



JOBS CREATED OUT OF TALLINN HAVE NOT REDUCED COMMUTING

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Abstract. Although urban sprawl is relatively new process for Estonia which has not revealed itself to the full extent, in many European cities urban sprawl is recognised as a major challenge to quality of life. Due to the above mentioned negative aspects of urban sprawl in some countries the efforts are determined to restrain urban sprawl. Many studies have been undertaken to research the financial, ecological, cultural and social cost of urban sprawl in most of developed countries. This is the main reason, why declared in the majority of studies the theses, especially in the field of traffic and transportation, cannot be applied to assess situation in our country. Estonia has many geographical, economical, social and cultural peculiarities, which influence its traffic and transportation patterns as well as its urban sprawl rates. Economical crisis has shown the exigency to reduce drastically non-productive expenses and optimize productivity of labour. Thus the reduction of losses in traffic and transportation could be one of all possible solutions. In this article the commuting caused by urban sprawl has been analyzed. The second task is to find out in which range public databases are used to determine the demand of mobility.

Keywords: urban sprawl, commuting, traffic volume, mobility, territorial planning, public databases.

1. Introduction

On 17 June 2010, the European Council endorsed the Europe 2020 Strategy (hereinafter “the EU 2020 Strategy”) for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, setting out a vision of Europe’s new social market economy for the 21st century. The EU 2020 Strategy rests on three interlocking and mutually reinforcing priority areas: smart growth, developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation; sustainable growth, promoting a low-carbon, resource-efficient and competitive economy; and inclusive growth, fostering a high-employment economy delivering social and territorial cohesion.

According to the report of Transportation Research Board travel demand models are deterministic, providing point-estimate forecasts. This approach is acceptable for solving simple problems, such as whether a new freeway should have four or six lanes. Today, however, metropolitan planning organizations face a much broader and more complex set of requirements and needs in their travel modelling than they did in the 1960s and 1970s. They must now account for or evaluate such issues as the following (Wachs 2007):

- motor vehicle emissions and vehicle speeds;
- induced travel;
- alternative land use policies;
- non-motorized travel (walking and bicycling);

- transportation policies, such as congestion pricing;
- cumulative and secondary impacts of transportation facilities;
- environmental justice or avoiding disproportionate adverse impacts on low-income and minority households or disproportionate distribution of benefits;
- economic development;
- emergencies due to weather, health, or threats to homeland security; and
- demographic changes.

Increases in trip lengths – unnecessary travel – is a form of inflation where more travel is „spent“, while few if any additional needs are satisfied. In that sense, it is little different from economic inflation. But travel inflation is, in a sense, worse even than economic inflation since it leads not only to additional travel but also to additional pollution, fuel use, accidents, and deaths. Therefore, it makes logical sense that for a decrease of excess travel it is important to control land use and urban form (Black 2010). Otherwise, urban sprawl can easily destroy the viability of both urban and rural areas (Piorr *et al.* 2011).

Traffic jam is one of the side effects of urban sprawl. For example in US congestion causes for an average urban resident to spend an extra 34 hours of travel time and use 14 extra gallons (53 litres) of fuel, which amounts to an average cost of \$713 per commuter (Schrank *et al.* 2011).

By definition urban sprawl is the growth of residential areas beyond the current spatial limits of compact urban development. Such sprawl necessitates that urban services and utilities be provided to areas where the population density remains low, thereby resulting in excessive costs borne by city taxpayers or on other customers of the utilities that are required to serve these areas. Burgeoning urban sprawl may even require the city or utility to purchase additional equipment (Black 2010).

The reasons for the development of urban sprawl are well known. The popularity of private cars makes living in low-density suburban areas more affordable or, simply, more profitable than inner city developments or urban renewal (Badiani, Tira 2009). On the other hand, living in a rural environment means that many of the goods, services and activities people needs are harder to access than in urban areas (Fitzgerald 2012).

The use of this land beyond the urban area for housing or economic activities is made possible because of a lack of land use control. If the land were zoned for non-residential or non-commercial activities (e.g. agriculture or open space) there would be no sprawl. In effect, although transportation is usually held responsible for urban sprawl, transportation facilities (specifically highways) only allow movement to or from areas beyond the periphery or our cities. Transportation in and of itself does not create sprawl, but transportation without land use control may facilitate it (Black 2010).

The definition of commute is to travel back and forth on regular basis. It is said that this designation stems from the early days of railroading, when operating companies, in order to attract steady customers through already existing suburban stations, “commuted” or reduced, the fare (Grava 2003).

The typical commuter belongs into the so called Anti-Environmental Group. This group has the lowest overall use of green modes, as well as the lowest walking and transit use, when examined separately. They have the longest one-way commute and the highest rates of auto availability. The group has no overall set of values that would encourage the move to a neighbourhood supportive of less auto dependency; thus they need not be seen as at all “conflicted.” More than any other group, they really enjoy driving, love the freedom and independence that owning several cars brings, and need their car to get to where they need to go. More than any other group, they think that environmental concerns are overblown, and they are less willing to reduce driving to reduce dependence on foreign oil, less concerned about global warming, and less willing to take action to protect the environment. Of all groups, it would be hardest for them to reduce their auto mileage. More than any other group, it is important for them to have control over things that they do (Karash *et al.* 2008).

Authors’ research is focusing on urban sprawl and mobility potentials at suburban areas. The paper describes commuting arising because of the urban sprawl as well as

an assessment of the information quality and usefulness from public databases for the determination of mobility demands. The public databases used and analyzed in this survey, are databases of Estonian Tax and Customs Board, the Road Register, Statistics Estonia, and public transportation schedules as well. The present survey has the following goals:

- to assess the extent to which public databases correspond to travel demand estimation purposes and whether they are suitable for determining travel demand;
- to determine where the people living in Harju County work and where the people working in Harju County live;
- to find out how many new job positions have been established in the near vicinity of Tallinn and how many of these are manned with local inhabitants.

The following hypotheses have been created which are based on the goals mentioned above:

Hypothesis No. 1: the work places which are created outside Tallinn will not reduce commuting, in other words new working places are not filled by local people.

Hypothesis No. 2: public databases can be used for determining traffic demand, either instead of traffic count or in addition to that.

2. Data and methods

In our work we used the data from the following sources: Tax and Customs Board database, Estonian Road Administration (Road Register), Statistics Estonia, City of Tallinn, Department of Education, Elektriraudtee AS (commuter train company), and Harju Public Transport Centre.

The database of Estonian Tax and Customs Board is including the data about employers and employees who are registered in Harju County, which is the largest as to the population (542 975 people) and the second largest as to the total area (4333.13 km²). The centre of the county is Tallinn, which is also the capital of Estonia. The data originate from 2010 and are impersonal, what means that they cannot be related to a specific person or company. The data are marked with the EHAK location code (Estonian Administrative and Settlement Classification) and the smallest settlement unit is the village. In the present paper, data have been aggregated to the level of parishes, that is, the data of villages that belong to a certain parish have been added together. Furthermore, it was calculated how many work places there are in the settlement unit and how many of these have been manned by local inhabitants and where the rest of the employees come from. Table 1 presents an example of the data received from the Estonian Tax and Customs Board, where:

- T_ASU – residence of employee by EHAK code.
- TA_ASU – location of working place by EHAK code.
- NAME – place name by EHAK code.
- ROWS – people who lives in T_ASU and working in TA_ASU.

The received data was compared with the counted motorized traffic volumes on the city borders and with the commuter train passenger data. The traffic data has been obtained from the annual survey conducted by Tallinn University of Technology and from the road register of Estonian Road Administration (teeregister.riik.ee) and the number of the users of the commuter train – data delivered by commuter train company Elektriraudtee AS.

In addition to the employees, the number of students who go to school, but live outside Tallinn, has also been analysed. Officially there are 1018 students studying in schools of Tallinn, but living outside Tallinn (Tallinn Education Department 2007) what makes 1% of all commuters.

The database of the Tax and Customs Board and the number of students most definitely does not correspond to reality as:

- the accounting of large companies is central, which means that the branches of a company may be located all over Estonia, but employees are registered in the head office (Tax and Customs Board);

- also, people do not necessarily live at the same address where they are registered to; for example, for the purposes of receiving a certain grant or for political purposes (Tooming 2010);
- similarly, the permanent address registration of children is also manipulated in order to register the child in a specifically desired school (Tooming 2010).

3. Analytical part

3.1. Traffic count versus database of Estonian Tax and Customs Board

Table 2 presents the results of the traffic counts executed by Tallinn University of Technology (Metsvahi 2010) during the morning (7:00–9:00) and evening peak hours (16:00–18:00) and calculated traffic in a twenty-four hour period on the roads crossing the city border. It comes out that a total of 31 539 vehicles daily commute between Tallinn and suburban areas which at the car occupancy rate of 1.4 person per car (Metsvahi 2001) makes 44 155 people, and in addition to this, 2173 commute daily by commuter train (data of Elektriraudtee AS) making it a total of about 47 300 people. There is no information available about the number of daily bus travellers. If we look at the schedules of the regional buses that serve in the immediate vicinity of Tallinn, it can be said that the number of bus travellers is insignificant. Poor public transport connection with the vicinity of the city is also pointed out in the surveys made

Table 1. Data example from Estonian Tax and Customs Board

T_ASU	NAME	TA_ASU	NAME	ROWS
0140	Anija parish	0735	Sillamäe town	1

Note. Table content explains that one employee the resident of Anija parish is working in Sillamäe town.

Table 2. Average annual daily and peak hour traffic at the cordon of city borders

Street name	Annual daily traffic, passenger cars per day			Peak hour traffic on city-border 2009	
	1996	2002	2009	7:00–9:00	16:00–18:00
Ranna tee	9600	15 000	17 920	2650	2890
Randvere tee	1900	2850	3450	539	602
Kloostrimetsa tee	5000	3420	3450	485	559
Narva mnt	*	12 500	17 720	2481	2795
Peterburi tee	18 800	23 300	22 050	2390	2988
Suur-Sõjamäe tee	2000	3270	6890	967	1218
Tartu mnt	12 000	13 050	24 420	3000	3574
Viljandi mnt	6600	9890	14 770	1970	2239
Männiku tee	4000	8450	11 660	1443	1620
Pärnu mnt.	16 800	19 400	33 900	4162	4759
Tähetorni	3000	3290	3300	608	685
Paldiski mnt	8000	14 040	14 700	2523	2880
Rannamõisa tee	5600	12 700	17 300	2212	2428
Vana-Rannamõisa tee	1400	3400	5560	747	809
Vabaõhumuuseumi tee	1000	2360	6880	1434	1507
Pilliroo	*	3470	4900	778	840
Rahu tee	*	*	18 210	2564	2918
Sum total	95 700	150 390	227 080	30 953	35 311

Note. * – the road was not constructed or closed for construction.

by other countries. For example, 60% of the suburban residents of Vienna stated that they use the car because the public transport connection is poor (Klementsitz, Stark 2009).

According to the Tax and Customs Board, 34 359 people make work-related travels daily from Harju County to Tallinn and 21 145 people from Tallinn commute daily to a neighbouring local municipality outside of the city of Tallinn, making a total of 55 504 commuters. Residents of the northern local municipalities of Rapla County and the western local municipalities of Lääne-Viru County are definitely added to this. There are 235 732 work places in Tallinn, of which 136 204 are manned with people from Tallinn and other working places (99 618) are manned with people from outside Tallinn. It means that 43% working places of Tallinn are manned by non-residents. Fig. 1 shows a distribution of people who are working but not living in Tallinn between Estonian counties.

The consequences of residential suburbanisation and commuting to people transportation demand and traffic can be described using example of Viimsi municipality. Viimsi municipality is situated on Viimsi peninsula close to Tallinn (Fig. 2). The area makes it possible to realize an average people dream to have a private house on the coast near to Tallinn. Viimsi has high living quality and good reputation. Thus the municipality has been attractive place for living, especially amongst young and successful families. This phenomenon is related to the extreme lack of contemporary urban housing and a high quality living environment in the city. Therefore people who prefer the urban environment move to areas very close to Tallinn (Leetmaa 2008).

Due to great attractiveness a rapid housing development took place in the municipality during last decade and as a result the population growth was over 10 000 inhabitants. In 2001, Viimsi had an official population of 5758. In 2011, the population of the municipality of Viimsi was 17 093. The increasing number of inhabitants was mostly caused by migration from Tallinn. 90% of population growth was caused by migration and 10% by natural increase (source Viimsi municipality).

Traffic situation is mostly influenced by the rate of working age population and their transportation demand. 64% of Viimsi population are working age people (18–64 years old). Therefore approx 10 900 18 to 64 year old inhabitants live in Viimsi municipality. But not all of them are working. According to Estonian Tax and Custom Board 8028 working people live in Viimsi. Thus 47% of Viimsi population have regular job.

The increase of Viimsi population was affected by migration from Tallinn. But most of new residents are still connected with Tallinn working and using daily services there. Also lot of children who are living in Viimsi are studying in schools in Tallinn. 5705 residents of Viimsi municipality are working in Tallinn. 1361 local inhabitants are working in Viimsi municipality, who makes approx 17% of all Viimsi working-age people. 962 inhabitants are working in other municipalities.

Although business activity has increased there is a lack of workplaces and existing jobs are not attractive for local residents. In Viimsi municipality there are 5160 workplaces. But only 1361 local residents are working there. Local residents fill approx 26.4% of local workplaces. 2140 (fills 40.7% of workplaces in Viimsi municipality) Tallinn residents are working in Viimsi municipality. Thus in Viimsi municipality works more people from Tallinn than local residents. However the collected data can include mistakes. It is not obligatory to register place of residence in Estonia and the real living place can differ from Estonian Tax and Custom Register. Therefore part of the people who registered their living place according to Estonian Tax and Custom Board is Tallinn and who are working in Viimsi municipality can be living instead of Tallinn in Viimsi. Existing data did not allow estimating the share of those people.

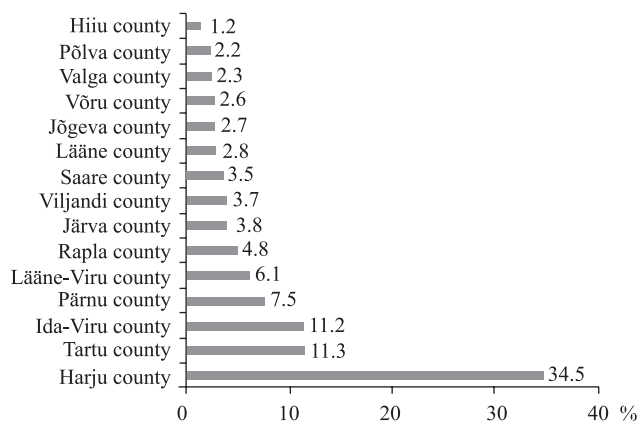


Fig. 1. Percent of employees living in different counties but having job in Tallinn



Fig. 2. Location of Viimsi municipality

Viimsi municipality is located on peninsula. The location of municipality restricts the possible connections with Tallinn. Four roads connects Viimsi municipality with Tallinn (Fig. 3).

In the morning peak hour (8:00 to 9:00 o'clock) the mentioned roads are used by 2415 vehicles. Most of vehicles are using Ranna road (which in Tallinn changes to Merivälja road and Piritä road) where in the morning peak hour there are 1490 vehicles. The share of other roads remains significantly lower:

- Ranna road: 1490 vehicles (61.7%);
- Pärnamäe road: 530 vehicles (21.9%);
- Randvere road: 299 vehicles (12.4%);
- Muuga road: 96 vehicles (4%).

Most of the people who are using transportation in the morning peak hour are on their way to work or to school. Thus most of the residents of Viimsi municipality are working in Tallinn. The prevailing direction of moving is to Tallinn. In the period between 8:00 and 9:00 o'clock approx 70% of vehicles' moving direction is to Tallinn. Studies have shown that the average usage of one car is 1.4 people in Estonia. Therefore approx 1500 people are using cars in the morning peak hour on their way to Tallinn to work or to school.

Approx 270 people are using public transportation at the same time. 190 people are heading to Tallinn and 80 to



Fig. 3. Roads to Tallinn

Viimsi. Thus public transportation share of all commuters who are travelling during the morning peak hour to Tallinn are approx 11.3%.

In the morning period travelling direction to Tallinn is prevailing and in the evening period – to Viimsi municipality. In Viimsi municipality is not enough workplaces for local residents and existing jobs are not attractive for them. Although business activity and amount of workplaces have increased it is still not enough to change people transportation needs and travel behaviour.

The consequence of suburbanisation and commuting has major impact on transportation system and traffic situation. Increasing commuting rate has led to increase of traffic volume and also to traffic congestions. Average speed of traffic declined continuously until 2007 when traffic situation were the worst since the beginning of suburbanisation. Fig. 4 shows that it took twice as long in 2007 to drive the same distance that in 2003. Then on Piritä road a public transportation lane was built and the activated park and ride system. These changes helped to increase public transportation usage and also diminished traffic congestion range.

However, it can be stated that the results of traffic count and the calibres of the data of the Tax and Customs Board are the same, what means that the data of the Tax and Customs Board are suitable for evaluating general population trends, compiling action plans, etc. For example, on the basis of the data of the Tax and Customs Board, it is possible to calculate the travel lengths of commuters. It means that the data have to be accurate to a village level and in case of Tallinn, to a city district level. The cost and duration of the travels can also be calculated which in turn could be of help at the planning of public transport.

3.2. Jobs created outside Tallinn

Table 3 presents the data received from the Tax and Customs Board about the place of residence and work of people in Harju County which have been added up by parishes. The



Fig. 4. Change of traffic speed between years 2003 and 2009

first column states the name of the local municipality, the second column shows the number of residents in the given municipality, the third shows the number of work places in the municipality, the fourth shows the number of employees in the municipality, the fifth shows how many local people work in their place of residence, the sixth column shows the percentage of local people working in the municipality, the seventh column indicates how many employees come from Harju County, the eighth how many employees from other counties, and the ninth column shows the percentage of employed people in the entire population of the municipality. In Tallinn city, Rae parish and Saku parish, there are more work places than employees, what means that ideally all residents of said municipalities could work in their place of residence.

The proportion of local residents in the companies located in the municipality is illustrated in Fig. 5.

Table 4 presents the data about the changes of the number of registered companies, 2000 to 2009. This data is based on the contact address indicated by the business

operators themselves. Growth was the largest in Rae parish (425%) and by number in Tallinn city where 11 987 new companies have been established in 10 years due to this database.

When comparing the data in Tables 4 and 3, a clear connection (Fig. 5) can be found: in the local municipalities where the number of companies over the past 10 years has increased the most, the occupancy of local residents in local companies is modest. For example, in Rae parish the number of companies has increased by 425% in 10 years, but only 13% of local residents work in the parish. Based on this fact, it could be stated that the jobs created out of Tallinn have not relieved the commuting emanating from urban sprawl, that is, these jobs have not been manned with local residents in general. The main reason of this phenomenon is because of the size of towns in Estonia, especially in and near by the city of Tallinn. Thus the distances between the home and workplace are rather short and the travel times are relatively small as well. This situation does not force labour force to change

Table 3. Summary of the data of the Tax and Customs Board and Statistics Estonia about people's work places and places of residence in 2010

Local municipality	Residents	Work place	Employees	Of which local residents	Local people, %	Of which employees of Harju county	Of which employees from other counties	Employment rate, %
Viimsi parish	8868	4413	6729	1130	26	3728	685	76
Aegviidu parish	873	146	326	77	53	102	44	37
Anija parish	6219	1178	2286	915	78	1134	44	37
Harku parish	7128	2698	4874	752	28	2160	538	68
Jõelähtme parish	5258	1911	2501	590	31	1659	252	48
Keila parish	3795	506	1846	140	28	447	59	49
Kernu parish	1672	240	762	164	68	215	25	46
Kiili parish	2530	707	1828	285	40	591	116	72
Kose parish	5703	1051	2270	755	72	967	84	40
Kuusalu parish	6371	1414	2622	848	60	1196	218	41
Kõue parish	1587	321	620	180	56	264	57	39
Nissi parish	3237	449	1110	288	64	388	61	34
Padise parish	1733	471	763	231	49	420	51	44
Raasiku parish	4346	1168	1832	481	41	896	272	42
Rae parish	8329	8727	5110	1125	13	5979	2748	61
Saku parish	7510	4180	3667	893	21	2938	1242	49
Saue parish	7532	3192	3719	583	18	2307	885	49
Vasalemma parish	5008	972	885	181	19	592	380	18
Keila town	9389	4080	4196	1413	35	3444	636	45
Loksa town	3405	395	845	283	72	382	13	25
Maardu town	16531	4864	6359	1623	33	4426	438	38
Paldiski town	4133	919	1543	597	65	886	33	37
Saue town	5187	2258	2537	531	24	1807	451	49
City of Tallinn	398 594	235 732	157 349	136 204	58	170 563	65 169	39

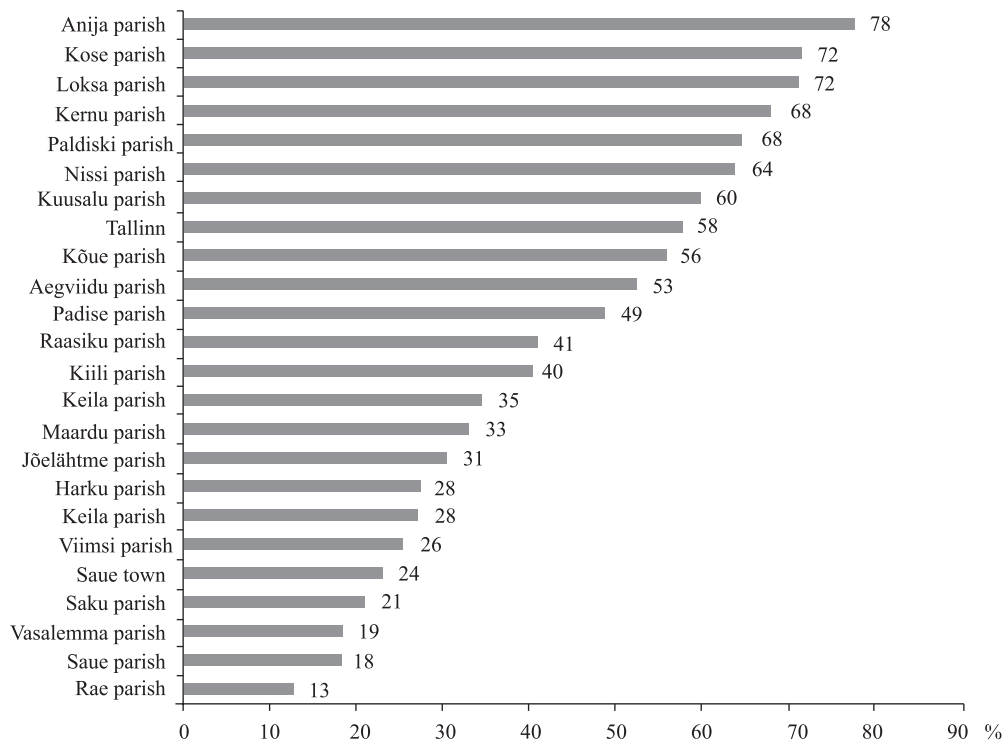


Fig. 5. The percent of jobs which are filled by local residents

Table 4. Number of companies in local authorities

Local municipality	2000	2005	2009	Growth, %
Rae parish	189	378	992	425
Kiili parish	73	161	323	342
Kernu parish	23	64	97	322
Anija parish	50	145	201	302
Saue parish	191	378	637	234
Keila parish	66	124	214	224
Viimsi parish	437	816	1368	213
Jõelähtme parish	131	256	356	172
Nissi parish	48	95	126	163
Saku parish	230	369	593	158
Raasiku parish	81	148	207	156
Vasalemma parish	26	29	56	115
Keila town	223	342	477	114
Paldiski linn	51	74	105	106
Padise parish	50	83	102	104
Kose parish	125	193	253	102
Saue town	215	317	432	101
Kuusalu parish	193	266	353	83
Aegviidu parish	27	39	48	78
Maardu town	416	550	733	76
City of Tallinn	23 907	28 696	35 894	50
Kõue parish	44	59	65	48
Loksa town	53	47	56	6

Source: Estonian Statistics

their place of residence when having a new job, in general terms; it also means that people do not consider the commuting to be a big problem.

In addition, it can be said that the closer a municipality is to Tallinn the smaller the percentage of local residents in the work places of their place of residence.

Figs 6 and 7 are aimed at illustrating the urban sprawl process. The figures show how working-age people (15–64 yrs) have moved across local municipalities in 10 years. A certain part of the working-age population has moved out of Tallinn to the local municipalities in the immediate vicinity. The same tendency has occurred in Lithuania as well: in recent years most investments are allocated to the largest Lithuanian cities which, from the socio-economic point of view, are the most developing. This

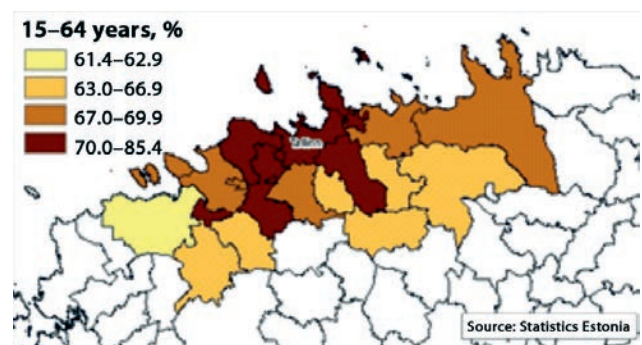


Fig. 6. Proportion of working-age people in local municipality units on 1.1.2000 (Source: Statistics Estonia)

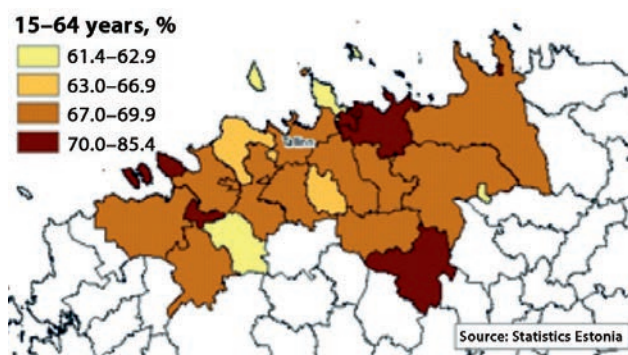


Fig. 7. Proportion of working-age people in local municipality units on 1.1.2010 (Source: Statistics Estonia)

causes the increasing differences in urban development and human welfare (Skrodenis *et al.* 2009).

4. Conclusions and results

In conclusion, based on the traffic count, the data of the Tax and Customs Board and public databases that the hypotheses set up were mostly confirmed and that the following conclusions are drawn from the article.

Jobs created out of Tallinn will not reduce commuting, that is, work places will not be manned with local people.

The closer a local municipality unit to Tallinn the fewer local people work there (in their own local municipality).

The data of the Tax and Customs Board and public databases can successfully be used, that is, the data are suitable for evaluating general population trends, compiling action plans and plans and also for planning public transport.

Intersections on the city-border of Tallinn are not congested only by the drivers who live outside Tallinn and drive there to work, but also by the drivers who live in Tallinn and drive outside to work.

The routes Tallinn–Tartu, Tallinn–Narva and Tallinn–Pärnu have equal or sometimes even better public transport connections than Tallinn with its neighbouring local municipalities.

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