TRENDS IN LAND AND PROPERTY MARKET IN KANDY CITY

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ABSTRACT

The city of Kandy is characterized by its uniqueness as a provincial and district capital and a cultural center. Land and property within the city has an added value for its specific characteristics, namely compactness as a result of its landlocked nature, accessibility, availability of infrastructure facilities, perception towards living standard based on educational and employment facilities. The value of land and property continue to increase depending on the location, infrastructure and perception. Nevertheless, the competition for land and property for commercial and housing has become more distinct than any other urban functions. The size of land continuously reduces as a result of land : house ratio continue to shrink. As a result, the land and property in this city may rise by folds. Unless a proper planning with strict guidelines to control haphazard development within this urban environment is implemented, the city will have severe problems in the future.

The city of Kandy is the largest urban centre in central Sri Lanka functioning as a district and a provincial capital. The destruction caused to the morphology of the centre by colonial invaders made the urban centre take the shape of the present landscape on the triangular grid. After independence in 1948, a large influx of population from the western and the southern part of Sri Lanka increased the size the population of the city. Land transactions and property transfers increased after 1960 as a result of a large capital flow into Kandy. The recent development of the city is induced by the competition to develop land and property in the city. The land and property market here is a function of variables such as accessibility and availability of infrastructure facilities, increasing demand for housing, tourist amenities, office space, commercial space, religious space, and schools. Demand for houses or land in middle class housing areas and commercial areas is The influx of people for employment continuously increased continuously increasing. The competition between land and property developers, realduring the last decade. estate agents, land brokers is one of the main cause for the rapid price hike on land in popular areas along main arterial road fronts and scenic areas. Some of the lands are not used for urban activities as they are freezed for public amenities such as the prison complex. Heavy competition and demand for tourist accommodation is one of the main causes for the development of hotel complexes on hills of the city. A five-year development planning for the city has been designed by Urban Development authority and Municipal Council to control haphazard development from 1995.

Data and information were gathered in four stages. Initially a literary survey was done to collect published data, maps and other legal information related land and property within the city. Data on spot value of land and property were collected from 240 known road intersection points of the city. Spot value were obtained from three households in each spots selected and averaged to find the existing /current value of property in that location. Therefore the reliability could be established to a greater extent. Data and particulars of land and property advertised in the news papers in 1993 and 1994 were also used for the analysis. In addition, data gathered from real estate agents and land and property developers/brokers, mortgage banks and property value assessment of Municipal council were used to compare the value ranges. The data were supplemented with a comprehensive questionnaire survey based on 240 randomly selected sample households. An attempt was made to analyse the spatial data with the facilities available at the University. Preparation of land-use maps, land value profiles, land value distribution, road network and relief were done at the Department.

Physical Setup of the City

The city limits are mainly demarcated by natural boundaries. Nearly 55 percent of the perimeter of the city boundary is represented by Mahaweli River, the largest river in Sri Lanka. The Southern boundary falls on the lower limits of the hills representing approximately 30 percent of the perimeter. The rest are natural streams or hill tops. Fig. 1. shows the relief of the city area. Three overlays namely, the relief, the river and city boundary are used to differentiate the nature of the physical setup of the city and the composition of the boundary.

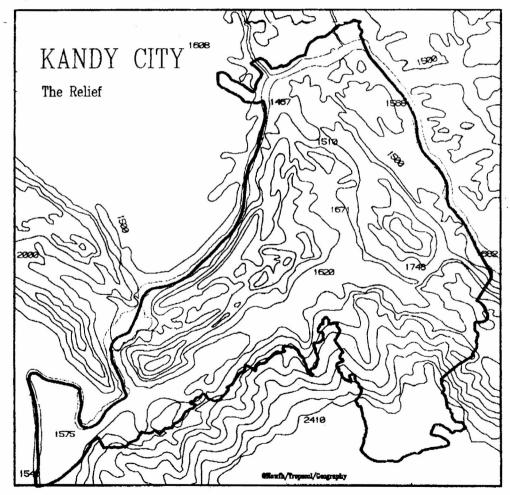


Figure 1.

The location of the city itself signifies that the city is land locked and expansion possibilities are limited due to the existence of natural barriers on all directions. Among the natural boundaries, the wide and deep river controls any expansion of the city towards the east, the north-east, the north and the west. Toward the south, the steep hills with unstable land mass prevents rapid expansion. Other than the hilly form, the problem for basic urban facilities such as water, drainage, and other public utilities control further expansion over hills. Thus, the demand and the competition on land has significantly increased over the last two decades bringing the population density to 4000 persons per square km in 1994. The entire land area of the city accounted for 2510 hectares in 1995.

The low-lying, easy access areas are highly populated and the concentration is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, and occupational / income groups. The ancient structure of the city had a triangular layout, that was originally designed as a special area of the Kingdom. The natural features had controlled the shape of the city. The expansion of the city has taken place on top of the original layout maintaining the spatial restriction for expansion. The supply of land within the city limits is restricted to the existing extent which was demarcated in 1967.

Other than the above factors, the urban environment is controlled by the policies implemented by the authorities to control expansion over the hilly area as a counter measure to protect the natural environment. It is obvious that the Udawattekele forest reserve which is 52 acres in extent is a strict forest reserve located towards the east of the built up area (Fig. 2). In addition, towards the southern boundary nearly 60 acres of land exists as strict forest reserve on the catchment area of the Kandy lake. Although the values for these lands areas are not given, the speculative value is estimated to be over 2,200,000 rupees per perch. Entire Udawattakele area falls within the land values range of Rs. 150,000-250,000 /perch. Had this land area been an open space, the value should have risen to Rs. 500,000-600,000 (Fig. 4) because of the scenic beauty and the closeness to the city centre.

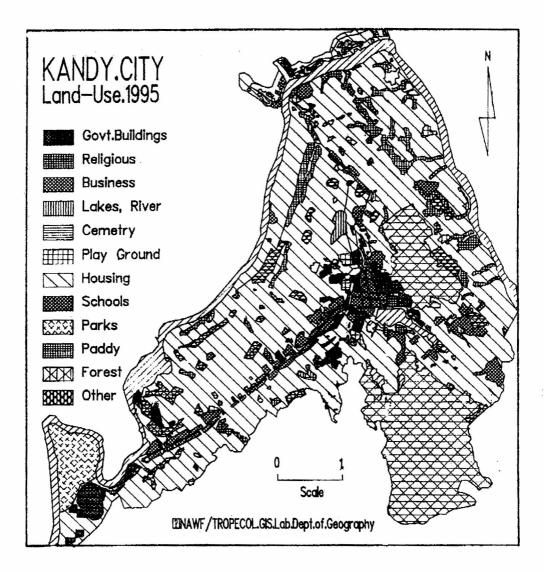


Figure 2.

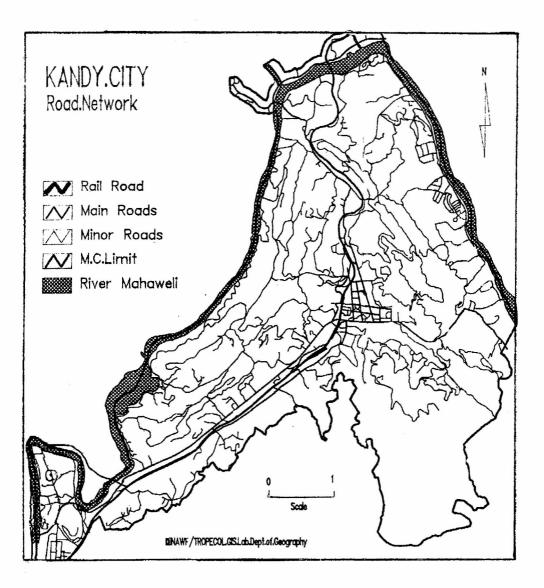
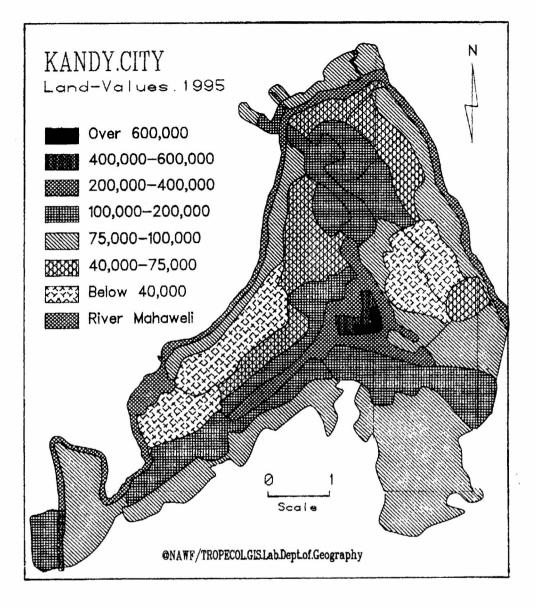


Figure 3.





Spatial Distribution of Public Land

Approximately 13 acres of land close to Bogambara and one and a half acre in front of St. Paul's church are used for prisons. These prime land with a range of Rs. 300,000 -500,000 /perch in value is used for a unproductive or a non-income generating venture so that the optimum land value is not accounted for. Another block of land with an area of approximately 25 acres is used for Kings Pavilion which is hardly used by the public. Out of the total land in the city, 40 percent are owned by the government as administrative blocks, secretariat, police, army head quarters, prisons, school premises, office areas, public banks, government controlled religious areas, roads and road reservations, lake and lake reservations, forest reservations, stream reservations, public hospital areas, public post offices, stores, bus stop, bus stands, bus stops, railway stations, court complex, government housing and other reservations as shown in Fig. 2. The property owned by Municipal authority are public libraries, central market, municipal office area, road side parking lots and reservations, some schools, places for garbage collection and disposal, public gardens. The structures on them are completely managed by the Kandy Municipal Council. The competition for land in these areas is limited as they comprise public land that do not come under the purview of competitive marketing.

The Effect of Accessibility

Kandy is connected to the town-network by a road network and railway lines. The road network within Kandy is complex and vehicular congestion is severe. Except the original layout of the triangular street system, the rest is non-linear or circular. The roads cover almost the entire city as shown in Fig. 3. The most accessible places are the areas perceived as high class residential areas and some middle income areas, two slum areas and the commercial core of the city. Other areas depending on the type of location the accessibility is estimated. Out of the popular residential areas, the accessibility is higher in Aniwatta and Piachaud garden. Therefore, those areas can be considered as most accessible areas. Lewella, and Aruppola are the areas that have frequent public transport facilities within the city. Therefore, those areas named as Bangalawatte, Aruppola. Mulgampola, Weerakoon Garden, Lake Round, and Lower parts of Asgiriya are also having easy access from the city centre. Although the Map shows a higher density of roads, accessibility is a dependent on the quality of the road and the availability of public transport. Private bus services are also frequent in areas where the access is convenient. Housing areas along such artery roads as Peradeniya-Kandy, Katugastota-Kandy, Ampitiva-Kandy, and Buwelikada-Kandy have a higher demand not only because of the accessibility but also on the basis of its commercial value. Therefore, accessibility can be taken as the prime factor controlling the land and property values.

The roads in Kandy are owned by two public authorities. Municipal Council owns nearly two thirds of the roads and the rest is owned by the Road Development Authority. The development and expansion of roads within the last five years had a clearly evident effect on the values of land and property. The roads developed after 1988 have contributed to adding a fresh value to land and property considerably. For instance, the price of a perch of land in Devyannewela was Rs. 10,000 in 1985 and rose over to Rs. 150,000 in 1992. At resent, the price is over Rs. 250,000 a perch as a result of the new arterial by-pass road starting from Getambe junction and running up to the railway station Vehicular transport to the city is smoothened by this road. connecting. Another example for the direct relationship with land value and accessibility is the effect of the new bridge coming up across Mahaweli connecting Lewella and Sirimalwatte. The land value along Lewella road was between Rs. 20,000-30,000 a perch in 1990. At present, the value is at the range of Rs. 35,000-55,000 a perch. The land price at Sirimalwatte which was Rs. 2500 a perch in 1990 has reached Rs. 40,000-45,000 a perch along road fronts. Some areas still lie within the range of Rs. 15,000-20,000 a perch as there is no proper supply of water or electricity.

Availability of public transportation in Kandy is an essential factor since vehicle ownership in this city is limited to 21 percent of the city population. City people are highly dependent on public transport. The dependency is relatively higher compared to developed cities. Therefore, the demand for land and property is higher along the streets where the public transport is frequent. Some slums in the city core were shifted and relocated so that, the gloomy appearance was changed drastically calling the unpleasant image off the minds. The demand for business, and housing have also risen due to the accessibility. Therefore, the increasing demand and the value are dependent factors of transport or accessibility. The following Table 1. shows the value differences of ten known locations between the period 1990 to 1995. The last column of the Table 1. shows the intensity of value changes over a period of five years. The value appreciation of a perch of land in Weerakoon Gardens was 500 percent while it was 400 percent in Anniwatte.

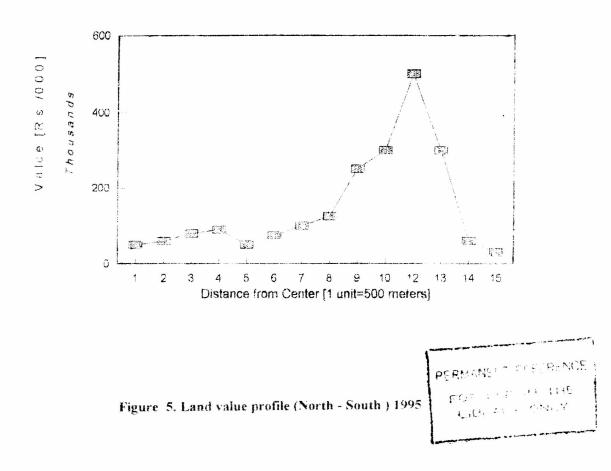
Locations	1990	1995	Percentage
Bangalawatte	25,000	60,000	240
Aruppola	20,000	45,000	225
Bahirawakanda(hills)	25,000	60,000	240
Katukelle(road front)	100,000	225,000	225
Asgiriya (lake front)	100,000	350,000	350
Dalada Vidiya	200,000	500,000	250
Piachaud Gardens	125,000	250,000	200
Suduhumpola	20,000	50,000	250
Mawilmada	25,000	50,000	200
Weerkoon Gardens	25,000	125,000	500
Anniwatte	30,000	120,000	400

Table 1. The changes in land values 1990 -1995 (Rupees Per Perch)

Source: Field Survey 1990 & 1995.

Land Value Profiles

Land value profiles are estimated and represented in the form of graphs. Fig. 5 showing the north-south directions reveals that the peak land value is at location no. 7 where the value was Rs. 500,000 a perch.



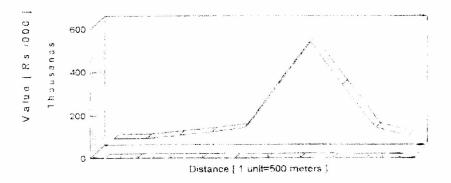


Figure 6. Land value profile (East - West) 1995.

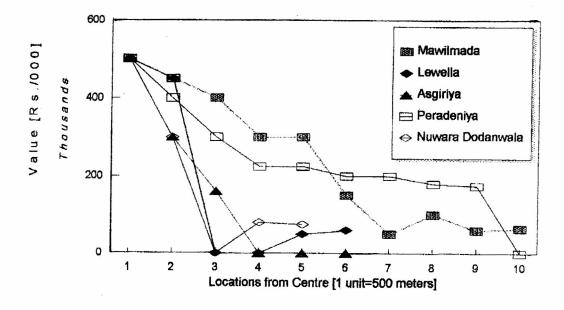


Figure 7. Land value profile from the city centre 1995.

It is the heart of the built-up area and the most accessible road front with parking space. At the periphery, the value range from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 60,000 a perch. Locations on road fronts within the core, the value ranges from Rs. 240,000 to Rs. 400,000. These values were two fold when compared to the values of 1985. Fig. 6 showing the east-west profile indicates that apart from location 7, there is a rapid decline in the values towards the periphery. This is due to the physical configuration of the land and the presence of strict forest reservations. Fig. 7 compares the land value profile towards five directions namely, Mawilmada, Lewella, Asgiriya, Peradeniya and Nuwara Dodanwala. The value drops drastically beyond a kilometer from the core towards Asgiriya as a result of the hilly nature of the land, difficulties of transport to some areas, lack of water supply and steep slopes.

The effect of Land Use on Land Values

Land-Use pattern of a city has a direct impact on the land value of a city. In Kandy, out of a total land area of 2510 ha (UDA, Kandy, 1995), the land utilized for residential purposes exceeded 1054 ha Fig. 2. Only 3 percent of the land is represented commercial land-use. Residential land-use in 1985 consisted of 930.8 ha, comprising of 34.8 percent of the total land. In 1993, the land-use for the same purpose represented 42 percent and now the percentage has increased to 44 percent. Out of the total land-use, water bodies represented 14 percent and forest reservations represented 15 percent. Out of the built-up area, commercial area represented 24 percent and residential area 27 percent respectively. The rest were roads, schools, religious land-use and public landuses. Restrictions are laid by the Urban Development Authority to control the expansion or misuse of public land. Sacred Area demarcated by the Cultural Triangle Project and the Municipality controlled the vertical expansion above the height of Temple of the Tooth which is now known as Dalada Maligawa. The zoning plan for Kandy restricts selected areas for development while demarcating areas where expansion is possible.

Residential Land Use

Residential land use occupies nearly 44 percent of the total land and 18 percent still lies as open space used for parks and other public facilities Fig. 2. The reservations for forest, roadsides, slopes and sewerage is approximately 15 percent. Public and administrative land use represent 2.0 percent. Lakes, roads and other uses covers 11 percent of the K.M.C. land. Agricultural lands are lesser compared to the year 1985. In 1985, the percentage was 9.10 percent. At present, the percentage has fallen to 7 percent due to filling paddy fields and slope development for housing. The areas demarcated as residential areas on the map have distinct spatial variations.

Commercial Land Use

The value of commercial lands within the city have changed significantly. The core of the city was nearly a square kilometer in the 1960s. The range falls within Muslim Palliya Mawatha, Trincomalee Street, Yatinuwara Vidiya. The value of a plot of commercial land in 1903 had been Rs. 44/- per perch. By 1923 the price had rises to 10 time of the above price. In 1943 the transactions revealed that the price of a perch m Castle Street had reportedly gone up to Rs 1600 --- It is clear that price had moreased by The land use along Kandy-Peradeniya and Kandy-Katugastota road had 35-40 times changed considerably as a result of the increased demand for commercial space Negrity 30 percent of residential plots in 1950 had been converted to commercial plots while some maintained both by converting the road fronts to commercial purposes and retaining the rest as houses.

Rapid expansion of commercial areas is observed along the Kandy Katugastota roads where the automobile dealers and suppliers heavily compete Thus the price increased from Rs. 15000 a perch in 1985 to Rs. 40,000 a perch in 1990. At present the value has reached between Rs. 120,000 to 250,000 a perch. Within the commercial core the value is highly dependent on the location, and the size. Nevertheless, the price of a perch has never fallen below Rs. 500,000. The competition for commercial land is high along the Dalada street. Colombo street, Kotugodella street, and D.S.Senanayake street. Therefore, the back vards of the road front commercial premises have also been attracted by the competitors. The inner roads or narrow by-pass lanes between streets have become popular areas for small shops or so called window shops. Price of a premises with 30 square feet is valued at the range of Rs 2500.000 - 3000.000 One of the reason for high land value here is the potential high rent and easy access from the corners of the main The economic rem of land along first half kilometer distance along Srimayo streets. Bandaranayake street has competitively risen due to mushrooming. Medical Consultation Centres and pharmacies. This recent phenomena has in addition, generated a street congestion.

Other than above land-uses Kandy has its cultural importance with religious premises that are distributed in the form of Buddhist and Hindu temples. Churches and mosques The distribution of them are quite dispersed and the land occupied by these religious authorities are limited apart from Maligawa or Temple of Tooth relic. Most of the properties are leased or rented. The ownership of these land has become a critical issue as they are owned by commercial establishments and some residents with duly registered deeds and documents.

Population and Land Value Structure.

Population in Kandy city at present is estimated as 114280, [IRDP, Kandy, 1994]. The total land area is estimated as 25.1 square kilometers(U.D.A. Kandy, 1995). Thus the The city has highest density within Central Province as well as density is 4553 p/s/km. within Kandy district. Since competition for trade, employment, educational facilities, administrative institutions, religious institutions attract more population into the city, the flow of population has increased by 12 percent during the period from 1981 to 1991. The land price in the periphery has been doubled during the five years as shown by 40 percent of the respondents. Population by ethnicity is related in land and property market as ethnic concentration in selected patches has changed over the last five years. Along Kandy-Peradeniya road, particularly in road fronts of Katukelle the competition for land and property among three ethnic groups has been distinctively effected on the concentration. After the ethnic riot in 1983 this particular area was less affected. Therefore, the demand is higher compared to other places. Out of the 14 houses sold in 1994 10 houses had price range of Rs. 1.5 million- 2.0 million. Four houses were sold at the range of Rs. 800.000 - 1.4 million.

Generally, the demand for housing around popular schools is noticeable. Heavy demand occurs for such places as commercial community seeks good or popular schools. The effect is rather vague as the assessment of such cause is a difficult task. By observing the trend one can comment on the trend. A clear example is, a block of a 19 perch land on a steep slope was advertised for sale. The price quoted was a Rs. 90,000 a perch reasoning out that the place was 30 meters from the Kandy International School.

Land-House Ratio

Land-House ratio is an indicator of the density distribution of housing in relation to the size of population. Areas demarcated as LR 1:1- LR 1:0.75 are the most The ratio ranging from LR 1:0.75 to LR 1:0.50 are mixed dense area of the city. residential areas mainly along major streets of the city. There are few exceptions where the range differ from this to a thin layer as the areas demarcated as government or public The ratio ranging from 0.50 to 0.35 are best residential areas distributed in building areas. the four localities of the city. Fragmentation of land is a major problem in urban sector as it causes environmental hazards, and clusters with substandard facilities. In Kandy, an area known as Poornawatte which was a labour settlement has become the most denser enclave in the city representing a family size of 16 per house. Naturally, the density brings hazardous effects on land as well as the environment. It is obvious that there are five such enclaves in the city. Land value of the blocks of lands in close proximity to these areas are relatively low because of the perception of being intimidated by theft or other socially hazardous activities. In a competitive property market the demand for land and property drive such perceptions away by changing the face of the area. For instance. shifting the slum from Ali Mudukkuwa has created a peaceful environment in the core area of the city. Even the people who lived there in high densed clusters find it comfortable in the living environment although they may not be happy with their economically viable activities.

Urban Facilities/Amenities and Land Value Structure

Kandy city has all urban facilities. The basic infrastructure facilities available to nearly 65 percent of the areas. The city is culturally and economically important as it functions as a regional centre for administration, health, transport, services, education and commerce. Water supply, roads, and electricity are the main infra-structure facilities that have direct relevance to the land and property market. Pipe born water supply is available for over 52 percent of the residents in the city while nearly 43 percent of the people use common pipe for washing and bathing. The rest use wells. Water supply over hills are available as hotels, guest houses and resort houses are located. But steep slope areas lack water supply. Fig. 5 shows the distribution of water facility within the city. Pipe born water facility is one of the factors that caused a drastic change in the land value. When the lands along upper Rajasinhe Mawatha had no water supply the value stood at Rs. 2000-2500 a perch. After a pipeline brought water to this area the value had gone up to Rs. 15,000-45000 depending on the location. This is one of the indicators to show the relationship between land value and water supply.

Land value has a direct relationship with electricity too. Fig. 6 shows the distribution of power supply sub-stations within the city. This locations reflect that there is a heavy supply of electricity for domestic purposes and commercial purposes. Electricity used for industries in Kandy is relatively low as the city has only a few small industries. Domestic supply has become a problem as the capacity to supply electricity to the city is limited. Therefore, power supply within the city was taken over by the electricity board. The good residential areas of the city have three phase electricity. That implies a relationship between the efficiency of power supply and the land value of the related areas.

The Role of Land and Property Dealers, Brokers and Real Estate Agents

The competition among the dealers of property and land, and auctioneers on such ventures have influenced on the price. Looking at the land dealings taken place after 1950's, the land values had been changing from time to time. The value of agricultural land in Aruppola and Watapuluwa was Rs. 20/= per perch in 1950 which increased to Rs. 500/= in 1970. The Estate called Aniwatte was divided into housing lots and sold at Rs. 1000/= - 2000/= a perch. The Primrose Hill Estate was also divided into plots and sold at the rate ranging from Rs. 50/= to Rs. 375/= depending on the type of topography. Thus the sale of agricultural lands for residential purposes expanded and the land value increased within a period of 10 years by 25 to 50 times of those prices in the open market. A land sold or a property sold in a place account for the value of the place and it may continue to rise from that base as far as the status of the place does not change. A land along Lewella road was sold at Rs. 30,000 a perch by a dealer, brought the value up from existed value of Rs. 18,000 a perch. As a consequence of this particular deal, any land in the vicinity rose above that value. The value do not come down in such a locality unless there is a legal restriction on development or a disaster. The competition between dealers also controls the value ranges from exorbitant higher values.

Environmental Perception and Land Values

Kandy being a centre of tourism in the central Sri Lanka the investment on tourist industry is enormous. As a result, the marginal lands and slopes are being used to construct new hotels and guest houses. According to UDA reports, the number of proposals for hotel complexes for 1995 in Kandy had exceeded fifteen. This proves the effect on the marginal lands in and around the city. The land value increased due to the competition on new lands along the new roads constructed to access the hotel sites on the hills. In addition, the number of houses converted to guest houses has also increased from 12 houses in 1993 to 18 houses in 1994. Therefore, the competition on residential premises has increased nearly three times the prices in 1992, (Survey 1994). Further, the demand for housing in residential areas has increased as a cause of the perception prevailing in areas like Anniwatte, Weerakoon Gardens, Piachod Garden, Bangalawatte etc. They are known as good residential areas where less number of house breaking, theft or any such social hazard reported within last four years. Some selected enclaves had more crimes as reported at the police station, Kandy. It is also a factor that affect the image of a residential area land value.

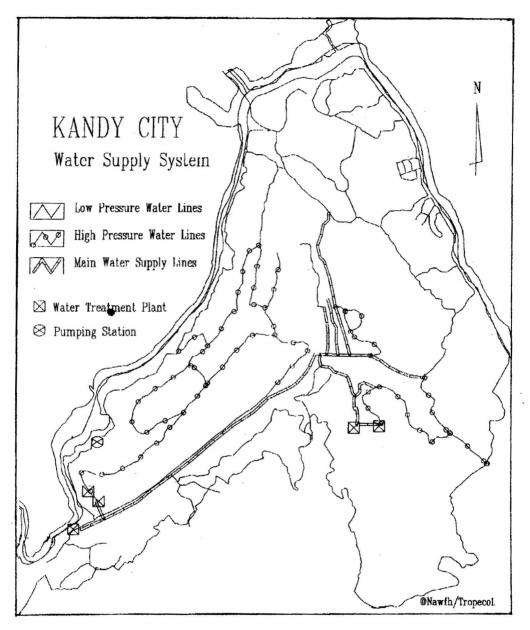
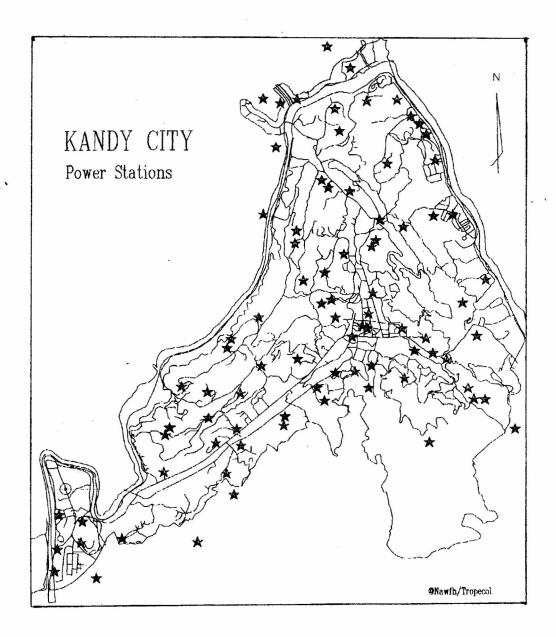


Figure 8.





Some other Causes for Land Value Changes

Land value changes occur as a result of several overlapping factors. Estimating the change is a quite complicated task. One of the major factor is that the sentiments of a place developed due to religious worships or long accepted scenic beauty of a place or the perceptions towards a place developed with historical reasoning or occurrence. Such places cannot be valued in terms of the existing economic or market criterion. The valuation of those places lye on the group or groups of people who accept the place as

important. If they wish the land and the property could be replaced or value to market. It is most unlikely in case of the places where religious or cultural institutions are located. Government land do not show a trend with the land value changes as most of them are considered as permanent properties of the government. Existing market appreciation contributes largely to increase the value of land and property in close proximity to temples, schools, public parks, strict forest reserves. Some of the public lands such as road reservations, railway reservations, canal reservations and unused or abandoned land for a long period due to legal constrains are encroached or illegally occupied by the landless people. There are distinct examples for such encroachments along William Gopallawa Mawatha and alongside of the railway tracks. There are some other portions of public lands that are not utilized for optimum economic value.

The effect of Land Values on Urban Housing

Public housing schemes in Kandy are limited to a few locations. Out of 8 housing schemes five schemes are low income housing category. Three schemes are middle income housing schemes. There is no luxury housing projects within the city limit of Kandy. objectives of those housing differs as they were introduced by the housing authority with a plan to meet the requirements of the working population of the city. Lewella Scheme is one of the middle income housing project for which recipients were selected from offices Similarly, the housing schemes in Aruppola, Watapuluwa also had such a from Kandy. Those schemes have developed into a different form of housing as selection of recipients. Some of those housing areas have become a result of the market force within the city. upper-middle class residential areas at present while some remained as middle-income housing. The housing close to the temple in Deyyannewela, the housing in Poornawatte are two examples for low-income housing schemes. Families who were displaced by the construction of the Willium Gopallawa Mawatha were given new houses in close proximity to the road. Those are replacements of some shums in that neighborhood. The value of land and property in the close proximity to these residential areas were lower as the perception existed before opening up of the area by the trunk road was menacing.

Competition on Land and Property and the Future Trend

The land and property value in Kandy is alarmingly increasing due to heavy competition for residential and commercial premises. The estimate based on the previous land value changes reveals that the values change immediately after a dealing is over. A person bought a land for Rs. 2000,000 definitely an added value to the adjoining lands and there by raising the value sometime more than this amount. The land bought for two million is sold with an added value. Therefore, the positive trend of land value could bring Areas known as a transformation of residential areas. Lake round, Anniwatte, Bangalawatte, Primrose, Siebel Place, Piascho Gardens, and Weerakoon Gardens would further change into more popular residential areas. The supply of residential blocks are limited and thus the existing lots with houses tend to hit higher values. Further, there could be a filtering of middle or lower middle class of people from these areas. New comers to these places are not below the middle income groups. This could result in changing further the landscape of the residential area.

Areas known as Poornawatte, Pattiyakelle, Aatupatti, and some enclaves in Deyyannewela, Mahayyawa, Nitaawala and Suduhumpola are assumed to be socially hazardous. The composition and the face of these areas have changed to a greater extent as a cause of urban slum development projects and opening up of the areas for residential expansion. A great change was seen in Deyyannewela, and Suduhumpola after opening up of the new road. Some neighborhoods to these areas are developed by private competitors and thus changed the perception low grade housing. Further, slums developed in Natha Devale lands close to Bogambara grounds have changed the face by Municipal development strategies. Some slums are relocated from the center of the city to Dangolla with proper housing facilities. These clusters were on lands with higher perch values. For instance, the price of the land in the place where Alimudukkuwa was ranged between Rs. 400,000-Rs.500,000. The perception prevailed in an around this area has changed. After the Bank of Ceylon completes its building, the landscape of the area will be modernistic.

The landscape and the face of road fronts along main arterial roads and link roads will be changing as a result of site development by the owners of those properties. A clear outcome of this process will be that the road buffers become more distinct. After these new building come up the face of the road front will be much modernistic than before. Because of the rules and regulation to keep 50 feet buffer from the main roads, any new construction has to be beyond this range. Road authority limits are sometimes seen inside front rooms or sitting rooms of some road front houses or rear walls of shops.

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