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TERRITORIAL CONSUMPTION MODELS - URBAN SPRAWL - (UN)SUSTAINABILITY: TIME FOR ANTI SPRAWL?

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TERRITORIAL CONSUMPTION MODELS – URBAN SPRAWL – (UN)SUSTAINABILITY: TIME FOR ANTI SPRAWL?

By

Zsuzsanna Váradi¹ and Szilvia Kovács²

1. INTRODUCTION

Processes such as globalisation, transition and new urbanization trends, like urban sprawl, reconstructed the social and territorial structure of the metropolitan areas worldwide, which manifested in sustainability problems too. It means that due to above mentioned changes caused new urban patterns, and new relations between the urban-rural areas, and transformed the economic and social structure of the urban regions. Beside this the role of the market economy became more important and had higher role by urban development. The social behaviour was also changed, new values and consumer behaviours appeared, which have also transformed the life of the metropolitan regions. We would like to analyse one aspect of these changes, namely the new territorial consumption patterns in the Hungarian capital.

Hungary faced new urbanization processes in the last 20 years too. Despite the delayed urbanization of the country, the suburbanization, and the urban sprawl phenomenon clearly defined and appeared rapidly after the Transition in 1990. The outcome of it could be seen by the increasing population and built-up area in the suburbs, ageing of core cities. Beside this, two other impacts have to be underlined: firstly, the social structure of the metropolitan areas have been changed – the outskirt settlements attracted the middle and high social strata groups from the metropolitan city, and due to their outmigration, the social structure was changed hierarchically in the different residential areas. Secondly, the due to economic changes and market based economy, globalized consumer models, and places (eg. shopping malls, entertainment parks, private institutions, such as schools, health care services) became new factors of urban patterns too.

These bunch of problems caused radical change in the inhabitants' territorial movements, and modified the historically developed consumer behaviour, which appeared in differences of the consumption models between the different social and territorial groups, and generated a lot of sustainability issues to be examined in the urban region.

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In order to link these aspects, the paper focuses on the socially, economically and territorially defined consumption in the Budapest Metropolitan Region nowadays. It highlights the characteristic usage of urban space by several specified social groups, with the methods of empirical analysis.

Firstly it would like to underline the main features and models of everyday life activities by localizing their consumption scenes, such as places of work. It would like to present the consequences of the new regional social structure and the reorganisation of the territorial consumption habits together, their dependence on each other, as well as the local or global consumption patterns of the different social groups.

In addition, another significant task of the lecture is to analyse the consumer locations of public services and (semi) public spaces among the different social residential groups. To achieve this goal, it discusses the utilization of various urban public spaces and public institutions, the social infrastructure of the different social and territorial groups and the determining factors of these public consumer habits territorially.

The differences which appear in the use of public services could strengthen the hierarchical social arrangement, where social conflicts could take place in this context. So the study deals with the background of territorial occupational contradictions via the structure of metropolitan society.

2. THE URBAN SPRAWL AND TERRITORIAL CONSUMPTION PROBLEM

2. 1. SHIFTING FROM SOCIAL THEORIES TILL THE APPROACH OF TERRITORIAL CONSUMPTION

The task of this paragraph is to show, how the problem concerning the general issue of consumption is realized over territorial consumption.

The new developed effects of globalization, the transformation of the social and economical systems, the regional concentration and their impact on the institutionalized networks, plus the transformation in mass and social media modified the historically developed consumers' behavior. While Hirsch (1976) pointed out to the positional role of products, Douglas and Isherwood (1978) wrote, the function of consumption is not the gratification of individual needs, but the ability to form feelings. Baudrillard (1981, 1988) highlighted the indicative use of property instead of their value. Due to Campbell (1995), consumption was already applied as an indicator of social origin and identity. Even, according to Utasi (2002), the temporary feeling of happiness – insured by the acquired assets – was replaced with newer and higher demand, where wastefulness became propriety, and propriety became necessary in consumer

behaviour (McKendrick et al, 1982). At this point, consumption issues reached the question of (un)sustainability (UN, 1987).

The theoretical concept of the sustainable consumption has been discussed for a long time. But each definition requires watching the World as a system – a system that connects space and time. Too often, sustainability is considered as a result, as a concrete situation in which our bounded goal is to define and achieve – rather than treating as a planned change or a managed learning process (Sriskandarajah et al, 1991). A process, that includes people, as well as spatial-social environment and the formation of sustainable relationship between them.

In this framework either the normative or the realistic conception, but the empirical approach is more characteristic. It means firstly the real consuming processes should be described (Szirmai-Váradi, 2009).

2. 2. FROM URBANIZATION TO URBAN SPRAWL PHENOMENON IN HUNGARY

The Hungarian urban development processes could be described with similarities, within the post socialist countries, which means that the centralization, the redistribution of sources, the forced urbanization, the increasing inequalities of cities and villages were the most important aspects before the Transition³ (Kovács-Wiessner, 2004). After 1990 – as in lot of researches had been already introduced⁴ – the social, economic and planning processes have been radically changed which drew new regional patterns of the country. The former state dominated urban and regional development policy was replaced a democratic, local and market based policy, with the power of local governments, and beside this, the effects of globalization processes were prevailed as well. According of the above mentioned processes, the reactions and answers of the settlements were depending strongly on their local resources and innovation willingness, which caused differences in the urban network, and developed inequalities between the eastern and western part of the country, but decreased the urban-rural, especially the city-village gap. We can conclude that next to many other factors, the market, the globalization and the competition between the settlements became the most important driving forces of urbanization processes (Kovács 2002) (see Table1).

³ As in other Central-Eastern European countries around 1990, the political changes – from state socialist system into democracy – caused several effects in the social and economic processes. The economy changed into market economy, the role of the state intervention decreased, new governmental system appeared. The social and regional effects were mostly negative, the inequalities were growing from the 1990's, both side. From the effects of Transition see more eg.: Kovács (2004): Socio-economic transition and regional differentiation in Hungary. Geographical Bulletin. Vol. LIII. No. 1-2.

⁴ Enyedi, Gy, 1998; Fassmann, 1997; Häussermann, 1997; Kovács, 2002, Musil 1992.

Table1: Main features of urbanization in Hungary

Before 1990	After 1990
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ strong state intervention (top-down model) ▪ redistribution system ▪ range of urban population: in 1870 15%, in 1910 20%, in 1950 37%, in 1980 53% ▪ local councils functioning as the extended hands of political leadership ▪ forced urbanisation vs. settlements marked as non-functional and non-developed areas ▪ increasing social-economic differences between towns and villages ▪ strengthening of the upper part in urban hierarchy ▪ inner social-spatial inequalities ▪ special urban form: 'socialist' city ▪ ignored city centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ shift to market regulation (bottom-up model) ▪ born and depression of local governments ▪ forced town status declaration, „formal urbanization”: Capital, regional centres (5), county centres (14), middle-cities (25), small cities (80), quasi cities ▪ weakness of cooperation between the settlements ▪ settlements seek for independence: 3071 (number of Hungarian settlements) in 1990, 3152 in 2010 ▪ growing competition for (local, state, EU) resources ▪ 'winners' and 'losers' in the conversion of urban capital ▪ range of urban population in 2010: 68% ▪ increasing differences within the regions ▪ strengthening of the lower part of urban hierarchy ▪ rapid suburbanization process via globalization and modernization ▪ territorial de/classification by foreign investors, industrial parks, property speculation ▪ separated urban development and planning ▪ continuously changing territorial administrative units ▪ tenders are not consistent with the needs ▪ privilege of city cores and agglomeration areas

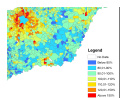
Based on literature analysis edited by the Authors

The above listed processes significantly transformed the social-regional structure of the cities, and the relationship between the cities and their surrounding areas, which also contributed to the fact that, the post socialist countries have already adversed demographic structure from the 1980s, and characterized them as a natural weight loss (Hablicsek, 2009). Primarily the country's south-western and north-eastern regions (where the structure of the settlement network contained small villages in grater proportion), and urban areas were affected by ageing.

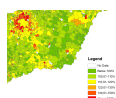
The other important process was the migration: the internal dynamics of movements and its direction was changed (Illés, 2009), which mainly affected the urban population structures, because of the inhabitants of large cities started to move out, so the emergence of radical suburbanization processes took place from the middle 1990's (see Map 1-2.). The main reason was that, the degradation of industrial jobs in many cities and they became less attractive, but at the same time cities pushed away the population because of the higher cost of living, higher insecurity, and the deteriorated residential and natural environment conditions.

One of the main result of these processes was the decreasing of metropolitan population, with more than ten percent on average, but significant increasing of suburban zone's population (see Table2). The biggest loss was realized by the case of Budapest: between 1990 and 2010 the number of population decreased with 300 thousand people (in 2010 1.7 million inhabitants), but its surrounding areas population increased with more than 20% (in 2010: 755 thousand inhabitants).

Map1



Map2



Edited by Balázs Kohán

Table2: Main indexes and changes of urbanization processes in Hungary (1990-2008)

	Change of population (%)	Change of housing (%)	Change of population density (%)	Change of elderly population (%)	Robin Hood index
metropolitan areas	-2,65	+15,27	+28,07	+3,12	11,62
core cities	-11,17	+11,09	-0,97	+3,86	7,83
suburban settlements	+32,46	+34,00	+16,80	+1,84	3,79
Hungarian average	-3,24	+10,62	-3,23	+2,69	19,9

Based on data of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (1990-2008) edited by the Authors

The paper is focusing on two processes of suburbanization. Firstly, the previous social structure was transformed, the social status were differentiated by medium-and high-layer in the suburban area, thus creating a kind of hierarchical structure (Szirmai, 2009). Secondly, due to sprawl effects and transformation of the social-spatial structure, new territorial consumption patterns were emerged, which manifested in environmental and social problems in and around the metropolitan region, and has fundamental impact on the development of sustainable urban development.

Regarding to the above mentioned processes the study presents empirical research findings⁵ of the new urbanization processes and territorial consumption effects related to sustainability issues around the Hungarian capital. It describes the answers of the following question: how the territorial consumption of different everyday activities (namely the relation of working places' location and transport use) and public services and (semi) public spaces (health, culture and leisure) are formed in the Budapest Metropolitan Region, according to the different social territorial groups (educational level, income and working position)?

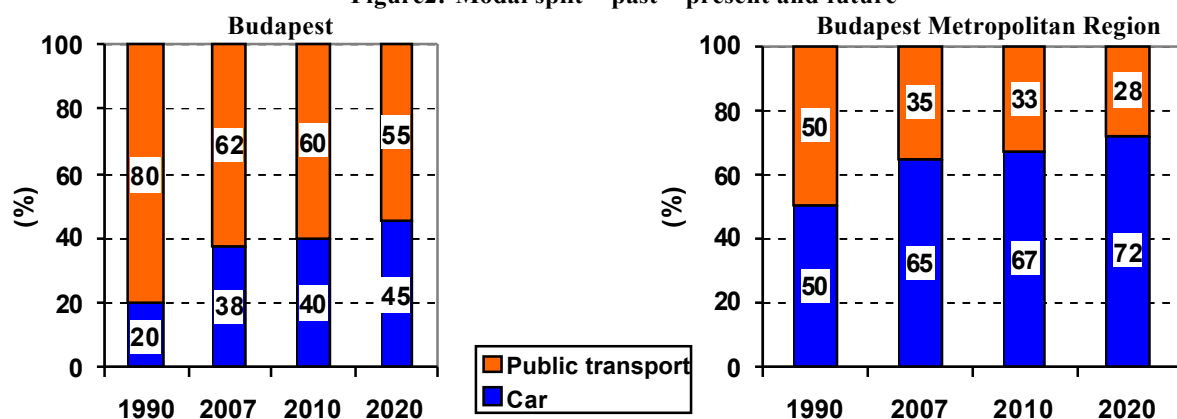
3. SUSTAINABILITY AND TRANSPORT PROBLEMS

Over the past 20 years, the biggest lost market share of public transportation appeared by the relation of urban-suburban. However, the increasing car traffic is becoming an obstacle to the objective of a good accessibility. On the introductory routes of Budapest, the traffic congestions are nowadays permanent, the commuting time become longer, the accessibility of suburban areas is difficult and unpredictable, by road. The parking opportunity is inappropriate, the liveability of the city, and outdoor environmental quality is deteriorating due to the large individual transport methods. These problems have negative impacts on regional competitiveness (High-speed Railway Concept of Budapest Region). The factors are cornerstones of sustainability problems in the Budapest metropolitan region. Related to this, one question of the survey asked the locals about their transport patterns, namely: *what vehicle do the different social and territorial groups use to go to work, and why? Are there remarkable differences between the groups?*

Earlier studies and surveys clearly show that in Budapest over the past decade drastically increased the proportion of car use and declining use of public transport customers. The latter rate is still high compared with other European cities, but if we consider that 80% of the value of the city started (Figure2), and it decreased very high proportion, even the future of car use estimates also predict an increase, the region will face several environmental and sustainability problems.

⁵ To show the territorial consumption of different everyday activities, public services and (semi) public spaces, realised by the population in the Budapest Metropolitan Region, based on the empirical results of the sub-research, called 'The social mechanisms and interests determining consumption models', developed by the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, lead by Prof. Dr. Viktória Szirmai. Its consortium project called 'Sustainable Consumption, Production and Communication', organised by the Corvinus University of Budapest in 2009-2011, and supported by the Norwegian Financial Mechanism (reference number: 0056/NA/2006-2/ÖP.) Datas are combined from different sources: official statistical data, quantitative survey: 1000 questionnaire of inhabitants in the Budapest Metropolitan Region (600 from Budapest and 400 from several underdeveloped and developed settlements in the agglomeration area). And finally an outcome of a qualitative research: 53 interviews with local stakeholders (60% from the capital and 40% from the metropolitan region).

Figure2: Modal split – past – present and future



Source: http://www.catch-mr.eu/public/DB_Data/files/Downloads/Documentation_-_Goeteborg_Workshop_-_Catch_MR.pdf.

To analyse this problem in detail, it is clearly seen, that the public and the individual transport, car-usage dominates in the Budapest region. The results also show that, the problem of sustainability was generated those groups living in the suburban zones, who choose their car. If we examine the question at social level, the survey reveals that, primarily social strata indicators explain the differences among the transport methods and vehicle usage. The high social strata – compared to the average – uses their care in much higher proportion, which is even more true in the developed urban peripheries (despite the fact that public transport opportunities are favourable). The low social strata of both types of settlements are in the same low proportion in car use (see Table3).

Table3: Proportion according used vehicle by social strata and location

vehicle \ location	High social strata			
	Budapest	Developed urban periphery	Underdeveloped urban periphery	mean
Motorbike	0,68	0,00	3,70	0,91
Other	0,68	2,27	0,00	0,91
Bicycle	2,70	2,27	7,41	3,20
By feet	19,59	20,45	11,11	18,72
Public transport	43,92	4,55	18,52	32,88
Car	32,43	70,45	59,26	43,38
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
vehicle \ location	Low social strata			
	Budapest	Developed urban periphery	Underdeveloped urban periphery	mean
Motorbike	1,10	0,00	3,23	1,53
Other	2,20	2,33	3,23	2,55
Bicycle	2,20	2,33	6,45	3,57
Car	12,09	25,58	24,19	18,88
By feet	23,08	18,60	19,35	20,92
Public transport	59,34	51,16	43,55	52,55
Total	100	100	100	100

Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

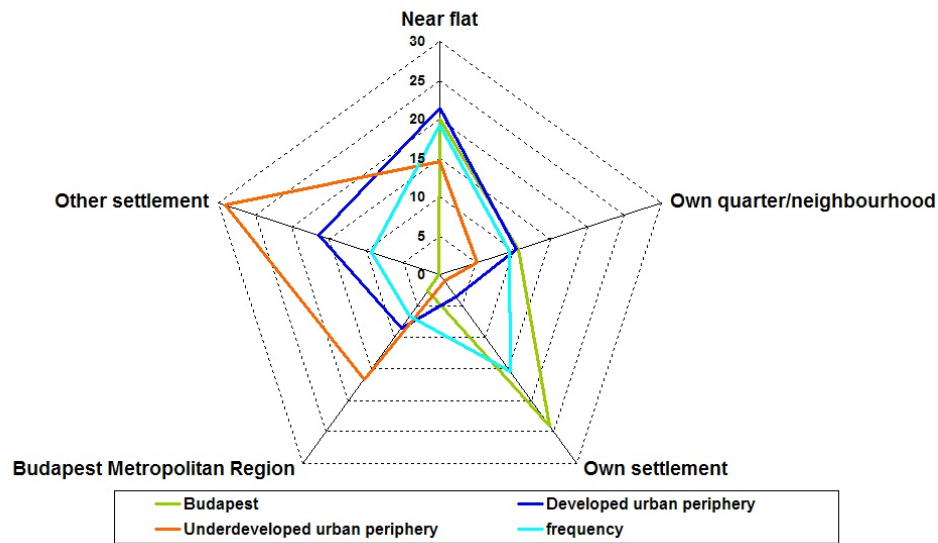
The explanations of this phenomenon could be variable. After 1990, the consumption patterns have changed and opportunities for consumption had been widened, and car ownership became a prestige, and is a symbol for the different social groups. From the view of urbanization processes, the suburbanization resulted, that the public transport infrastructure and its development has fallen behind from the suburban settlements (there is a gap between the demand and need). So in most cases, the inhabitants working in the capital, car use is indispensable, and sometimes compulsion for them. Thus we can say that the above mentioned factors are – namely the social strata indicators, consumer attitudes and infrastructural deficiencies together – form today the sustainability-related transport problems in the Budapest region. The results show that there should be change in attitude at the high status strata groups firstly, and have to find formulate proposals, because in their case trend of car use is much larger. To find solutions, the European best practices, the community development approach of regional development, the promotion of alternative modes of transport (and to encourage the development of systems) could help to facilitate the sustainable development of the metropolitan area.

Where do the different social and territorial groups work? Why do the different groups work in a different place?

The employment situation in Budapest metropolitan area, the region's economic and spatial structure significantly changed after the Transition, and adopted to the global processes, as well as the region's new role. The industrial production has ceased in the cities, or moved out to the edge of the urban zones. The tertiary sector became more and more dominant, its disperse location enabled the deconcentration of workplaces, and commercial, economic, institutional, sub-centers developed across the agglomeration. But as we see the national level, 28% of employees are working in Budapest recently, so it is still characterized by the concentration of jobs in the Capital.

The results showed that people living in Budapest – taking into account the better labour market opportunities – commute less and they are working mostly near or in their own quarter. The people living in developed urban peripheries have a much higher rate of commuting to another location to work, but here there are high proportion of local workers too. People living in undeveloped suburban settlements have to commute in highest percentage, which illustrates the “sleeping feature” of this kind of urban peripheries (Figure3).

Figure3: Where do the inhabitants work? (by place of residence, %)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

If we examine the different spatial and social groups, there are significant differences between high and low strata: the proportion of those who **is** working in other settlement is greater **than** employments with high social strata, which could be in relation with their qualification, their income and the nature of their work.

Regional differences are also appeared here: in Budapest the high social strata group is working locally rather than lower status groups, who commute to another location, (this category was chosen with 30% by the employees living in Budapest but working in other place). In developed urban peripheries with high social strata two trends are noticeable: they usually work nearby their residence or in other settlements. By the low social groups each category was balanced. The differences are also interesting in underdeveloped peripheries, where both groups are mobile, but a much higher proportion of high status go to another location to work (see Table4).

Table4: Place of work by social strata and by place of residence (%)

workplace residence	High social strata				
	Near flat	Own quarter/ neighbourhood	Own settlement	Budapest Metropolitan Region	Other settlement
Budapest	20,42	9,79	30,50	1,41	0,00
Developed urban periphery	30,56	8,11	0,00	8,33	21,62
Underdeveloped urban periphery	12,50	0,00	0,00	12,50	46,67
Frequency of sample	21,65	8,67	22,28	3,61	7,69
Low social strata					
Budapest	16,59	16,22	13,25	15,75	16,59
Developed urban periphery	5,88	8,11	2,41	5,54	5,88
Underdeveloped urban periphery	9,76	2,70	0,00	6,08	9,76
Frequency of sample	1,46	10,81	13,25	6,08	1,46

Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

4. CONSUMPTION OF PUBLIC SERVICES AND (SEMI) PUBLIC SPACES IN THE BUDAPEST METROPOLITAN REGION

The following columns analyse the use of public services and (semi) public spaces, with demographic, social, economic and territorial dimensions.

What are the territorial characteristics in the consumption of health services?

Health services – is involved in this research as an example for public services – were investigated in two aspects. The one hand, with the issue of primary and special care, on the other hand, the use of complementary and alternative medicine (CAM).

Regardless the type of residence, 76.01% of respondents visit primary and special care praxis near their flats, and 20.5% goes till the border of their own quarters /neighbourhoods. Here a kind of spatial demarcation line can be discovered in the location of services' territorial consumption, ie. further – but in their own settlements, and /or in the Budapest Metropolitan Region, and/or in other settlements –, only 12.7% consume the care of physicians. This is likely connected with the operations of health care system, due to its administrative (registered place of residence) and supply structure (scope of institutes)⁶ (see Figure4).

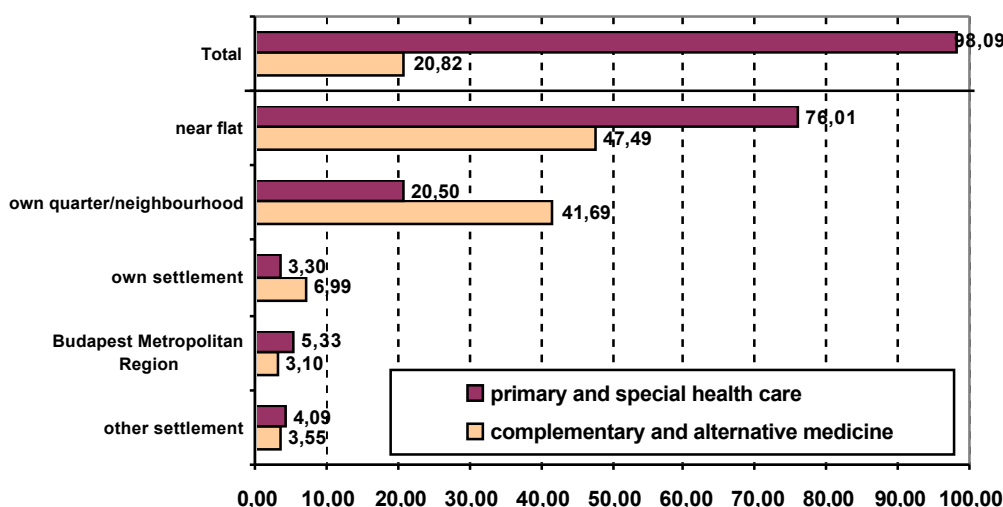
⁶ In Hungary, GP's can be chosen independently in primary care, meanwhile special care is grounded on territorial principles: some options are only available in local health centers, others are found only in specific,

Those who goes beyond the boundaries of settlements and explained their reasons (33.7%), mostly chosen their doctors upon trust (14.7%), in second place, the appropriate standard of references stayed (7.7%). In other words, they vote for further located primary and special health care points on more subjective grounds, in favour of preserving and improving their health, not influenced on pragmatic considerations like the geographical availability or the cost of services.

The current research was not designed to measure the penetration of CAM, but who marked at least one spatial unit for its consumption - according the question, they can be categorized as regular consumers of complementary and alternative medicine (e.g. acupuncture, massage) - share 21%⁷.

Comparing the territorial use of health services, the flat-surrounding is not dominant in the territorial consumption of CAM, indeed, it is concentrated about the same extent around the flat and in the quarter/neighbourhood. In this case - since there are not any spatial restrictions and supply regulations - the market-oriented service selection becomes more visible.

Figure4: Distribution of health care services in spatial proportion (% , 2010)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

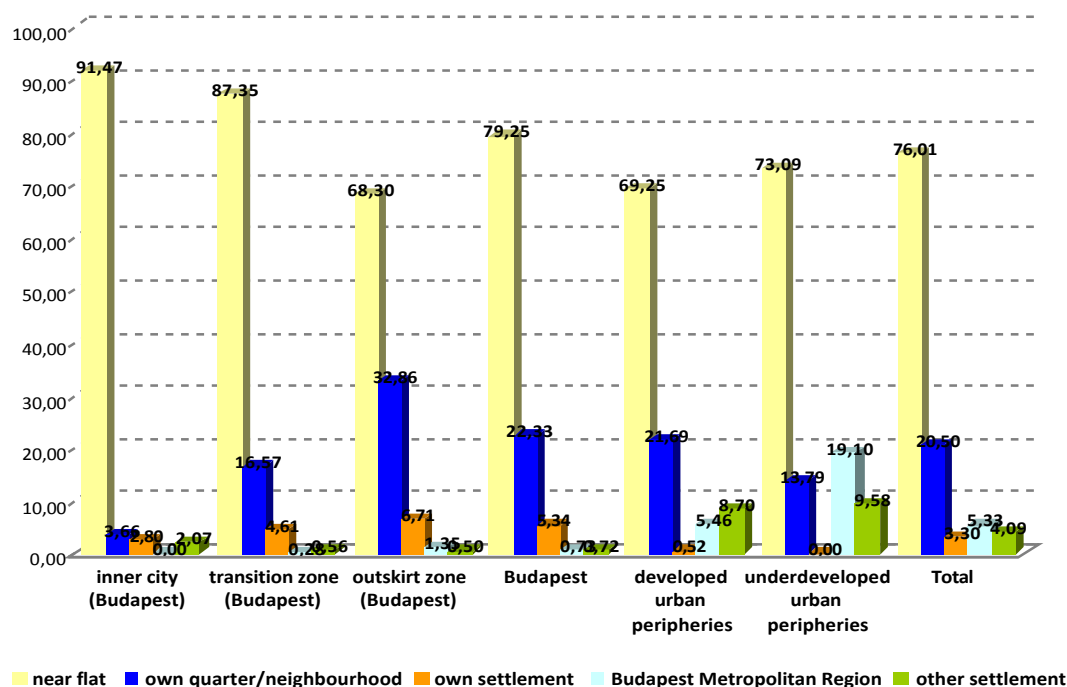
In Budapest, while in the inner city (91.5%) and in the transitional zone (87.4%) almost the same amount of people visit physicians near their flat, in the outskirts (68.3%) this ratio is much smaller, with average 21.1%. Compared to the inhabitants of inner city (3.7%), people

designated institutions. Relevant laws: *Act CLIV* of 1997 on Healthcare, 8.§; *Decree 16/1972* (IV. 29.) MT on the Implementation of the *Act II.* of 1972, 13/A, 13/B, 13/C §.

⁷ In Hungary, the use of non-conventional therapies has increased steadily since the Transformation (1989-90). The first, representative survey (1991) indicated 6.6% of adult population who already used alternative medicines (Antal-Szántó, 1992). According to another research in 1999, it was already 13% (Buda et al, 2002). Based on other publications, its rate has reached 30-50% in 2005 (Hegyi, 2008).

from the outskirt zone about 9 times (32.9%) more likely to go further from their flat, but still in their quarter (see Figure5).

Figure5: Distribution of primary and special health services, based on place of residence and in spatial proportion (% , 2010)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

In the suburbs, the localization of health care usage is near-flat dominant as well: in the developed urban peripheries with 69.2%, respectively in the undeveloped peripheries its proportion is 73.1%. In addition, for the undeveloped villages and towns of the Budapest Metropolitan Region, it is more typical (19.1%) to visit the nearby available settlements, exactly with 3.5 times, compared with the ratio of 5.5% in the developed areas. Last but not least, the usage of the capital's health care network also appears in the life of suburbs, regardless of their development, close to the same extent.

The use of near-flat health care is the most obvious in the capital, which can be explained with the denser health care infrastructure. If this is examined through the patients' status as well (which is cumulated from education level, job position and income), it turns out, there is no significant difference between the proportion of different status groups, who live in Budapest. While the high strata of developed urban peripheries are more likely to consume the givens of Budapest and its agglomeration, so between them the flat orientated choice is with 12% below (61.0% vs. 73.6%) (see Table5).

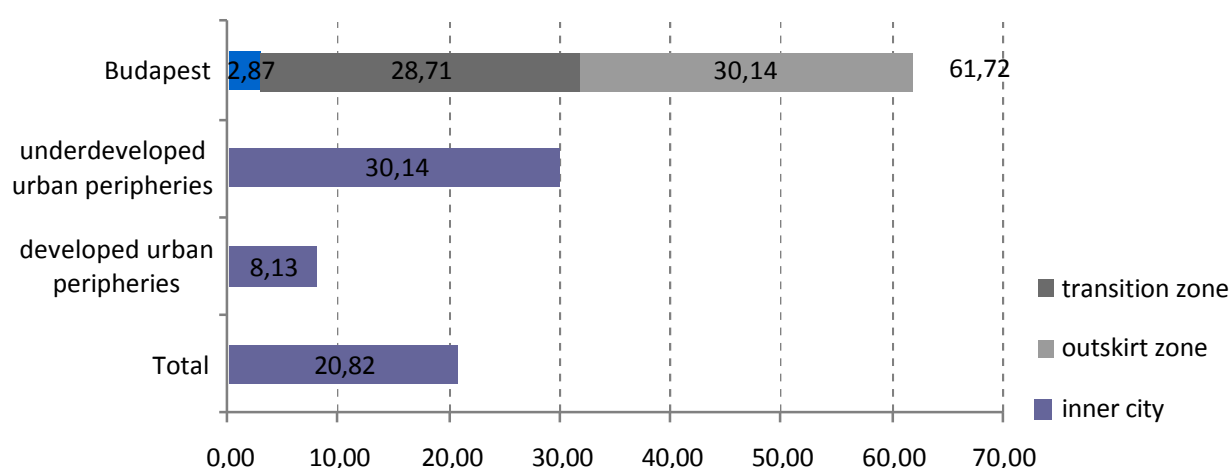
Table5: Distribution of primary and special health services, based on place of residence and in status (% , 2010)

primary and spacial care residence	High social strata				
	Near flat	Own quarter/ neighbourhood	Own settlement	Budapest Metropolitan Region	Other settlement
Budapest	76,00	23,39	7,65	0,33	0,67
Developed urban periphery	61,02	23,44	1,83	7,26	13,02
Underdeveloped urban periphery	74,17	16,38	0,00	17,85	14,23
Total	72,99	22,53	5,62	3,80	4,65
	Low social strata				
Budapest	79,76	22,35	4,14	1,11	0,41
Developed urban periphery	73,57	22,95	0,00	2,53	5,14
Underdeveloped urban periphery	72,69	14,50	0,00	20,94	6,46
Total	76,80	20,64	2,30	6,05	2,82

Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

For the undeveloped urban peripheries there is a cumulative power of selection in the territorial consumption of primary and special health care services: Independently from the status, residents turn to the services of neighbouring settlements almost with the same proportion (around 20%) in both peripheries, but other targets – dominantly Budapest –, as alternatives are reached more by high status groups of developed urban peripheries (14.2% vs. 6.5%). Another disadvantaged phenomenon can be also detected, namely the impact of age (independent of place of residence). With aging the near-flat medical care services are preferred, which can be attributed to the decrease in physical condition and in the willingness of mobility. This means multiply effect on the local aptitude in territorial consumption from the undeveloped urban peripheries.

Figure6: Distribution of CAM in spatial proportion (% , 2010)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

The use of complementary and alternative medicine, on the basis of residence, shows high rates from Budapest side (61.7%), and low proportion in the underdeveloped urban peripheries (8.1%)⁸.

Where do the different social and territorial groups use the cultural services and consume leisure activities?

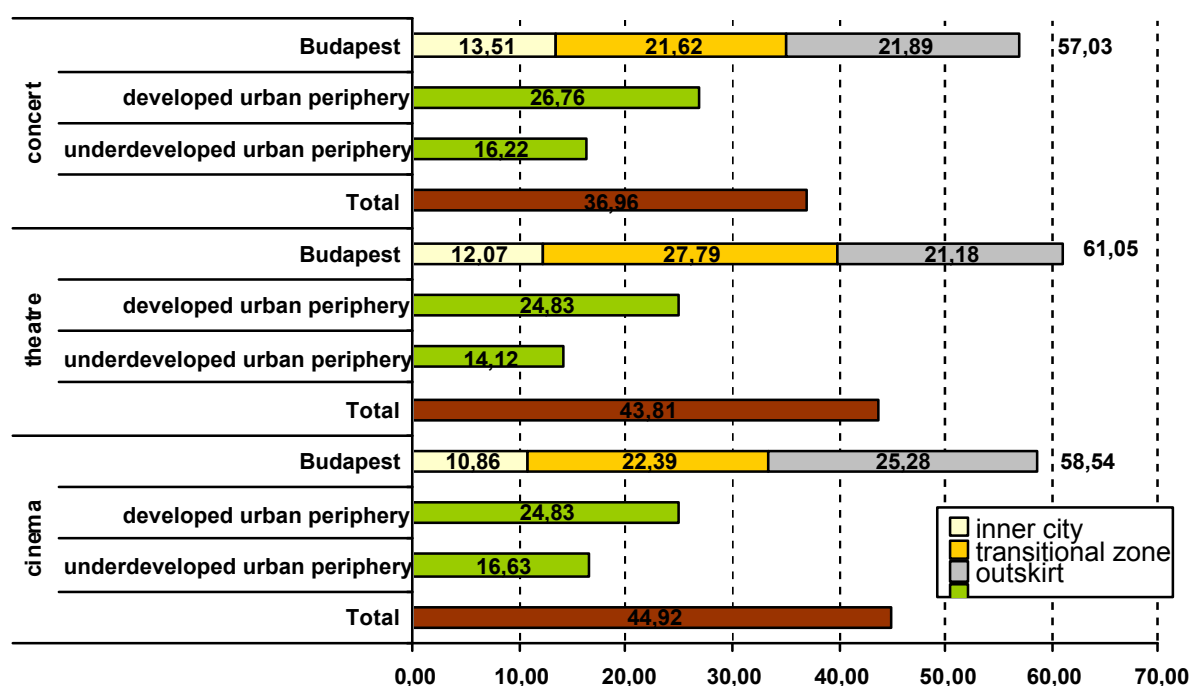
Between the cultural services and places, the cinema, theatre and concert programs' spatial aspects has been in the focus. Concerning leisure activities, entertainment generally, café and restaurant visits are analysed more detailed in the followings.

The most popular activity is cinema visit (44.9%)⁹, which is the most typical for the population in the outskirts zone of Budapest (25.3%). The ratio of transition zone is the highest in the theatre programs (27.8%). The people, who live in the inner city of Budapest, are mainly concert participants (13.5%) (see Figure7).

⁸ In 2007, a representative Hungarian survey detected 48% of respondents who have already used at least one type of alternative methods in their lifetime. The demographic characteristics distinguished them in the age of 40s, with better financial circumstances, they mainly lived in cities, had white-collar jobs and high education, finally they were particularly women (Kovács, 2008, 2010).

⁹ The spread of television, the socio-economic changes of 1990s, "...in the middle of the decade, the institutional renewal had a significant impact not only on cinemas, but on visitors too, and on the number of visits. The use of outdoor cultural options (theater, cinema, concert etc.) declined significantly during this period... (CSO, 2006, 6)". For example, the ratio of cinema visits under the continuous reduction dropped to 23% in the last 20 years (compared with 1989 as 100%). While the theater visits decreased to 86%, meaning its neglect rate was less (CSO, 2009).

Figure7: Distribution of cultural services in spatial proportion (% , 2010)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

The inhabitants' ratio in the three cultural activities is around the same in each category (15% to 25%) in the peripheries, but people from the developed urban peripheries have about 10% higher proportion in theatre and concert events¹⁰. In the case of cinema visits, this difference is moderate: 8%.

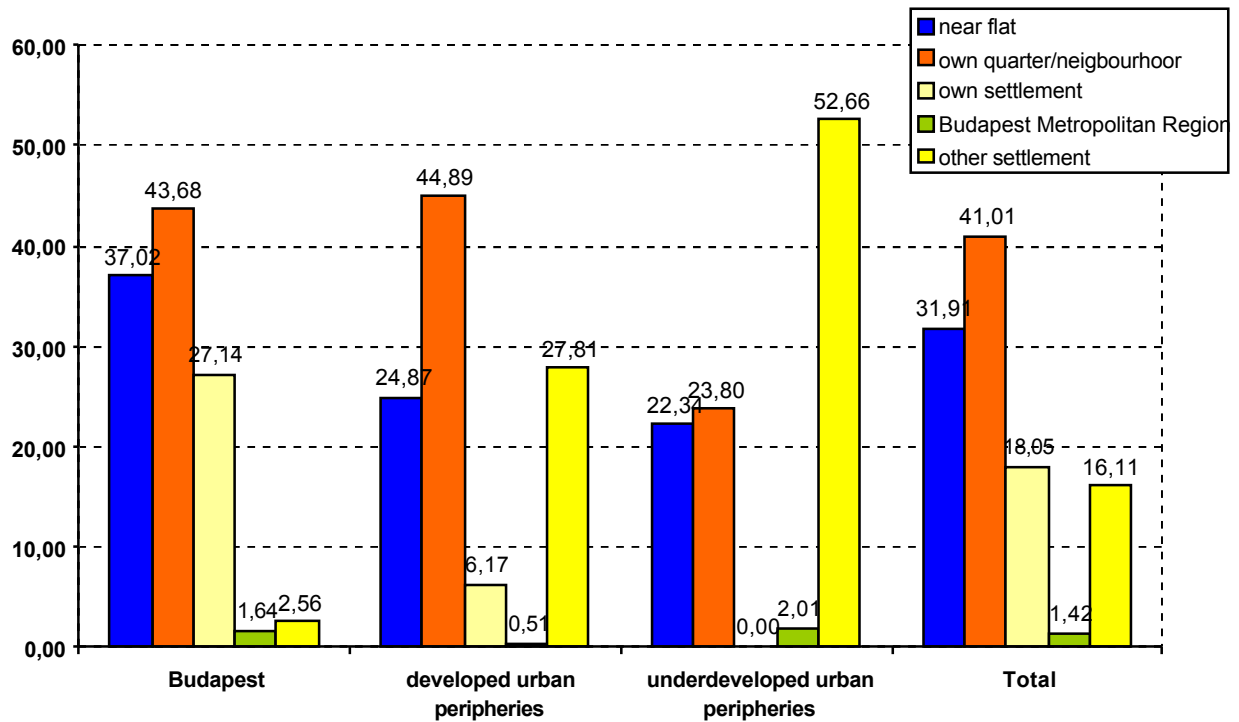
If we examine the location of activities, it describes that, the capital-habitants go to cinema, theatre, concert only inside the city¹¹. From these cultural activities, the theatre and concert programs which are force them to move the furthest from their flat, beyond the boundaries of quarters, utilized the city's entire area. People of developed urban peripheries also have the opportunity to exploit the local service, but the Budapest cinema visits are still dominant. People live in underdeveloped urban peripheries visit almost exclusively the cinemas of Budapest. The territorial reason of cultural program selection is: „there is no such possibility locally” (see Figure8).

10 In theatre performances, the Central Hungarian Region has leader roll in the country. Performances are held here for nearly 50%, which is derived from the fact that 40% of the theaters and theater venues located in Budapest (CSO, 2002, 13).

11 „After the Transition, the change in the ownership of cinemas drifted many institutes to the edge of cessation. One-room cinemas - owned by local governments - could compete with multiplex cinemas in shopping malls great difficulty. They were more comfortable, had more rooms, capacity and developed techniques (CSO, 2007, 1).” So it has to be considered, while the number of institutions declined around Budapest, the dominance of modern centers increased in Budapest and in terms of location they were concentrated.

Most characteristic feature in the general entertainment activities is the suction effect of the capital, ie. more than half of the residents from the undeveloped urban peripheries (52.7%) seek or find leisure here (in the “other settlements” category). The other side of this that, people in Budapest can move between the city limits, the area around their flats (37.0%) and quarters (43.7%) almost covers their needs (Figure9).

Figure8: Distribution of entertainment activities based on place of residence, in spatial proportion (% , 2010)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

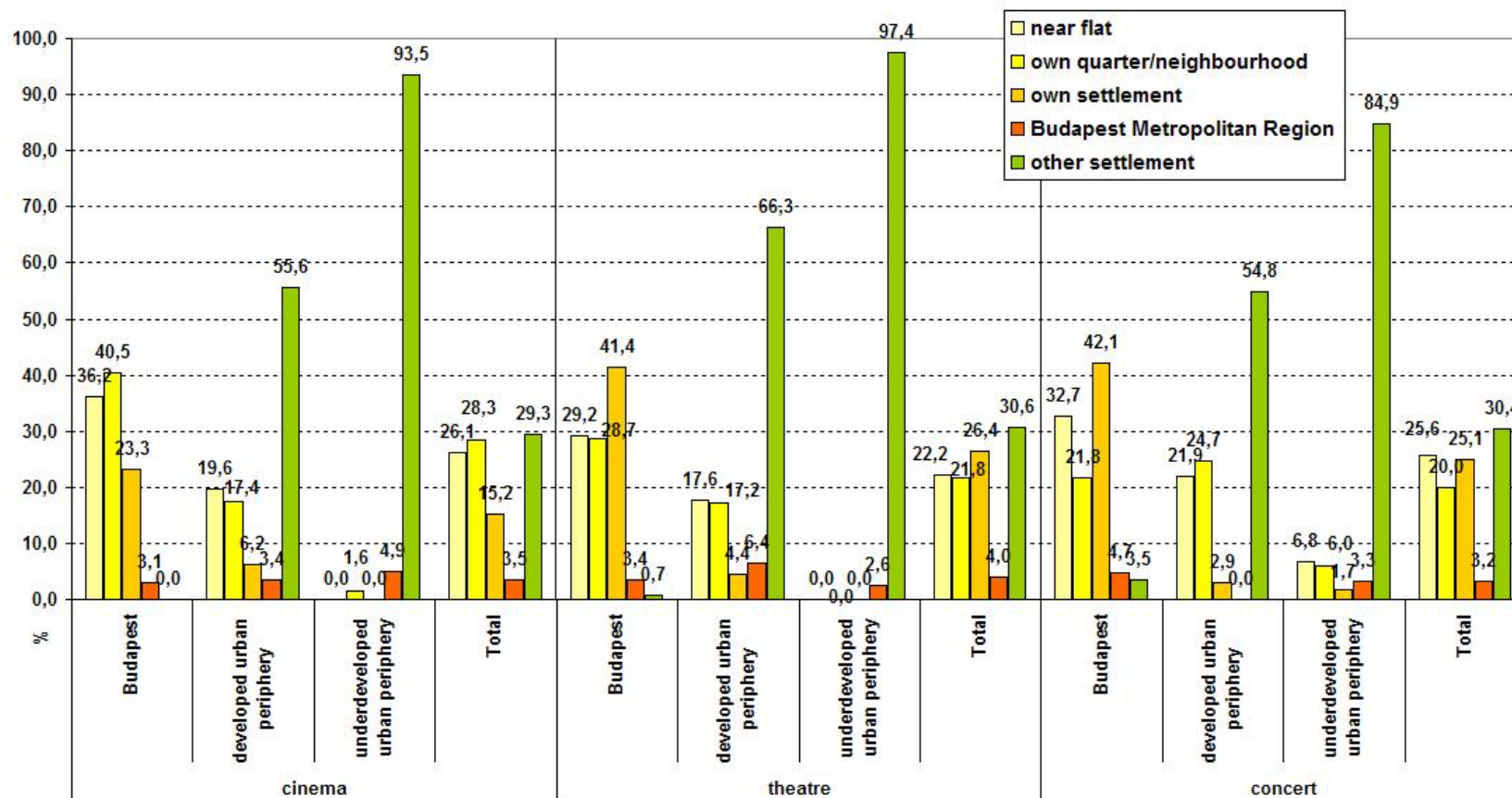
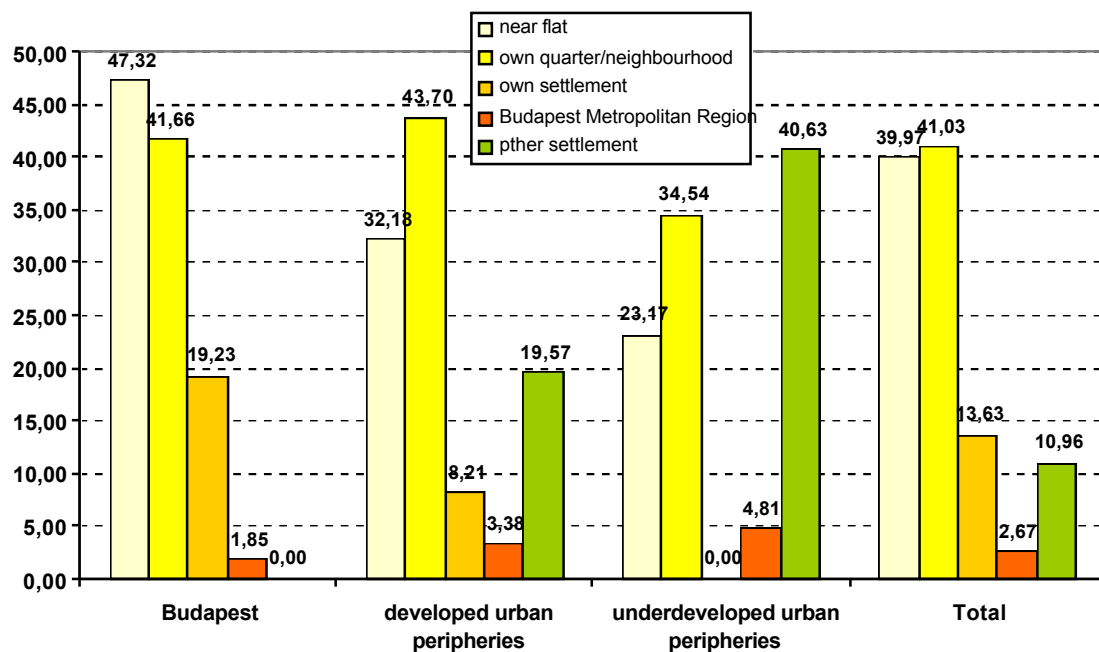


Figure9: Distribution of cultural services, based on place of residence and in spatial proportion (% , 2010)

Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

The spatial analysis of restaurant and cafe visit strengthens the above mentioned trend. Budapest meets those needs near flat (47.3%), while in the underdeveloped urban peripheries residents go further from their settlements (40.6%). Since in this concrete question, entertainment activities are more linked to infrastructural facilities, the economic, social development of municipalities and settlements are discovered stronger; the one hand, the profitability of café and restaurant businesses (where can they be maintained effectively?), on the other hand, the demand of a segment who have ability to pay for (to whom do they maintain?) (Figure10).

Figure10: Distribution of restaurant and cafe visit based on place of residence, in spatial proportion (% , 2010)



Based on questionnaire analysis edited by the Authors.

With the examination of different status groups, a kind of balancing point can be detected in the developed urban peripheries (from the entertainment of view). It seems that, the local and further capabilities can be used for both, low and high strata (the rate of use in the difference of certain target areas is in 2% within this group)¹².

¹² In 2005, the highest incomes appeared significantly (26,2%) in the inner city of Budapest (compared to the average: 17,9%), while in 2010, the highest proportions (18,1%) was investigated in the developed urban peripheries (compared to the average: 10,9). Which means, the concentration of high social strata intensified in the developed urban peripheries, they presence valid not only to the city core (Szirmai, 2011).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the empirical research results we examine two important questions related to the unsustainable consumption patterns according to the inhabitants everyday life activities which mainly were caused the suburbanization and urban sprawl effects around the Hungarian capital. The two questions were the following:

Where are the everyday life consumptions of the different social residential groups localised and are these consumptions more global or more local? What do groups consume considerably from the various urban public spaces, the public institutions, the social infrastructure constraints in the different type of residents?

From the results we can conclude that the high social strata use their cars in significantly higher proportion, especially in developed settlements, so territorial consumption is related to working is different between strata, and development of settlements.

The territorial consumption is generated by the social-structural position (qualification, occupation, financial situation, family background), and the consumer patterns of the habitats (which are generated by the global urban consumption requirements and opportunities) (Sassen, 1991). Besides the above-mentioned processes, in the present Hungarian context the urbanization, the regional and social inequalities, the historical background, the production and the distribution of the economic and commercial system, the influence of the market economy and the intervention of the state resulted in new type of territorial consumer models.

It should not be forgotten that, the studied area, namely the Budapest Metropolitan Region, is the country's most developed region. And the evaluation of its territorial consumption produced by the people who live here can not break away from its metropolitan and regional function. According to Enyedi (2009, 122), in the triple spatial system of Hungary, Budapest is the first level, as it is the most important national element in the global network, a gateway which is taking into the European and global impacts and transmitting them to other parts of the country.

As a results of urban sprawl, people from the urban peripheries have to move in the metropolitan space to furthest and most for their health, cultural and leisure needs, in which processes the state intervened supplier chains, institutional networks can moderated only partially. Urban peripheries' attraction seems to be reflected in this nowadays, after the discovery of the migration-generator benefits (location, landscape, and natural

environment)¹³, it has the challenge to grow up for becoming a competitive suburban centres with its high income and educated human and capital resources, if it can step over the conflicts and recognize the local opportunities and sources.

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¹³ In 2005, the difference in satisfaction was -0,119 in natural and environmental landscape compared the experience of surrounding residents to core city residents in the Budapest Metropolitan Region. This indicator changed to 0,219 in 2010 – meaning, the natural and environmental landscape became increasing advantage of urban peripheries (Váradi-Kovács, 2011).

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