit. L. A. Brown and D. B. Longbrake (1970) supplemented Asch's contention that forming impressions depends on past experiences and that the process of forming the first impression

Osobito je tu važna informacija jesu li ranije informacije koje pojedinac posjeduje o objektu točne ili ne, odnosno iz kojeg izvora dolaze jer je moguća situacija da krivi prvi dojam može biti uzrokovan pogrešnom informacijom. Stoga je u ovoj teoriji naglasak na točnosti informacije koju pojedinac prima s obzirom na to da je znanstveno dokazano da ljudi vjeruju prvom dojmu. Teorija formiranja dojma često se primjenjuje u arhitekturi i dizajnu interijera radi organizacije prostora što utječe na ljudsko ponašanje i zadovoljstvo nekim prostorom. U istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem najče-

happens so quickly that an individual cannot at this time see the advantages or disadvantages of the object he or she is looking at. In the case of housing, it is certainly better not to rely on the first impression, that is, the individual should be aware and should not rely on a selective observation concerning the tendency to see on or in the housing object only the attributes that are in accordance with the needs and values of the individual (PENNINGTON, 2004). Particularly important, is the information whether the earlier information that the individual has about the object is correct or not, or where the information comes from, because it is possible that a false first impression may be caused by misleading information. Therefore, in this theory, emphasis is placed on the accuracy of the information received by an individual, since it is scientifically proven that people believe in the first impression. The theory of impression formation is often applied in architecture and interior design for the purpose of spatial organization that affects human behaviour and satisfaction in a space. In housing satisfaction studies, it is most commonly



SLIKA 1. Model stambenog izbora (Izvor: prema Carter, 1995.)

FIGURE 1 Model of housing choice (Source: According to Carter, 1995)

šće je primjenjivana pri ispitivanjima dojmova o fizičkim aspektima stambenog okoliša i fizičkoj strukturi zgrade/kuće, odnosno u procjeni osobnog zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Ove dvije varijable mogu utjecati na način života pojedinaca i time ih činiti zadovoljnim ili nezadovoljnim, stoga se može reći da formiranje dojmova uključuje i kognitivne i perceptivne, ali i afektivne procese o stvaranju dojma nekog objekta (FIDZANI I DR., 2015.).

7. Bihevioralna teorija stanovanja

Bihevioralni pristup proučavanja stanovanja utemeljen je sredinom 1960-ih kao reakcija i kritika na pozitivistički pristup. Zagovorni-

used in examining impressions of the physical aspects of the housing environment and the physical structure of buildings/ houses/urban furniture; i.e. in assessing personal satisfaction with housing and its adjacent features. These two variables can affect the lifestyle of individuals and thus make them satisfied or dissatisfied, so it can be said that the formation of impressions includes cognitive and perceptive, as well as affective processes of forming an impression of an object (FIDZANI ET AL., 2015).

7. Behavioural Housing Theory

The behavioural approach to housing research was formed in the mid-1960s as a reaction and criticism of the positivists' approach. Advocates of the behav-

ci bihevioralne teorije bili su posebno kritični na pozitivističko-geografsko proučavanje da se čovjekovo ponašanje razumije kao skup racionalnih odluka „ekonomskog čovjeka“ (JACKSON, SMITH, 1984.). Ponašanjem pojedinaca u prostoru u sklopu geografije najviše su se bavili bihevioralni geografi u okviru socijalne urbane geografije. Njihova istraživanja bila su usmjerena na izbor lokacije stanovanja u odnosu na geografske uvjete, a rezultati takvih proučavanja bili su modeli stambenog izbora. Odabir lokacije i tipa stanovanja kod pojedinaca temeljio se na osobnim procjenama i subjektivnim odlukama, a bihevioralni geografi nastojali su ih povezati u aplikativni sustav. Prema njihovim pretpostavkama, utvrđeno je da unutar svakog kućanstva postoje dvije vrste pritiska: unutarnji pritisci koji se odnose na potrebe, želje i vrijednosti kućanstva, i vanjski pritisci koji obuhvaćaju važnost stanovanja i susjedstva (Sl. 1.), a posljedica „dodira“ obje vrste pritiska je „upotreba prostora“ (*place utility*) (CARTER, 1995.).

Prema H. Carteru (1995.), upotreba prostora je individualni stupanj zadovoljstva ili nezadovoljstva s određenim stanovanjem i lokacijom, a ako između „upotrebe prostora“ i potreba kućanstva postoji nesklad, poželjna je nova lokacija. Budući da je bihevioralna teorija stanovanja jednim dijelom nastavak ekonomskog pristupa stanovanju, D. Rebernik (2002.) je nadopunio Carterov koncept i naglasio važnost obiteljskog i socioekonomskog položaja na promjene u kućanstvu (REBERNIK, 2002.). O „upotrebi prostora“, odnosno pogodnostima koje neko mjesto stanovanja nudi, pisali su i L. A. Brown i E. G. Moore (1970.) koji su mjerili zadovoljstvo stanovanjem na temelju stambene lokacije i utvrdili da ako ne postoji zadovoljstvo ovom varijablom, najčešće se traži druga atraktivnija lokacija. Razlike postoje samo u potrebama i preferencijama pojedinaca ili kućanstava o tome što očekuju od mjesta u kojem žive. Zagovornici bihevioralnog pristupa svoja su istraživanja temeljili na stambenoj relokaciji kao posljedici nezadovoljstva stanovanjem, odnosno ispitivali su različite skupine ljudi o njihovoj percepciji mjesta i razlozima koji utječu na donošenje lokacijskih odluka, a sve zbog činjenice da upravo

ioval theory were particularly critical of positivist geography studies, to understand man's behaviour as a set of rational decisions of the "economic man" (JACKSON, SMITH, 1984). The behaviour of individuals in within the geographical context of space has been dealt with the most by behavioural geographers in the sub-field of social urban geography. Their research focused on the choice of housing location in relation to geographic conditions, and the results of such studies were models of housing choices. The choice of location and type of housing of individuals was based on personal assessments and subjective decisions, and behavioural geographers attempted to incorporate them into an application system. According to their assumptions, it has been established that there are two types of pressures within each household: internal pressures pertaining to the needs, desires and values of the household and external pressures that include the importance of housing and the neighbourhood level (Figure 1), and the result of the "contact" of both types of pressures is the "place utility" (CARTER, 1995).

According to H. Carter (1995), the use of space represents an individual level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a certain dwelling and location, and if there is a disagreement between "space use" and household needs, a new location is desirable. Since the behavioural theory of housing is partly a continuation of the economic approach to housing, D. Rebernik (2002) has supplemented Carter's concept and emphasized the importance of family and socio-economic status on household changes (REBERNIK, 2002). L. A. Brown and E. G. Moore (1970) have also written about the "use of space", i.e. the benefits offered by a place of residence, and they measured housing satisfaction based on the dwelling location and found that if there is no satisfaction with this variable, another more attractive location is most often sought. Differences only occur in the needs and preferences of individuals or households about what they expect from their place of residence. Advocates of the behavioural approach have based their research on housing relocation as a result of dissatisfaction with housing, i.e. they have questioned different groups of people about their perception of the place and the reasons that influence decisions regarding location, all because of the fact that the location most influences the perception of housing satisfaction. In

lokacija najviše utječe na percepciju zadovoljstva stanovanjem. U svojem pristupu pokušali su osporiti matematičke modele društva, osobito ekonometrijske tehnike u vrednovanju zadovoljstva stanovanjem, a osim lokacijom bavili su se i obilježjima stambenog okruženja na temelju percepcija ispitanika. Te su percepcije uključivale socijalne i psihološke čimbenike, ali i trenutačno raspoloženje ispitanika koje može biti različito, jednako kao što pojedinci mogu različito primati utjecaje i informacije o okruženju. Bihevioralna teorija stanovanja temelji se na proučavanju pronalaska atraktivne lokacije stanovanja u susjedstvu i stambenom okruženju koje zadovoljava kriterije pojedinca ili obitelji, a da pri tome troškovi budu u okvirima očekivanog. Čimbenike koji utječu na zadovoljstvo stanovanjem prema navedenim varijablama M. Špes (1998.) naziva socijalnogeografskim filtrima, a to su dobna struktura, obrazovni sastav, ekonomska moć i financijska situacija, razina privrženosti i ovisnosti o prirodi, kulturno, vjersko i nacionalno podrijetlo i osobni motivi, osjećaji i politička opredijeljenost (ŠPES, 1998.). Ove kriterije nadopunio je D. Rebernik (2002.) i to u segmentu zadovoljstva stambenim okruženjem. Njegovi kriteriji su: urednost i čistoća stambenog okruženja, ekološki uvjeti, opskrba i usluge, sigurnost, promet i međususjedski odnosi (REBERNIK, 2002.). Ovi su kriteriji posebno važni za uspješno planiranje razvoja naselja, a posebice za planiranje i izgradnju stambenih zona. Isticao je da je za socijalnogeografsku izgradnju naselja važno poznavanje socijalnog sastava stanovništva, njihove preferencije što se tiče stambenih uvjeta i stambenog okruženja, predviđanje budućih migracijskih tokova i moguće preobrazbe naselja u smislu poboljšanja okruženja (REBERNIK, 2002.). Stavovi pojedinaca o stambenim uvjetima temelj su od kojeg polaze bihevioristi, a ti stavovi trebali bi biti okosnica urbanističkog planiranja jer bez „uvida“ u potrebe i želje stanovnika nekog mjesta, njegov razvoj i napredak izostaju. Zadovoljstvo stanovanjem tu se izdvaja kao primarno, jer se izravno reflektira na kvalitetu života pojedinaca ili obitelji, a može prouzročiti negativne procese (demografske, migracijske, ekonomske i sl.).

their approach, they tried to dispute mathematical models of society, particularly econometric techniques for assessing housing satisfaction, and besides the location they also addressed the characteristics of the housing environment based on the respondents' perceptions. These perceptions included social and psychological factors, as well as the current mood of the respondents that may vary, just as individual perceptions vary regarding the impact of the environment and the received information. Namely, the behavioural theory of housing is based on the study of finding an attractive residential location in a neighbourhood and a housing environment that meets the criteria of an individual or a family and that the costs are within the limits of the expected. The factors that influence housing satisfaction by these variables, are called social geographic filters by M. Špes (1998) and they include age structure, educational system, economic power and financial situation, level of attachment and dependence on nature, cultural, religious and national origin and personal motives, feelings and political commitment (ŠPES, 1998). These criteria were complemented by D. Rebernik (2002), particularly in the area of satisfaction with the housing environment. His criteria are: order and cleanliness of the housing environment, ecological conditions, supply and services, security, traffic and neighbourly relations (REBERNIK, 2002), and they are particularly important for successful planning of settlement development, especially for the planning and development of residential zones. He pointed out the importance of knowledge about the social composition of the population for the particular social geographic development of settlements, as well as knowledge about preferences regarding housing conditions, types and the housing environment, predictions of future migration flows and possible transformation of settlements in the sense of improving the environment (REBERNIK, 2002). The attitudes of individuals concerning housing conditions are the basic starting point for behaviourists, and these attitudes should be the cornerstone of urban planning because without "insight" into the needs and wishes of a certain place, its development and progress will be constrained. Housing satisfaction is distinguished as a priority, since it directly reflects the quality of life of an individual or a family, and can cause negative processes (demographic, migratory, economic, etc.).

8. Teorija hedonističkog ergometra

Autori ove teorije su P. Brickman i D. T. Campbell koji su je u svojim istraživanjima primijenili početkom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Razvoj ove teorije temelji se na sreći i blagostanju pojedinca i to na subjektivnom pristupu, dok je ključan pojam „adaptacija“. Teorija se često rabi kako bi se objasnili slabi utjecaji domena uvjeta života na blagostanje pojedinca (BRICKMAN, CAMPBELL, 1971.; DIENER I DR., 2006.). Autori ove teorije tvrde da se sreća, blagostanje ili zadovoljstvo ljudi mijenja kada dolazi do neke veće promjene u njihovu životu (npr. preseljenje u drugi stambeni objekt), ali da se ono mijenja nakon adaptacijskog razdoblja kada se emocije i osjećaji ponovno vraćaju u neutralno stanje. Tako su N. Nakazato i dr. (2010.) naveli primjer preseljenja iz jednosobnog stana u trosobnu kuću s vrtom koji pokazuje da su pojedinci nakon preseljenja bili znatno sretniji, no da razdoblje sreće nije bilo dugotrajno jer sreća opada u adaptacijskom razdoblju. Teorija hedonističkog ergometra je u suvremenim istraživanjima najčešće korištena teorija za objašnjenje adaptacijskog fenomena. Ona uključuje nekoliko teorija: priviknutost na ponavljajuće događaje, zanemarivanje pozornosti na konstantne poticaje i osjetljivost afektivnog sustava na promjene u okolini uz istodobnu neosjetljivost prema konstantnim poticajima (DIENER I DR., 2006.; WILSON, GILBERT, 2008.). Ova teorija se u radovima R. A. Cumminsa (2000.) i D. A. Vella-Brodrick (2007.) naziva i homeostatski model. Iako je ova teorija u svojim počecima objašnjavala emocionalne reakcije na životne događaje (npr. smrt partnera), u kratkom se razdoblju proširila u više znanstvenih struka. Tako su i P. Brickman i D. T. Campbell (1971.) pisali o tome kako ljudi kratko reagiraju na dobro i loše što im se događa u različitim segmentima života te da se vrlo brzo vraćaju neutralnosti. S razvojem teorije brojni su autori dali svoj doprinos. E. Diener i dr. (1995.) utvrdili su da je većina ljudi zapravo velik dio svojeg vremena sretna, odnosno čak i kada su u razdoblju „neutralnosti“ da je to pozitivno razdoblje, a ne negativno. Teoriju je nadopunio i Michel Eysenck koji je dodao element genetskih

8. The theory of the hedonistic ergometer

P. Brickman and D. T. Campbell are the authors of this theory found in their research in the early 1970s of the 20th century. The promotion of this theory is based on the happiness and well-being of the individual by the subjective approach, while the key term is “adaptation”. The theory is often used to explain the weak impact of the domain of living conditions on the well-being of an individual (BRICKMAN, CAMPBELL, 1971; DIENER ET AL., 2006). The authors of this theory claim that people’s happiness, well-being or pleasure alters when there is a significant change in their life (e.g. relocation to another dwelling unit, better neighbourhood) but that this changes, after the adaptation period when emotions and feelings return to neutral. Thus, N. Nakazato et al. (2010) provided an example of moving from a one-bedroom apartment to a three-bedroom house with a garden. They explain that after the relocation, the individuals were much happier, but the period of happiness was not long-lasting because their happiness declined in the adaptation period. The theory of the hedonistic ergometer is the most commonly used theory for the explanation of the adaptation phenomenon in contemporary research. It includes several theories: being used to recurring events, disregarding constant stimuli and the sensitivity of the affective system to changes in the environment while simultaneously ignoring the constant stimuli (DIENER ET AL., 2006; WILSON, GILBERT, 2008). This theory is also referred to as the homeostatic model in the works of R. A. Cummins (2000) and D. A. Vella-Brodrick (2007). In its beginnings, this theory explained emotional reactions to life events (e.g. partner deaths), but within a short period of time it spread to more scientific professions. Thus, P. Brickman and D. T. Campbell (1971) wrote about how people respond briefly to the good and bad that is happening to them in different periods of life and that they return very quickly to neutrality. With the development of the theory, numerous authors have made contributions. Thus, E. Diener et al. (1995) found that most people are actually happy most of the time, and that even the “neutrality” period is a positive period rather than a negative one. The theory was supplemented by Michel Eysenck, who added the element of genetic predispositions on which hap-

predispozicija o kojima ovisi sreća, odnosno da se sreća djelomično genetski nasljeđuje. No tu se javlja pitanje što je uopće sreća i koliko se ona razlikuje kao pojam kod različitih ljudi. R. Veenhoven (2006.) je teoriju sreće podijelio na kognitivnu, afektivnu, dispozicijsku i mješovitu. Afektivne teorije definiraju sreću kao ravnotežu između pozitivnih i negativnih afekata pri čemu se neutralnost smatra više pozitivnom, što upućuje na to da su ljudi češće sretni nego nesretni (WESSMAN, RICKS, 1966.; FORDYCE, 1972.; KAHNEMAN, 2000.). Prema kognitivnoj teoriji, sreća je poslje dica evaluacije pojedinih životnih dimenzija uspoređena s nekim objektivnim standardima ili s drugim osobama koje posjeduju ista obilježja kao pojedinac koji vrednuje domene svojeg života. U dispozicijskoj teoriji sreće polazi se od pretpostavke da kod pojedinaca postoje predispozicije za sreću koje mogu biti i genetske, a mješovita teorija sreće obuhvaća sva tri navedena pristupa (DIENER, 2004.). Brojni su primjeri o sreći, tako npr. ljudi koji imaju materijalno manje nisu nužno nesretniji od onih koji imaju više, čak je u nekim psihološkim istraživanjima dokazano da oni koji imaju velike probleme često budu sretniji od onih koji ih nemaju zato što „oni s problemima“ prolaze teško razdoblje i nadaju se da neće biti još gore, dok „oni bez problema“ nisu svjesni što ih sve može zadesiti pa često bivaju nesretniji zbog nebitnih stvari. Potvrde no je da materijalne okolnosti utječu na ljudsku sreću, ali sreća će se smanjiti čak i ako materijalne okolnosti ostaju iste. Novija istraživanja (DIENER I DR., 1993.) utvrdila su pak da dohodak i sreća nisu u korelaciji. Ako bi se ova pretpostavka primijenila na zadovoljstvo stanovanjem, to bi moglo značiti da je sretniji onaj pojedinac koji je iz dvosobnog podstanarskog stana prešao u vlastitu garsonijeru s manje kvadrata, od onog pojedinca koji živi u vili s 400 četvornih kvadrata. „Važno je napomenuti da je teorija hedonističkog ergometra teorija afekata, a ne teorija kognitivne procjene nečijeg života i prosudbe živотноg zadovoljstva. To znači da kada se naruši postojeća ravnoteža, dolazi do procesa adaptacije nakon kojeg se razina zadovoljstva vraća na početnu razinu. Nešto uvjerljivije objašnjenje za teoriju hedonističkoga adap-

piness depends. That is, that happiness is partially genetically inherited. But then the question arises, what is happiness and how it differs as a concept among different people. R. Veenhoven (2006) divided the theory of happiness into cognitive, affective, dispositional and mixed. Affective theories define happiness as a balance between positive and negative effects, where neutrality is considered more positive, suggesting that people are more happy than unhappy (WESSMAN, RICKS, 1966; FORDYCE, 1972; KAHNEMAN, 2000). According to the cognitive theory, happiness is the result of the evaluation of individual life dimensions compared with some objective standards or with other persons possessing the same characteristics as the individual who is evaluating the domains of his or her life. The dispositional theory of happiness begins with the assumption that individuals have predispositions for happiness that may be genetic, while the mixed theory of happiness encompasses all three approaches (DIENER, 2004). There are numerous examples of happiness, e.g. people who are materially less well-off are not necessarily more unhappy than those who have more, and even in some psychological research it has been proven that those with big problems are often happier than those who do not have them because “those with problems” are going through a difficult time and hope they will not be worse, while “those without problems” are not aware of what can happen to them and are often unhappy about little things. What has been confirmed is that material circumstances affect human happiness, but happiness will decrease even if material circumstances are positive. On the other hand, recent research (DIENER ET AL., 1993) has found that income and happiness are not correlated. If this assumption was applied to housing satisfaction, this could mean that the person who moved from a two-bedroom rented flat to his own studio flat with less square meters is happier than the person living in a villa with 400 square meters. It is important to mention that the theory of the hedonistic ergometer is a theory of affects, and not a theory of cognitive evaluation of one's life and assessment of life satisfaction. This means that when the existing balance is disturbed, an adaptation process occurs, after which the level of satisfaction returns to the initial level. A somewhat more convincing explanation for the theory of the hedonistic adaptation effect

tacijskog efekta predlaže da afektivna iskustva ovise o fokusu pozornosti“ (SCHIMMACK, 2001.; SCHIMMACK, COLCOMBE, 2007.; WILSON, GILBERT, 2008.). Pozornost će se privući nekim novim napretkom ili poticajem, ali oni će gubiti na novosti ako će se sve češće ponavljati. Na taj će način privlačiti manje pozornosti i manje pridonositi hedonističkoj ravnoteži pojedinca (DIENER I DR., 2005.). Osnovna kritika ove teorije od različitih znanstvenika iz različitih struka jest da se ona temelji na subjektivnoj procjeni, a subjektivne procjene zadovoljstva ostaju iste unatoč objektivnom poboljšanju. Također ovdje je neizostavno prethodno iskustvo, jer ako je ono bilo gore, onda i najmanji pomak označava zadovoljstvo i obrnuto. Uz to, ova teorija nije dobro organizirana jer se pojam adaptacije koristi samo kao opis uzorka empirijskih pronalazaka, a ne uspijeva ni objasniti zašto nema dugotrajnih pozitivnih pomaka u zadovoljstvu stanovanjem ako su poboljšani objektivni pokazatelji trajni (NAKAZATO I DR., 2010.), no teorija je svakako doprinos razvoju koncepta stambenog zadovoljstva, posebice u subjektivnom segmentu.

9. Teorija stambene prilagodbe

Teorija stambene prilagodbe najcitiranija je teorija u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Brojni autori služili su se njome i u radovima o stambenim preferencijama, stambenoj mobilnosti i donošenju stambenih odluka u različitim dobnim skupinama. Tako su T. C. Keller i dr. (1997.) ovu teoriju primijenili u svojoj raspravi o ulozi stambenih normi u oblikovanju zadovoljstva stambenim prostorom, dok su je J. Krofta i dr. (1994.) rabili u proučavanju stambenih odluka među starijim dobnim skupinama. Utemeljitelji ove teorije bili su E. W. Morris i M. Winter (1975.), a ona počiva na procjeni zadovoljstva stanovanja na temelju kulturnih i obiteljskih normi. Odnosno, polazi se od održavanja stambene ravnoteže u kućanstvu. Ta ravnoteža označava trenutno stambeno zadovoljstvo koje je u skladu s određenim normama. Težište zadovoljstva u ovoj teoriji je na stambenim normama koje uključuju strukturu stanovanja, vrstu stambene jedinice, raspodjelu prostora, kvalitetu stambene jedinice, izdatke koji proizlaze iz korištenja stambenog objekta i zadovolj-

suggests that affective experiences depend on the focus of attention” (SCHIMMACK, 2001; SCHIMMACK, COLCOMBE, 2007; WILSON, GILBERT, 2008). Attention will be drawn by some new advancement or incentive, but they will lose their uniqueness if they recur frequently. In this way, they will attract less attention and contribute less to the hedonistic equilibrium of the individual (DIENER ET AL., 2005). The basic critique of this theory by various scholars from different backgrounds is that it is based on subjective assessment, and subjective assessments of satisfaction remain the same despite objective improvement. Also, there is the inevitable previous experience, because if it was worse, then the slightest progress signifies satisfaction and vice versa. In addition, this theory is not well organized because the concept of adaptation is used only as a description of the pattern of empirical findings, and cannot even explain why there is no long-lasting positive shift in housing satisfaction, if the improved objective indicators are permanent (NAKAZATO ET AL., 2010), but the theory is certainly a contribution to the development of understanding of housing satisfaction, especially in the subjective segment.

9. The Theory of Housing Adjustment

The theory of housing adjustment is the most cited theory in housing satisfaction studies. Numerous authors have also used it in works on housing preferences, housing mobility and decision-making of different age groups. T. C. Keller et al. (1997) applied this theory in their discussion of the role of housing norms in shaping housing satisfaction, while J. Krofta et al. (1994) used it in studying housing decisions among older age groups. E. W. Morris and M. Winter (1975) are the founders of this theory which assess housing satisfaction based on cultural and family norms, and starts from maintaining the housing balance in the household. This balance marks the current housing satisfaction that is in line with certain norms. The focus of satisfaction in this theory is on housing norms that include the housing structure, the type and quality of dwelling unit, the allocation of space, the expenditure resulting from the use of housing and satisfaction with the neighbourhood. This means that the theory is closely related to the subjective experience of an individual or a family

stvo susjedstvom. To znači da je teorija usko vezana uz subjektivni doživljaj pojedinca ili neke obitelji o vlastitom zadovoljstvu stanovanja. Ako jedna ili više normi nisu zadovoljene, dolazi do tzv. „stambenog deficita“. E. W. Morris i M. Winter (1966.) su „deficit“ definirali kao skup uvjeta subjektivno definiranih kao nepoželjnih u usporedbi s normom koja označava ravnotežu u kućanstvu. Osnovno je pitanje jesu li norme stanovanja jednake za sve dobne, etničke, kulturne i druge skupine. Jednakost/nejednakost normi ovu teoriju čine nepotpunom. Ona bi bila primjenjiva ako bi se koristile neke opće norme npr. da je temeljno ljudsko pravo imati krov nad glavom. Teorija stambene prilagodbe oslanja se na koncept životnog ciklusa obitelji, što znači da zadovoljavajuće norme nisu konstantne, odnosno da se one mijenjaju u različitim životnim ciklusima obitelji. Tako npr. u ciklusu kada su u obitelji mala djeca prostorni deficit, u kvaliteti stanovanja može biti da djeca različitog spola dijele istu spavaću sobu, ili da kvadratura stambenog objekta ne odgovara propisanim standardima. Ovakav deficit može kod pojedinca označavati trenutačno ili trajno nezadovoljstvo. Ako se radi o trenutačnom nezadovoljstvu, ravnotežu je moguće postići „nadoknadom“ prostora u nekom drugom stambenom segmentu. Npr. manjak još jedne spavaće sobe može zamijeniti veliki balkon ili veliko dvorište. U tom slučaju dolazi do stambene prilagodbe (*housing adaptation*) koju su i C. D. Steggell i dr. (2001.) definirali kao jednu od glavnih korektivnih mjera u teoriji stambene prilagodbe. Stambena prilagodba može uključivati i izmjene unutar stambenog prostora poput pregrađivanja spavaće sobe tako da muško dijete ima svoj spavaći prostor, a žensko dijete svoj. Te prilagodbe mogu biti: normativne (izmjena normi kućanstva), kompozicijske (uvodenje novih članova u kućanstvo ili odlazak nekih) i organizacijske (izmjene u stilu upravljanja) (STEGGELL I DR., 2001.). Norme koje bi trebale biti zadovoljene nakon prilagodbe odnose se na prilagodbu stambenog prostora, tip objekta i kvalitetu stambene jedinice. Ako pak se radi o dugotrajnom nezadovoljstvu kada se jedan ili više deficita ne mogu nadoknaditi većim zadovoljstvom nekom drugom normom, to izaziva želju za promjenom i potiče stambenu mobilnost. Tada se javlja druga korektivna mjera, a to je, prema C. D. Steggellu i dr. (2001.), mjera korekcije stanovanja (*housing adjus-*

about their own housing satisfaction. If one or more of the norms are not met, then the so-called “housing deficit” occurs. E. W. Morris and M. Winter (1966) defined this “deficit” as a set of conditions that were subjectively defined as undesirable in comparison to the norm that marks the balance in the household. The basic question is whether the housing norms are the same for all age, ethnic, cultural and other groups. Equality / inequality of the norms makes this theory incomplete. That is, it would be applicable if some general norms were used, for example, that having a roof over one’s head is a fundamental human right. The theory of housing adjustment rests on the concept of family life cycle, meaning that satisfactory norms are not constant, that is, they change in different family cycles. For example, in a cycle where there are small children in the family the spatial deficit in the quality of housing may be that children of different sex share the same bedroom or that the housing space does not correspond to the prescribed standards. Such a deficiency can indicate an individual’s current or permanent dissatisfaction. If it is a current dissatisfaction balance, it is possible to achieve the “compensation” of the space in another residential segment, e.g. the lack of another bedroom can be compensated by a large balcony or large yard. In this case, housing adaptation occurs, which has been defined by C. D. Steggell et al. (2001) as one of the main corrective measures in the theory of housing adjustment. Housing adaptation may also include alterations within a living space such as a partitioning of the bedroom so that the male and female child each has their own sleeping area. These adjustments can be: normative (change of household norms), compositional (introduction of new members into the household or departure of some) and organizational (change in style of management) (STEGGELL ET AL., 2001). Thus, the norms that should be met upon adaptation apply to the adjustment of the housing space, the type of dwelling and the quality of the dwelling unit. If, on the other hand, there is long-lasting dissatisfaction where one or more deficits cannot be compensated by a greater satisfaction with another norm, a desire for change is provoked that promotes residential mobility. Then another corrective measure appears, according to C. D. Steggell et al. (2001), a housing adjustment that results in finding another, more suitable, dwelling

ment) što prouzrokuje pronalaženje druge, adekvatnije, stambene jedinice. Ova mjera potaknula je E. W. Morrisa i M. Wintera (1975.) da područje istraživanja prošire na stambenu mobilnost. Teoriju stambene prilagodbe, definiranu kao tzv. nadopunu teorije stambenog zadovoljstva, proširili su S. R. Crull i dr. (1991.) uključanjem elementa stambene mobilnosti. Osim uvođenja novog elementa proširene su i norme kao kriterij procjene zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Posebice se to odnosi na prostorne norme i to konkretno na broj soba prema sastavu obitelji, ali i na tip stambenog objekta. Teoriji stambene mobilnosti dodane su i varijable vlasništva i norme kvalitete koje uključuju da bi stambeni objekt trebao biti u ugodnom i sigurnom susjedstvu, u blizini škole i drugih javnih ustanova, s adekvatnom i održavanom infrastrukturom, ali i s populacijom u susjedstvu koja je homogena u klasnom, rasnom i etničkom smislu. U sklopu ove teorije javlja se i novi pojam „kvaliteta stanovanja“ koji su autori u kasnijim istraživanjima različito definirali. Tako je npr. za C. Buckenbergera (2009.) kvaliteta stanovanja ono što se „izdiže“ iznad fizičke kvalitete zgrada. Dakle, ova teorija ne obuhvaća samo vrednovanje zadovoljstva stanovanja, nego i kvalitete koja, prema L. F. Amaou (2012.), obuhvaća različite čimbenike, od fizičkog stanja građevine do usluga koje pogoduju životu na određenom području. Ona treba zadovoljavati minimalne zdravstvene uvjete i biti dostupna svim kategorijama stanovništva (AMAO, 2012.). Stoga je ključna postavka ove teorije da je nezadovoljstvo stanovanjem uvjetovano stambenim obilježjima što dovodi do korektivnih procesa, a provođenje tih procesa ovisi o mogućnostima kućanstva koja mogu biti i ograničavajuća (npr. niski prihodi). Iako ova teorija svojim postulatom nudi rješenje što se tiče nezadovoljstva stanovanjem, ako postoje ograničenja kućanstva ona je gotovo neostvariva.

10. Teorija troškova stanovanja

Teorija troškova stanovanja nastala je 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, a polazi od pretpostavke da zadovoljstvo stanovanja raste proporcionalno s rastom troškova (STOKOLS, SHUMAKER, 1982.) i da je njihova veza uzročno-posljedična (veći troškovi – veće zadovoljstvo stanovanjem, manji troškovi – manje zadovoljstvo stanovanjem). Ova teorija

unit. This measure encouraged E. W. Morris and M. Winter (1975) to extend the research area to residential mobility. The theory of housing adjustment, which is defined as the so-called supplement to the theory of housing satisfaction, was extended by S. R. Crull et al. (1991) who have incorporated the element of housing mobility. In addition to introducing a new element, the norms have also been expanded as a criterion for assessing housing satisfaction. This applies in particular to the architectural and urban design norms, specifically to the number of rooms according to the composition of the family, but also to the type of dwelling unit. The housing mobility theory has been expanded with the addition of property variables and quality norms according to which the dwelling unit is to be in a pleasant and safe neighbourhood, close to schools and other public institutions, with adequate and maintained infrastructure, but also a neighbourhood population that is homogeneous with regard to class, race, and ethnicity. As part of this theory, a new term “quality of living” emerges, which the authors in later research have defined differently. So, for C. Buckenberger (2009), the quality of housing is what “rises” above the physical quality of buildings. Thus, this theory does not only cover the assessment of housing satisfaction, but also the quality that according to L. F. Amao (2012) encompasses various factors, from the physical state of the building to services that benefit life in a particular urban area. It must meet the minimum health conditions and be available to all categories of the population (AMAO, 2012). Therefore, the key premise of this theory is that dissatisfaction with housing is conditioned by housing characteristics, leading to corrective processes, and the implementation of these processes depends on household options that may be restrictive (e.g. low income). Although this theory offers a solution for housing dissatisfaction with its postulate, if there are household restrictions it is almost unachievable.

10. The Housing Price Theory

The housing price theory emerged in the 1980s of the last century and begins with the assumption that housing satisfaction increases proportionally to cost growth (STOKOLS, SHUMAKER, 1982) and their causal-consequential relationship (higher costs - greater

ima pozitivne i negativne strane. Pozitivne strane teorije odnose se na činjenicu da se postiglo zadovoljstvo stanovanjem koje bi trebalo biti trajno i u tom slučaju cilj opravdava sredstvo, to jest ako veći izdvojeni trošak znači trajno zadovoljstvo stanovanjem, tada je teorija opravdana. U slučaju da zadovoljstvo drugim sastavnicama kvalitete života opada zbog stanovanja postavlja se pitanje koliko se općenito povećalo ili smanjilo zadovoljstvo kvalitetom života. Tako su i E. Diener i dr. (2009.) naveli primjer boljeg i lijepog doma koji možda podrazumijeva dulje putovanje na posao, što bi moglo biti pokretač dodatnog stresa, smanjenja slobodnog vremena, a u istom trenutku i povećanje troškova (zbog prijevoza). S druge strane proces može biti i obrnut. Možda bolja lokacija znači kraće vrijeme putovanja, uštedu slobodnog vremena i smanjenje troškova. Mnogi su autori pisali o negativnom učinku na društvene odnose nakon procesa preseljenja (FRIED, 1966.; BRETT, 1982.; DIENER, SELIGMAN, 2004.). Upravo su društveni odnosi važan pokazatelj kvalitete života, a oni opadaju češćim preseljenjem. Prema klasičnoj ekonomskoj teoriji, trebao bi postojati ekvilibrij između pozitivnih učinaka preseljenja u bolju stambenu jedinicu i troškova povezanih s time. Temeljnu ulogu u tome trebalo bi imati tržište nekretnina koje bi povećavalo cijenu nekretnina zbog velike potražnje i obrnuto. Stoga je i N. Nakazato i dr. (2010.) zaključio da je novost u teoriji troškova stanovanjem pretpostavka da preseljenje ne stvara promjene u kvaliteti života jer se zadovoljstvo stanovanjem povezuje s troškovima u ostalim životnim domenama. U ovoj je teoriji posebno važan i izravan utjecaj dobi, obrazovanja, prihoda i drugih elemenata o kojima ovisi mogućnost prelaska u bolje stambene uvjete. Iako bi logična pretpostavka bila da pojedinci koji su obrazovaniji imaju više prihode i mogu si priuštiti bolje stambene uvjete, to uvijek ne mora biti tako. Tako je i S. Šiljeg (2016.) u svojem istraživanju utvrdila da pojedinci boljeg obrazovnog i ekonomskog statusa nisu nužno zadovoljniji stanovanjem, odnosno da obrazovni i ekonomski status nisu u korelaciji sa zadovoljstvom stanovanja. Slično se može sagledati i s aspekta dobne strukture. Logični slijed bio bi da si bolje stambene uvjete mogu priuštiti pojedinci koji su stariji, odnosno koji su tijekom svojeg radnog vijeka stekli odre-

satisfaction with housing, lower costs - less satisfaction with housing). This theory has both positive and negative sides. The positive side of the theory relies on the fact that the achieved housing satisfaction is to be sustained and in that case the objective justifies the means, that is, if the higher allocated costs mean continual housing satisfaction then the theory is justified. In case the satisfaction with the other components of the quality of life decreases due to the domain of housing, the question is how much the quality of life has increased or decreased overall. Thus, E. Diener et al. (2009) gave an example of a better and more beautiful home, which may mean a longer journey to work, which could be a driver of additional stress, a decrease in leisure time and at the same time an increase in costs (due to prolonged transportation). On the other hand, the process may be reverse. Perhaps a better location means shorter travel time, saving leisure time and reducing costs. Numerous authors have written about the negative effect on social relations after the resettlement process (FRIED, 1966; BRETT, 1982; DIENER, SELIGMAN, 2004). Social relations are particularly an important indicator of the quality of life, and they decline with more frequent moving. According to the classical economic theory, there should be equilibrium between the positive effects of moving to a better dwelling unit and the associated costs. The real estate market should take on the fundamental role and increase the real estate prices when the demand is high and vice versa. Therefore, N. Nakazato et al. (2010) concluded that the novelty in cost theory is the assumption that moving does not lead to changes in the quality of life, because housing satisfaction is associated with costs in other life domains. In this theory, of particular importance is the direct influence of age, education, income and other factors on which the possibility of moving to better housing conditions depends. Although the logical assumption would be that more educated individuals have more income and can afford better housing, this does not always have to be the case. Thus, in her research, S. Šiljeg (2016) found that individuals of better educational and economic status are not necessarily more satisfied with housing, i.e. educational and economic status are not correlated with housing satisfaction. The same can be seen from the aspect of the age structure. The logical sequence would be

dena novčana sredstva u odnosu na mlade koji su tek na početku karijere. No može biti i suprotno, gdje mlađi pojedinac npr. nasljeđuje veća novčana sredstva i živi u boljem stambenom objektu nego netko s duljim radnim stažem. Stoga i ova teorija, kao i one ranije objašnjene, ima nedostataka pa ne može biti primijenjena u svim strukama.

11. Teorija aspiracijske spirale

Iako se pojam „aspiracije“ prvi put spominje u teoriji stambene pokretljivosti, Wolpertovu definiciju nadopunili su i drugi autori (EASTERLIN, 1974.; DIENER 2006.; NAKAZATO I DR., 2010.) koji su pridonijeli razvoju teorije aspiracijske spirale. Ova je teorija relativno nova te ne postoji velik broj istraživanja u kojima se ona primjenjivala. Poseban doprinos teoriji dao je A. Stutzer (2004.) koji ju je objasnio kao „poboljšanje, nakon kojeg se teži poboljšanju“. Ako je pojedinac poboljšao stambene uvjete i time dostigao traženo zadovoljstvo, nakon određenog razdoblja mogao bi pomaknuti svoja stambena očekivanja ljestvicu više. Na primjeru stanovanja to bi značilo da je netko tko je živio u jednosobnom stanu imao želju kupiti dvosobni i kada je to postigao, njegov cilj je trosobni stan te je sva energija usmjerena na postizanje zacrtanog cilja. O ciklusu potreba-aspiracija-potreba pisao je i Chombart de Lauwe 1959. godine koji je raspravljao o trenutačnom zadovoljenju potrebe za stanom. Pozitivna strana ove teorije je da ona ne mora uključivati društvene usporedbe, dakle nema usporedbe s normama ili sa skupinama ljudi koji imaju iste ili slične stambene uvjete jer se teži vlastitom cilju. U ovoj teoriji prosudbe o zadovoljstvu stanovanja odnosit će se na ono što ljudi nemaju, a ne na ono što imaju (NAKAZATO I DR., 2010.). Teorija aspiracijske spirale po svojim je predviđanjima slična teoriji hedonističkog ergometra što se tiče zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Glavna razlika je u tome da se kod teorije aspiracijske spirale kognitivne procjene mijenjaju, to jest hedonistički ergometar predviđa trajni porast u zadovoljstvu stanovanjem, a aspiracijska spirala predviđa adaptacijske efekte (NAKAZATO I DR., 2010.). Pretpostavka ove teorije je da se zadovoljstvo ne povećava nužno s povećanjem

that individuals who are older can afford better living conditions, i.e. those who have acquired certain financial means during their lifetime as compared to the young people who are just beginning their career. But the opposite may also be the case, where a younger individual, for example, inherits a large amount of money and lives in a better dwelling unit than someone with a longer working life. Therefore, this theory, as the ones explained earlier, has drawbacks and so it cannot be applied in all professions.

11. The Theory of the Aspiration Spiral

Although the notion of “aspiration” is first mentioned in the theory of mobility, Wolpert’s definition has been supplemented by other authors (EASTERLIN, 1974; DIENER 2006; NAKAZATO ET AL., 2010), which have contributed to the development of the theory of the aspiration spiral. This theory is relatively new, so there is not a lot of research in which it was used. A special contribution to the theory was made by A. Stutzer (2004), who explained it as an “improvement, after which one aspires to improve”. Namely, if an individual improved his/her housing conditions and thus achieved the desired satisfaction, after a certain period, he or she could raise the housing expectations bar up a notch. On the example of housing, this would mean that someone who lived in a one-bedroom flat had the desire to buy a two-bedroom flat and when the goal was achieved, then all the energy would be focused towards achieving the dream of living in a three-bedroom flat. In discussing housing satisfaction, Chombart de Lauwe (1959) wrote about the needs-aspirations-needs cycle. The positive side of this theory is that it does not have to include social comparisons, so there is no comparison with norms or with groups of people who have the same or similar housing conditions, as they strive for their own goal. In this theory of housing satisfaction, assessment will refer to what people do not have, and not what they have (NAKAZATO ET AL., 2010). The theory of the aspiration spiral, by its prediction, is similar to the theory of the hedonistic ergometer of housing satisfaction. The main difference is that in the theory of the aspiration spiral, cognitive assessments change, i.e. the hedonistic ergometer predicts a continual increase in housing satisfaction, and the aspiration spiral anticipates adap-

prihoda i boljim uvjetima stanovanja, iako je R. A. Easteriln (1974.) tvrdio upravo suprotno. Budući da se radi o „spirali“ težnji o kojima ovisi zadovoljstvo, može se reći da se i ova teorija temelji na ciklusima zadovoljstva. Kada se nakon određene težnje postigne cilj, slijedi privremeno zadovoljstvo koje označava kraj jednog ciklusa. Tada se rađa nova želja za poboljšanjem stambenih uvjeta i to je početak novog ciklusa koji se može podijeliti na nekoliko faza. Prva faza je faza aspiracije što se tiče stambenih uvjeta, druga faza je ostvarenje cilja, slijedi faza privremenog zadovoljstva koja može različito trajati, a posljednju fazu obilježava stagnacija i pad zadovoljstva nakon koje kreće novi ciklus s ponavljanjem istih faza. Takvim postupanjem pojedinac bi se kretao uzlazno po aspiracijskoj spirali zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Ova teorija, iako ima puno sličnosti s navedenim teorijama, ipak se izdvaja po činjenici da se oslanja na „ono što pojedinac nema“ za razliku od ostalih u čijem je središtu „ono što imaju“ i jesu li time zadovoljni ili ne.

KRITIČKI OSVRT NA TEORIJE ZADOVOLJSTVA STANOVANJEM

S razvojem koncepta kvalitete života, domena zadovoljstva stanovanjem sve je važnija. Njegova implementacija u gotovo svim segmentima života označava napredak u razvoju cijelog koncepta i njegovih sastavnica s ciljem poboljšanja stambenih uvjeta s različitih gledišta znanstvene struke. Navedene teorije su osnova od koje polazi istraživač pri vrednovanju zadovoljstva stanovanja nekog pojedinca. One se razvijaju još od vremena kada koncept zadovoljstva stanovanjem nije bio formiran, a prve teorije razvijale su se kao popratna objašnjenja filozofskih, socioloških ili psiholoških studija usmjerenih na objašnjenje nekih društvenih pojava. U različitim vremen- skim odmacima javljali su se autori koji su kritizirali i nadopunjavali postojeće teorije i na taj način ih poboljšali u segmentima u kojima su postojali nedostaci. Budući da su se s vremenom mijenjali društveni, politički pa i prostorni uvjeti života, to se odrazilo i na stanovanje. Stoga se može reći da su navedene teorije odraz vremena

tation effects (NAKAZATO ET AL., 2010). The premise of this theory is that satisfaction does not necessarily increase with the increase in income and better living conditions, although R. A. Easteriln (1974) claimed the opposite. Since it is a “spiral” of aspirations on which satisfaction depends, it can be said that this theory is also based on satisfaction cycles. When a goal is achieved after a certain aspiration, a temporary satisfaction follows that marks the end of a cycle. Then emerges a new aspiration to improve the housing conditions and this is the beginning of a new cycle that can be divided into several phases. The first phase would be the phase of aspiration regarding housing conditions, the second phase the achievement of the goal, followed by a phase of temporary satisfaction, whose duration may vary, and the last stage would be marked by stagnation and a decline in satisfaction after which a new cycle begins in which the same phases are repeated. In doing so, the individual would ascend the aspiration spiral of housing satisfaction. This theory, although having many similarities to the aforementioned theories, is still distinguished by the fact that it relies on “what an individual does not have” as opposed to others which centre on “what they have” and whether they are satisfied or not with it.

CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF THE THEORY OF HOUSING SATISFACTION

With the development of the concept of quality of life, the domain of housing satisfaction has been increasingly gaining in importance. Its realisation in almost all segments of life means progress in the development of the whole concept and its constituents with the aim of improving housing conditions from different scientific points of view. The aforementioned theories are the basis for the researcher to evaluate the housing satisfaction of an individual. They have been developing since the time when the concept of housing satisfaction had not been formed, and the first theories developed as additional explanations of philosophical, sociological or psychological studies aimed at describing some social phenomena. At different time-lapses, authors appeared who criticized and supplemented existing theories and in this way improved them in segments where there

u kojem su nastale, a njihova međusobna integracija stvorila je suvremeni teorijski okvir u objašnjenju pojave zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Jedna od prvih teorija koja se doticala zadovoljstva stanovanjem bila je marksistička teorija u kojoj je definirana okosnica za sve ostale teorije, a to je da je stanovanje osnovno ljudsko pravo koje nitko ne može osporiti, bez obzira na sva ostala obilježja koja pojedinac posjeduje (ekonomska, etnička, kulturološka itd.). Iako ova teorija nije bila podrobno razrađena i nije obuhvatila brojne čimbenike koji utječu na zadovoljstvo stanovanja, ipak je srž svih teorija, pa čak i svih današnjih definicija stanovanja, uspostavljena upravo u marksističkoj teoriji. Stoga je važnost ove teorije u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem neupitan, što se potvrđuje i u studijama različitih istraživača koji kada definiraju stanovanje navode da je riječ o „temeljnoj ljudskoj potrebi koja bi trebala biti neotuđiva i nepovrediva“. Pozitivistički pristup konceptu zadovoljstva stanovanjem pridonio je uključenjem „objektivnosti“ ili „mjerljivosti“. Iako pozitivisti nisu u početku stvaranja teorije bili usmjereni na stanovanje nego su raspravljali o svim pojavama koje se mogu mjeriti, u kasnijim istraživanjima utvrdili su da se i stanovanje može „mjeriti“. Stoga se može reći da današnji objektivni stambeni i urbani indikatori svoj početak imaju u postulatima pozitivizma. Nedostatak ove teorije je subjektivnost bez kojih suvremena istraživanja zadovoljstva stanovanjem nisu moguća. Konkretniju razradu zadovoljstva stanovanjem na segmente dali su funkcionalisti koji su prvi pisali o funkcijama stanovanja. Njihov objekt istraživanja bili su stambeni objekti i njihova funkcija koju su doveli u vezu sa stambenim zadovoljstvom. Oni su tvrdili da ako stambeni objekt zadovoljava funkcije pojedinca, ni zadovoljstvo neće izostati. Osnovni nedostatak ove teorije je u tome što se ne pridaje važnost društvenim interakcijama i stambenom okruženju, što mogu biti važne varijable u vrednovanju zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Važnost ove teorije očituje se u prvoj podjeli funkcija stanovanja iz kojih su se kasnije i razvile brojne podfunkcije u sklopu različitih teorija. Suprotno od funkcionalističke teorije, teorija stambene pokretljivosti ističe važnost stambenog

were shortcomings. Since the social, political and spatial conditions of life changed over time, this also reflected on housing. Therefore, it can be said that the aforementioned theories are the reflection of the time in which they commenced, and their mutual integration has created a contemporary theoretical framework to explain the phenomenon of housing satisfaction. One of the first theories to touch on housing satisfaction was the Marxist theory in which the basis for all other theories was defined, namely that housing is a basic human right that no one can dispute, regardless of all the other characteristics that an individual possesses (economic, ethnic, cultural, religious, racial and other). Although this theory had not been elaborated in detail and did not cover many factors affecting housing satisfaction, it is still at the core of all theories, and even of all of today's definitions of housing, which were established precisely in Marxist theory. Therefore, the importance of this theory in housing satisfaction studies is unquestionable, as evidenced by the studies of various researchers who, when defining housing, state that it is a “fundamental human need that should be inalienable and inviolable.” The positivist approach contributed with the inclusion of “objectivity” or “measurability” to the concept of housing satisfaction. Although positivists were not focused on housing at the beginning of the theory's development, but discussed all the measurable phenomena, in later research they found that housing could be “measured”. Therefore, it can be said that today's objective housing and urban indicators have their beginning in postulates of positivism. The disadvantage of this theory is subjectivity without which contemporary housing satisfaction research is not possible. A more concrete segmented elaboration of housing satisfaction was given by the functionalists who first wrote about the functions of housing. The object of their research were dwelling units and their function linked to housing satisfaction. They claimed that if the dwelling unit satisfies the functions of an individual housing, satisfaction will not be deficient. The basic disadvantage of this theory is that the importance of social interactions and the housing environment are not given significance, although they can be important variables in assessing satisfaction with housing. The importance of this theory is manifested in the first division of housing functions from which

okruženja u određivanju zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Ovom je teorijom koncept zadovoljstva stanovanjem zaokružen u smislu da se zadovoljstvo ne odnosi isključivo na stambeni objekt nego i na njegovo okruženje, te da sinergija ovih elemenata čini cjelokupnu sliku o nekom stambenom zadovoljstvu. Poseban doprinos ove teorije je u isticanju tri varijable koje koreliraju za zadovoljstvom, a to su korisnost prostora, aspiracija i stres. Ove se varijable mogu shvatiti dvoznačno. Na primjer, varijabla stresa može biti čimbenik *push* ili *pull* u procesu pokretljivosti, odnosno čimbenik *push* ako se radi o trenutnom stambenom nezadovoljstvu stambenog objekta u kojem pojedinac živi ili čimbenik *pull* ako pojedinac gleda stambeni objekt u kojem bi želio živjeti. Teorijom stambenog zadovoljstva na kojoj počiva suvremeni koncept zadovoljstva stanovanjem ostvaren je znatan pomak jer je ona primjenjiva i u kvalitativnim, kvantitativnim i mješovitim istraživanjima. Osobito je pogodna za kvantitativna istraživanja u kojima se primjenjuje metoda ankete gdje se zadovoljstvo atributima kućanstva vrednuje na ljestvici od 1 do 5. O tome svjedoči niz istraživanja zadovoljstva stanovanjem koje se temelje na provedenoj anketi. Osnovni nedostatak teorije su varijable susjedstva i stambenog okoliša koje su marginalizirane, a bez kojih koncept stambenog zadovoljstva nije potpun. Pobornici ove teorije dali su i prve konkretne definicije stanovanja te su u svojim istraživanjima utvrdili da zadovoljstvo stanovanjem nije konstantno, odnosno da je promjenjivo ovisno o obilježjima i životnim ciklusima ispitanika. Ove činjenice otvorile su jedno novo pitanje, a to je struktura ispitanika koji ocjenjuju zadovoljstvo stanovanjem. Ta struktura jednakomjerno bi trebala obuhvatiti ispitanike različitih dobnih i spolnih skupina, dok bi na rezultate mogao utjecati socijalno-ekonomski status. Osim toga tu se postavlja pitanje kulturoloških razlika ispitanika, odnosno što je zadovoljstvo stanovanjem za pojedinca koji živi u nerazvijenom afričkom selu, a što za pojedinca u elitnom dijelu razvijenog arapskog ili američkog grada. Zbog ovakvih problema i danas postoje razilaženja u definicijama o tome što je zapravo stambeno zadovoljstvo. Iako teorija formiranja dojma nije posebno važna za

several sub-functions developed later in the course of different theories. Contrary to the functionalist theory, the theory of housing mobility highlights the importance of the housing environment in determining housing satisfaction. With this theory, the concept of housing satisfaction is rounded in the sense that pleasure does not only relate to the dwelling unit, but also to its environment, and that the synergy of these elements makes the overall picture of housing satisfaction. The particular contribution of this theory is to point out three variables that correlate with satisfaction, i.e. the usefulness of space, aspiration and stress. But these variables can be understood in a twofold way, e.g. the stress variable can be a *push* or *pull* factor in the mobility process, i.e. a *push* factor, if it refers to a current housing dissatisfaction with the dwelling unit where an individual lives or a *pull* factor if an individual looks at a dwelling unit in which he or she would like to live. The theory of housing satisfaction on which the modern concept of housing satisfaction rests is a significant shift since it is applicable in qualitative, quantitative, interdisciplinary and integrated research. It is particularly suitable for quantitative research in which the survey method is applied where satisfaction with household attributes is valued on a scale of 1 to 5. This is evidenced by a whole series of housing satisfaction studies that are based on the conducted survey. The main disadvantage of the theory are the variables of the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood environment that are marginalized, and without which the concept of housing satisfaction is not complete. The proponents of this theory have also given the first concrete definitions of housing, and have established in their research that housing satisfaction is not constant, i.e. that it varies depending on the characteristics and life cycles of the respondents. These facts have opened up a new question, namely, the composition of the respondents who are satisfied with housing. This structure should equally include respondents of different age and gender groups, while the socio-economic status might affect the results. In addition, there is the question of the cultural differences of respondents, that is, what housing satisfaction represents for an individual living in the underdeveloped African village, and for the individual in an elite part of the developed Arab or American city. Due to such problems, today there

koncept stambenog zadovoljstva, u svojem postulatu o prvom dojmu dotakla se činjenice koja bi se trebala uzeti u obzir kada se govori o stambenom zadovoljstvu. Riječ je o osviještenosti kada se vrednuje zadovoljstvo, odnosno da pojedinac objektivno sagleda pozitivne i negativne strane stambenog objekta, da se ne oslanja na selektivno opažanje i da bi se trebao zanemariti prvi dojam. Ovi su kriteriji važni u istraživanjima stambenog zadovoljstva jer izravno mogu utjecati na zadovoljstvo temeljeno na dojmu. Ova teorija najčešće se primjenjivala za ispitivanje zadovoljstva fizičkim odrednicama stambenog objekta i okoliša čime se samo jednim dijelom dotiče koncepta stambenog zadovoljstva. Posebno važna teorija u formiranju koncepta stambenog zadovoljstva je bihevioralna teorija. Bihevioristi su u istraživanja zadovoljstva stanovanjem dodali geografsku dimenziju, odnosno prostornost. U okviru bihevioralne teorije istaknuta je važnost lokacije koja se danas smatra jednom od temeljnih varijabli u istraživanjima stambenog zadovoljstva jer dobra lokacija znači i veću materijalnu vrijednost stambenog objekta, ali i pogodnosti poput blizine različitih sadržaja. Osim naglasaka na stambenom okruženju, lokaciji i prostornosti može se reći da su bihevioristi prvi put u vezu doveli zadovoljstvo stanovanjem i urbanističko planiranje. Ova teorija široko je primjenjiva u istraživanjima stambenog zadovoljstva, ali i u istraživanjima kvalitete života, posebice u geografskoj struci. Iako teorija hedonističkog ergometra nije često korištena u istraživanjima zadovoljstva stanovanjem, važna je zbog adaptacijskog fenomena koji se može primijeniti i u stambenom zadovoljstvu. Ova teorija zapravo objašnjava važnost „trenutka“ u kojem se ispituje pojedinac. Ako je pojedinac tek kupio stan ili izgradio kuću, njegovo će zadovoljstvo biti veliko bez obzira na to što možda objekt nije u potpunosti namješten, opremljen ili sl., za razliku od „trenutka“ da pojedinac već dvadeset godina živi u kući, a još mu objekt nije u potpunosti opremljen. Zbog toga bi u ispitivanjima stambenog zadovoljstva trebalo voditi računa o tome koliko godina pojedinac živi u stambenom objektu. Jedna od najčešće citiranih teorija stambenog zadovoljstva je teorija stambene prilagodbe koja se

is still disagreement regarding definitions of the actual meaning of housing satisfaction. Although the theory on impression formation is not of greater importance for the very concept of housing satisfaction, in its postulate about the first impression, it has touched upon the fact that should be taken into account when it comes to housing satisfaction. It concerns rethinking when satisfaction is assessed, that is, that an individual objectively looks at the positive and negative sides of a dwelling, by not relying on selective observation, and by disregarding the first impression. These criteria are important in housing satisfaction research because they can directly affect impression-based satisfaction. This theory has been mostly used to test satisfaction with the physical properties of the dwelling unit and the environment, which only partly addresses the concept of housing satisfaction. A particularly important theory in forming the concept of housing satisfaction is the behavioural theory. Behaviourists were the first to add the dimension of geographical spatiality into housing satisfaction studies. Within the framework of behavioural theory, the significance of a site is considered today to be one of the fundamental variables in housing satisfaction research, since a good location means a greater material value of a dwelling unit, as well as benefits such as the proximity of different contents. Apart from the emphasis on the housing environment, location and spatiality, it can be said that the behaviourists for the first time brought together housing satisfaction and urban planning. This theory is widely applicable in housing satisfaction studies, but also in the quality of life research, especially in the geography profession. Although the theory of the hedonistic ergometer is not often used in housing satisfaction studies, it is significant because of the adaptation phenomenon that can be applied to housing satisfaction. This theory actually explains the importance of the “moment” in which an individual is questioned. That is, if an individual has just bought a flat or made a house, his or her desire would be great despite the fact that the dwelling unit is not fully furnished, equipped, etc., unlike the “moment” when an individual has been living for 20 years in a dwelling unit that has not yet been fully equipped. For this reason, housing satisfaction surveys should take into account how many years an individual has lived in a dwelling unit. One

temelji na procjeni zadovoljstva na osnovi kulturnih i obiteljskih normi. Iako su ove dvije odrednice iznimno važne jer se stambeno zadovoljstvo mora sagledati u kulturnim i obiteljskim okvirima, njezin glavni nedostatak je primjenjivost. Ova teorija najprikladnija je za promatranje općih trendova pri čemu ne prati trendove, poput npr. potrebe za radnom sobom u modernim stambenim objektima, što nije bio običaj u izgradnji objekata prošlog stoljeća. Osim toga ova teorija nije obuhvatila sve varijable dosadašnjih teorija pa se postavlja pitanje njezine detaljnosti. Svakako je važno spomenuti da je ova teorija najbolje povezala analizu objektivnih varijabli sa stambenim zadovoljstvom zbog čega je i postala najcitiranija teorija stambenog zadovoljstva. Teorija troškova stanovanja, iako u svojoj osnovi ekonomska, za ispitivanje zadovoljstva važna je zbog aspekta „preseljenja“. Točnije, u ovoj je teoriji objašnjeno da ako dođe do promjene stambenog objekta, kvaliteta života zbog toga ne smije biti promijenjena. To znači da ako zadovoljstvo stanovanjem zbog novoga stambenog objekta poraste, ono se ne bi smjelo smanjiti u drugim segmentima života (npr. udaljenost od posla, veći troškovi i sl.). Stoga se može reći da je ova teorija istaknula važnost samog stambenog objekta s ostalim čimbenicima koji čine ukupno stambeno zadovoljstvo. Posljednja navedena teorija koja odudara od dosad navedenih je teorija aspiracijske spirale. Različitost teorije je u tome što je ona usredotočena na „ono što ljudi nemaju“, za razliku od ostalih deset teorija koje objašnjavaju ono što ljudi imaju. Prema postavkama ove teorije, u ispitivanju stambenog zadovoljstva isključene su društvene usporedbe, što znači da ne postoje norme kao kod teorije stambene prilagodbe, odnosno da je pojedinac usmjeren na vlastiti cilj. Teorija ističe važnost stalne težnje poboljšanju stambenih uvjeta pri čemu nezadovoljstvo nije shvaćeno kao nešto negativno, nego kao poticaj za daljnjim napretkom. Na osnovi ove teorije brojni su istraživači u svoja istraživanja uključili i varijablu mogućeg preseljenja ispitanika u drugi stambeni objekt.

Iako su sve navedene teorije pridonijele razvoju koncepta stambenog zadovoljstva, posebno se ističu bihevioralna teorija, teorija stambenog

of the most frequently quoted housing satisfaction theories is the housing adaptation theory that is based on an assessment of satisfaction based on cultural and family norms. Although these two determinants are extremely important because housing satisfaction has to be viewed within the cultural and family frameworks, its main disadvantage is its applicability. This theory is best suited to observing general trends, which does not follow trends such as the need for a study in modern dwelling units, which was not the custom in the building of dwelling units in the previous century. Moreover, this theory did not cover all the variables of the previous theories, which has brought into question its level of detail. It is certainly important to mention that this theory has best linked the analysis of objective variables with housing satisfaction, which is why it has become the most cited theory of housing satisfaction. The housing price theory, though fundamentally an economic theory, is important for satisfaction surveys because of the “relocation” aspect. Specifically, this theory explains that if there is a change in the dwelling unit, the quality of life must not change. This means that if housing satisfaction increases because of a new dwelling unit, it should not decrease in other segments of life (e.g. distance from work, higher costs, etc.). Therefore, it can be said that this theory emphasizes the importance of the dwelling unit itself with the other factors that comprise the total housing satisfaction. The last mentioned theory that differs from the aforesaid ones is that of the aspiration spiral. The theory differs in that it is focused on “what people do not have” unlike the other 10 theories that explain what people have. According to the premises of this theory, in studies of housing satisfaction, social comparisons are excluded, which means that there are no norms as in the theory of housing adjustment, that is, the individual is focused on his or her own goal. The theory emphasizes the importance of constant aspiration to improve housing conditions, whereby dissatisfaction is not perceived as something negative, but as an incentive for further progress. Based on this theory, numerous researchers have also included into their studies the variable of possible relocation of respondents to another dwelling unit.

Although all the mentioned theories have contributed to the development of the concept of housing

zadovoljstva i teorija stambene prilagodbe. Kombinacijom ovih triju teorija može se reći da je koncept gotovo potpun, odnosno u koncept je moguće uključiti nove varijable, ovisno o struci koja vrednuje stambeno zadovoljstvo. S geografskog aspekta važno je uključiti stambene i urbane indikatore koji mogu uključivati različite pokazatelje ovisno o prostoru na kojem se ispituje stambeno zadovoljstvo.

ZAKLJUČAK

Stanovanje kao interdisciplinarni predmet proučavanja zahtijeva različite pristupe u njegovu definiranju i objašnjenju. Budući da su istraživanja o stambenom zadovoljstvu često nepotpuna u teorijskim postavkama, cilj ovoga rada bio je dati pregled teorija o zadovoljstvu stanovanja na temelju proučene strane i domaće literature. Pregled bi trebao biti okosnica svakom istraživanju o zadovoljstvu stanovanja, bez obzira na to o kojoj se struci radi. Na temelju objašnjenih teorija koje strani istraživači primjenjuju mogu se odrediti kriteriji iz kojih se generiraju indikatori za vrednovanje zadovoljstva stanovanja. Ovisno o ciljevima istraživanja predstavljene teorije mogu biti polazište za veću reprodukciju podataka o zadovoljstvu stanovanjem u hrvatskim urbanim i ruralnim prostorima, što može rezultirati stvaranjem jedinstvene baze podataka o zadovoljstvu stanovanja u Hrvatskoj. Budući da je Hrvatska kao članica Europske unije dužna slijediti primjere dobre prakse u svim domenama razvoja, cilj je da stanovnici dosegnu što veće zadovoljstvo stanovanjem. Kako je i europski sustav vrednovanja životnih uvjeta formiran na temelju relevantne teorijske osnove, tako je i u ovom radu predstavljen skup teorija koje su pridonijele razvoju koncepta stambenog zadovoljstva. U radu je objašnjeno jedanaest teorija koje se najčešće primjenjuju u istraživanjima o stanovanju jer se njihovom primjenom postižu najbolji rezultati. Iako je svaka od navedenih teorija više ili manje pridonijela razvoju koncepta, tri su posebno važna. To su bihevioralna teorija stanovanja kojom je uvedena prostornost u koncept, teorija stambenog zadovoljstva koja je prepoznata kao najprimjenjivija u istraživanjima i teorija stambene prilagodbe koja

satisfaction, there is a particular emphasis on the behavioural theory, the housing satisfaction theory and the housing adjustment theory. By combining these three theories, it can be said that the concept is almost complete, namely, that it is possible to include new variables in the concept, depending on the profession that is evaluating housing satisfaction. From a geographic point of view, it is important to include housing and urban indicators that may include different variables and indices depending on the space where housing satisfaction is studied.

CONCLUSION

Housing as an interdisciplinary subject of study requires different approaches in its definition and explanation. Since housing satisfaction studies are often incomplete in theoretical hypotheses, the aim of this study was to give an overview of housing satisfaction theories on the basis of the reviewed foreign and domestic literature. The aim of the overview was to be the cornerstone of any housing satisfaction study, no matter which profession or extent of geographical research area. Based on the explained theories applied by foreign researchers, criteria can be determined from which the indicators of housing satisfaction can be generated. Depending on the research objectives, the presented theories can be a starting point for the better generation of primary data on housing satisfaction in Croatian urban and rural areas, which can result in the creation of a unique database on housing satisfaction in Croatia. Since Croatia, as a member of the European Union, is obliged to follow the examples of good practice in all domains of development, the aim is to provide residents with the greatest housing satisfaction. As the European system for the evaluation of living conditions is formed on the basis of the relevant theoretical basis, so is this paper in which we present a set of theories that contributed to the development of the concept of housing satisfaction. The paper discusses 11 theories which are most commonly used in housing research and whose application achieves the best results. Although each of these theories contributed more or less to the development of the concept, three are of particular importance. These are the behavioural theory of housing that

je postala najcitiranija teorija stambenog zadovoljstva zbog korelacije objektivnih pokazatelja i zadovoljstva stanovanjem. Kombinacijom ovih triju teorija koncept stambenog zadovoljstva smatra se potpunim u smislu da su obuhvaćene i objektivne i subjektivne mjere, te da se vrednuje zadovoljstvo stambenom jedinicom, stambenim okruženjem i interakcijama u susjedstvu. Odnosno, ovisno o geografskom prostoru u kojem se provodi ispitivanje zadovoljstva varijable mogu biti promjenjive što znači da koncept stambenog zadovoljstva nije konstantan te da na njega mogu utjecati vanjski atributi (kulturni, etnički, demografski, politički itd.). Stoga je preporuka autora da se pri ispitivanju stambenog zadovoljstva konzultiraju sve navedene teorije kako bi okvir istraživanja bio potpun, a rezultati provedenih istraživanja točni i primjenjivi na drugi prostor.

introduced geographical space into the concept, the housing satisfaction theory that is recognized as the most applicable in research and the theory of housing adjustment, which has become the most cited housing satisfaction theory due to its correlation of objective indicators and housing satisfaction. By combining these three theories, the concept of housing satisfaction is considered complete in the sense that objective and subjective measures are included, and that housing satisfaction, the housing environment and neighbourhood interactions are assessed. Thus, depending on the geographic area in which the satisfaction survey is conducted, variables can differ, meaning that the concept of housing satisfaction is not constant and that it can be influenced by external attributes (cultural, ethnic, demographic, political, etc.). Therefore, it is the authors' recommendation to consult all the aforementioned theories when conducting studies on housing satisfaction so that the research framework is complete and the results of the research conducted are accurate and applicable to other areas.

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