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After 1989–90 major political, economic and societal changes took place in the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. Due to marketisation of state assets, liberalisation of prices and growing exposure to international competition and globalisation, profound economic restructuring commenced leading to rapid de-industrialisation, growing wage and income disparities in these countries.

At the same time the egalitarian principles of state-socialist redistribution of income and goods were replaced by the rules of the market which set off profound changes in the socio-spatial organisation of cities. The market principles of resource allocation together with a growing exposure to the global economy formed basic preconditions for robust shifts in urban land-use, growing social inequalities, and the spread of new functions.

The tremendous and sometimes very spectacular changes of post-socialist cities in CEE attracted great interest among urban geographers. The great attention has been well reflected in the growing body of literature focusing on various aspects of urban restructuring. The ambitious aim of this special issue is to further enrich our knowledge on post-socialist urban transformation.

The majority of the eight papers included in this special issue were presented at the 4th EUGEO Congress held in Rome 5–7 September 2013. They cover a wide range of topics that are thought to be relevant in recent processes of post-socialist urban restructuring. The diversity of contributions is guaranteed not only by the topics and methodological approaches, but also by the countries and cities covered. I sincerely hope that this set of papers will significantly contribute to the better understanding of the phenomenology of the post-socialist urban space.

Zoltán KOVÁCS

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Intra-urban residential differentiation in the post-Soviet city: the case of Riga, Latvia

Zaiga KRIŠJĀNE[1] and Māris BĒRZIŅŠ[2]

Abstract

Cities in many Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have transformed rapidly since the political and socio-economic restructuring started in the early 1990s. Economic reforms, growing income inequalities, changes in housing system and selective residential mobility are resulting in increasing socio-spatial differentiation among urban neighbourhoods also in Riga. In addition, little is known about the ethnic dimension of intra-urban residential differentiation, despite the existence of sizeable minority populations. The focus on ethnicity is important, since Riga is the only capital city in the Baltic States where the ethnic majority is outnumbered by the non-Latvian minority. This paper provides empirical evidence about socio-spatial differentiation in Riga according to its ecological structure. Our aim is to examine the characteristics of the inhabitants by distinctive types of urban neighbourhoods with particular interest on ethnicity. The analysis is based on a recent sample survey that was carried out in 2012 and 2013. The results reveal that characteristics of population subgroups differ among urban zones with regard to ethnic origin, age, household size and income. Less pronounced are differences by education, migration background and family type. The conclusion is that Riga is a relatively mixed city at the beginning of the 21st century.

Keywords: residential differentiation, segregation, ethnicity, post-Soviet city, Riga, Latvia

Introduction

Riga's intra-urban spatial structure and socio-economic pattern has been affected by various global and local processes over the past twenty-five years. In academic debate social polarisation caused by these processes (e.g. economic restructuring, globalisation, deindustrialisation, EU enlargement etc.) has

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been reflected in growing residential differentiation in CEE cities (Enyedi, Gy. 1998; Kovács, Z. 1999; Ruoppila, S. and Kährik, A. 2003). Numerous studies on urban change in the formerly centrally planned countries have already focused on socio-spatial differences at intra-urban scale. The most visible signs of growing socio-spatial differentiation have been documented in city centres and suburban zones (Brade, I. *et al.* 2009). More recently particular attention has been devoted also to the socialist pre-fab housing estates revealing that these neighbourhoods have largely retained a relatively good image and social mix (Kährik, A. and Tammaru, T. 2010; Marcińczak, S. and Sagan, I. 2011; Wiest, K. 2011; Kovács, Z. and Herfert, G. 2012).

Economic restructuring, growing income inequalities, changes in the housing system and selective residential mobility are also resulting in increasing socio-spatial differentiation among urban neighbourhoods in Riga. Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to examine the characteristics of urban residents by distinctive types of urban neighbourhoods with particular interest on ethnicity.

In the former Soviet Union, ethnicity was an additional element of socio-spatial differentiation. The related processes of immigration and industrialisation, and the central allocation of housing led to high levels of ethnic residential segregation (Gentile, M. and Sjöberg, Ö. 2010; Gentile, M. and Tammaru, T. 2006). It is also widely accepted that ethnic segregation tends to be associated with general socio-spatial differentiation (Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. 1998) and this undermines social cohesion in cities. However, ethnic segregation was a modestly studied aspect of residential differentiation in post-socialist countries (Smith, D.M. 1996).

The current paper focuses on these topics and provides empirical evidence about socio-spatial differentiation in Riga, the capital city of Latvia. The study includes an analysis of the distribution of socio-economic and ethnic groups across three distinctive types of neighbourhoods. The paper is structured as follows. The next section outlines the general processes that reshape the socio-spatial structure of the post-socialist cities. Then, a concise description of Riga is provided with special emphasis on the evolution of the city's residential structure, housing stock and ethnic pattern. Next we proceed by presenting our research data and explaining the applied methods. The contemporary pattern of intra-urban residential differentiation in Riga is more closely examined in the last sections.

Social inequalities and residential differentiation in post-socialist cities

A wide range of scholarly contributions summarize that socialist cities were less segregated, with rather modest residential differentiation, than it was found in the capitalist cities. This situation was determined by communist poli-

cies on income and housing distribution (Szelényi, I. 1983; French, R.A. and Hamilton, F.I. 1979; Smith, D.M. 1996). The return to democracy and market economy initiated multiple processes that rapidly changed existing urban structures. Among the most essential processes that have heavily influenced urban change are – globalisation, deindustrialisation, economic restructuring, labour market segmentation, and welfare state retrenchment (Andrusz, G. *et al.* 1996; Hamilton, F.E.I. *et al.* 2005; Sýkora, L. and Bouzarovski, S. 2012). All these forces and processes have substantially contributed to the changes in the morphological and socio-spatial structure of post-socialist cities (Sailer-Fliege, U. 1999; Borén, T. and Gentile, M. 2007; Stanilov, K. 2007).

Social disparities, polarisation and residential segregation became distinguishing characteristics of the post-socialist urban transformation. It is widely acknowledged that the socio-economic transformations have been much more advanced in capital cities (Smith, A. and Timár, J. 2010; Marcińczak, S. *et al.* 2012). Important dimension of residential differentiation in the post-socialist cities is housing. The former domination of state ownership was replaced by private and municipal ownership. Changes in the housing system, privatisation and property restitution triggered social and ethnic residential segregation (Tsenkova, S. and Nedović-Budić, Z. 2006; Sýkora, L. 2009).

More recent changes in the housing system are affected by the laissez faire neoliberal attitude of local state and substantial involvement of private developers that generate new social inequalities (Hirt, S. *et al.* 2013; Kovács, Z. and Hegedűs, G. 2014). The growing intensity of post-socialist residential differentiation in urban settings are observed through underlying processes that contribute to segregation, suburbanisation, gentrification and socio-economic downgrading of certain neighbourhoods (Sýkora, L. 2005; Kährik, A. and Tammaru, T. 2008; Van Kempen, R. and Murie, A. 2009; Brade, I. *et al.* 2009; Temelová, J. *et al.* 2011; Kovács, Z. *et al.* 2013; Marcińczak, S. *et al.* 2013).

The most popular subjects of empirical investigations in post-socialist cities are inner cities, large housing estates and suburbs on the periphery of large cities. Building on the literature that indicates that residential differentiation is a multifaceted process, this paper questions how the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of population affect residential divisions at the intra-urban scale by focusing on differences among three distinctive urban zones of Riga. Finally, it is also necessary to emphasise that residential restructuring and differentiation is sensitive to historical context and spatial scale.

Riga: urban development and spatial framework of the analysis

Riga is the capital and largest city of Latvia. At the beginning of 2013 Riga with its 643.6 thousand residents is home to around 32% of Latvia's two million popula-

tions (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2013). Riga enjoys significant primacy within the urban system of Latvia and provides home to almost half (47%) of the country's urban population. The city as important administrative, trade and cultural centre has maintained its position over centuries. Riga is one of the oldest European capitals, founded at the beginning of the 13th century. Although the city has over 800 years history it started to develop more rapidly in the late 19th century and experienced fast industrial growth when it became one of the main port cities of the Russian Empire (Tsenkova, S. 2005; Berg, W. 2011).

At the beginning of the 20th century Riga was the second largest city in the western part of the Russian Empire after St. Petersburg and its population numbered about half a million. However, the most significant impact on Riga's urban structure was made by the socialist period after World War II. Soviet policies of industrialisation and urbanisation were reinforced by immigration of predominantly Russian-speaking population from other parts of the Soviet Union (Tsenkova, S. 2005; Aberg, M. 2005). During the Soviet regime large industrial facilities were established, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. The population significantly increased, reaching almost one million in 1989.

Since independence, political and economic restructuring took place and Riga started to lose population due to negative demographic growth rates and out-migration. Today, similarly to other large cities in CEE, Riga witnesses a process of steady population decline (Turok, I. and Mykhnenko, V. 2007; Kabisch, N. and Haase, D. 2011). In fact, the population of Riga has declined rather fast over the past two decades (*Table 1*).

In addition, post-socialist transition has given rise to a substantial change in the redistribution of population within the city. Intra-urban population dynamics in Riga reveals that inner-city neighbourhoods have lost their population

Table 1. Indicators of the demographic, social and economic conditions in Riga

Indicator	2000	2011
Population, 1,000 persons	764.3	658.7
Population change, %	81.0 (1989 = 100%)	84.0 (2000 = 100%)
Share of population by urban zones, %		
Inner city	21.6	17.1
Soviet-era housing estates	72.3	74.5
Outer area	6.1	8.4
Net migration rate per 1,000 inhabitants	–8.7	–7.2
Share of ethnic minorities, %	59.0	53.7
Share of owner-occupied housing, %	63.6	74.5
Ratio of population living in Soviet-era housing estates, %	..	71.8
Gini index for Latvia	33.2	35.7
Share in country's GDP, %	55.4	50.2

.. No data. Source: 2000 and 2011 census; Statistical database of the Central Statistical. Bureau of Latvia

most intensely over the last decades. Similarly the Soviet-era housing estates are also losing population, but with a much lower pace. As a consequence, the population share of the housing estate zone has slightly increased.

The withdrawal of the state from the housing market during the 1990s was conducted with privatisation vouchers, which were given to all individuals who had permanently lived and worked in Latvia. Thus, large numbers of sitting tenants mostly in the Soviet-era pre-fab housing estates became owners. Whereas people who lived in restituted houses could not buy their flats, but instead they became tenants of private rental dwellings. As a result of large-scale privatisation the housing stock of Riga is dominated by the owner occupied sector (*Table 1*). In Riga approximately 60 % of the housing stock has been built after World War II, during the Soviet period (Tsenkova, S. 2005; Bertaud, A. 2006) and most people still lives in pre-transition housing stock.

Empirical evidence suggests that diversification of urban economies, associated with the transition from centrally planned industrial to service-oriented economy, has become more prominent in capital cities (Dunford, M. and Smith, A. 2000; Stenning, A. 2004). Riga accounts half of the country's GDP and it has a highly centralised system of governance with dominant role in Latvian economy (Paalzow, A. *et al.* 2010). The city has traditionally been the main attraction of investment and employment in the Baltic region and has held primacy over Latvia's economic, political, social and cultural life. With respect to the scale of socio-economic inequalities, the widely used Gini index well reflects the scale of income disparities. The available data reveal that the socio-economic inequalities rose over the past decade.

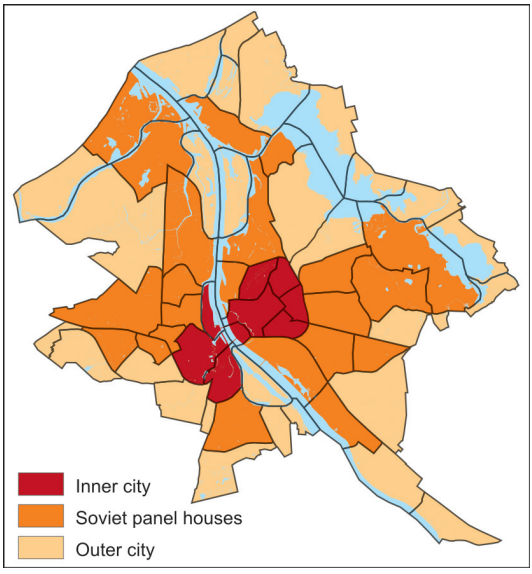

Fig. 1. Subdivision of Riga's neighbourhoods by urban zones

For the sake of our study, based on historical development and following the boundaries of neighbourhoods, the area of Riga was divided into three distinctive urban zones. The inner-city constitutes a more or less compact area in the texture of the city located on both sides of the river Daugava (*Figure 1*).

However, the urban landscape of the area has its own set of disparities. The 'Old Town' lies in the very centre of this zone representing the well preserved medieval core and cultural heritage of the Old Hanseatic Town cityscape (*Photo 1*). The 'Old Town' is surrounded by rows of Art Nouveau buildings and attractive parks on the right bank of the river. Neighbourhoods situated on the left bank and the external part of the inner-city could be characterised as pre-socialist middle- and working-class apartment blocks with adjacent industrial estates that offered good opportunities to work.

The most distinctive type of housing in Riga is the high-rise standardised and pre-fab housing estates found in many neighbourhoods (*Photo 2*). These residential districts were conceived during the Soviet-era as social units completed with all necessary residential services, being the most significant spatial manifestations of the ideological goals of the communist system (Smith, D.M. 1996; Grava, S. 2007). In Latvia the large-scale construction of pre-fab housing estates started in 1959 (Rubīns, J. 2004). The height of the houses, size and quality of the apartments increased in the 1970s and 1980s (Smith, D.M. 1996; Treija, S. 2009). In Riga Soviet-type pre-fab housing estates occupy vast areas on both banks of the river. A distinct feature of Soviet cities, compared to those in CEE, is the significant proportion of Russian-speaking immigrant population in the panel housing districts (Gentile, M. and Tammaru, T. 2006; Kährik, A. and Tammaru, T. 2010; Hess, D. *et al.* 2012).

The outer-city is the most diverse with respect to land use patterns and housing stock. This type generally covers neighbourhoods with single family housing districts (*Photo 3*) including pre-socialist villas and summer cottages, Soviet-era dacha settlements and extensive territories of allotment gardens. There are also large lakes, wetlands, and marshes, as well as nature reservations along the sea coast. In all urban zones industrial areas are present to a greater or lesser extent.

Riga has been a multi-ethnic and trans-cultural city from its very inception that makes it so vibrant, rich and attractive (Berg, W. 2011). Today, ethnic minorities form 54% of the total population in Riga and 75% (264.8 thousand) of the minority population are Russians (Census, 2011). Other large ethnic groups are Byelorussians (7% of minorities) and Ukrainians (6%) who mostly speak Russian and, therefore, are named as Russian-speaking minority. As indicated in *Figure 2*, the spatial differences in the distribution of ethnic groups continue to reflect the pattern inherited from the Soviet past, with Russian-speaking immigrants being over-represented in Soviet-type pre-fab housing estates. Similar situation is found in other countries across the former Soviet Union (Gentile, M. and Tammaru, T. 2006; Kährik, A. and Tammaru, T. 2010). The return of Soviet-era immigrants to their home countries resulted in an increase in the overall proportion of Latvians in Riga, from 41% in 2000 to 46% in 2011 (*Figure 2*).

Photo 1. Inner-city, the Town Hall Square of Riga. *Source:* authors' photograph

Photo 2. Pre-fab housing estate built in the 1970s. *Source:* authors' photograph

Photo 3. Detached housing in the outer part of the city. *Source:* authors' photograph

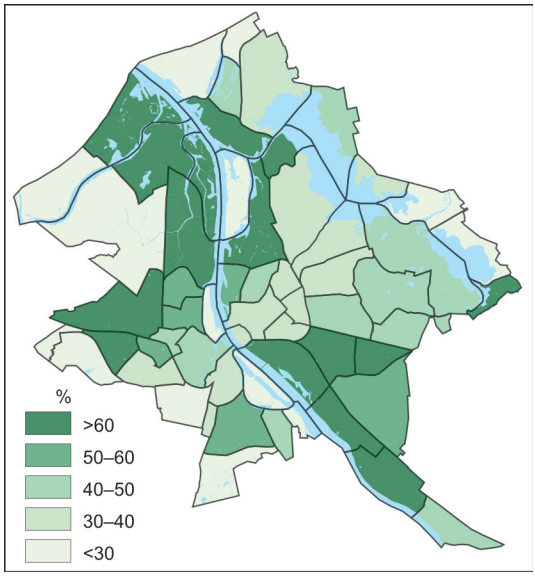

Fig. 2. Share of ethnic minorities in Riga, in %

Research data and methods

For the analysis of intra-urban residential differentiation, we use data from a survey that was carried out among inhabitants of Riga in 2012 and 2013 in collaboration with the municipality. The survey was aimed at understanding the composition of population, residential satisfaction and various aspects of urban life. For this purpose, it contained a number of questions on individual and household characteristics which are of particular use for this paper. The survey is based on a random sample of residents aged 18–78 who were contacted on their own premises for a face-to-face interview. Initially, during the survey, interviewers visited around 5,000 addresses. The sample comprised 3,131 respondents whose age was in the acceptable range and who did not refuse to answer. The response rate was 62.6%. Among the individuals included in the sample 17.2% live in the inner-city, 55.5% are residents of the Soviet-era housing estates, while 27.3% live in the outer-city. As can be seen, the outer-city is slightly over-represented if we compare to the actual distribution of inhabitants within the city.

The variables we used in the comparative analysis of Riga's urban zones were selected according to two general criteria. They had to refer either to the demographic or the socio-economic status of the residents. Thus, our analysis focuses on the main demographic (gender, age, ethnicity) and family related variables (family status, household type and size). The socio-economic status is identified through educational attainment, income and to a lesser extent employment sector. We have also used a variable referring to migration background. Unfortunately, our data do not include housing characteristics that would have been very useful. However, the main strength of using the survey data, from the perspective of the current analysis, is that it enables the joint study of different population groups based on the place of residence. Due to the relatively small size of the sample, the study was restricted to using crude spatial categories within the framework of urban neighbourhoods.

Our data reveal certain differences between the inhabitants of the inner-city and the other two zones when the population is split by age, education, income and employment sector (*Table 2*).

The share of young and higher-status people (education, income, employment) is higher in the inner-city when compared with the outer-city and housing estates. The opposite picture was found when comparing the outer-city with the other two zones. From the data presented in *Table 2*, we can see that elderly people with low socio-economic status, as well as single person households tend to live in the outer-city.

In the next stage the same set of variables was applied for the main ethnic groups. There are some important differences between members of the majority and the minority populations in Riga (*Table 3*). First, as one would

Table 2. Comparison of research populations in the different urban zones, %

Indicators		Total	Inner-city	Housing estates	Outer-city
Ethnic origin	Latvian	41.9	55.8	36.6	44.0
	Russian	50.0	39.2	54.1	48.5
	other	8.1	5.0	9.3	7.5
Gender	male	43.1	43.7	42.6	43.9
	female	56.9	56.3	57.4	56.1
Age group	under 24	12.7	15.9	13.2	9.8
	25–34	18.6	20.6	19.3	15.8
	35–44	15.3	15.4	15.7	14.2
	45–54	17.7	17.5	18.0	17.1
	55–64	15.3	12.8	16.5	14.2
	over 65	20.4	17.8	17.3	28.9
Family status	married, in cohabitation	52.3	52.2	52.6	51.6
	single	47.7	47.8	47.4	48.4
Household type	have children under 18	31.2	31.8	30.8	31.6
	have no children under18	68.8	68.2	69.2	68.4
Household size	1 person	19.2	19.7	17.1	23.0
	2 persons	33.0	32.7	34.2	30.8
	3 and more persons	47.8	47.6	48.6	46.2
Place of birth	Riga (non-migrant)	19.9	21.2	20.1	18.7
	outside Riga (migrant)	80.1	78.8	79.9	81.3
Level of education	primary	6.7	5.4	6.9	7.2
	secondary	60.7	56.5	62.0	60.7
	university	32.6	38.1	31.1	32.1
Income per person	less than 300 EUR	36.7	31.0	39.1	35.4
	between 300 and 500 EUR	25.0	21.9	25.1	26.6
	more than 500 EUR	8.7	11.0	7.8	9.1
	no answer	29.6	36.1	27.9	28.9
Employment sector	public	19.6	21.2	19.8	18.2
	private	43.0	47.6	43.0	40.1
	inactive / unemployed	37.4	31.2	37.2	41.7
Sample:		N = 3,131	N= 538	N= 1,738	N= 857

expect, the share of non-Latvians is higher in the Soviet-era housing estates, while Latvians are over-represented in the inner-city. Moreover, with respect to ethnic divisions, the share of Latvians has increased in all urban zones, but especially in the inner-city. On the one hand, this is due to the return migration of Russian-speaking people after Latvia regained its independence (Heleniak, T. 2004; Eglīte, P. 2009), and in-migration of Latvians from other urban and rural areas on the other (Krišjāne, Z. and Bērziņš, M. 2012).

Similarly, the age structure and the socio-economic composition differs by ethnicity – Latvians are younger, better educated and earn a higher-

Table 3. Selected variable by main ethnic groups, %

Indicator		Total	Latvian	Russian	Other
Urban zone	Inner-city	17.2	22.8	13.5	10.7
	Soviet housing estates	55.5	48.4	60.0	64.0
	Outer-city / mixed use	27.3	28.7	26.5	25.3
Gender	male	43.1	43.1	44.0	37.9
	female	56.9	56.9	56.0	62.1
Age group	under 24	12.7	13.3	13.3	5.5
	25–34	18.6	20.6	18.3	10.3
	35–44	15.3	16.3	15.1	11.1
	45–54	17.7	17.6	17.5	18.6
	55–64	15.3	12.6	16.5	20.9
	over 65	20.4	19.6	19.3	33.6
Family status	married, in cohabitation	52.3	51.1	54.1	46.6
	single	47.7	48.9	45.9	53.4
Household type	Have children under 18	31.2	33.4	31.0	20.9
	have no children	68.8	66.6	69.0	79.1
Household size	1 person	19.2	20.0	17.6	24.5
	2 persons	33.0	31.2	33.8	38.3
	3 and more persons	47.8	48.8	48.6	37.2
Place of birth	Riga (non-migrant)	19.9	19.5	21.7	11.1
	outside Riga (migrant)	80.1	80.5	78.3	88.9
Level of Education	primary	6.7	6.6	6.6	8.3
	secondary	60.7	57.0	63.9	59.7
	university	32.6	36.4	29.5	32.0
Income per person	less than 300 EUR	36.7	34.3	36.9	47.4
	between 300 and 500 EUR	25.0	27.3	24.4	16.6
	more than 500 EUR	8.7	11.3	7.3	4.0
	no answer	29.6	27.1	31.3	32.0
Employment sector	public	19.6	23.4	16.9	16.6
	private	43.0	44.3	43.8	31.6
	inactive / unemployed	37.4	32.3	39.3	51.8
Sample:		N = 3,131	N = 1,313	N = 1,565	N = 253

than-average income per person as compared to non-Latvians. Other demographic, household and employment compositions vary across the analysed ethnic groups as well. Interestingly, the socio-demographic composition of other ethnic minorities, mainly Ukrainians and Byelorussians, is much worse compared to Latvians and Russians. The explanation for this finding relates to pronounced signs of aging as a result of massive wave of ethnic migration after dissolution of the Soviet Union (Mežs, I. 2011; Bērziņš, A. and Zvidriņš, P. 2012). The results of previous studies are similar to ours, ethnic minorities are more likely to be unemployed or inactive, than Latvians (Aasland, A. and Fløtten, T. 2001).

We employ binary logistic regression in order to analyse the residential differences between the three urban zones. The regression equation can be formalised as follows:

$$\log \frac{p(Y_i = 1)}{p(Y_i = 0)} = \alpha + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \beta_k X_{ik},$$

where is the probability that an individual , … *I* lives in the inner-city in models 1 and 2, and in the Soviet-era housing estates in model 3; is the probability that an individual , … *I* lives in the outer-city in models 2 and 3, or in the Soviet-era housing estates in model 1; α is a constant, X_{ik} is the value of variable *k* for individual *i*; and β_k is a parameter describing the impact of variable *k*, with *K* variables.

Intra-urban residential composition and differentiation

The study on intra-urban residential differentiation focuses on ethnicity and population groups defined by demographic and socio-economic status. With respect to ethnicity, the study distinguishes between Latvians and ethnic minorities. The latter include mainly Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. In all models ethnic origin was included at first in order to confirm or reject the existence of ethnic differences. From the results, we can see that ethnic differences between urban zones are notable. Latvians are more likely to live in the inner-city than ethnic minorities (*Table 4, model 1* and *2*).

Nevertheless, if we start to examine differences by comparing people living in the inner-city and Soviet-era housing estates (*Table 4, model 1*) it becomes evident, that there are statistically significant differences in the basic demographic characteristics except for gender, marital status and household type. The results by other variables are as follows. Unexpectedly, younger people are more likely to live in the inner-city (*Table 4, model 1* and *2*).

Along with the results confirming that two and more people households are less likely living in the central neighbourhoods this reveals that inner-city areas have been affected by population changes linked to the second demographic transition, such as a rapid rise in the propensity to live alone (Buzar, S. *et al.* 2005). The results of the first model also show that probability of being inner-city resident is greater for long-term urban residents, highly educated and those with high incomes. Inactive and unemployed residents are less likely to live in the centre of the city.

The next model compares people living in the inner-city with people living in the outer-city (*Table 4, model 2*). This comparison yields many similar results confirming that elderly people and low income and low social status groups are less likely to live in the inner-city neighbourhoods. Comparison

Table 4. Binary logistic regression models of intra-urban socio-spatial differentiation in Riga

Indicator	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Ethnic origin (base: non-Latvian)						
Latvian	0.804	***	0.427	***	-0.356	***
Gender (base: female)						
male	0.037	–	0.120	–	-0.153	*
Age group (base: 25–34)						
under 24	0.338	**	0.295	**	0.081	
35–44	-0.384	**	0.443	**	0.168	*
45–54	-0.336	*	-0.600	***	-0.276	*
55–74	-0.449	***	-0.696	***	-0.262	***
over 75	0.045		-0.984	***	-0.883	
Family status (base: single)						
married, in cohabitation	0.140	–	0.124	–	0.060	–
Household type (base: have children under 18)						
have no children under 18	0.171	–	-0.274	*	-0.343	***
Household size (base: 1 person)						
2 persons	-0.391	**	0.445	**	0.343	***
3 and more persons	-0.407	**	-0.044	–	0.310	**
Place of birth (base: migrant)						
Riga	0.364	**	-0.182	*	0.127	–
Level of education (base: primary)						
secondary	-0.182	*	0.114	*	-0.035	–
university	0.378	**	0.314	–	-0.023	
Incomes (base: less than 300 EUR)						
between 300 and 500 EUR	0.165	*	0.391	***	-0.279	**
more than 500< EUR	0.283	**	0.164	–	-0.403	**
no answer	0.485	***	0.151	–	-0.281	***
Employment sector (base: public)						
private	0.067	–	0.068	*	0.050	–
inactive / unemployed	-0.282	*	-0.310	–	-0.013	

Sig. = Significance: *p <0.10 **p <0.05 ***p <0.01

of the inner- and outer-city shows slightly different results with respect to household type and size, and migration background. Unlike to model 1 it becomes apparent that two person households are more likely to live in the inner- than outer-city. Non-migrants are also less likely being residents of central neighbourhoods than those living in the outer zone. Thus, our results partly confirm the impact of residential mobility on growing socio-spatial differences within the city, especially when comparing the inner-city with the other two zones.

Finally, we compare individual characteristics of residents living in the Soviet-era housing estates with those who are living in the outer-city (*Table 4, model 3*). Similarly to model 2 we found that outer-city is characterised by higher share of elderly than housing estates. With regards ethnic composition, results show that Latvians are less likely to live in housing estates than ethnic minorities.

Statistically significant differences were found by household type and size as well as by income. Differences in income are very pronounced – residents of the housing estates have lower odds of belonging to the high income groups than residents of the outer zone. There are also important differences between the housing estates and the outer-city according to the household structure. Families without children have the lowest probability of living in Soviet-era housing estates. Finally, two and more person households have a much higher probability of living in an apartment of the housing estates than single person households.

Conclusions

Since the fall of the Iron Curtain cities in Central and Eastern Europe have rapidly transformed. This urban transformation involved a wide set of social and urban processes generating intense discussion in the literature (Brade, I. *et al.* 2009; Gentile, M. *et al.* 2012; Marcińczak, S. *et al.* 2012; Kovács, Z. and Hegedűs, G. 2014). Many scholars assumed that urban changes marked by the reconfiguration of the built environment, changes in the housing system, growing income inequalities, and selective residential mobility is closely followed by increasing residential socio-spatial differentiation (Smith, D.M. 1996; Enyedi, Gy. 1998; Sýkora, L. 1999; Ruoppila, S. and Kährik, A. 2003). Indeed, the urban change of Riga has been no exception in terms of rapid development accompanied by these processes. Furthermore, the contextual factors stemming from historical development of the city are important in shaping residential differentiation (Musterd, S. and Kovács, Z. 2013). The contemporary residential structure of Riga is inherited largely from the pre-war period and the Soviet urbanisation.

In this paper we examined the socio-economic characteristics of inhabitants by distinct urban zones with particular interest on ethnicity. Our findings show that residential differentiation has an effect on ethnic concentration in Riga. As it was found Latvians have the highest odds of living in the inner-city compared to the housing estates and the outer-city. These results suggest that Latvians are still clearly over-represented in older pre-Soviet apartment houses, while the Russian-speaking people tend to live in dwellings built during the Soviet period. This is consistent with findings of the previous studies

and reflects the general trend across the former Soviet Union (Kulu, H. and Tammaru, T. 2003; Gentile, M. and Tammaru, T. 2006; Hess, B.D. *et al.* 2012).

We also found that despite rapidly growing income inequalities and liberalisation of the housing market, the city is still relatively mixed when looking at the socio-economic composition of the different urban zones. Moreover, in spite of of the massive housing privatisation, the residential mobility in Riga is still low and does not generate a significant increase in residential segregation. Nevertheless, most evident signs of population change have been recorded in the inner-city neighbourhoods. Similarly, the most profound differences in terms of population composition are recorded between the inner-city and the other two zones. We interpret these results as follows.

Firstly, the relative attractiveness of older (pre-Soviet) apartments has increased on the housing market, since this housing stock was heavily impacted by the processes of restitution and emigration of ethnic minorities at the beginning of the 1990s. In addition, such dwellings are located in a more attractive residential environment than the standardized Soviet-era housing estates. Secondly, our research revealed that younger people and those with university education and higher incomes have the highest probability of living in the inner-city.

Recently, the evidence of social upgrading was found for several inner-city neighbourhoods in different CEE cities (Bouzarovski, S. 2009; Marcińczak, S. and Sagan, I. 2011; Haase, A. *et al.* 2012; Kovács, Z. *et al.* 2013). This is because the transformation of former socialist cities has brought about the commercialisation, revitalisation and gentrification of urban cores (Temelová, J. 2007; Kovács, Z. 2009; Haase, A. *et al.* 2011). However, the separation of the wealthy social strata remained very limited and selective residential upgrading goes sometimes parallel with deterioration of the pre-war housing stock.

Today the vast majority of the population in Riga lives in the Soviet-era housing estates. As expected, the ethnic differences regarding this zone are significant, as many Russian-speaking immigrants, the majority population in the former Soviet Union (FSU), were given priority access to the most modern segments of the housing stock in other republics of the FSU at that time. The main result of the analysis here is that the zone of housing estates in Riga is still characterised by a strong social mix, and do not reveal clear signs of decline in comparison with the inner- and the outer-city. The demographic and socio-economic composition of the people living in the housing estates also changes, but these areas still retain medium to high social status and in comparison with the deteriorated pre-war housing stock of the inner- and the outer-city, they offer better living conditions. Our results are, thus, very similar to findings published for other cities across the region (Kährik, A. and Tammaru, T. 2010; Temelová, J. *et al.* 2011; Wiest, K. 2011; Kovács, Z. and Herfert, G. 2012).

The outer and peripheral areas of Riga have also experienced certain social change. Initially we expected a rapid increase in socio-economic status also in this urban zone, as suburban-wise development is the most eye-catching process of spatial change in urban periphery in Riga. However, somewhat unexpectedly, our analysis found that predominantly elderly people with low socio-economic status, as well as single person households tend to live in the outer-city. These are surprising results and means that the urban periphery still retains a relatively low socio-economic status in spite of new residential developments. Several outer-city neighbourhoods close to communication infrastructure and within the areas rich in natural amenities have experienced such developments, but it is not reflected by our data.

To conclude, further studies are needed in several fields. Firstly, future research should put more emphasis on the internal differentiation of the outer-city neighbourhoods and especially panel housing districts. It is reasonable to expect that the oldest panel estates do experience a more rapid socio-economic downgrading than the newer ones. Secondly, more research should be done on residential mobility in order to better understand the intra-urban movements and the reasons behind them.

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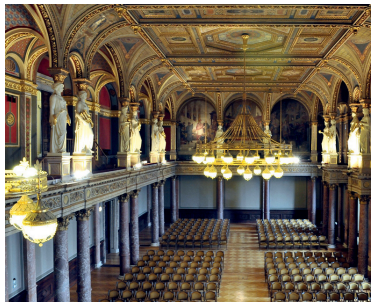

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Unique or universal? Mechanisms and processes of social change in post-socialist Warsaw

Magdalena GÓRCZYŃSKA[1]

Abstract

This paper aims at providing new knowledge about the processes and dynamics of socio-spatial changes in post-socialist cities through the example of Warsaw. As reference cities for comparison we use two other post-socialist capital cities, Budapest and Prague. Dynamics in urban space are investigated through (1) the socio-spatial differentiation of neighbourhoods; (2) the regeneration of old housing stock in the inner-city, as well as (3) differentiation of actors contributing to new housing construction. These processes influence residential mobility and shape significantly the spatial distribution of different social groups. Their impact on Warsaw has been assessed based on quantitative data. According to our research findings the process of property restitution, accompanied by privatisation and a growing mix of ownership structure, induced a unique process of fragmentation and social segregation at a micro-scale in the inner city of Warsaw, while the socio-spatial consequences of suburbanisation have been more similar to other post-socialist cities.

Keywords: social change, post-socialist city, urban regeneration, restitution, suburbanisation, ownership change, Warsaw

Introduction

At the beginning of the 1980s, Iván Szelényi (1983) turned the attention to differences in the socio-spatial patterns of North American, as well as Western and Eastern European cities. At that time, the East European model was considered to be in between the American and Western European ones, admitting that the latter models were highly diversified. Also, the term of 'Eastern Europe' refers to a sort of uniformity, even though this region has always been highly diversified (Węcławowicz, G. 1990). Although the socialist ideology based on the egalitarian principles of the distribution of goods, services and housing,

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was in favour of eliminating the extremities, the political and economic elite (even if not rich) enjoyed a lot of non-monetary advantages and privileges such as free car use, second homes, vacations, etc. (Enyedi, Gy. 1992). In addition, Central European countries represented different variants of state socialism within the region (e.g. Seleny, A. 2006), which have also resulted in different paths of transformation since the demise of the socialist regime.

In the 1990s, the political and economic transformation opened new directions of social changes, including an increase in the level of socio-spatial disparities and income inequalities (Enyedi, Gy. 1992), contributing to a more visible residential segregation (Węcławowicz, G. 1998). For example, in the case of Czech Republic, segregation and spatial separation mainly concern the extreme groups: socially excluded Roma and well-off population living in gated communities (Sýkora, L. 2009). The question arises if the contemporary processes and mechanisms of change are universal enough to explain the wide spectrum of phenomena occurring in different Central European cities. Bearing in mind the existing divergences between these cities, we can therefore ask to what extent these processes and mechanisms are alike.

In this paper, the primary attention is paid to processes and mechanisms of social change in Warsaw in comparison with two other Central European capital cities: Budapest and Prague. These processes will be analysed primarily through quantitative data. We use statistics for districts and communities collected yearly by the Central Statistical Office (Local Data Bank) as well as data of the Population Censuses 1988 and 2002 for enumeration units. The first source of data allowed us to analyse the spatial distribution of newly constructed dwellings, whereas census data could be used for the investigation of the spatial distribution of socio-professional groups in 1988 and in 2002 (according to enumeration units with more than 50 inhabitants). The Ward's minimum variance method was used to merge the clusters with the minimum between-cluster distance. Additional information concerning the number and the distribution of claims that set up the right of usufruct were obtained from the Office of Real Estate Management (Biuro Gospodarki Nieruchomości) in Warsaw. These quantitative data allowed us to grasp the social changes having taken place over the last twenty years and to provide some explanations about socio-spatial restructuring in Warsaw.

Transformation of the post-socialist cities after 1990

After the collapse of state-socialism, cities of Central and Eastern Europe have become the laboratories of changes, where the mechanisms and process of social change differ when compared to the Western cities. Socialist legacy can be perceived as a major factor that contributes to changes in the socio-spatial

structures of the post-socialist cities. The national context, the consecutive stages of transformation and the pace of change vary between these countries, though the pathways of evolution are more or less dissimilar. It is not only the post-socialist heritage that influences changes, however, but also contemporary drivers. Thus, the current forces as well as the legacy of state-socialism trigger together processes of social change and contribute to the creation of new socio-spatial structures.

Many common elements contribute to the 'socialist heritage'. The extensively built up areas over the socialist period and vacant grounds mainly in the peripheral districts allow densification nowadays and the construction of new types of housing within the city limits. The former industrial zones provide also good opportunity for redevelopment nowadays. The future of the large housing estates remains an open question as their quality differs among the cities and countries.

The Central and Eastern European countries which were uniformly affected by nationalisation of private property after World War II have adopted different kinds of privatisation strategy after 1990 which in turn left its imprint on the socio-spatial processes. For instance in Hungary, restitution itself was rejected as a general solution in favour of financial compensation and direct sale of flats to sitting tenants (Blacksell, M. and Born, K.M. 2002). In the Czech Republic, restitution began in early 1991 and by 1993 most of the property transfers were completed (Lux, M. and Mikeszova, M. 2012). In addition, the rights of the sitting tenants were unaltered and rent regulation preserved during the restitution process, while free market rents were allowed only for flats that had been vacated (Lux, M. and Mikeszova 2012; Lux, M. *et al.* 2012). However, in other countries, the restitution process led to shifting power relations and new polarization on the housing market, especially between tenants and landlords (Reimann, B. 1997).

The majority of Central and Eastern European countries have adopted the low-price strategy of sale of the public housing stock that contributed to the differentiation of owners in terms of their income (Clapham, D. 1995). As it was envisaged in the mid 1990s, the public housing sector shrank in size, became restricted to marginal households (Clapham, D. 1995) and concentrated in traditionally low-status areas (Kovács, Z. 2012). Indeed, the privatisation of the public housing stock was considered as the most distinguishing feature of the transition, despite various mechanisms and regulations adopted in different post-socialist countries (Baross, P. and Struyk, R. 1993).

As a consequence, the private rental segment started to grow especially in East Germany and in the Czech Republic, whereas in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, owner occupation expanded (Kovács, Z. 1999). The number of home-owners not only started to grow but also became quite diversified. Through the privatisation of public housing the share of home-owners with modest incomes was steadily growing which became another

dimension of social differentiation. It is expected that many of this new poor owners in inner-city areas would be finally forced to move elsewhere when facing the problem of urban rehabilitation (Pichler-Milanović, N. 1994).

One of the most powerful processes that have evolved since the beginning of the 1990s, was suburbanisation. Even though, the move of people from central neighbourhoods to the peripheral estates existed even before and was labelled as a form of 'socialist' suburbanisation (Kok, H. 1999), after 1990 the process took new dimensions. The suburban zone of Prague attracted masses of better educated population with high income, which produced a dual social composition: rich newcomers and lower income, less educated indigenous inhabitants (Sýkora, L. 1999).

In the metropolitan region of Budapest, similar processes of social upgrading and rejuvenation were observed, particularly in the 1990s (Kovács, Z. 2012). At the same time suburbanisation affected mainly the already better off and more attractive municipalities (Kok, H. 1999; Kovács, Z. 2012) and, as a consequence, intensified socio-spatial differences in the metropolitan region. Private companies including foreign developers became soon the leading actors of new housing developments (Sýkora, L. 1999; Bodnar, J. and Molnar, V. 2010), as well as urban regeneration in the inner-city (Kovács, Z. *et al.* 2013). One the one hand, the diversification of housing developers increased the housing offer for sale, but on the other hand, the group of clients with appropriate incomes has shrunk.

The reinvestment and regeneration of inner city areas remained belated. First, the commercialisation of the historical core started both in Budapest (Kovács, Z. 1994) and Prague (Sýkora, L. 1999) in the early 1990s. In Prague, it involved the conversion of old tenement housing to offices and upmarket dwellings, generating gentrification and a socio-spatial change. However, gentrification as neighbourhood change did not exist in the early 1990s (Sýkora, L. 1996) as this type of residential and social upgrading concentrated to small islands in the city centre (Sýkora, L. 1999). Residential gentrification started in Prague as a property-development business fostered by foreign companies and targeted at a specific group of customers: mainly western foreigners (Sýkora, L. 1999). In Budapest, physical and social upgrading (i.e. gentrification) also evolved in selected enclaves already in the 1990s, but it was generated mainly by local regeneration programmes and new housing developments (Kovács, Z. *et al.* 2013). Simultaneously, due to the dominance of the owner-occupied sector, a massive displacement of residents so typical in the West did not occur.

Having adopted the examples of Prague and Budapest, it may be claimed that these two cities, although labelled 'post-socialist', have undergone slightly different development since the early 1990s. As the existence of a single model for the post-socialist urban transformation has been challenged (Kovács, Z. 2012), the question to be addressed here is: What kind of unique or universal processes have appeared in Warsaw since the political changes?

Changes in the socio-spatial structure of Warsaw since 1989

To begin with it is important to underline that Central European cities underwent different levels of destruction during World War II which allowed greater or less opportunities for the socialist housing policy. Warsaw is exceptional in this field, with around 65% of its buildings destroyed (including the old town), particularly on the left bank of the Vistula river. The whole material losses incurred by the city and residents were estimated at 18.2 billion PLZ (Polish zloty) according to its value in August 1939, which is calculated approximately 45.3 billion USD today (*Raport o stratach wojennych...* 2004). The most significant destruction concerned buildings (8.4 billion PLZ) and equipment of private dwellings (5.3 billion PLZ).

The reconstruction of the city followed the socialist ideology based on the egalitarian principles together with centrally planned economy. The city also continuously expanded and between 1921 and 2006, its area quadrupled from 124.7 km² to 517.2 km² through the incorporation of surrounding areas (Czerwińska-Jędrusiak, B. 2009). However, the spatial expansion of the city was not in harmony and peripheral districts were built-up extensively. Over the years, the scarce resources dedicated to the renovation and modernisation of the housing stock together with the slowing down of housing construction led to serious shortage of dwellings. Under the socialist regime, the role of land rent was almost completely eliminated, which resulted in a strong functional mix[2].

Nowadays, in terms of housing, Warsaw is characterised by a mixture of buildings constructed in various periods which in turn provides differentiated housing conditions, and as a consequence, influences the spatial distribution of different socio-demographic groups. The old and deteriorated public buildings in the city centre (mainly on the right bank of the Vistula), the different generations of state-socialist housing estates as well as new gated and guarded estates scattered in the urban space, provide great variations in terms of their social composition. Simultaneously, the Central Business District (CBD) sprawls slowly from Śródmieście district towards the neighbouring district of Wola to the west (Śleszyński, P. 2004), a former industrial area, often labelled as 'Wild West'. Till the 1990s this area had been characterised by poorly developed and sometimes abandoned plots. Nowadays, due to new private (e.g. office, housing) and public investments the area undergoes massive redevelopment.

At the end of the socialist period the central districts of Warsaw already faced the problem of gradual depopulation together with a more accentuated division of social socio-economic groups (Węcławowicz, G. 1998). One- and two-person households were more concentrated in the city centre

[2] Nevertheless, certain areas in Warsaw retained their significant land prices e.g. the inner city (Tasan, T. 1999).

while the share of larger households grew in the peripheral districts and in the suburbs. At the same time, residential mobility of the elderly continued to decline, which resulted in a more pronounced division of 'young' and 'old' (Węcławowicz, G. 2002).

At the beginning of the 21st century, the socio-spatial structure of Warsaw still retains its mosaic features, shaped during the socialist regime. Yet, the concentric and sectoral models tend to become more pronounced, thereby bringing the socio-spatial structure of the city more similar to other European cities (Smętkowski, P. 2009). A recent study based on principal component analysis revealed that there are five major meta-features explaining the socio-spatial structure of Warsaw: demographic and family structure, socio-professional position, social marginalisation, population immigrated after 1988 as well as youngsters and students (Smętkowski, P. 2009).

The concentric distribution of the first feature is a continuation of socio-spatial patterns which had already developed during state-socialism. The socio-professional position corresponds rather to sectoral distribution, which is similar to the patterns detected in the classic studies of socio-spatial structures in cities. The 'social marginalisation' feature takes mixed patterns of distribution with a couple of enclaves of poverty in the core city. Newcomers are usually overrepresented in the newly constructed housing estates while students are concentrated mainly in the vicinity of the higher education institutions. The stability of the socio-spatial pattern in Warsaw might be striking, as perhaps more revolutionary changes could have been expected after the demise of the socialist regime.

Although the level of social segregation in the post-socialist cities has always been lower than in Western Europe, in the case of Warsaw growing social polarisation, and housing differentiation induced sharpening social segregation (Węcławowicz, G. 1998). In the meantime, studies on the level of social segregation in Polish cities revealed that the indices had hardly changed between 1988 and 2002 (Marcińczak, S. *et al.* 2012), or, they even showed a downward trend since 1978 (Marcińczak, S. *et al.* 2013). Despite the low values of the segregation indices, the increase of social separation has become more visible in the social and material space (Węcławowicz, G. 1998). Thus, it may be assumed that social segregation strengthened at the very micro scale.

The aforementioned studies on social segregation concentrated mainly on the level of education which correlates with socio-professional position. However, it does not always correspond to the material wealth of the new social strata emerging after the demise of state-socialism. For instance, members of the 'intelligentsia' may fall into three different social categories: elite, middle class or poverty (Węcławowicz, G. 1998). I would be, therefore, cautious if indices of educational attainment are still reliable to measure social segregation in post-socialist cities. These doubts particularly concern the group with tertiary edu-

cation level which may form middle class or upper class and in extreme cases also poverty group (young unemployed people with university degree). In other words, the indicators based solely on the level of education blur the picture of social segregation and probably reflect fewer dimensions than actually exist.

A significant change regarding the socio-spatial structure of Warsaw is clearly visible on the maps presenting the outcomes of hierarchical classification using the socio-professional categories in 1988 and in 2002[3]. As the socio-professional categories underwent modifications over this period, seven aggregated groups were used in order to assure comparability between 1988 and 2002. These included: (1) Legislators, senior officials and managers, (2) Specialists, (3) Office workers, technicians and junior managers, (4) Personal service workers and shop and sales personnel, (5) Farmers, (6) Blue-collars, plant and machine operators, and (7) Unskilled manual workers. In the cluster analysis six clusters were created (*Figure 1*).

As a second step the spatial distribution of the different clusters was analysed. First of all, it should be emphasised that only three out of the six

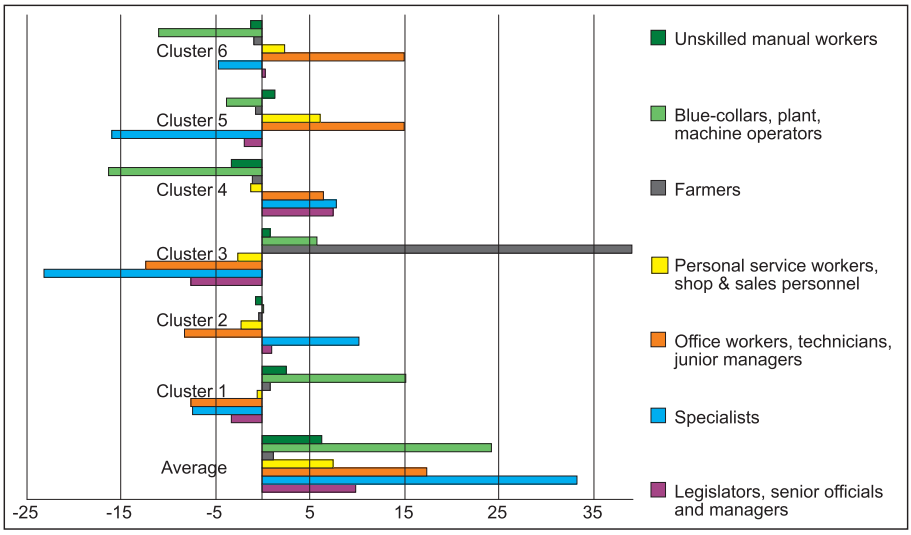

Fig. 1. Composition of clusters with regard to average. *Source*: National Census 1988, 2002, Central Statistical Office

clusters set up in the classification, appear both in 1988 and in 2002 (*Figure 2*). Secondly, while the cluster of "socially mixed areas with the overrepresentation of blue-collars" dominated in 1988 they appeared only as a few enclaves in the peripheral districts in 2002.

[3] Wesoła district was omitted as this area was only incorporated to Warsaw in 2002.

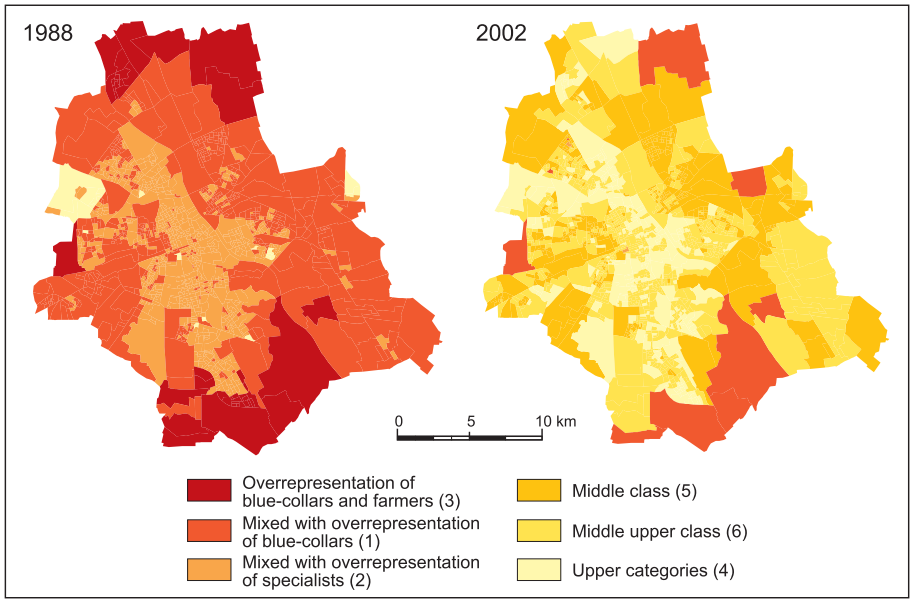

Fig. 2. Hierarchical classification by socio-professional categories in Warsaw in 1988 (a) and in 2002 (b). *Source*: National Census 1988, 2002, Central Statistical Office

At the same time, the cluster of "socially mixed areas with overrepresentation of specialists" which spread over the central districts of Warsaw from north to the south in 1988 almost disappeared by 2002 (only two areas left). Finally, the cluster with overrepresentation of upper categories appeared only in a very few statistical units in 1988, while in 2002 it almost completely replaced the cluster of "socially mixed areas with overrepresentation of specialists" in the central part of the city. These two maps illustrate exactly the profound changes that occurred in terms of cohabitation of different socio-professional categories, which contributed to stronger fragmentation at the micro scale than before.

In addition, our analysis revealed the increase of the middle categories and their diverse residential strategies in the city. On the one hand, this category occupied areas formerly dominated by blue-collars; on the other hand, the share of this group grew in the proximity of upper classes and areas with overrepresentation of specialists in 1988. Eventually, the spatial pattern of socio-professional clusters corresponds to the distribution of dwellings by their period of construction (Stępniak, M. *et al.* 2009). Therefore, the interdependencies between the age of dwellings and the socio-demographic features of their inhabitants continued to grow in Warsaw since the collapse of the socialist regime, not only at an urban scale (Smętkowski, M. 2009) but also at a micro-scale of quarters and statistical units (Górczyńska, M. 2012b).

Regarding the changes of the proportions of upper categories[4] and workers categories[5] in 1988 and in 2002, the growing dominance of the former group is particularly visible in the central part of the city, which could be interpreted as gentrification of the central districts (Górczyńska, M. 2012a). Indeed, in certain areas the process corresponds to the gentrification (and its restrictive definition) described as invasion and succession of a neighbourhood inhabited originally by working-class households (Bourne, L.S. 1993), associated with rehabilitation and investment in the old buildings. However, data indicate that actually three distinct processes operate simultaneously: gentrification in the case of certain old buildings, *embourgeoisement*[6] in the traditionally affluent areas and redevelopment linked to newly built residential buildings and gated communities (Górczyńska, M. 2012a).

These changes in the social composition of Warsaw took place mainly in the 1990s. Nowadays, we witness their continuation; however, the spatial outcomes of current changes are rather intuitive due to the lack of accurate statistical data. Nonetheless, with respect to the processes at work linked to the housing sector, a few conclusions may be drawn in order to assess the uniqueness or universality of mechanisms of social change that took place in Warsaw.

Regeneration of the built environment: towards social upgrading?

The processes of urban renewal and regeneration leading to social change occurred in Warsaw with some delay. According to the main actors of these actions, they may be divided into public and privately-led interventions.

Apart from the reconstruction of the capital city after World War II, publicly organised urban rehabilitation had not been planned before 2004 when the pilot programme of urban renewal was launched in four central districts[7]. In May 2008, the City Hall adopted the Local Programme for Revitalisation 2005–2013 (pl. *Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji m.st. Warszawy*). It comprised a variety of actions and operations taking place in almost all districts which prepared their micro-programmes of urban renewal. Those covered, among others, a wide range of actions towards socio-economic revival, development of tourism and culture on the basis of the existing cultural heritage and resources, improvements of security and communication possibilities within housing estates as well as integration of inhabitants and social inclusion.

[4] Legislators, senior officials and managers and specialists.

[5] Blue-collars, plant and machine operators and unskilled manual workers.

[6] The process known in French scientific literature as an increase in the number of upper social categories in the districts or communes traditionally characterised by a significant share of these categories (e.g. Pinçon, M. and Pinçon-Charlot, M. 1989).

[7] These pilot actions were co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund (within the Integrated Regional Operational Programme) and central budget.

Concerning the built environment, the most visible actions of the public sector concentrated in certain old, municipal buildings of Praga Północ district. However, these operations were often criticised as being only 'façade renovation', while social problems of the local population remained unsolved. In the following years, Praga Północ district benefited from subsequent actions dedicated specifically to social issues in the framework of social revitalisation (e.g. the programme entitled: Block, backyard, tenant houses – revitalised neighbourhoods) and was also selected as one of the priority areas for urban and social revitalisation under the currently elaborated Integrated Programme for Revitalisation in Warsaw 2014–2020.

The second group of actions towards regeneration is initiated by private actors. First of all, often owners of single family houses undertake the renovation. This procedure is particularly visible in the old districts traditionally inhabited by more affluent population, e.g. Żoliborz, Mokotów (see also Bouloc, C. 2013). Secondly, another type of actions also slowly develops linked to the renovation of old buildings nationalised in 1945. After World War II nearly 40,000 properties were nationalised which made up around 94% of existing buildings and land in the city in 1939. Then, the *Decree on the public management of dwellings and rent control* (1945), introduced two other important tools: defined the rules concerning the average floor space per person in a dwelling, introduced "rent under special regime" (in Polish *szczególny tryb najmu*) and pinpointed particular professional groups (needed in the city) that might have acquired a dwelling. The rent control was introduced and the criteria of population in dwellings adopted. All these actions limited the right to dispose of private property and strongly influenced the social composition of the pre-war buildings as well as the housing conditions of the population that time (Górczyńska, M. 2014).

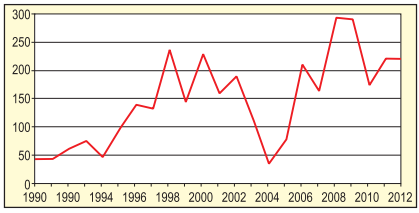

Fig. 3. The number of properties in Warsaw affected by restitution (1990–2012). *Source*: Biuro Gospodarki Nieruchomościami, Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy

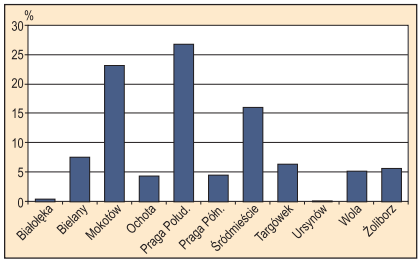

Fig. 4. The share of districts in the restitution process (1990–2012). *Source*: Biuro Gospodarki Nieruchomościami, Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy

The process of restitution of public properties commenced slowly already under the socialist regime, nevertheless, the number of claims accepted at that time remained very low. The process has quickly accelerated after the change of regime (*Figure 3* and *4*). According to the Office of Real Estate Management in the City Hall, the number of returned properties has been growing steadily and the process is particularly robust in the central districts.

Not only do private owners recapture their properties, but they often sell them to private developers who possess sufficient financial resources in order to renovate these old and usually deteriorated pre-war buildings. There already exist examples of restituted buildings that have been completely renovated and transformed into luxury apartments for upper classes. Generally, high quality apartments in old buildings in Warsaw are rare and investors make use of this niche on the housing market. Thus, the demand for "apartments with a soul" grows despite the fact that their prices are among the highest in the city.

New actors on the housing market

The collapse of state-socialism has also influenced the group of actors providing new dwellings on the housing market. Till the end of the 1980s, housing cooperatives were the main housing developers but the situation has changed as they no longer benefited from favourable conditions as they did under Poland's planned economy (Herbst, I. and Muzioł-Węcławowicz, A. 1993). In general, housing construction at the beginning of the 1990s was very low.

Then, since the middle of the 1990s foreign (Scandinavian, Canadian, Israeli, American, and also Italian and German) housing developers have entered the housing market and diversified the housing offer, providing luxury apartments as well as quite large housing estates, more affordable, particularly in the peripheral districts (mainly in Białołęka). Since then, the share of dwellings constructed by housing cooperatives has further dropped in Warsaw: from 35.7% of newly constructed dwellings in 2002, to only 9.6% in 2012 (Local Data Bank, Central Statistical Office, 2014). At the same time municipal housing construction remained limited: only 2.8% of the newly constructed dwellings were built by public institutions in 2012 (Local Data Bank, Central Statistical Office, 2014).

The number of newly constructed dwellings steadily grows in the peripheral districts of Warsaw (*Figure 5*), as well as in the close suburban areas (*Figure 6*). Regarding new housing construction housing developers dominate in the central and the densely built peripheral districts of Warsaw. Whereas the share of individuals is higher in the districts situated on the right bank of the Vistula river (in the south-eastern part of Warsaw) where land rent is relatively lower and the availability of vacant grounds is still higher when compared to the western districts.

Concerning suburbanisation, migration towards the suburban zone of Warsaw increased already between 1990 and 1993, but attained higher values between 1994 and 1998. This process concerned especially the towns and communes neighbouring Warsaw (Potrykowska, A. and Śleszyński, P. 1999).

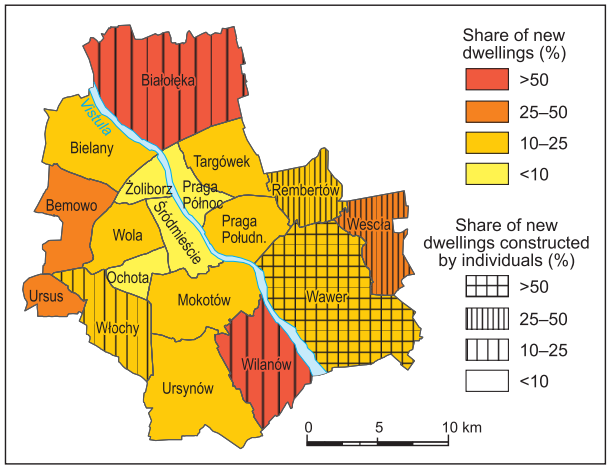

Fig. 5. The share of dwellings constructed between 2002 and 2012 in Warsaw by districts. *Source*: Local Data Bank, Central Statistical Office, 2014

In 1995 the outflow of people from Warsaw to other neighbouring communes constituted already 64% of all migrations in Warsaw; around 60% of this outflow was towards towns and communes situated on the left bank of the Vistula river (Potrykowska, A. and Śleszyński, P. 1999). In the following years (2000–2010), the positive migration rates were still in favour of close suburban communes (Scientific report Best Metropolises 2012).

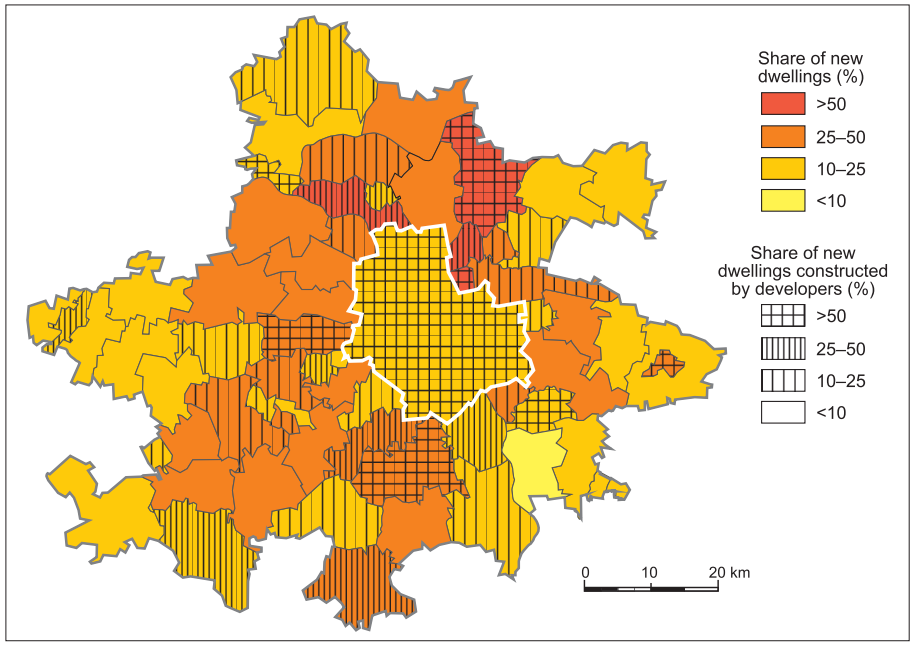

Fig. 6. The share of dwellings constructed between 2002 and 2012 in the Functional Urban Area of Warsaw by municipalities. *Source*: Local Data Bank, Central Statistical Office, 2014

The current structure of actors providing new dwellings on the housing market impacts considerably residential mobility. Not only poor households but also those having average income are trapped in their actual place of residence, as dwellings offered by private developers dominate contemporary housing market in Warsaw. Under these circumstances residential moves become more and more difficult. For instance, young households with average income, whose parents are home-owners, are forced to develop their own residential strategy in order to acquire a dwelling. It may require both a change of hitherto inhabited district or moving out to a suburban area and lowering requirements in terms of quality and size of a dwelling. In many cases, parents financially support their children in purchasing a dwelling or building a new house.

The process of suburbanisation also generates changes in the social composition in the neighbouring municipalities, with growing concentration of middle and upper categories in the areas already having higher status during the socialist period. However, residential strategies differ among these two groups. The upper-class families who moved to better off suburban areas usually keep their apartments in the city in order to have a place of temporary accommodation in case they need to stay for a few days in the city (Bouloc, C. 2013).

Conclusions

In this paper changes in the social composition and socio-spatial pattern of Warsaw was analysed and compared to other Central European cities. To this end, particular attention was paid to the differentiation of new housing providers together with the process of suburbanisation, the regeneration of old housing through projects of rehabilitation and the process of property restitution. In general, certain similarities between the processes occurring in Warsaw and in other post-socialist cities were distinguished. Nevertheless, the thesis about differentiation among cities and countries in Central and Eastern Europe was confirmed (Węcławowicz, G. 1990). Although one may notice the growth of middle and upper social groups and their spatial concentration in the city, the mechanisms lying behind these processes are sometimes different in Warsaw when compared with other cities.

The increasing number of dwellings in suburban locations and the concentration of better off people in particular suburban neighbourhoods are similar to the processes occurring in other Central European cities. Undoubtedly, the process of suburbanisation will continue, but hardly any spectacular changes in the distribution of social groups can be expected as the socio-economic profile of municipalities in the close suburban zone has

already been well established over the last 25 years. It seems that developers are more interested in quantity rather than quality, and in many cases the infrastructure accompanying new housing developments is inadequate to the number of households who arrive. This concerns also the transport infrastructure. Considering these inconveniences, more affluent households may decide to keep an apartment in the city centre rather than to move out to the suburban zone.

The process of 'socialist suburbanisation' still occurs within city limits, especially in the peripheral districts with the lowest density, while other districts undergo densification. Both processes may result in the process labelled as redevelopment (Bourne, L.S. 1993) or 'new-build gentrification' as one of the mutations of gentrification (Davidson, M. and Lees, L. 2005) but certainly, not all of these newly constructed dwellings directly invoke this process.

Due to property restitution and privatisation of municipal dwellings, the social and economic status of owner-occupiers in Warsaw is quite diversified producing mixed ownership structures. What is more important, the ownership of a dwelling does not necessarily indicate higher economic status of a household. On the contrary, many buildings inhabited by owners suffer from gradual physical degradation.

The process of restitution of public buildings was delayed in Warsaw, mainly due to lack of legal framework. Lack of any specific measures and tools that would protect the sitting tenants (like it happened in other Central European countries) entails tensions and displacement and may also result in social upgrading of these areas. It seems that the impact of the restitution of private properties in Warsaw is underestimated, probably because of the lack of detailed statistical data. However, the consequences, both spatial and social might be important for the socio-spatial restructuring of the central districts of Warsaw. As renovation of old buildings takes place in several different pockets of the city this might increase their attractiveness which in turn might result in the growing influx of upper-middle class households, however, this process of social upgrading will most probably take various trajectories.

Together with privatisation and growing mix of ownership structures, the process of restitution of the private properties contribute to the process of fragmentation and social segregation at the micro-scale in the inner city of Warsaw. Even though regarding segregation indices these areas would be classified as socially mixed, yet, the overlapping layers of differentiations in certain districts may increase the tensions between different socio-economic groups. In addition, it may also create new challenges for local authorities e.g. how to address the needs of different social groups, and how to support the socially most fragile and weak groups in order to maintain existing social mix.

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In the middle of nowhere: Gated neighbourhoods in Vilnius region as a new lifestyle?

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Abstract

This article provides an overview about the new tendencies on the Lithuanian housing market shedding light on the development of the gated and guarded neighbourhoods (GGNs). Field surveys and interviews with developers, residents as well as local planning authorities in Vilnius and its surroundings provide the basis of discussion about the "fencing phenomenon". Can this phenomenon be explained by such factors like socio-economic segregation in the city, extensive marketing or a specific niche on the market? The research results show that gated neighbourhoods are established not only because of the need to prevent residents from violence or to show their social status but also to protect their lives from the chaotic and socially unstable outside world where the gates have more symbolic meanings.

Keywords: gated communities, gated and guarded neighbourhoods, residential segregation, post-socialist cities, Vilnius, Lithuania

Introduction

Gated and guarded neighbourhoods (GGNs) have been increasingly spreading in most European countries, including those where this form of housing had been rare until the 1990s (i.e. post-socialist countries). Researchers started to explore the underlying factors and formulated theories about the emergence of GGNs (Glasze, G. 2003, 2005; Lentz, S. and Lindner, P. 2003; Madore, F. and Glasze, G. 2003; Raposo, R. 2003, 2006; Wehrhahn, R. 2003; Blandy, S. 2006; Blinnikov, M. *et al.* 2006; Lentz, S. 2006; Stoyanov, P. and Frantz, K. 2006; Wehrhahn, R. and Raposo, R. 2006; Schmigiel, C. 2009).

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The prevalence and popularity of GGNs is explained by various factors. Firstly, according to the club goods theory, the collective management and use of common resources is more cost-effective (Glasze, G. 2005). Consequently, strive for efficiency encourages the prevalence and popularity of GGN. The popularity of GGNs is also explained by the effect of certain global processes, such as ongoing socio-economic restructuring, democracy and government crises, and the withdrawal of state (Glasze, G. 2005; Lee, S. and Webster, C. 2006). Finally, historical, socio-economic and regional factors might also play a role in the emergence of GGNs (Glasze, G. 2005).

Despite the extensive previous research on gated neighbourhoods, there is a lack of comprehensive understanding about this phenomenon. For instance, there is a need to analyse the potential influence of westernisation on the forms and functions of these neighbourhoods. Also, there is a paucity of studies examining the quality of life in GGNs. Finally, there is a lack of research analysing factors contributing to the emergence of GGNs in various post-socialist countries. Taken all these into account, the main objective of this article is to contribute to the literature by exploring the reasons of GGNs appearance in one particular post-socialist country – Lithuania.

The appearance of GGNs in Lithuania, compared to other post-socialist countries (for example the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, or Russia) was late. The first GGN appeared at the beginning of the 21th century and became popular in the middle of the first decade. This period coincided with the country's robust economic growth and a real-estate boom.

Earlier papers in the field analysed the development of GGNs and concentrated mainly on morphological aspects (Pociūtė, G. 2007; Pociūtė, G. and Krupickaitė, D. 2007; Krupickaitė, D. and Pociūtė, G. 2009). These initial studies revealed that the structure of Lithuanian GGNs differs from typical GGN models. The latest research on Lithuanian GGNs concentrated on exploring why residents choose to move in such estates. It was found that the key reasons influencing the choice of Lithuanian residents to live in GGNs differ from other countries (e.g. USA, Russia, Latin America) where security and exclusivity are the key reasons why people choose to live in GGNs, while in Lithuania the main motivation is to live close to nature and to be surrounded by people with similar status.

This article is structured as follows: firstly, factors causing the emergence of GGNs in various countries are overviewed. Secondly, the methodology of the research is presented. Then the morphological characteristics of GGNs in the Vilnius region are introduced. Fourthly, the role of key stakeholders, e.g. investors, residents and local government representatives, regarding the development of GGNs in Lithuania, are analysed. Finally, in the conclusions, the unique characteristics of GGN development in Lithuania are discussed, with reference to the tendencies of other countries.

Between West and East: similarities and differences in the development of GGNs worldwide

The emergence of GGNs is mostly explained by such factors as safety, social homogeneity, prestige, and privacy. However, the role of these factors can be very different in various parts of the world. In Western Europe GGNs can be found in Spain (Wehrhahn, R. 2003), Portugal (Raposo, R. 2003; Wehrhahn, R. and Raposo, R. 2006), France (Madore, F. and Glasze, G. 2003), the United Kingdom (Blandy, S. and Parsons, D. 2003; Blandy, S. 2006). However, the gating phenomenon is not widespread in these countries, and the number of people living in such enclaves is relatively low. Typically, the residents of GGNs in Western and Southern European countries are middle- and upper-middle class citizens, who wish to have more privacy and pursue more quality life.

As opposed to Western Europe GGNs are very popular and widespread in the USA. They differ by type, lifestyle orientation, the functionality they provide, and the purpose for which they are built (Blankley, E.J. and Snyder, M.G. 1997; Low, S. 2004). Social scientists usually treat the American GGN as a prototype for other similar compounds all around the world, and explain the emergence of gated neighbourhoods in other countries by the growing influence of American culture (especially in Eastern European countries). Many scholars noted that the fear from rising crime rates and peoples' need to "feel safe" is one of the key drivers why US residents tend to move to GGNs in large numbers (e.g. Blankley, E.J. and Snyder, M.G. 1997; Marcuse, P. 1997; McKenzie, E. 1998; Gmünder, M. *et al*. 2000; Handley, J. 2002; Low, S. 2004; Frantz, K. 2001, 2006). Glassner, B. (1999) even stated that gated neighbourhoods are a physical declaration of the "culture of fear".

Again, in Russia GGNs play a different role. Rather than serving as instruments of security they typically serve as "ghettos" for the rich. The GGN phenomenon is not new in Russia. During the Soviet Union gated and strictly guarded settlements were built for the leaders in order to "separate them from the controlled masses" (Voslensky, M.S. 1984; Blinnikov, M. *et al.* 2006). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, GGNs became popular among the new rich. Scholars observed that these enclaves created a new "capitalist landscape" (Brady, R. 1999; Blinnikov, M. *et al*. 2006).

GGNs in Russia are highly protected settlements available only for the top elite, i.e. those who can afford paying the price (Rudolph, R. and Lentz, S. 1999; Lentz, S. and Lindner, P. 2003; Lentz, S. 2006). They are mostly located around Moscow or Sankt Petersburg (Blinnikov, M. *et al*. 2006) are very exclusive and without comparable examples from other countries. Prestige, a desire of wealthy people to separate themselves from the masses by high fences, and a desire to live in beautiful green spaces on the outskirts of Russia's largest cities remain the key driving factors for the emergence of GGNs in Russia (Blinnikov,

M. *et al.* 2006). Life in GGNs allows for the wealthy people to feel safer, not be disconnected from the city, but at the same time be "secluded away from the underprivileged and frequently landless masses" (Blinnikov, M. *et al.* 2006).

In East Central Europe a gradual spread of GGNs has been reported in the last decade (Stoyanov, P. and Frantz, K. 2006; Frantz, K. 2006; Cséfalvay, Z. 2009, 2012; Csizmady, A. and Csanádi, G. 2009; Hegedűs, G. 2009a,b; Johnson, C. 2009; Kovács, Z. and Hegedűs, G. 2014; Pociūtė, G. and Krupickaitė, D. 2007; Polanska, D.V. 2010a, 2010b). The first studies exploring the causes of the emergence of GGNs emphasised that this process was and is highly influenced by American culture. After the collapse of communism American type GGNs were considered as desirable form of housing, and they were constructed as a novel form of settlement in post-socialist countries. In other words, the desire to "fulfil an American dream" (Stanilov, K. 2007) or to live as contemporary Americans were key driving factors for the emergence of the first GGNs in East Central Europe. However, latest research indicates that it is no longer the case.

Recent research has revealed that there is no single overriding explanation for the emergence of such enclaves in ECE (Cséfalvay, Z. and Webster, C. 2012). A numerous studies found that privacy and prestige are important factors influencing their appearance and many residents move to GGNs for seeking social homogeneity (Lentz, S. and Lindner, P. 2003; Stoyanov, P. and Frantz, K. 2006; Schmigiel, C. 2009; Hegedűs, G. 2009b, Polanska, D.V. 2010a, b). Other scholars, however, emphasise that GGNs necessarily increase the level of social segregation within these societies (Brade, I. *et al*. 2009; Schmigiel, C. 2009; Polanska, D.V. 2010b). Bitusikova, A. and Luther, D. (2010) refer to the GNNs in ECE as "ghettos of homogeneity". Aesthetics and environmental aspects are also noted as factors contributing to the popularity of GGNs (Stoyanov, P. and Frantz, K. 2006; Cséfalvay, Z. 2009, Polanska, D.V. 2010a).

Researchers note that the environmental characteristics, such as "fresh air, water, silence" (Negura, O. 2009); "green surroundings and closeness to nature" (Polanska, D.V. 2010a) are typically emphasized in advertisements of GGNs in post-socialist countries instead of focussing on the security factor. Even though the importance of security as a rationale for moving to GGNs in ECE countries is acknowledged by many authors (Pociūtė, G. and Krupickaitė, D. 2007; Schmigiel, C. 2009; Hegedűs, G. 2009b; Cséfalvay, Z. and Webster, C. 2012), nevertheless, it is not regarded as crucial as in the USA or Russia.

Research methodology

In order to find out the increasing popularity of GGNs in Lithuania both qualitative and quantitative methods, including content analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews with various target groups, field survey were applied.

The results presented in this article are based on the material collected during 2010. As GGN does not have special statistical definition in Lithuania, i.e. they are counted as detached houses or block of flats, there is no official statistics about their occurrence. Therefore, before exploring the reasons why GGNs have become so popular in the country, the spatial distribution of GGNs, their locations, size and morphological characteristics had to be clarified. Although there was some data on the distribution and morphology of GGNs collected during the field study in 2007, the information for this article had to be updated. Consequently, a new field survey was carried out in July 2010.

During the survey the whole territory of Vilnius city municipality was investigated and all new housing compounds (3 or more complex of houses) that were built after the year 2000 were recorded. Also, the morphological characteristics of those settlements (e.g. plot size, number of buildings, forms of security etc.) were registered. Houses with the following characteristics were assigned to GGN: 1) the land where they stand is fully fenced and entrance to it is limited for cars and pedestrians); 2) the territory is under video surveillance or protected by security staff.

Secondly, "Neries kilpos" gated neighbourhood was chosen for the purpose of case study, because its characteristics (size, security installations, socio-economic status) are very typical for other Lithuanian GGNs. "Neries kilpos" neighbourhood is located 35 km from Vilnius centre. It was built on a 10 ha land between 2005 and 2007. The neighbourhood consists of 33 houses on 40 plots. All basic infrastructure necessary for such type of settlement are provided (i.e. roads, water well, sewage systems, water treatment equipment, natural gas reservoir, and internet connection).

In addition, there are children's playground, basketball, tennis and volleyball courts, and a house for community purposes. "Neries kilpos" is well secured by fences (*Photo 1*), automatic gates and video cameras. Finally, the whole territory is supervised by the territory manager on workdays. The residents of the settlement have established the owners' community in 2007. This community actively deals with common problems and fosters community development (sport competitions, spring "cleaning bee", school start event etc.). The socio-demographic structure of "Neries kilpos" is quite homogeneous. The majority of the residents belong to the upper-middle class (monthly income per family is above 2000 euro), most of them have a university degree, are employed or free-standing high quality specialists, businessmen, medical doctors etc. Finally, the family structure is also typical, in most cases families consist of two adults and two children.

In-depth interviews were carried out to find out the main driving forces behind the mushrooming of GGNs in Vilnius and its surroundings. Interviews were made with residents and developers of the GGN, as well as with local government officials responsible for urban development. The research team conducted 21 interviews in total. Five were made with residents

Photo 1. Fences of "Neries kilpos" gated community in Vilnius (Photo: Krupickaitė, D.)

living in "Neries kilpos", six with representatives of the municipality, architects and developers of the "Neries kilpos" neighbourhood.

Finally, ten interviews were conducted with developers, real estate agents and administrators of GGNs in other parts of Vilnius. Interviews were carried out in 2010. In addition, in order to get a more comprehensive and reliable picture about the spread of GGNs in Vilnius and its surroundings, content analysis of 16 GGN advertisements and 24 articles about GGN in the country's main newspapers ("Lietuvos rytas", "Respublika", etc.) was performed.

Gated communities in the Vilnius metropolitan region

The first settlement in Vilnius, which is comparable to present day GGNs was built in Soviet times. In Vilnius and in other capital cities of Soviet republics fenced and strictly secured neighbourhoods were built for the ruling elite. This early development is still in use as the present and past presidents of Lithuania have had their residences there. The first commercial GGN in Vilnius region and in the whole Lithuania was built in 2001 called "Bendorėliai". Later, due to the improvements of economic situation in Lithuania and recovery of real estate market, five more gated communities (3 individual blocks and 2 blocks of flats in the city centre) were built by 2006 (*Figure 1* and *2*). At the same time, the construction of eleven new GGNs (respectively 6 and 5) were started (Pociūtė, G. and Krupickaitė, D. 2007).

Our survey in 2010 showed that thirteen out of fifty-three (around 25%) newly built neighbourhoods with detached or semi-detached houses in Vilnius region were gated and guarded (*Figure 3)*. Their share on the housing market was

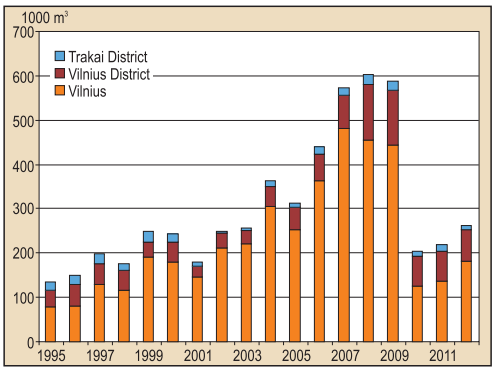

Fig. 1. Residential space completed in Vilnius region in thousand square metres, 1989–2011. *Source*: Statistics Lithuania Database

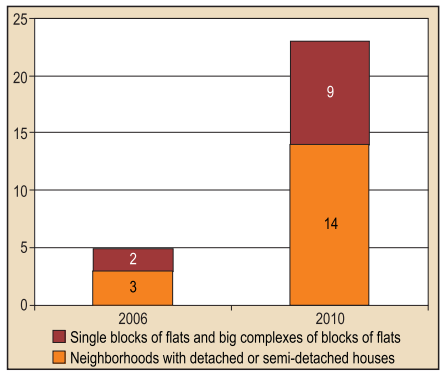

Fig. 2. Number of gated communities in Vilnius region, 2006–2010. *Source*: own survey

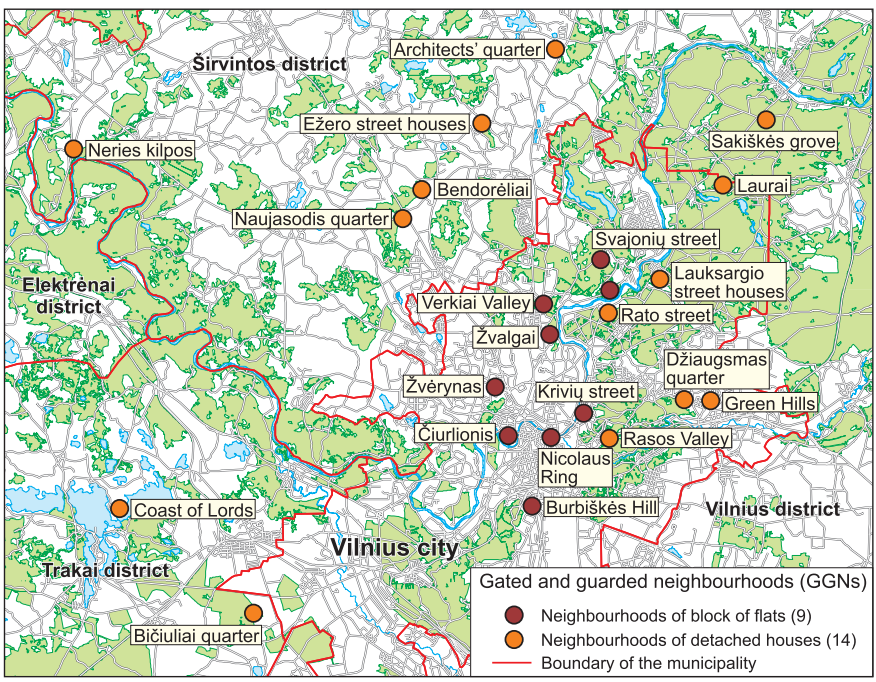

Fig. 3. The location of gated communities in Vilnius region. *Source*: own survey

not at all significant they encompassed only around 2.5% of the housing stock in the Vilnius region, yet, their symbolic role was very important. Also, the economic crisis and other external factors resulted that many GGNs were either not completely built or security control functions were abandoned (only fence remained).

It is important to emphasise that the majority of newly-built neighbourhoods with detached or semi-detached houses (36 out of 40) were fenced and most of them were equipped with automatic gates controlling the entrance to territory (in 24 neighbourhoods). Overall, it can be noticed that the external security measures (i.e. guards, cameras) that are common for classical GGNs, did not play very important role in Lithuania. This can also be related to the fact that an alarm system was installed in most of the newly-built houses. Fencing, however, is dominant feature of GGNs in Lithuania and it plays more important role than other security measures.

The average size of GGN was 24 houses or flats. The number of homes in one GGN varied from 5 to 74. While comparing the level of technical facilities' quality in GGN and other newly-built neighbourhood, it could be observed that the quality was higher in GGN. Such type of neighbourhoods more often had better arranged infrastructure (streets, lighting, sewerage and water supply).

The motivations of actors regarding the development of gated neighbourhoods in Vilnius region

Motivations of developers to build gated neighbourhoods

The idea for development of such neighbourhoods in Lithuania came from abroad. The first settlement – "Bendorėliai" – was founded by a Lithuanian who came back from the USA. This company sought to bring the idea of American GGN tradition (Mituzienė, A. 2001) (*Photo 2*). This type of neighbourhood was a novelty in Lithuania, because in the 1990s individual houses were typically built around Vilnius without any infrastructure. These neighbourhoods did not have connection to the city's sewage system and the water was supplied from individual wells. Thus, GGN appeared as a civilised way of building suburban settlements.

However, "Bendorėliai" neighbourhood fulfilled the original idea only partially. People received this novelty with reservations. One of the main reasons of their reservations was an insufficient adjustment of this type of settlement to the Lithuanian housing market. First of all, there was no tradition for building uniform single family houses in the country (it was associated with the uniform constructions of state-socialism). In addition, the plots around the houses were very small in comparison with the regular ones.

Photo 2. "Bendorėliai" the first gated community in Lithuania (Photo: Krupickaitė, D.)

"Neries kilpos" is another good example for the first gated neighbourhoods in Lithuania. Its developer also brought the idea from the US. However, opposed to "Bendorėliai" this project was successful because its layout and development was adjusted to the local market. Part of the success was that by then due to robust economic growth, and improving welfare conditions and credit opportunities demand for gated housing significantly increased on the market. As a result of growing income among better off households exclusive housing projects became more and more attractive.

The detailed analysis of advertisements of gated neighbourhoods revealed that comfort, quality and "fascinating" exclusive landscape were unanimously emphasised by ads. The geographical location in the urban region was another important factor, which was followed by the prestige of the settlement. Regarding the security aspect, the real estate advertisements underlined not only property protection but also the granting of more privacy: „exceptional attention to safety and privacy" („Verkių slėnis" advertisement), and possibility to leave the children to play in the yard safely: „your children will be able to play safely in the closed courtyards" ("Šaltinių namai" advertisement).

As "Neries kilpos" neighbourhood was developed near the impressive loop of the Neris river (the settlement even has the name of the river), advertisements of this housing compound put special emphasis on environmental aspects. This settlement focused on customers with medium or slightly higher social status, and also on young families due to the relatively long distance from Vilnius city centre and the cheap land. The security aspect was not so much highlighted, even in the initial plan there was no fence.

According to the experts, the fence became an integral part of such neighbourhoods only later. It allowed to define the borders of the settlement and to distinguish it from the surrounding environment. According to the Director of Lithuanian Real Estate Development Association, one of the main reasons why the majority of newly built neighbourhoods were gated was their artificial nature plain field: "maybe only this fence allows people to feel that it is also a settlement".

According to the developer of "Neries kilpos" residents wanted to fence the settlement because of prestige and exclusiveness. Moreover, it was obvious that the fence and guard of the settlement was not a crucial aspect, but just an extra important advantage which allowed the investors to attract customer's attention easier. The fact that security instalments promised by the investors were not always realised in GGNs also confirms that the question of safety has not always been essential.

At the beginning almost no attention was paid to the emergence of gated communities in the public. On the one hand, the sale of housing in gated neighbourhoods did not differ from other new homes on the market: in most cases the potential buyers were attracted though public advertisements. As it was believed, the place, the price of housing, etc. attracted residents with similar age, status and hobby, and the community would develop unconsciously.

On the other hand, there were some exceptions also among the newly developed GGNs. First of all, houses of the extremely luxurious "Laurai" GGN were sold only to people who had exclusive status and recommendations (Pocienė, A. 2005; Varnas, J. 2007). There were also several settlements (i. e. "Džiaugmas" settlement, *Photo 3*) which were developed by a group of private persons (Pocienė, A. 2006).

Photo 3. The entrance to "Džiaugmas" gated community (Photo: Peciukonytė, L.)

An exclusive landscape and attractive place for recreation were the most important motives that inspired the respondents to choose „Neries kilpos settlement": „When we went there, in fact, the view of the landscape amazed us" (male, around 45). Other two criteria which were essential for choosing the „Neries kilpos" settlement were the relatively low price (due of the distance from the city) and the quality of infrastructure.

When choosing the neighbourhood residents also found it important to live together with similar people. Also, they were satisfied with the idea of having common rules and creating jointly a safe neighbourhood (i.e. residents were prohibited to fence their own houses inside the neighbourhood). All these rules made the neighbourhood attractive for people with similar needs and residential ideals.

The community aspect also played an important role in the decision of those who moved in this neighbourhood. Therefore, buying the house in the settlement which had its own rules and an idea of community in advance (to create house owners community) guaranteed a better social security. It was like a creation of safe society model as an opposition to the chaotic environment in the outside world. In such neighbourhood the environment was supervised perpetually and everyone was involved in its supervision. At the same time, residents were independent from the decisions made by clerks: „[Would you like to improve something there?] When we will need, we will improve" (male, 43).

The fact that the neighbourhood would be fenced was not essential: „The fence was not a criterion, not a necessity" (male, around 45). In fact, the fence in "Neries Kilpos settlement" plays two symbolic roles. Firstly, fence is understood as a barrier. It is necessary to close off the neighbourhood from strangers that could bring a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty. The fence clearly defines the safe playground's boundaries for children. In this area residents also take care of each other's children: „Fence is the necessity, because there is a busy road not far away. A lot of cars go there and if we start thinking about children safety…" (male, 33). Secondly, fence is treated as a framework of community spirit: "We want to be different in some way. There should be some border as we do not want to be a hundred separated houses settled somewhere in the fields" (male, around 30). Fence is also understood as a physical boundary between the "wild" nature and the "comfortable" civilised environment.

It might be assumed that isolated settlement is a model of the new lifestyle. It provides an opportunity to live in a "modern" civilised way where everybody complies with the rules. The democratic principles are also applied there: "Also, the management of the place was very interesting. […] I think

that if the management of "Neries kilpos" was placed there, people would be able to live much more happily. In our settlement everything is done for the sake of people, not for money" (male, 43). It should be underlined that "Neries kilpos" is not the only gated community where the above mentioned principles played an outstanding role.

According to our interviewee, "Džiaugmas" neighbourhood was established not because of the security needs but because of the wish to have and feel a sense of community. The idea of the community was also essential in "Žali kalnai" settlement. According to experts, the concept of such settlement created conditions for the emergence of community, because residents were forced to take responsibility for the maintenance of their common territory.

Public evaluation of gated and guarded neighbourhoods

There has been no public opinion on GGNs in Lithuania (except for some discussions on internet web pages). Also, there has been hardly any scientific discussion on this topic (except for a couple of publications). During the last ten years only around 25 press articles appeared in the popular media. The provided information about GGNs was usually neutral or marketing type. Interviewed representatives of Vilnius municipality and planning department were also unable to express an official opinion about gated neighbourhoods. Moreover, admittedly the municipality did not have too much influence over the gating phenomenon: "...if the plot is private, there is an opportunity to fence the territory. The local government cannot do anything about it..." (senior urban planner, Vilnius Municipality).

The fact that the total number of gated communities is quite low in Lithuania explains why so little attention has been paid to them. As it was mentioned, these settlements have been developed only recently and they are associated with the comprehensively developed settlements. As long as GGNs maintain their own infrastructure (road, green areas etc) they are perceived positively by city administrators: "Such situation is economically profitable for us. There is no difference, if it is fenced or not". Another local government official emphasised: "...behind the fence there is more cleanness, because with fencing you become responsible for your territory". Fencing was seen only as one of the elements of the infrastructure, it was considered similar to fencing a family house: „...everyone thinks about his own quality of life and can fence his territory. The same is with the community. If its members decide to build a fence, it is their choice...". The foundation of GGNs was not the desire of planners; it was more determined by the demand on the market and planners did not have any power to influence it.

Discussion and conclusions

It is possible to distinguish several aspects that describe the main features of the Lithuanian model of gating phenomenon:

– Gated and guarded neighbourhoods in Lithuania have been established quite recently. Such neighbourhoods form one type of new housing developments, i.e. a variant of a complex neighbourhood with full infrastructure. They comprise a relatively small part of the housing market and the phenomenon is neither typical nor widespread. The morphology of gated neighbourhoods slightly differs from other types of neighbourhoods; however, they are better equipped.

– The first gated settlements were built according to the ideas brought from the USA. However, GGNs became successful only after their adoption to the needs of the Lithuanian market. Thus, the development of GGNs in Lithuania is distinctive and corresponds to the local peculiarities.

– The most important aspects for the residents living in such neighbourhoods are the community, assurance of safe social environment, economic profit, the lack of control compensation and maintenance of the settlement.

– Fence in GGNs is a symbol of the border which determines safe and united space. It also provides physical security for children. As a result, the investors tend to create an image of GGN as a safe, and more comfortable residential area. As the maintenance of security is quite expensive, only a small part of GGN residents want to invest in them.

– As the construction of such neighbourhoods is related to the development of advanced individual housing model, the public opinion about them is positive.

The above mentioned aspects might be found in other countries. However, some differences between Lithuanian and foreign gated communities can also be pointed out. First of all, the development of GGNs in Lithuania was started later than in other post-socialist countries, and they did not receive such popularity as in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Also, there are almost no manifestations of luxury. These settlements are not exclusively prestigious.

It is possible to hypothesise that an important factor for the limited development and variety of such neighbourhoods is the size of the housing market. The housing market in Lithuania is relatively small and it does not attract big foreign investors – almost all such neighbourhoods were built by small local companies. Of course, it is difficult to check this hypothesis without thorough analysis of GGNs in Estonia and Latvia; however, the development of GGNs in Lithuania differs from the tendencies in other post-socialist countries, and it is more similar to the trends of countries where such type of living is not very popular (e.g. Spain, France).

Yet, the idea to live in a small closed community with people of similar status and to enjoy the beauty of the environment becomes more and more attractive as well. As our case-studies showed residents of such neighbourhoods wanted to realise some of these ideas. Moreover, children also play an important role; their safety regularly comes to the fore. To sum up, as people miss social safety in the chaotic outside world where they face a lot of unsolved problems, such neighbourhoods provide an alternative with their safe and ordered landscape.

The residents' wish to isolate themselves from the outside world, the desire to fence the territory around their houses can be paradoxically associated with the formation of civil society. In other words, residents want to take the responsibility for the territory which is near their houses, but at the same time they want to know that they can maintain the order. Therefore, they seek to get the possibility for fencing their territory. This would also allow them to create a more predictive and socially safer environment.

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Polycentric urban development in post-socialist context: the case of the Budapest Metropolitan Region

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Abstract

Even though the concept of polycentric urban development has been high on the agenda in the literature it has rarely come to the fore in academic papers dealing with the post-socialist cities. The main aim of this paper is to analyse the evolving polycentric pattern of urban development in the metropolitan region of Budapest. For the purpose of study we use commuting data of the 1990, 2001 and 2011 national census. The rapid transformation of Budapest after 1989 the re-establishment of market mechanisms, the privatisation of housing, the liberalisation of the property market, and the growing re-integration of the city to the world economy affected not only the core city but also the metropolitan periphery. The previously rather homogeneous structure of the metropolitan periphery experienced significant changes in the course of the transformation. The advantages of location, which had been insignificant during the state-socialist period, once again became truly beneficial which resulted in growing disparities in the metropolitan periphery. Since 1990 the functional interplay, cooperation, interdependence as well as physical infrastructural linkages between Budapest and its metropolitan zone have been further intensified. Residential suburbanisation and the suburbanisation of business activities led to new flows of commuting within the metropolitan region. Our findings show that the reallocation of urban functions took place in the wider metropolitan zone of Budapest among existing centres, which fits to the European version of post-suburbanisation concept rather than the US one.

Keywords: polycentric city, urban deconcentration, post-socialist urban transformation, Budapest

Introduction

The concept of polycentric urban development has been increasingly applied both in academic papers and European policy documents. This is closely linked to the fact that the model of monocentric city has given way to more polycentric

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spatial patterns at the end of the 20th century (Champion, A.G. 2001; Hall, P. 1993, 2009). The reasons for polycentric urban development are multifaceted, they include the changing modes of transportation as well as changes of the mobility behaviour of the labour force, a shift from production of goods to service provision in the advanced economies, but also the changing demographic composition of city-regions (Bontje, M. 2001; Bontje, M. and Kepsu, K. 2013).

Cities of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have been affected by multiply transformations since the early 1990s, which reflect mainly global urbanisation trends, modified by regional peculiarities of post-socialist social arrangements (Axenov, K. *et al.* 2006; Gentile, M. *et al*. 2012; Sýkora, L. 2009). Even though urban sprawl has become one of the dominant urban phenomena in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe (Brade, I. *et al.* 2009; Kok, H. and Kovács, Z. 1999; Leetmaa, K. and Tammaru, T. 2007; Ouredníček, M. 2007; Stanilov, K. and Sýkora, L. 2014), the concept of polycentric urban region has rarely come to the fore in academic papers dealing with the region. Among the few examples Dövényi, Z. and Kovács, Z. (2006) analysed the emergence of new economic poles in the metropolitan region of Budapest. In a theme issue Karel Maier (2009) discussed polycentric development and national spatial development policy in the Czech Republic. In the same vein interpretations of national policy goals and polycentric urban development were put forward for Slovakia (Finka, M. 2009), Hungary (Radvánszki, Á. 2009) and Slovenia (Pichler-Milanović, N. 2014). Yet, very little – if at all – empirical evidences have been provided about the transformation of major metropolitan regions towards a more polycentric pattern in CEE.

The main aim of this paper is to analyse the level of polycentrism in the metropolitan region of Budapest with the aid of statistical data from the 1990, 2001 and 2011 censuses. Based on commuting data of the three consecutive censuses we seek to answer the following questions:

– How has the role of Budapest and its metropolitan region changed in the national labour mobility system?

– How have local job centres in the metropolitan region of Budapest evolved since the collapse of communism, and what are their relationships with each other and the capital city?

– How can the processes around Budapest be fitted into the wider theoretical contexts of polycentric urban development and post-socialist urban transformation?

The rest of the paper is divided into four parts. The next section briefly introduces the most relevant theoretical interpretations of polycentric territorial development. After the theoretical context the methods and data used in our study are described. In the following section we present our research findings regarding the new pattern of journey to work flows within the metropolitan region of Budapest. In the final section we try to fit the observed processes into a wider conceptual framework.

Theoretical interpretations of polycentric territorial development

Analysing the scientific literature on polycentricity the theoretical contribution of economic geography and critical urban geography deserve special attention. On the one hand, economic geographers often emphasise that the 'polycentric city' is an imprint of the prevailing conditions of urban development: an urban form fitting to the reigning social system's institutional, political and power arrangements. In the second half of the 20th century the crisis of the Fordist capital accumulation regime with its decreasing returns was replaced by the flexible accumulation of the post-Fordist era (Peet, R. and Hartwick, E. 2009).

The transformation of the mode of production based on information production and processing has altered inter-firm and intra-firm relations (Hall, P. and Pain, K. 2006). The new economic relations were increasingly characterised by changing conditions in the organisation of labour, growing role of subcontracting, specialisation and outsourcing of production to smaller plants, and particularly, by changing spatial scales of the world economy (Anas, A. *et al.* 1998; Duranton, G. and Puga, D. 2004; Rosenthal, S.S. and Strange, W. 2004; Malmberg, A. 2009). These changes also implied an urban fabric steadily adjusting to the changing mode of production (Logan, J.R. and Swanstrom, T. 2005), which has taken shape in modified land use patterns and urban structure. On the one hand, the post-Fordist city-region has been increasingly characterised by a growing intra-metropolitan division of labour, and on the other hand, macro-level city relations have become also more hierarchical, dominated by powerful network nodes (see for instance Sassen, S. 2001; Scott, A.J. *et al.* 2001; Malmberg, A. 2009).

As a second strand of theoretical stream, critical urban studies advocate another interpretation on the changing spatial structure of city regions, by reviving urban political economy (Peet, R. and Hartwick, E. 2009). According to Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002) to maintain capital recovery cities should be periodically reconstituted. The capitalist production of space – as a mean to secure capital reproduction – is organised around uneven development and a spatially differentiated devaluation of property (Harvey, D. 1978). Diffusion and steady re-concentration of capital reflects unequal returns. Increasing yields attract capital to edge cities or even back to the gentrifying city core, waterfront or brownfield sites.

On the contrary, emptying suburban production spaces or traditional downtown retail zones prove to be unattractive and unprofitable (Smith, N. 1982; Crilley, D. 1993). Periodical rounds of accumulation and devaluation implies crisis on a certain point, which discards former territorial organisation of capital, and reconstitute a recent use of space on account of a new capital accumulation regime (Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. 2002). Crisis can be partly explained by breakdown of mechanism of uneven development which also means a failure in ordering intra-metropolitan disparities of capital (Harvey, D. 1978).

A striking spatial feature of the post-Fordist shift was a pervasive urban de-concentration. Since the 1960s the intra-metropolitan relations of city regions became more diverse and multidirectional (Krugman, P. 2000; Fujita, M. *et al.* 2000). New types of relations evolved, empowering favourable locations within the wider metropolitan region to embed in production or service provision previously not experienced in that part of the city region. City regions became more dispersed, as former zonal division of urban functions typical for the monocentric city has been loosen. Recent trends of urbanisation are called *'post-suburbanisation'* in the English literature, and *'Zwischenstadt'* in the German urban studies. Essentially, both terms are applied to embrace socio-spatial processes connected with the transformation of the monocentric city, due to:

– a diversification of peri-urban areas with new urban functions (production or service facilities),

– an increasing intensity and diversity of spatial relations among metropolitan centres, due to new economic activities,

– the development of action fields around peri-urban centres, that enables everyday life without dependence on the core city,

– and an increasing number of residents and jobs in the peri-urban area (Volgmann, K. 2012).

Slight differences between the meanings of post-suburbia and 'Zwischenstadt' point to divergences in urbanisation in Europe and North America. In the latter context post-suburbanisation is a pluralist perception of transforming urban structures underpinned by such theoretical constructs as 'exopolis' (Soja, E.W. 1996), 'edge city' (Garreau, J. 1992), 'metroburbia' (Knox, P. 2008), 'flexspace' (Lehrer, U.A. 1994) all aiming at embracing social and spatial conversion of metropolis regions in the US West coast (Phelps, N. and Wu, F. 2011). Conceptual heterogeneity is essential here, as it refers to an evolving disorder of urban functions, forms and land use, toward diverging development trends of the city regions (Keil, R. and Young, D. 2011). On the contrary, post-suburbanisation in Europe generally means the reallocation of urban functions among existing centres, rather than metropolitan-wide sprawl of residential and economic activity. 'Leap frogging' (i.e. growth beyond the suburban residential belt) remains limited (Bontje, M. and Burdack, J. 2011).

Since the new millennium polycentricity has become a central issue in European spatial development and planning (Albrechts, L. 2001; Davoudi, S. 2003; Faludi, A. 2004). The concept of polycentric city has been increasingly perceived as a policy panacea, which enables political actors to manage contradictory or even explosive situation (i.e. growth versus social equality), pretending political consensus (Vandermotten, C. *et al.* 2008). Although critical investigations have not yet verified the social benefits of polycentric city (see for instance Bailey, N. and Turok, I. 2001), an econometric-oriented wing of spatial sciences is aspired to prove the economic benefits of polycentric urban

networks (De Goei, B. *et al.* 2010; Burger, M. and Meijers, E. 2012). They argue that the diversification of specialised services at various locations within the same urban region enables a powerful metropolitan economy.

In the light of the discussed literature it is timely to put the question if the transformation from state-socialist to capitalist socio-economic order in Central and Eastern Europe has brought about a shift from monocentric to polycentric metropolitan structures. Whether processes of contemporary transformation of urban areas around the world are also present in the post-socialist context. Have relevant EU policies related to the concepts of sustainable, balanced, and polycentric development at the national, regional, and local levels yielded any results in the new member-states? To answer these more general questions we use the metropolitan region of the Hungarian capital, Budapest, as a case study.

Data and methods

For the sake of analysis employment and commuting data at the level of municipalities in Hungary and in the Budapest Metropolitan Region from the 1990, 2001 and 2011 censuses were used. In order to measure the level of policentricty, first, we divided the metropolitan region of Budapest into three areas on the basis of administrative boundaries and the commuting flows recorded in the 2001 national census (*Figure 1*):

– Core City (CC) – Budapest proper within the official administrative boundaries;

– Functional Metropolitan Area (FMA) – daily urban system at micro-regional level characterised by intensive commuting to work in the CC. FMA was delimited at the municipality (NUTS 5) level using the threshold of 25 percent of commuters to the core city among the economically active population. In addition the principle of territorial consolidation was applied (excluding

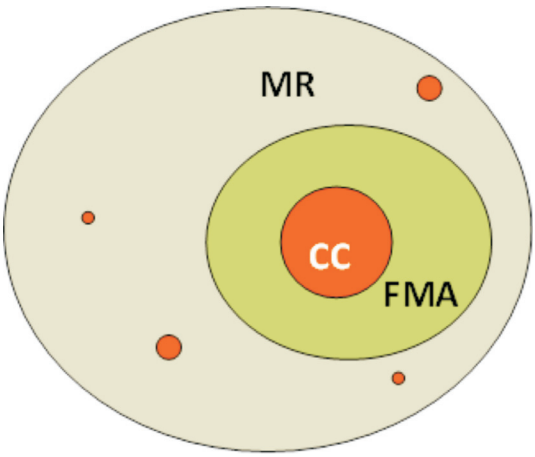

Fig. 1. Subdivision of Budapest Metropolitan Region. – CC = Core City; FMA = Functional Metropolitan Area; MR = wider Metropolitan Region. *Source*: POLYCE

municipalities that are islands outside the core territory and including those that form windows inside the territory). The total number of municipalities FMA of Budapest is 109, which slightly exceeds the number of municipalities in the officially designated by the Action on the Budapest Agglomeration (80).

– Metropolitan Region (MR) – wider hinterland of the city. MR was delimited at the micro-region (NUTS 4) level using the threshold of 10 percent of commuters to the core city among the economically active population of the centre of micro-region. The total number of municipalities in the MR of Budapest is 284.

Secondly, as polycentricity is usually measured within a region by the relations between its urban centres, urban centres in the FMA and MR of Budapest had to be identified. This was performed at the municipal (LAU2) level using data on the number of local jobs. A *'job centre'* was considered to be a municipality that provide certain amount of employment opportunities for the neighbouring municipalities. Job centres within the FMA were identified using a threshold of 1,000 jobs (i.e. job centres with local influence). Altogether 47 such centres were identified. Within the MR the threshold of 3,000 jobs was applied, which meant job centres with microregional influence. On the basis of the 2001 census 10 such centres were identified. The functional linkages between job centres of the FMA and MR were analysed by commuting-to-work flows provided by the 1990, 2001 and 2011 censuses.

The analysis focused on the reciprocal and hierarchical component of each commuting flow. Reciprocal component is the sum of commuting fluctuation between two centres. Hierarchical component is the remaining unidirectional flow. Thus, in the case of 65 percent reciprocity the relation between two centres was considered 'reciprocal', whereas below 35 percent reciprocity the relation was defined as 'hierarchical'. Relations with reciprocity between 35 and 65 percent were considered as plural relation that maintains certain hierarchical subordination, yet, with significant reciprocity.

Research findings

Territorial shifts of population and employment

Since 1990 substantial shifts in the distribution of population has taken place both in Hungary and in the Budapest Metropolitan Region (*Table 1*). Due to natural decrease and the outflow of population (i.e. suburbanisation) Budapest lost nearly 300,000 inhabitants, and the share of the compact city within the population of the wider metropolitan zone sank from 61.4 to 52.7 percent. At the same time a dynamic population increase has been registered in the Functional Metropolitan Area, i.e. the inner part of the metropolitan zone, which maintains the strongest functional connections with the capital city.

Table 1. Population, employment and labour mobility in Hungary and in the metropolitan region of Budapest

Indicator	Year	Budapest		FMA		MR		Hungary	
		thousand							
Number of resident population	1990	2,016.7		647.9		616.0		10,374.8	
	2001	1,777.9		767.9		647.9		10,200.3	
	2011	1,729.0		896.9		652.1		9,985.7	
Number of persons in employment (residents employed locally+out-commuters)	1990	917.4		292.2		265.5		4,524.9	
	2001	738.3		304.4		237.9		3,868.3	
	2011	736.6		377.3		257.5		3,811.9	
		thousand persons	% share among persons in employment	thousand persons	% share among persons in employment	thousand persons	% share among persons in employment	thousand persons	% share among persons in employment
Commuter outflows	1990	31.7	3.4	186.3	63.8	113.4	42.7	1,181.0	26.1
	2001	28.8	3.9	169.0	55.5	94.8	39.8	1,108.9	28.7
	2011	49.3	6.7	226.7	60.1	119.9	46.6	1,397.5	36.7
Commuter inflows	1990	201.7	22.0	68.7	23.5	75.5	28.4	1,180.1	26.1
	2001	175.3	23.7	77.8	25.6	52.0	21.8	915.9	23.7
	2011	225.5	30.6	127.7	33.8	68.1	26.5	1,160.3	30.4

Source: Central Statistical Office, National Census 1990, 2001, 2011.

The process of urban sprawl around Budapest and its underpinning factors have been discussed in more details by Kovács, Z. and Tosics, I. (2014). Here we would only like to note that residential suburbanisation in Budapest became more pronounced by the mid-1990s, reaching a net figure of 18,000 residents per year. This trend was gradually reversed, and since 2009 Budapest restarted to have a migration surplus; thus the net population decline in the city was reduced in recent years.

The total population weight of the Budapest Metropolitan Region slightly increased within the country as the population of Hungary decreased by 389,000 while the metropolitan region stagnated at 3.2 million between 1990 and 2011. Intensifying labour relations between Budapest and its hinterland due to suburbanisation, and the growing population weight of the city region together imply that the overall role of Budapest and its metropolitan region within the country's labour mobility flows has increased since 1990.

Changing patterns of labour mobility in Hungary

As national data show the role of commuting to work has significantly increased in Hungary since 1990. On the eve of the transition 26.1 percent of the workers in employment commuted which rose to 36.7 percent by 2011. The increasing mobility of labour is in line with the post-Fordist transformation of the economy and the concomitant growth of private car ownership. Due to the robust economic transformation traditional commuting destinations like heavy industrial regions and their cities (e.g. Miskolc, Ózd, Tatabánya) lost their significance whereas new types of commuting emerged, like commuting abroad (in 2011 already 83,822 persons), commuting to more than one destination (in 2011 already 153,410 persons), or commuting from bigger cities (e.g. Budapest) to the countryside (i.e. neighbouring suburban localities).

The role of Budapest and its metropolitan region in the national labour mobility system has significantly increased. In 1990 29.3 percent of all registered commuter inflows were realised in the metropolitan region of Budapest, while in 2011 already 35.5 percent. This change indicates the growing concentration of jobs within Hungary, and the increasing role of Budapest and its closer environment in national labour flows. The growing mobility of local labour in and around Budapest is basically the result of higher income levels and better opportunities for travel to work (e.g. higher density of roads, higher density of public transport) (*Table 2*).

However, within the metropolitan region a gradual de-concentration of jobs and a new pattern of commuting to work could be observed. On the one hand, the number of persons in employment first sharply decreased in

Table 2. Spatial differentiation of jobs and workforce in Hungary and in the metropolitan region of Budapest

Indicators		Workplace			
		Outside the MR	MR	FMA	Budapest
1990					
Place of residence	Outside the MR	801,970	18,452	3,569	24,711
	MR	19,529	45,099	13,129	35,654
	FMA	2,917	8,263	33,773	141,321
	Budapest	9,820	3,703	18,191	n.r.
	Total	*834,236*	*75,517*	*68,662*	*201,686*
2001					
Place of residence	Outside the MR	585,107	14,963	3,318	19,893
	MR	20,118	30,068	16,333	28,253
	FMA	1,362	5,082	35,422	127,129
	Budapest	4,215	1,875	22,714	n.r.
	Total	*610,802*	*51,988*	*77,787*	*175,275*
2011					
Place of residence	Outside the MR	726,986	22,127	7,925	34,400
	MR	27,714	35,661	24,225	32,342
	FMA	4,000	7,416	56,547	158,776
	Budapest	7,375	2,940	38,987	n.r.
	Total	*766,075*	*68,144*	*127,684*	*225,518*

Source: Central Statistical Office, National Census 1990, 2001, 2011. n.r.: not relevant

Budapest, as a consequence of economic restructuring and commencing suburbanisation between 1990 and 2001, which was followed by a stagnation of employed people between 2001 and 2011. On the other hand, the number of employees grew by 30 percent in the FMA in the same period.

The pattern of commuting has also changed. The share of the compact city (Budapest) in journey to work moves was 58.3 percent in 1990 within the metropolitan region, which fell to 53.5 percent by 2011. At the same time the share of the Functional Metropolitan Area (FMA) increased from 19.8 to 30.3 percent. This can be perceived as an outcome of suburbanisation of industry and services after the turn of the century (Kovács, Z. and Tosics, I. 2014). The connection between the FMA and the compact city became intensified with probably more reciprocal flows.

Commuting flows in the metropolitan region

Budapest is still the primary destination of commuting within the metropolitan region, however, the role of commuting outflows from the capital city has

strengthened over time. On the eve of the 2011 census already nearly 50, 000 active earners from Budapest were employed outside the city. Most of them were attracted to bigger employment nodes of the FMA like Budaörs (ca. 8,000 people), or Gödöllő (*Photo 1*). This also means that the role of FMA and to a lesser extent also the outer zone of the MR as targets of commuting has grown.

The number of commuters employed in the FMA and MR increased by 51,000 between 1990 and 2001. Substantial part of them are originating from Budapest, however, in the case of the outer zone of the MR the number of commuters from other parts of Hungary is also significant. Thus, reciprocal commuting flows and journey to work connections among the city, its narrower and wider metropolitan zones have become more intense and complex since 1990.

To test our hypothesis regarding the growing role of reciprocal commuting in the Budapest Metropolitan Region we recorded all connections where both

Photo 1. Budaörs edge-city at the western gate of Budapest with multifunctional economy

Table 3. Reciprocal commuting among the municipalities of the Budapest Metropolitan Region

Year	Number of reciprocal connections*			
	<35%	35–65%	>65%	*Total*
1990	46	26	14	86
2001	51	19	20	90
2011	47	40	24	111

* Only those connections are considered where the number of inflow and outflow commuters exceeds 200 persons. *Source*: Central Statistical Office, National Census 1990, 2001, 2011.

the number of inflow and outflow commuters exceeded 200 persons. In 1990 only 86 such connections were recorded, which grew to 111 by 2011 (*Table 3*).

As our data show, while the number of 'hierarchical' connections (reciprocity level is below 35 percent) stagnated between 1990 and 2011, the number of reciprocal connections increased from 14 to 24 in the same period.

Even though the role of Budapest in reciprocal connections is still dominant, after 2001 a growing share of them has been realised among sub-centres of the FMA (*Figure 2).* At the same time the share of intermediate reciprocity (i.e. between 35 and 65%) has also grown, and spatially became more evenly spread.

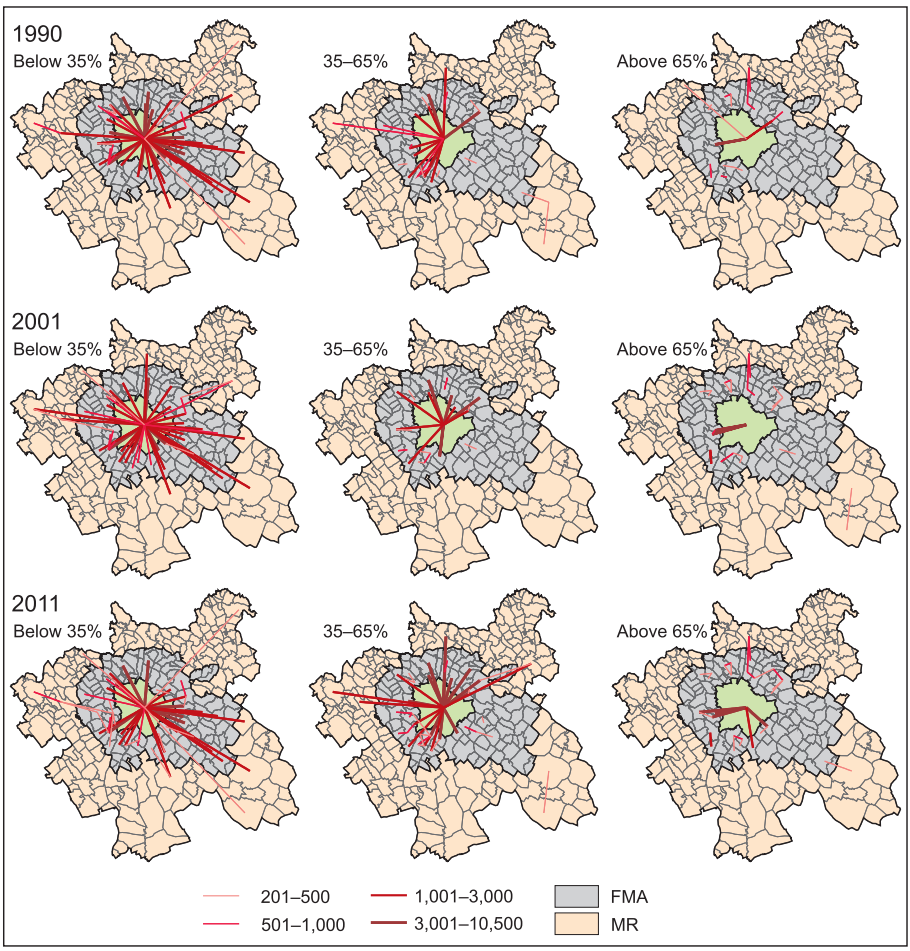

Fig. 2. Reciprocity of commuting in the Budapest Metropolitan Region.
Source: Central Statistical Office, National Census 1990, 2001, 2011.

Discussions and conclusion

According to urban geographers one of the most important spatial phenomena of post-socialist urban transformation is suburbanisation (Brade, I. *et al.* 2009; Dövényi, Z. and Kovács, Z. 2006; Leetmaa, K. and Tammaru, T. 2007; Stanilov, K. and Sýkora, L. 2014). After the collapse of the communist regime the better off inhabitants of post-socialist cities discovered the green suburbs, just like the newly established enterprises that were searching for 'good location' in the core areas of the evolving capitalist economies. Economic restructuring and urban sprawl changed the previous equilibrium of jobs both within Hungary and the metropolitan region of Budapest.

The metropolitan area of Budapest is without doubt the main beneficiary of post-socialist transformation in Hungary. The city and its metropolitan zone has been the main target of foreign capital investment and technology transfer, the focus of the development of the most innovative branches of the economy within Hungary. Consequently, the weight of Budapest and its metropolitan region in the national employment and labour flows has significantly increased.

The rapid transformation of Budapest after 1989 the re-establishment of market mechanisms, the privatisation of housing, the liberalisation of the property market, and the growing re-integration of the city to the world economy affected not only the core city but also the metropolitan periphery. The previously rather homogeneous structure of the metropolitan periphery experienced significant changes in the course of the transformation. In the metropolitan region of Budapest new residential areas, large retail centres, logistics centres, industrial high-tech activities and office complexes appeared and mixed in certain clusters. After the political transition the advantages of location, which had been insignificant during the state-socialist period, once again became truly beneficial which resulted in growing disparities in the metropolitan periphery. Areas with high developmental dynamics emerged in places which provided a combination of optimal accessibility and low location costs.

Since 1990 the functional interplay, cooperation, interdependence as well as physical infrastructural linkages between Budapest and its metropolitan zone have been further intensified. Residential suburbanisation and the suburbanisation of business activities led to new flows of commuting within the metropolitan region. Generally, the share of the compact city in commuting flows within the metropolitan region decreased, whereas the role of the Functional Metropolitan Area (FMA) increased.

The flow of commuters is still concentrated on Budapest with its flourishing labour-market, however, its previous hierarchical connection with the inner part of the metropolitan zone (FMA) has been loosen. Local job centres in the FMA (Budaörs, Gödöllő, Vác, Veresegyház etc.) started to attract labour in

great number from the core city and also from the neighbouring municipalities. The role of reciprocal connections increased not only between Budapest and its FMA, but also among centres of FMA, consequently, the spatial structure of the Budapest Metropolitan Region has become more polycentric since the early 1990s. In the light of the literature we can also say that the reallocation of urban functions took place in the wider metropolitan zone of Budapest among existing centres, which fits to the European version of post-suburbanisation concept rather than the US one. The phenomenon of 'leap frogging' has remained very limited.

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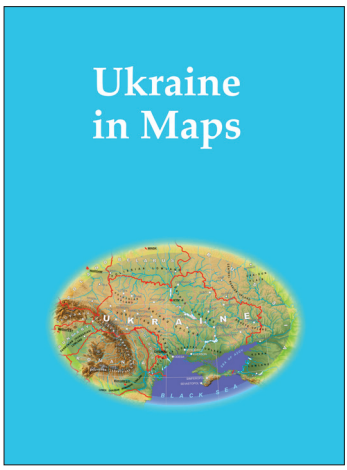
Ukraine in Maps

Edited by: **Kocsis, K., Rudenko, L. and Schweitzer, F.**

Institute of Geography National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
Geographical Research Institute Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
Kyiv–Budapest, 2008, 148 p.

Since the disintegration of the USSR, the Western world has shown an ever-growing interest in Ukraine, its people and its economy. As the second-largest country in Europe, Ukraine has a strategic geographical position at the crossroads between Europe and Asia. It is a key country for the transit of energy resources from Russia and Central Asia to the European Union, which is one reason why Ukraine has become a priority partner in the neighbourhood policy of the EU. Ukraine has pursued a path towards the democratic consolidation of statehood, which encompasses vigorous economic changes, the development of institutions and integration into European and global political and economic structures. In a complex and controversial world, Ukraine is building collaboration with other countries upon the principles of mutual understanding and trust, and is establishing initiatives aimed at the creation of a system that bestows international security.

This recognition has prompted the Institute of Geography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv) and the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest) to initiate cooperation, and the volume entitled "Ukraine in Maps" is the outcome of their joint effort. The intention of this publication is to make available the results of research conducted by Ukrainian and Hungarian geographers, to the English-speaking public. This atlas follows in the footsteps of previous publications from the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.



Similar to the work entitled South Eastern Europe in Maps (2005, 2007), it includes 64 maps, dozens of figures and tables accompanied by an explanatory text, written in a popular, scientific manner. The book is an attempt to outline the geographical setting and geopolitical context of Ukraine, as well as its history, natural environment, population, settlements and economy. The authors greatly hope that this joint venture will bring Ukraine closer to the reader and make this neighbouring country to the European Union more familiar, and consequently, more appealing.

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Urban restructuring in post-war contexts: the case of Sarajevo

Jordi MARTÍN-DÍAZ[1]

Abstract

The transition from state-socialism to capitalism has not been the only process reshaping the urban landscapes in Central and Eastern Europe but some cities were affected by war destructions, like in the Caucus region or in the former Yugoslavia. The case study of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is helpful to understand how the urban transformation is performed in post-war contexts, an arena neglected in the current literature on post-socialist cities. This paper aims at exploring the interplay between post-socialist urban restructuring and the peace-building process. It presents results of a series of fieldworks conducted in Sarajevo in 2010 and 2013. It is argued that in spite of the liberal policies implemented by the international community and the belated physical renewal, the transition from socialism to capitalism has been continuously undermined by the local power reconfiguration carried out during the war. The paper analyses the restructuring policies of the post-war period and its impact on the urban spatial structure. The first two sections focus on the urban restructuring processes of post-socialist cities also in post-war contexts, in which the nature of the internationally-led reconstruction and peace-building is analysed as differential processes. Finally, both processes are considered in the case of Sarajevo in relation to the transformation of its urban structure.

Keywords: post-socialist cities, post-war reconstruction, peace-building, ethnic territorialisation, Sarajevo

Introduction

Analysis of urban transformation in cities of Central and Eastern Europe has been high on the agenda in the last decade (e.g. Hamilton, I. 2005; Stanilov, K. 2007; Tsenkova, S. and Nedović-Budić, Z. 2006). It has covered, either comparatively or in case studies, a wide range of topics, like the changes in the urban structure (Hirt, S. 2006, 2008; Kovács, Z. 1994; Sýkora, L. 2007), the

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forces producing the transition (Hamilton, I. 2005; Tosics, I. 2005), new forms of socio-spatial segregation (Marcinczak, S. *et. al*. 2013; Sýkora, L. 2009), or more recently the emergence of gated communities as significant manifestation of such segregation (Hirt, S. 2012; Kovács, Z. 2014).

However, cities affected by war (like Grozny, Mostar or Sarajevo) have hardly attracted any attention in the literature about post-socialist cities. The few academic papers available have been produced either from a peace-building perspective (e.g. Moore, A. 2013) or with respect to the concept of divided cities (e.g. Makas, E. 2011). Therefore, this paper explores how post-socialist urban restructuring has been taking place in a post-war context and considers both peace-building and post-war reconstruction literature. It focuses on the case study city of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was the target of a three-and-a-half years siege that ended with the signature of the Dayton Peace Agreement (hereinafter DPA) in December 1995.

Beyond the wide and lingering media coverage of the siege, Sarajevo has not received any significant academic attention despite having experienced simultaneously the overlap of several transitions. None or few analyses have considered processes like its economic transition, the reconstruction of the city or the ethnic partitioning performed after the territorial organization set at the DPA. From the existing literature considering the city or its urban area during the war or post-war period Bollens, S.A. (2006, 2007) focused on the role of urban planning in the construction of multi-cultural societies in conditions of ethnic or nationalist disputes, while anthropologists have published the most significant number of works (Armakolas, I. 2007; Stefansson, A. 2007; Mačęk, I. 2009; Markowitz, F. 2010).

In this regard, this paper presents preliminary results of a five-month fieldwork carried out in the city of Sarajevo in 2010 and 2013. Several methods have been applied in order to gather information on the urban transformation of the city, such as direct and fluctuant observation or semi-structured interviews with local and international actors. I argue that despite the liberal policies implemented by the international community and the belated physical renewal, the transition from socialism to capitalism has been continuously being undermined by the local power reconfiguration conducted during the war.

The paper is structured in four parts: the first the urban restructuring process of post-socialist cities in Central and Eastern Europe is introduced. Subsequently, the focus turns towards internationally-led reconstruction and peace-building processes, as differential features of post-socialist cities affected by war. The third section focuses on the reconstruction policies in Bosnia and Sarajevo. Finally, the economic restructuring agenda of the international community and its impact on the spatial urban structure is analysed.

Urban restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe

The transition from state-socialism to capitalism resulted from the convergence of internal forces, i.e. efforts made either by local or foreign actors to dismantle the socialist structures, and external forces, which refer to processes not specifically connected to the transition (Hamilton, I. 2005; Tosics, I. 2005). Both forces have been progressively modifying the mechanisms producing the spatial forms for the market allocation, blurring the features of the socialist cities while acquiring the capitalist ones.

The analyses of the restructuring produced in post-socialist cities should not be considered as unique in the sense that it followed the global trend of post-Fordist de-industrialisation (Kovács, Z. 1999). Thus, contemporary urban restructuring has been characterised by increasing internationalisation both in terms of capital and labour; changing power relations between public and private sector; industrial restructuring and an increasing social and economic polarisation or the emergence of post-modern urban landscapes characterised by new modes of urban culture and consumption (Sýkora, L. 1994). These elements of the contemporary restructuring have progressively swept through the Central and Eastern European countries, having a major impact on the morphological features of their cities, which could be characterised during socialism by compactness, grand scale of public projects, absence of suburbanisation, visual monotony, and the oversupply of industrial areas and undersupply of commercial functions (Szelényi, I. 1996).

The differences in the intensity of integration into the global flows as well as the importance of path-dependency have created some regional variations. Iván Tosics (2005) presented eight sub-types of development in post-socialist cities. He featured the Yugoslav cities, from which those from Slovenia were excluded, as follows:

> Slow transition towards the capitalist city-model due to armed conflicts, mass refugee movements and destroyed urban centres. Very limited capital investments, firstly, there was a substantial local investment into illegal or unofficial property market. Relatively quick privatisation of public housing to sitting tenants at the beginning of the 1990s, but deferred restitution, privatisation of enterprises and other public assets due to the war disputes. Huge differentiation in incomes between the "formal" and the "informal" sectors, and very slow establishment of new type of public control over land market, planning and building process. The outcomes are densification and sprawl through unregulated development, which are running parallel with some elements of the "third world" type of city development" (TOSICS, I. 2005, p. 73).

In this context, while exploring how urban restructuring is performed in a post-war environment, this paper aims at addressing whether Sarajevo constitutes a typical Yugoslav post-socialist city. Before analysing in which

way the changes in the urban spatial structure have occurred in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the nature of the reconstruction and peace-building processes is presented.

Urban restructuring in post-war environments

When the war ends the reconstruction and the deployment of peace-building missions to settle cease agreements become central for the future development of the war-torn societies. The reconstruction, defined at Cambridge dictionary as the building or creation of something that has been damaged or destroyed, implies a recovery of the pre-war *status quo.* Some practitioners and scholars are wary to use the concept reconstruction or rebuilding since pre-war political and societal structures are often at the core of violent conflicts. As a consequence, there is a difference between physical disasters and war-torn societies since in the former there is a restoration of institutional and physical infrastructures. As Krishna Kumar (1997) argues, reconstruction has three interrelated elements: the restoration, the structural reform – with the creation or dismantling of organisations, institutions and administrative structures – and the institution building, which involves improving the efficiency and affectivity of existing institutions (Kumar, K. 1997, p. 3).

A similar approach is used by the director of the Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York, Sultan Barakat (2010), who states that reconstruction is a *"a range of holistic activities in an integrated process designed not only to reactivate economic and social development but also to create a peaceful environment that will prevent a relapse into violence"* (Barakat, S. 2010, p. 11).

Since war-torn societies experience a massive economic downturn and might have previous structural shortages, the role of international aid is determining in this process. Among of the main organisations, the World Bank assists mainly economic recovery and normalisation, *"post-conflict reconstruction supports the transition from conflict to peace in an affected country through the rebuilding of socioeconomic framework society (...) Reconstruction does not refer only to reconstruction of physical infrastructure. Nor does it necessarily signify rebuilding of the socioeconomic framework that existed in a country prior to the onset of the conflict* (WB, 1998, p. 14). Contrary, the UN focuses on the importance of political reform, according to Boutros-Ghali definition of 1995 (Barakat, S. 2010).

Despite being etymologically instable in post-war contexts, there is consensus in defining reconstruction as a restructuring process addressing the political, institutional and social conditions which generated conflicts. The comprehensive renewal scope in the post-war reconstruction effort is visible in the strategy set to rebuild Bosnia. In this sense, the 5 billion USD Priority

Reconstruction of Recovery Program (PRRP) coordinated by the World Bank included projects focusing on employment generation and demobilisation support, energy, landmine clearing, telecommunications, transport, education, health, housing, water and waste management, agriculture and industry. The PRRP had the challenge to restart economic transition to a market economy in a completely new social and political framework (WB, 1996).

Another significant feature differentiating the transition to capitalism in post-war environments is the development of complex peace-building missions. The aim of these internationally-led operations is eliminating the main causes of conflicts, to promote the security of individuals, social groups and the state, and to nurture features that create the conditions for a stable peace (Morphet, S. 2002). The rise of peace-building missions in the 1990s was a consequence of the volatility emerged after the collapse of the Cold-War geopolitical order. Actually, these missions were guided by the general notion that promoting liberalisation in countries affected by wars would create the conditions for a stable and lasting peace. As Paris, R. (2004) concludes in his analysis of the fourteen peace-building missions developed between 1989 and 1999, this paradigm has not been a particularly effective model for establishing stable peace. It often created destabilising effects in war-shattered states while undermining the consolidation of peace or even renewed fighting.

In the Bosnian context, in which the urban restructuring of Sarajevo is framed, the peace-building mission had the very same goals, promoting quick political and economic liberalisation as the formula to create a sustainable peace. The mission was coordinated by the Office of the High Representative (OHR) set as the *ad hoc* body responsible of supervising and coordinating the civil aspects of the DPA. Its role evolved from supervision of the civil organisations and agencies to direct governance (Caplan, R. 2004). The empowerment of the High Representative was a consequence of the challenges posed by local forces in the implementation of the state and peace-building agendas. Hence the OHR directly intervened in most of the spheres of the civil implementation like economic reconstruction and development, resettlement of refugees and IDP's, civil administration, establishment of interim structures or the building of political institutions (Donais, T. 2005).

Sarajevo: Geography of war and reconstruction

Sarajevo's urban structure reflects the historically diverse urban growth, produced under the Ottoman rule, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the state-socialist period. The linear expansion towards the west along the valley eroded by the Miljacka river has resulted in little destruction of its urban heritage (Carreras, C. and Moreno, S. 2007). During socialist

Yugoslavia the city experienced the most excessive urban development in its history with a rise of population from 99,000 inhabitants to 244,000 between 1948 and 1975 (Hamilton, F.E.I. 1979). In the census held before the war in 1991, the four central municipalities that constitute the City of Sarajevo and are considered in the current analysis – Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad – had altogether 361,000 inhabitants with a diverse ethnic background: 50 percent defined themselves as Muslims, 25 percent as Serbs, 13 percent as Yugoslavs, 6 percent as Croats and 4 percent as others[2].

The transition from socialism to capitalism took a first major step in the former Yugoslavia when the Law on Social Capital was passed by the government of Ante Markovic, in 1989. However, the defeat of Communist Party by the nationalist parties in the first multi-party elections, celebrated in 1990 at the Republican level, stalemated the transition initiated by the Yugoslav Federal government. The situation in the city of Sarajevo during the economic and political crisis of late 1980s and early 90s was features of a weak government (Donia, R. 2006).

In April 1992, after the recognition of the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the war broke out in the former Yugoslav Republic, which triggered the lingering siege of Sarajevo between April 1992 and December 1995. The siege was part of the strategy of the Army of Republika Srpska to take some of the central areas of the city, causing 11,541 deaths and a wide destruction of its urban fabric. The DPA signed between the presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Alija Izetbegović), Croatia (Franjo Tuđjman) and Serbia (Slobodan Milošević) settled the framework to end the hostilities and building a peaceful Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite having been envisioned as a UN protectorate in previous peace negotiations, the city of Sarajevo was territorially split at the outskirts of the central municipalities between the two entities in which Bosnia was divided, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Republika Srpska (RS).

After the siege the housing sector showed huge devastation through the war. Three out of the four municipalities of Sarajevo had a rate of building damages between 74 and 96 percent (IMG, 1999). The city, like the rest of the country, was heavily dependent on external aid in the process of reconstruction. The work to rebuild Sarajevo, in fact, did not start with the signature of DPA. By 1994, a team coordinated by William Eagleton, named as Special Coordinator for Sarajevo, headed seven action groups with a local counterpart to assess and set an action plan to restore essential public services in the city of Sarajevo. Local and international cooperation continued during the post-war reconstruction process, with municipalities having architects and engineers working closely with international donors. Donor Task Forces were established

[2] Current population and demographic data will be available from the first census since 1991 held in October 2013.

to coordinate and lead the reconstruction of strategic sectors. The process of reconstruction did not imply a physical renewal since rebuilding of damaged and destroyed buildings had to be restored in the same way. This issue raised diverse visions, with the international donors more willing to use reconstruction to update materiality to new context and needs.

The physical reconstruction, considered as the most successful field of the international intervention, had both bilateral and multilateral aid programmes. The four-year PRRP was the main multi-donor programme for reconstruction. Its goal was to start the recovery process instead of restoring all infrastructures damaged, in order to generate local funds which should progressively replace the dependent aid economy, *"it will be essential for the economy a growth momentum that can be sustained in the face of the inevitable future decline in external concessional assistance"* (WB, 1998, p. viii). Notwithstanding, the lack of aid invested in the industrial sector, which made up 2.3 percent of the PRRP's expenditure (ICG, 1999) highlighted the restructuring nature of the programme since it neglected the main economic sector in the former Yugoslav Republic.

The making of post-socialist Sarajevo

The restructuring initiated by the IMF in late 1980s had hardly any results because of the nationalist escalation and finally it was halted by the dissolution of the country and the lingering armed conflict. In Bosnia, the political and economic liberalisation agenda was resumed well after the signature of the DPA, in a completely new social, political and territorial structure. In a framework of economic and aid dependence, local authorities were in control of the urban governance in the area of Sarajevo, and rapidly defined the strategies for the future development of the city. Therefore, in 1998 the "Sarajevo Canton Development Strategy until the Year 2015" was passed, with the main goals of making the city a European metropolis, a profitable business environment and a pleasant living environment (KS, 2000). These visions were developed in fourteen points, in which environmental considerations and the promotion of a profitable economy were central (Martín-Díaz, J. *et al.* 2014). In the field of economic development the plan identified the introduction of an urban land market, or the strengthening of sectors like banking, financing or those industries acceptable in economic and environmental terms as generating new urban development in the city (KS, 2000).

In spite of the apparent commitment to economic and political transition by local powers, international actors were the sole force pushing for the transition to a market economy. Actually ethno-national parties continued pursuing wartime goals by political means (Leroux-Martin, P. 2014), with the ethnic territorialisation or the accumulation by dispossession still being

performed. As a consequence, the international community became a very central actor in the governance of the country and the city. In order to solve the stalemate in the reforms set at the DPA, the High Representative was granted with executive and legislative power in December 1997.

The complexity of this process required overcoming the obstructionism of localised power structured by building of new institutions (Donais, T. 2002). After the empowerment, the lingering legislative effort aimed at fostering the liberal and state-building agenda was started through the privatisation of public assets, the fiscal reform or the attraction of foreign capital (*Table 1*).

Indeed, the power granted to the OHR found in the resistance of the ethno-parties a continuous force undermining the transition from socialism to capitalism. The poor performance of the economy, with a low capacity to attract foreign capital despite the international intervention, shows the limits to build a market economy in a context of political instability and lack of local cooperation. In this sense, the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) exceeded the one billion Euros threshold only in 2007, despite the several economic packages enacted by the OHR, while FDI has always been much below the remittances amount (WB, 2011).

Table 1. Liberalisation policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period

Year	Law	Category
1997	FBiH House of Peoples adopts laws on the Privatisation of enterprises, sale of apartments with tenants' rights, and citizens requests in the Privatisation process	Privatisation of public assets
1998	OHR's Decision imposing the Framework on Privatisation of Enterprises and Banks in BiH	Privatisation of public assets
1998	OHR's Decision imposing the Draft Law on the policy of Foreign Direct Investment in BiH	Economic liberalisation
1998	OHR's Decision establishing the Privatisation Monitoring Commission	Privatisation of public assets
2000	OHR's Decision amending the Framework Law on Privatisation of Enterprises and Banks by introducing a clause protecting investors	Privatisation of public assets
2001	OHR's Decision enacting the Law on Land Registry in FBiH and RS	Economic liberalisation
2003	OHR's Decision Establishing the Indirect Tax Policy Commission	Fiscal reform
2003	OHR's Decision Enacting the Law on Construction Land of the FBiH and RS	Creation real-estate market / Privatisation of public assets
2004	OHR's Decision Enacting the Law on Amendments to the Law on the Indirect Taxation System in BiH	Fiscal reform

Source: Information from the OHR database.

Liberalisation policies in the economy were implemented without considering the local circumstances, causing counterproductive outcomes like those produced in the quick privatisation process of public assets. In this sense the privatisation before institutionalisation (Paris, R. 2004) became a tool for the local elites to consolidate their position (Donais, T. 2002, 2005). As Michael Pugh (2005) pointed out in this controversial process, "*the clientelist and neoliberal mechanisms for managing investment, shares, and profits are dissimilar. But the normative assumptions of the external actors and the interests of domestic elites coincide in extracting profit from public goods and in fostering opportunities from privatization and discrimination against social ownership*" (Pugh, M. 2005, p. 467).

The land management, in contrast, is an eloquent example of how liberalisation can be adapted to the implementation of the peace-building agenda. Hence, the attempts to create a real-estate market were halted after the decision by the OHR to restrict land allocation in 1999. The purpose was preventing land allocations aimed at consolidating ethnic territorialisation (Thuatail, G. and Dahlman, C. 2006), which undermined the policies pursuing the rebuilding of a multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. A central issue in the return of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP's) was the housing repossession, which had been prevented by the nationalist parties in order to preserve the ethnic reconfiguration achieved during the war. As a consequence of the eviction of those who had been settled temporarily in Sarajevo, the process of suburbanisation at the outskirts of the city or on the slopes, which existed already during socialist times, was restarted again in the late 1990s (Martín-Díaz, J. *et al.* 2014).

After the four-year period of land management, the Law on Construction Land enacted by the OHR in May 2003 allowed the privatisation of land (OHR, 2003), starting the major wave of real estate development in the city. Most of the new urban projects built since then have been developed in the central areas of the narrow valley in which the city of Sarajevo is stretching. They are especially concentrated in the municipalities of Novi Grad and Novo Sarajevo, developed during the socialist period.

In order to analyse the features of the post-socialist functional transformation 109 new urban projects developed in the post-war period were identified during the field-work, and they were grouped in eight categories[3] (*Figure 1*).

Office buildings represent 39 percent of new developments which is followed by commercial projects (21%), either supermarkets or shopping

[3] The elaboration of the data base on new urban projects was produced during fieldworks through several techniques, such as direct observations and semi-structured interviews. The selected projects are newly developed or redeveloped, with functional change or aesthetical upgrading (e.g. BBI Center, *Photo 1*). New single family dwellings were not considered. The qualitative information obtained was confirmed through historical pictures from the siege (Prstojević, M. 1994).

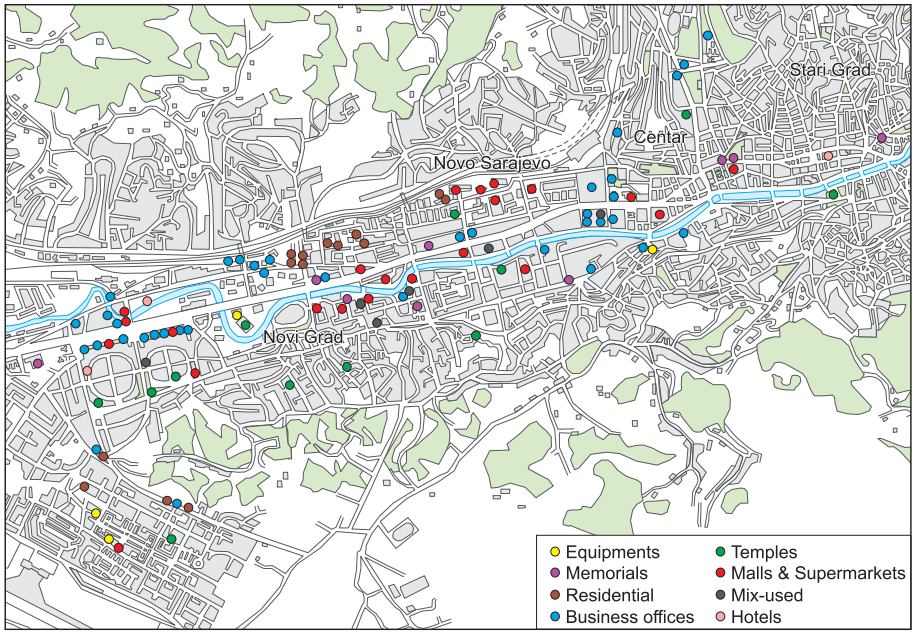

Fig. 1. Location of new urban projects in post-war Sarajevo

centres (*Photo 2*). The third category is formed by multi-family housing (14%) developed in the last few years, mainly by private investors. Considering mix-used developments, like the *Bosmal City Centar* (*Photo 3*) or the *Importanne Centar*, office and commercial projects reach three quarters of new post-war projects, highlighting the tertiarisation of the economy and the development of new modes of consumption. Regarding the symbolic projects, temples and memorials count together 15 percent. Even if symbolic projects were not quantitatively significant, mosques funded by countries like Saudi Arabia, Turkey or Malaysia, have been widespread in the city. With exogenous architecture, like the mosques built with two minarets, these projects are rather controversial but they well reflect the re-formulation of the city's identity.

Most of the new projects have been developed by private investors only a few services, like a couple of schools or the so-called Olympic Pool, have been funded by some public money. The main developers, thus, are private (both local and international) and projects are often built without permit. Regarding international investments, capitals from Austria and Islamic countries are prevalent. Investors from Malaysia or Saudi Arabia have been central in the development of the main new projects in the city, like the *Bosmal City Centar* or the *Sarajevo City Centar,* that were recently opened.

Photo 1. The new BBI Center in Sarajevo

Photo 2. New supermarkets in central Sarajevo

Photo 3. Bosmal City Centar in Sarajevo (Photos taken by the author)

Considering the pace of transformation, information on sixty-six new urban projects was available at the data base of the Sarajevo Construction (SC, 2014). Most of them have been built since 2005, which highlights the speed of growth of new urban projects resulting from liberalisation policies. These new urban projects have substantially transformed the urban structure and landscape of the four central municipalities constituting the city of Sarajevo, leading to the densification of the central areas and an increasing functional diversity so much characteristic for other post-socialist cities like Sofia (Hirt, S. 2006), Prague (Sýkora, L. 2007), Budapest (Kovács, Z. 1994) or Belgrade (Hirt, S. 2008). These new post-modern architectures have also brought about a significant aesthetic transformation, implying globalisation and rising diversity in the predominantly traditional neighbourhoods.

Conclusions

This paper investigated how the post-war reconstruction and peace-building missions deployed by the international community to rebuild war-torn societies generate restructuring processes following liberal principles. Although cities affected by wars experience massive urban transformations beyond the physical destruction of their urban fabric, the liberal policies pursued by international organizations hardly consider local contexts. The complexity of the Bosnian case, in which the ethno-national parties continued pursuing war goals by political means caused the embedding of the international community in the governance of the country.

The development of Sarajevo has been featured by succession of crisis since the late 1980s, in which the three-and-a-half year siege destroyed large part of the urban structure at the beginning of the 1990s. Considering changes in the urban structure, the transformation of the city can be divided into two periods since the war ended in December 1995. The first period focused on the main post-war challenges. The physical reconstruction was a priority of local and international actors. Concurrently, some symbolic projects were built and the management of the return of IDP's and refugees resumed forms of suburbanisation that had existed in socialist times.

The second period, from 2003 onwards, was the result of the restructuring policies pursued by the international actors as the way to replace the aid dependent economy for a self-sustainable economy. The creation of a real-estate market, belated by the strategy of the international community to avoid housing developments that fostered ethnic territorialisation, finally triggered a new wave of urban renewal. The emergence of private developers as key urban actors and the functional and aesthetical change characteristic also for other post-socialist cities have been the main features in Sarajevo.

Therefore, the transformation described by Iván Tosics in the ex-Yugoslav cities (2005) – with slow transition towards the capitalist city-model, the limited capital investments at the beginning, the substantial investment of local people into illegal or unofficial property, or a parallel process of densification and sprawl – has been largely identified in the urban development of the city since the end of the war.

Sarajevo is a post-socialist city because of the political economy operating during state-socialism, and shaping the urban development of the city, since the late 1980s. The city has clearly acquired capitalist features as it was highlighted in the analysis about the changes in its urban spatial structure. However, Sarajevo constitutes a particular case in the literature of post-socialist cities. The large transformation caused during the war has been undermining the effects of the policies adopted by international actors. There are evidences, like the poor attraction of FDI, pointing towards the current hybrid structure, the political instability and the incompleteness of the transition into a capitalist system. Thus, further analyses are required for the better understanding of the ongoing transition, in issues such as the dialectics between local and international actors, or the relationship between new urban projects and the socio-ethnic and cultural transformations that started during the siege and are continuously reproduced by local politics and the split between the cities of Sarajevo and East Sarajevo.

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Hungary in Maps

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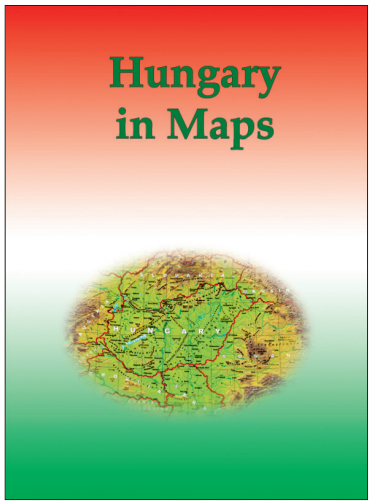
Budapest, 2009. 212 p.

'Hungary in Maps' is the latest volume in a series of atlases published by the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A unique publication, it combines the best features of the books and atlases that have been published in Hungary during the last decades. This work provides a clear, masterly and comprehensive overview of present-day Hungary by a distinguished team of contributors, presenting the results of research in the fields of geography, demography, economics, history, geophysics, geology, hydrology, meteorology, pedology and other earth sciences. The 172 lavish, full-colour maps and diagrams, along with 52 tables are complemented by clear, authoritative explanatory notes, revealing a fresh perspective on the anatomy of modern day Hungary. Although the emphasis is largely placed on contemporary Hungary, important sections are devoted to the historical development of the natural and human environment as well.

In its concentration and focus, this atlas was intended to act as Hungary's 'business card', as the country's résumé, to serve as an information resource for the sophisticated general reader and to inform the international scientific community about the foremost challenges facing Hungary today, both in a European context and on a global scale. Examples of such intriguing topics are: stability and change in the ethnic and state territory, natural hazards, earthquakes, urgent flood control and water management tasks, land degradation, the state of nature conservation, international environmental conflicts, the general population decline, ageing, the increase in unemployment, the Roma population at home and the situation of Hungarian minorities abroad, new trends in urban development, controversial economic and social consequences as a result of the transition to a market economy, privatisation, the massive influx of foreign direct investment, perspectives on the exploitation of mineral resources, problems in the energy supply and electricity generation, increasing spatial concentration focused on Budapest in the field of services (e.g. in banking, retail, transport and telecommunications networks), and finally the shaping of an internationally competitive tourism industry, thus making Hungary more attractive to visit.



This project serves as a preliminary study for the new, 3rd edition of the National Atlas of Hungary, that is to be co-ordinated by the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

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Return to the road of capitalism: Recapitulating the post-socialist urban transition

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Abstract

Over the course of history, relatively slow and gradual processes of urbanisation are occasionally interrupted by periods of turbulent restructuring. The post-socialist transition is definitely one of the most outstanding examples of these changes, directly affecting the lives of over 300 million people. Within the confines of this succinct theoretical recapitulation, firstly, the relationship between capitalist and socialist urbanisation – as a broader conceptual frame – is presented, followed by the brief summary of the post-socialist transition's general characteristics. Subsequently, the specificities of the urban structure of socialist and post-socialist cities are subsumed, and finally, different scenarios and development perspectives for post-socialist cities are outlined.

Keywords: post-socialist cities, urban transition, urban theory, urban structure

Introduction

Over the course of history, relatively slow and gradual processes of urbanisation are occasionally interrupted by periods of turbulent restructuring, such as in the time of colonial endeavours, large conquests and wars, or in the case of transition to different political systems. Concerning the latter, the post-socialist transition is definitely one of the most outstanding examples from the recent past, directly affecting the lives of over 300 million people. Moreover, after the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the European Union, the fate of post-socialist countries undoubtedly became a pan-European issue and responsibility.

On the one hand, there has been an increasing interest towards the political, economic and cultural restructuring of post-socialist cities from the side of the Western social sciences during the last two decades, particularly

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due to the scholarly work of authors originating from (and later partly returning to) former socialist states, such as in the case of Andrusz, G. *et al*. (1996), Bodnár, J. (2001), Herrschel, T. (2007), Stanilov, K. (2007), Czepczyński, M. (2008), or Hirt, S. (2012). Nevertheless, post-socialist urban theory still has a great number of question marks and dilemmas to be discussed.

Within the confines of this succinct theoretical recapitulation, in this paper firstly the relationship between capitalist and socialist urbanisation – as a broader conceptual frame – is presented, followed by a brief summary of the post-socialist transition. Subsequently, the specificities of the urban structure of socialist and post-socialist cities are subsumed, and finally, different scenarios and future development perspectives for post-socialist cities are outlined.

The relationship between capitalist and socialist urbanisation

In order to highlight the intricate relationship of capitalist and socialist urbanisation we turn back to Szelényi's oft-cited question of '*How much difference did socialism make to urban development?*' (Szelényi, I. 1996). In response, he outlined two major intellectual strands.

According to the '*ecological model*' (adopted by e.g. van den Berg, L. *et al*. 1982; Wilson, F.D. 1983; Enyedi, Gy. 1988), the 20th century urbanisation was primarily fuelled by rapid modernisation and industrialisation, and since socialist and contemporary capitalist states were both influenced by these processes, the similarities between capitalist and socialist cities overweighed their differences. In this view, these two types of cities represented nothing more than different variants of the general model of industry-led 20th century urbanisation, and consequently, socialist cities were supposed to be characterised by the same urban development stages as the ones in capitalist settings, although with a temporal lag. Therefore, socialist cities should have also undergone the well-known path of urbanisation, suburbanisation, deurbanisation and reurbanisation, the only difference would be that the prevailing ideology of socialist states might have been able to filter some of the global impacts, possibly leading to the temporal prolongation of the stages.

As opposed to this reasoning, proponents of the so-called '*historical school*' harshly criticised the social-Darwinist underpinnings of the process of urbanisation. In contrast to the above-mentioned presuppositions, they rather focused on the marked differences in the dominant mode of production on the one hand (neo-Marxist approach, see Harvey, D. 1973; Castells, M. 1977), and in socio-political organisation on the other hand (neo-Weberian approach, see Pahl, R. 1970; Szelényi, I. 1996). According to this stance, their fundamental dissimilarity resulted in two distinct – capitalist and socialist – urbanisation models, as well as in the form of strikingly different socialist and capitalist cities. The most essential conceptual distinction between the two approaches is presented in *Figure 1*.

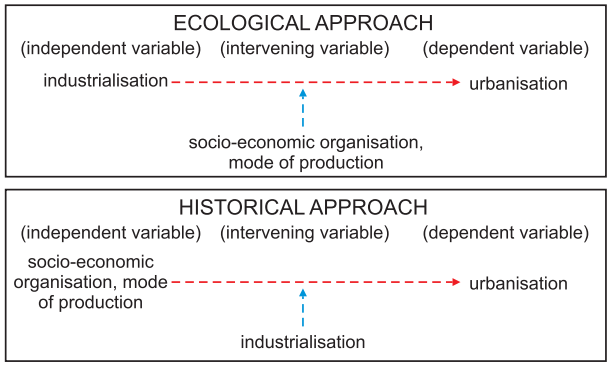

Fig. 1. Ecological and historical explanations of the process of urbanisation.
Source: after Szelényi, I. 1996, modified by the author

Since the socialist regimes established after World War II were slightly different from country to country, the changes in the scope of urbanisation – contrary to the common direction – were also manifested in diverse ways and at various paces. As a consequence, countries of the Eastern Bloc were characterised by highly different degrees of urbanisation throughout the decades of socialism; some of them (such as Romania, Bulgaria and especially the Soviet Union) were rapidly and heavily urbanising, others (for example East Germany and Hungary) to a lesser extent, whereas countries of the Balkan (e.g. Albania) preserved their predominantly rural character.

Recognising these remarkable differences, Musil, J. (1980, p. 148) proposed a three-component analytical frame for the investigation of the socialist-era urbanisation processes; in this model, he attempted to distinguish the 'permanent, common features' of socialist urbanisation (stemming from systemic determinations), the 'specific features' of urbanisation caused by the inherited differences in settlement structure and demographic situation, and finally, the differences resulting from the 'different phases of industrialisation and urbanisation'. Correspondingly, Szelényi (1993) also raised a similar question: How much of the distinct nature of socialist urbanisation was determined solely by the socialist system, and to what extent was it the consequence of the Central and Eastern European region's semi-peripheral capitalist past? According to Bodnár, J. (2001, p. 23), Western theorists mostly tend to ignore the latter historical legacy of the macro-region and perfunctorily subsume all specificities (always being understood as divergence from Western European and North American patterns) under the all-encompassing label of socialism.

Taking all these important differences into consideration, another remarkable (macro-scale) analytical frame emerged, that of the *world-systems analysis*, placing the Central and Eastern European region within the global

power hierarchy of core countries, semi-peripheries and peripheries. An early example of this perspective can be traced in the comprehensive volume of Berend, T.I. and Ránki, Gy. (1976) but later, a more explicitly Wallersteinian reasoning is featured in the investigation of Kennedy and Smith (1989), or as recently as in the analyses of Melegh, A. (2006) or Bohle, D. and Greskovits, B. (2012). Besides this specific research tradition, the Regulation School's work on Fordist and post-Fordist *capital accumulation regimes* has also been applied in the case of the socialist (and later, post-socialist) context, and therefore, can be directly linked to the debate on the distinct or similar nature of socialist and capitalist urbanisation (see for example Altvater, E. 1993; Smith, A. and Swain, A. 1998; Chavance, B. 1994, 2002). As an important aspect of the topic, most of these analyses demonstrated that the rigid socialist half-Fordist accumulation regime was in many respects different from Western Fordist accumulation regimes characterised by more sophisticated and flexible modes of social regulation. Finally, a growing number of authors aim to establish theoretical links between modern (capitalist/socialist) and postmodern (and its specific variant, post-socialist) societies and urban development (e.g. Kharkhordin, O. 1997; Wu, F. 2003; Hirt, S. 2012).

One of the recent contributions to the debate is provided in the theoretical framework elaborated by Gentile, M. *et al*. (2012). On the one hand, their approach also shifts away from the dialectical straightjacket of the capitalism–socialism binary, yet they still explain urbanisation processes in a dichotomic manner. In their model, two idealised city types – the *homopolis* and the *heteropolis* – are introduced, along with the complex processes these urban forms are created (and shaped) by, labelled as homopolitanisation and heteropolitanisation. While the distinction of socialist and capitalist cities is of an ideological, political and economic nature, the homopolis-heteropolis theoretical construct is based on their different social and spatial structures (irrespective of the underlying political and economic systems).

During state socialism, cities (as centres) played a key role in the formation of the new society; as part of this endeavour, eliminating differences was of paramount importance, which eventually led to social, economic and spatial homogenisation, and thus, to homopolitanisation. Nonetheless, it is important to note that homopolises could be found out of the Eastern Bloc as well (such as the coal-mining town of Gelsenkirchen, Detroit and Flint, both being based on motor industry, or post-war Charleroi and Liège). In addition, several principles of socialist urban planning – including architectural modernism or the idea of neighbourhood units – were also inherently Western (before having been purified by the ideological filter of socialist central authorities).

Since these global influences were no more restricted after 1990, an extremely rapid heteropolitanisation began in Central and Eastern European cities. The result of these transformation processes is the formation of the

heteropolis, the socially and spatially complex and heterogeneous city, characterised by a high level of diversity and flexibility, as well as by a decentralized (or even fully laissez-faire) regulatory environment.

To sum up, in the light of the diverse conceptualisations and disputes outlined in this section, it is evident that the intriguing intellectual debate on the nature of capitalist and/or socialist urbanisation spanning from the 1970s is still far from being closed.

General characteristics of the post-socialist transition

According to the apt phrasing of Sýkora, L. (2009, p. 387.), the post-socialist transition is '[*a*] *broad, complex, and lengthy process of societal change starting with the refusal of communist regimes and central planning, leading to democratic political regimes and a market economy*'. In terms of urbanism, this epoch might also be understood as a period of restructuring through which cities gradually lose their former socialist specificities and turn – or, more pertinently – return to the road of capitalist urban development. Hence, post-socialist cities reflect *temporary conditions*, the dynamically evolving adaptation of the inherited socialist urban environment to the capitalist rules of the game, i.e. to the new political and economic circumstances.

The transition consists of a set of transformation processes, either initiated by the central governments (such as in the case of the initial political and economic reorientation), or spontaneously emerged due to the altered conditions (for instance in the case of the citizens' changing savings strategies or cultural habits). Nevertheless, it is important to underline that the process of the transition and the (re-)building of capitalism took place in a highly *uneven* manner in the former Eastern Bloc, both spatially and temporally. Just as capitalism is not a uniform construct (see in the works of, among others, Esping-Andersen, G. 1990; Hall, P.A. and Soskice, D. 2001), so too was not its dialectical counterpoint, socialism, and certainly its successor, post-socialism either (see e.g. Fassmann, H. 1997; Greskovits, B. 2004).

Applying a Foucauldian perspective for historical enquiry, it is always more challenging to focus on breaking points instead of continuity and linearity (Foucault, M. 2002). In this regard, one of the most essential questions raised in the extensive literature dealing with the relationship of socialism and post-socialism (such as in Andrusz, G. *et al*. 1996; Verdery, K. 1996; Fraser, N. 1997; Burawoy, M. and Verdery, K. 1999) is whether there was a sudden and sharp *break* between the two epochs (i.e. an immediate and complete reckoning with the communist past), or rather a smooth and more gradual process of *transition*? Since these systemic changes can never be *uniformly* conceptualised (either as a breaking point or as an organic process), the answer usually varies depending on

which aspects – i.e. the political, economic, cultural, demographic etc. dimensions – of the transition are being scrutinised. (Concerning the issue of temporal continuities and/or discontinuities, see the recent work of Grubbauer, M. 2012.)

Therefore, the most important aspect for the understanding of post-socialist urban change undoubtedly lies in its temporally multi-layered nature. According to Sýkora (2009), firstly a *short-term period* can be outlined when the fundamental principles of political and economic organisation are reshaped (i.e. political parties and local municipalities are established, democratic elections are held, the legal frames of market economy are implemented etc.). These changes might be realised even within a few months, usually in a top-down manner. In contrast, the *mid-term period* might last much longer, during which peoples' habits and norms are adapted to new political, economic and cultural environment: while socialism was organised along collective values these former(ly conditioned) norms slowly started to changed after 1990, depending on the intensity of global influences. The length of this transition might last up to 10–15 years in the case of certain social groups, however, in the end, the majority of post-socialist societies are also characterised by individualism, hedonism, the need of self-expression, and hybrid consumption. Finally, right from 1990, a *long-term period* also begins in which the stable patterns of urban morphology and land use are being reshaped. (These fundamental changes may take several decades.)

Still concerning the theorisation of the post-socialist transition, further complications are caused by its two-level nature. On the one hand, there is a *local*, post-socialist transition (from state socialism to market economy) but, parallel to this, there are also several *global* political, economic and cultural shifts that influence local contexts (such as the restructuring of the Fordist, Keynesian welfare state to a post-Fordist, post-Keynesian neoliberal state). Importantly, these two levels of transition are mutually interrelated and interdependent, both strengthening and weakening each other (Sýkora, L. 2009). Therefore, albeit post-1990 changes might seem internal, they are in fact deeply embedded in contemporary global processes. Consequently, when investigating the urban development trends of Central and Eastern Europe, it cannot be unequivocally assessed whether a given phenomena is the result of the post-socialist transition or that of the global restructuring (or, possibly, the particular hybridisation of the two).

Regarding global post-Fordist and post-Keynesian transformations, it is important to emphasise that Western European and North American societies have also undergone these processes, however, much earlier (during the 1960s and 1970s) and in a more gradual way. Therefore, Western policy-makers had more time to 'test' different development concepts and, if necessary, to mitigate their negative impacts. In contrast to the Western context, Central and Eastern European transition countries quickly adopted the laissez-faire model of social (and also urban) development, partly as an antidote to their totalitarian past

(Stanilov, K. 2007). During the post-socialist transition, national and urban governance is increasingly influenced by the *neoliberal doctrine*, which was initially – as a specific socialist legacy – blended with the institutions of the welfare state (Sýkora, L. 2009).

Over the past years, however, this specificity has also been changed, since state planning (and, as its part, urban and regional planning) is widely considered as being opposed to the needs of the market. As a result, the privileged group of socialist-era urban *planners* are replaced by *investors*, playing a key role in influencing the political sphere as well. Due to the overall decline in planning, uncoordinated development concepts and ad hoc decisions are becoming more and more frequent. Moreover, after the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, the (mostly uncritical) mimicry of Western practices also becomes widespread in the region.

Since the access to *foreign direct investment* (FDI) turned out to be one of the main differentiating factors of economic prosperity after 1990, the appearance of multinational companies and the growing importance of international institutions significantly reshaped local economies. As a result of the ex-socialist countries' entry into the global competition, several new actors gained the power to influence the cityscape, leading to a high-level urban fragmentation (Gentile, M. *et al*. 2012). Besides that, the process of rapid and incautious *privatisation* – considered as the leitmotif of the post-socialist period by Bodnár (2001) – also greatly contributed to the fragmentation of urban space (see also in Grime, K. 1999). The extraordinary scope and impact of privatisation is reflected in the private homeownership rates of several Central and Eastern European countries being around 90 percent, especially when compared to the mere 67 percent of the United States, the so-called 'nation of homeowners' (Hirt, S. 2012, p. 44).

Finally, even though it might be less evident but the transition had indirect *demographic* consequences as well. The main political aim of the socialist leadership, at least at the level of official propaganda, was the creation of a (more) just society, which was to be achieved – besides collectivisation – by the state-controlled allocation of housing (Sýkora, L. 2009). As a result, the official marriages and the compulsory childbearing required for these subsidies both contributed to the survival of the tradition family model, and also 'protected' socialist countries against the alarming demographic trends of Western societies. Although these need-based housing policy principles would have triggered social homogeneity, however, in practice, the (re-)allocation of housing rather depended on political merits, party membership etc. To conclude, the spatial stratification and segregation patterns of socialist cities were not only affected by macro-structures but also by the decisions of individual agents connected to childbearing, party membership, political engagement and so forth (Gentile, M. *et al*. 2012).

Based on the above-discussed considerations, the post-socialist transition definitely caused elementary changes in the affected societies. From the perspective of over two decades, we might assert that the first years of the transformation fulfilled the grim prediction of John Maynard Keynes from 1933, according to whom '*a transition will involve so much pure destruction of wealth that the new state of affairs will be, at first, far worse than the old*' (cited in Hirt, S. 2012, p. 40). Correspondingly, countries of the former Eastern Bloc were characterised by a sudden decrease of GDP, peaking unemployment, unleashed inflation, and re-emerged ethnic conflicts in the first half of the 1990s. The level of social polarisation rapidly increased, both between and within countries, as well as between and within cities. Although later, around the turn of the millennia, the first signs of economic recovery already appeared but the acute social problems still remained, and the economic growth of Central and Eastern European countries was disrupted by the recession of the past years.

The specificities of the urban structure of socialist and post-socialist cities

When taking stock of the literature dealing with the period of socialism and post-socialism, Stanilov, K. (2007) highlights that the majority of works primarily focused on the economic and political aspects of the transition, while relatively little attention has been paid to urban structure analyses to date. The rare exceptions include the general model of Sýkora (2009) as well as a number of post-1990 case studies (e.g. Csanádi, G. and Ladányi, J. 1992; or Dingsdale, A. 1999, for Budapest; Sýkora, L. 1999, for Prague). The main conclusion of these investigations was that state socialism (lasting for over four decades) created several common characteristics in Central and Eastern European cities which markedly – both morphologically and aesthetically – distinguished them from the capitalist cities of the same era.

Generally speaking, socialist cities were scrupulously planned, characterised by uniformity and the lack of spontaneity (Hamilton, F.E.I. 1979). However, as the most important morphological difference between the two types, they were significantly denser and more *compact*, especially when compared to the sprawling North American metropolises. This difference can be traced back to the preceding capitalist – and in some places even medieval – built environment of the cities. Since these legacies could not be easily removed or eliminated, the socialist power concentrated on new constructions (mostly multi-storey prefabricated buildings) at the edge of the cities on the one hand, and on infill developments on the other hand (Sýkora, L. 2009).

Furthermore, as another significant dissimilarity, their inner city neighbourhoods were surrounded by vast housing estates. Hence, in contrast to the North American metropolis, the verticality of the socialist city was growing

from the centre to its edges (using the terminology of Gentile, M. *et al*. 2012, 293., '*hollow*' cities were created). Nevertheless, contrary to their otherwise compact form, in other regards, socialist planning was indeed generous with urban space: throughout the entire Eastern Bloc, enormous parade squares and monumental representative buildings have been erected in the reshaped historical inner city areas (such as the Procession Square in Budapest or the Palace of Parliament in Bucharest). With the transition, completely opposite processes began, since contemporary post-socialist cities are rather characterised by shrinking public spaces and expanding private ones (Hirt, S. 2012).

Along with the subordinated role of services, the economy of the socialist city was dominated by industry (both in terms of employment and land use). One of the underlying ideological reasons of this one-sided economic structure was to keep manual workers (as a revolutionary force) in major cities (Sýkora, L. 2009). This strong industrial character was, however, coupled with a generally weak retail supply even during the last years of state socialism: according to Tosics, I. (2005), in the early 1990s retail space per person was three times lower in Moscow than in Berlin. Urban services, such as hospitals, schools and cultural institutions were planned in a hierarchical manner, based on the economies of scale. For a better accessibility of public services, socialist cities heavily relied on mass transportation: whereas 80-90 percent of urban trips were carried out by mass transit in the late 1980s, this proportion decreased to only 50 percent by now, while private car ownership nearly tripled in the region (Hirt, S. 2012, p. 44).

Socialist cities were not only different from their Western counterparts in terms of their spatial patterns and morphology but also regarding their social character: they were characterised by lower levels of diversity, segregation, marginality and informality, and in general – due to the permanent surveillance by the authorities – they were 'safer' as well (Hirt, S. 2012).

Remarkably, most of the pre-socialist patterns of residential differentiation re-emerged during the transition, while new enclaves also appeared in these cities. After 1990, however, not only the level of socio-spatial disparities and the stratification of societies increased but the social groups' mobility as well, even though the main directions of migration dynamically changed. In the first period, during the 1990s, the least prosperous urban areas (primarily run-down inner city neighbourhoods and large housing estates) were affected by a selective out-migration of younger and higher qualified inhabitants (usually moving to the suburbs). This was, in the majority of ex-socialist countries, followed by the re-appreciation of inner city areas from the 2000s, through contradictory gentrification processes leading to the exclusion of less affluent social groups. Finally, and most recently, another kind of migration is fuelled by the economic crisis of the past years in Central and Eastern Europe: besides the younger generations' flow to Western Europe (and partly to North America),

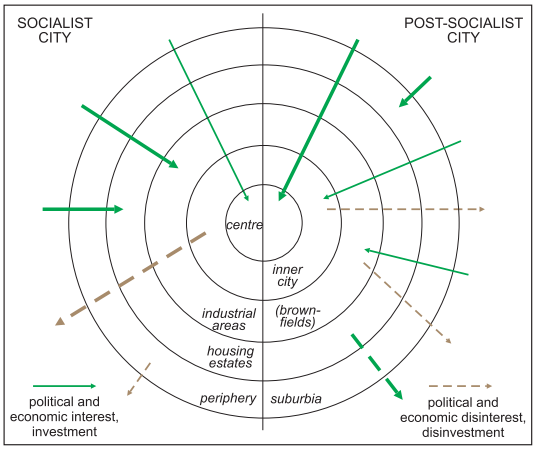

Fig. 2. Changing political and economic interests in socialist and post-socialist cities. *Source:* after Sýkora, L. 2009, modified by the author

more and more low income urban residents tend to move to countryside areas as part of their daily survival strategies.

Beyond the general characteristics of the morphological, functional and social transformation of socialist cities, it might also be beneficial to review the changing pre- and post-1990 roles and power positions of different *urban zones*. Hereinafter, a concise overview of these changes will be provided, based on the extension of the comparative model of Sýkora (2009) *(Figure 2*).

The city centre and the inner city

In the socialist period, besides residential properties, the cities' central cores and inner areas were characterised by representative governmental and municipal buildings, as well as by public institutions responsible for the residents' ideological education (such as cultural centres or libraries), as a sharp contrast to business-driven Western architecture. At the same time, however, inner cities were also treated as the hideout of the bourgeoisie, stigmatised as reactionists and considered as the enemies of the state. As a consequence, in some inner city areas even damages from World War II remained untouched for decades. Due to their gradual deterioration, radical inner city reformulations were carried out from the 1970s. (Thus, from today's perspective, areas which remained intact and neglected owing to the indifference of state authority might be regarded as much more fortunate ones.) Urban regeneration endeavours aimed at the refurbishment of central residential neighbourhoods were only initiated as late as in the 1980s, primarily in the form of cautious attempts and smaller-scale experiments (Sýkora, L. 2009).

After 1990, the fate of city centres and inner residential areas was rather diverse. In some of the post-socialist metropolises, American and Eastern Asian-style central business districts emerged with high-rise architecture (e.g. in Moscow, Warsaw or Belgrade), whereas in other cities, the main emphasis was instead placed on the conservation and/or rehabilitation of historical urban areas (such as

in Prague or Budapest), although with a particular attention to the needs of mass tourism (Stanilov, K. 2007). In addition, large-scale urban revitalisation investments were in many cases not fully controlled or steered by local municipalities but by international capital; therefore, such ventures were rarely tailored to the requirements of local residents. As a result of the so-called '*spotlight renovation*' practices (affecting only relatively small areas), post-socialist city centres and inner city districts are still Janus-faced; youthful and rapidly gentrifying neighbourhoods create striking contrasts with the ageing, blighted urban quarters.

The former industrial areas

Industrial areas – originally established and developed on the edge of cities in the late 19th century – were of paramount importance for the newly settled socialist leadership; thus, due to the commonly believed primacy of industrial production, these areas immediately fell in the hands of the state through nationalisation. Along with the massive ring of new housing estates, monofunctional industrial districts became the central authorities' most favoured and supported urban zones. However, while the process of deindustrialisation set into motion in the advanced capitalist countries already in the 1960s and 1970s, the cities of the Eastern Bloc – owing to the secure hinterland of the COMECON-market and the Soviet Union – were not affected by these changes. Under the aegis of the inflexible central planning, the vast majority of the large state-owned industrial enterprises were artificially maintained for political and legitimating reasons until as late as 1990; as a result, cities of state-socialism did not undergo the far-reaching post-Fordist transformation processes typical for the Western capitalist economies.

Central and Eastern European cities, however, paid a high price for these state interventions, as the extremely rapid deindustrialisation processes starting right after 1990 had more serious consequences in the region compared to the West. Due to robust restructuring the economy of post-socialist cities rapidly shifted from manufacturing to the tertiary sector in the early 1990s. As a result, similarly to the inner city neighbourhoods, the contemporary character of the former industrial areas is also highly ambiguous; in this case, a relatively low number of successful brownfield regeneration projects can be found against vast areas of derelict industrial land still incapable for renewal.

The socialist housing estates

Besides the damage wrought by World War II, the most radical intervention in the urban tissue of Central and Eastern European cities during the entire 20th

century was undoubtedly caused by the mass-scale construction of socialist housing estates. The devastation of the war and the subsequent baby boom together resulted in an acute housing shortage which also closely coincided with the ideological and urban development endeavours of the newly established socialist regime aiming at creating a new society with an entirely new (socialist) way of life. The construction of housing estates began on the extensive empty (in today's terminology, 'greenfield') areas then abundantly available around the cities' industrial districts, and indeed, this form of (mass-)housing initially provided decent living conditions for the newcomers, especially for low-skilled industrial workers.

After 1990, housing estates became the biggest losers of post-socialist transition, partly due to their outdated technological solutions, and partly as a consequence of the rapid ageing processes caused by selective outmigration. As a consequence, a significant number of socialist-era housing estates are still facing complex societal challenges (see Csizmady, A. 2003). Therefore, while socialist regimes concentrated on the empty areas located on the urban fringe in order to establish mass-scale housing and large industrial conglomerates, post-socialist urban development – mainly due to the newly emerging suburbanisation processes – stretches far beyond the administrative borders of the former socialist city. According to Stanilov (2007), the post-1990 urban growth simply 'leaped' over the immovable ring of housing estates, once representing the quintessence of socialist urban planning. Nevertheless, despite the massive outmigration from these areas, a significant share of the population in post-socialist cities still resides in large housing estates (e.g. 82% of the total population in Bucharest, 77% in Bratislava, 60% in Sofia, 56% in Warsaw, and 55% in Tallinn) (Hirt, S. 2012, p. 35).

The former periphery – The contemporary suburbia

Socialist cities preserved their compact character, they were not girdled with a vast, sprawling suburban zone. Large neighbourhoods of detached houses were not desirable for the socialist regime, since this form of housing would have provided residents with too much private space, possibly contributing to a capitalist-type of residential segregation (according to these opinions, as cited by Hirt, S. 2012, p. 40, '*it is the yard that makes the bourgeois*'). Consequently, in contrast to the extensive American suburbia, socialist cities were mainly surrounded by agricultural land, occasionally dotted with industrial new towns (Szirmai, V. 1988) established after World War II. During this period, large cities (as central places) represented the apex of the redistributive system, whereas the adjacent areas were primarily considered as their periphery, in many cases having been suppressed via administrative tools as well.

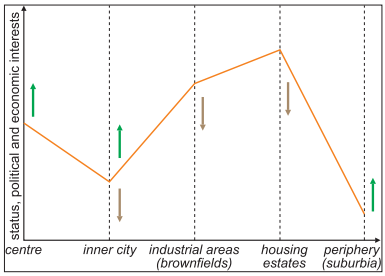

Fig. 3. The changing political and economic status of socialist urban areas during the post-socialist transition. *Source:* after Sýkora, L. 2009, modified by the author

Hence, the massive outflow of urban population and the rise of suburban areas began only after 1990. This process was further accelerated by the liberalisation of the real estate market and a booming private car ownership. In spite of the negative environmental impacts of urban sprawl, residential flows were soon followed by the suburbanisation of the industry and – to a lesser extent – the services sector as well. As a result, along with city centres, the formerly neglected and peripheral suburban areas became undoubtedly the most dynamically developing areas of contemporary post-socialist agglomerations.

As shown by *Figure 3*, the overall status of the different urban zones, as well as the political and economic interests related to these areas have both undergone a significant realignment in post-socialist cities after 1990, mainly heading towards a completely opposite direction compared to pre-transition processes and power relations (Sýkora, L. 2009). Areas previously preferred by the communist regimes immediately lost their privileged positions, whereas the ones that were less supported – for ideological reasons – became the most prosperous areas of recent years. To conclude, this intra-urban equilibration process might be referred to as '*the paradox of post-socialist transition*'.

Future perspectives of post-socialist cities

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of state-socialism caused overwhelming changes in East Central Europe. Stanilov (2007) identifies it as a global-scale Pruitt-Igoe, the most remarkable moment of the dawn of modernity. Concerning epochal demarcations, Hirt (2012) draws similar parallels when comparing the era of socialism and post-socialism with the binary of modernity and post-modernity, highlighting the apparent similarities between post-modern and post-socialist urbanism.

Concerning the future perspectives of post-socialist cities, the most comprehensive overview is provided by Kiril Stanilov (2007), who outlines four possible development scenarios based on macro-regional urbanisation trends.

(1) In the long term, he sees the possibility of a West European-type development, characterised by controlled rates of suburbanisation, vibrant central and inner city areas, high quality public services, and noticeable (although not excessive) patterns of social stratification.

(2) In contrast, the North American model is rather dominated by higher levels of privatisation and spatial deconcentration, as well as a stronger segregation by income and ethnicity.

(3) Thirdly, an East Asian-type of urban development path might be characterised by the coexistence of an exceptionally rapid economic growth and strong local cultural traditions.

(4) Finally, he also warns about the possible emergence of a fourth kind of (over-, or dependent) urbanisation typical of Third World countries. This model is characterised by an uncontrollable rate of population growth exceeding the ability of the economy and the government to provide jobs and an appropriate urban infrastructure, consequently leading to increasing urban informality.

Thus far, according to Stanilov, post-socialist urban development exhibits select features of these models. Over the past 10–15 years, the vitality of inner city neighbourhoods has undoubtedly grown (in correspondence with the Western European model), while the unleashed suburbanisation, the growing fascination with (mass-)consumer culture, and the all-encompassing privatisation processes rather resemble the North American development path. Until the recession of 2008, several Central and Eastern European regions and cities were characterised by East Asian-type 'booming' economies, however, as an alarming signal of the fourth model, the rapid erosion of public service provision can also be observed in post-socialist cities. Beyond all these urban development processes, the increasing level of socio-economic polarisation is definitely one of the most enduring aspects of the so-called 'bifurcated transition' (Hirt, S. 2012), i.e. the simultaneous appearance and coexistence of First World-style and Third World-style capitalisms.

In whichever direction the urbanisation processes of transition countries may eventually turn, it is obvious that the inhabitants of post-socialist cities still have to face several local and global challenges. Within the ex-socialist countries joining the European Union in 2004 and 2007, according to the statement of a 2008 World Bank report, even though "*the transition is over, but the Schumpeterian process of creative destruction is not*" (Alam, A. *et al*., 2008, p. 29).

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The uneven struggle for bluefields: waterfront transformation in post-socialist Bratislava

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Abstract

Waterfront areas are undergoing rapid transformation in many post-socialist cities. This paper focuses on the uneven access to the waterfront in post-socialist Bratislava. We use the bluefield concept of Pinch, P. and Munt, I. (2002). The goal of the paper is to investigate the mechanisms and key forces of waterfront transformation in post-socialist Bratislava in the context of institutional practices, where the role of individual stakeholders and planning are critically evaluated. The limited capacity of post-socialist institutions to mediate and respond to the dynamically increasing demand to waterfronts is highlighted. In the paper two case study areas are investigated with sharply different conditions. In the case of Karlova Ves cove contradictions between the use value and exchange value is demonstrated, leading to a sharp struggle among potential users. The transformation of the second chosen area, Jarovce river branch, demonstrates a power invasion in the area and the illegal privatisation of public areas by 'better off' people. The comparison of transformations of these two localities in a relatively similar time frame, provides a picture about the uneven struggle for access. Both discussed examples draw attention to persisting institutional adaptation and the fragile *de facto* position of the municipality in urban development.

Keywords: waterfront transformation; bluefield regeneration; uneven development; post-socialist city; urban planning; Bratislava;

Introduction

Delayed industrial decentralization in post-socialist cities combined with their dynamic adaptation to new socio-economic and political conditions is significantly reflected at urban waterfronts. Nowadays, urban areas in the vicinity of boatyards previously symbolic for industrial development are adopting to new socio-economic needs. Meantime post-socialist cities open to new flows of capital, the globalisation of real estate market, along with other significant factors are gradually changing

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their socio-spatial structure. Under these circumstances waterfronts represent areas of conflicts, where different interests of various stakeholders and hierarchy levels are clashing in the fragile post-socialist institutional environment.

The post-socialist cities of Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Belgrade, Bratislava, Budapest, Prague, Tallinn) are good examples for pervasive waterfront transformations. However, it is also necessary to underline that these cities have different trajectories and starting positions. The literature to date dedicated to industrial decentralization in post-socialist cities focuses either on the structural-horizontal changes in these cities (e.g. Kiss, É. 2007; Sýkora, L. 2001, 2007; Temelová, J. 2009), or the transformation of selected urban districts (e.g. Bučeк, J. 2006; Ilík, J. and Ouředníček, O. 2007). Other authors focus on the asymmetric relations between the main stakeholders of urban development and the practices of urban development and planning (e.g. Cook, A. 2010; Nedović-Budić, Z. 2001; Stanilov, K. 2007). Only limited attention has been paid so far to the radical transformation of urban waterfronts, their causes and conditions; or their wider socio-economic and political implications.

This paper aims at evaluating the role of individual stakeholders in the transformation of selected bluefield areas in post-socialist Bratislava, with special attention to the role of public institutions and urban planning. We focus on the ongoing waterfront transformation in Bratislava on the micro-level, with two separate and highly contrasting case studies. Both cases belong to that part of the waterfront which is functionally closely related to the water surface (e.g. harbours, shipyards, bays for water sports, houseboats etc.). The reason why we pay specific attention to these localities is their dependence on water as a public good as well as their social background. Pinch, P. and Munt, I. (2002) consider the infrastructure dependent on water as „*bluefield*". We understand by this also the adjacent area with primary functions basically dependent on water.

Our paper is divided into three parts. In the first section we put the transformation of bluefield areas into a wider theoretical context. We provide an overview about the literature on waterfront development and also present key concepts that help identifying areas and defining the main driving forces leading to their transformation.

The second section of the paper focuses on the transformation of Karlova Ves cove, where the progress shows a struggle between water enthusiasts and citizens for preservation and development of activities dependant on water. Based on our research we identify three main areas that significantly influence the current image of transformation of the area. The third part offers a contrasting case of transformation, the river branch in Jarovce where we observe the occupation of the area by a closed group of politically, economically and socially powerful people whose status is in sharp contrast with water enthusiasts of Karlova Ves cove. In the conclusion we summarise our findings from the two cases and discuss their wider implications.

Conceptualising waterfront transformation

Waterfront transformation has been discussed in scientific literature for more than half a century. The first studies focused on mutual relationships between city and harbour and visualised them with general models. Later, several publications contributed to the conceptualisation of waterfront transformation (e.g. Hoyle, B. *et al.* 1988; Bruttomesso, R. 1993; Malone, P. 1997; Marshall, R. 2001; Desfor, G. *et al.* 2011).

Waterfronts have been and often are used in favour of pro-growth strategies in the growing international competition of cities. Many urban geographers and authors from other disciplines focused on waterfronts as spatial laboratories. They analysed waterfronts from various perspectives such as the symbolic value of waterfronts regarding the planning or the marketing of the city (Short, J.R. *et al.* 1993). The conflicting nature of waterfront regeneration and the role of various stakeholders were evaluated in the case of Berlin by Scharenberg, A. and Bader, I. (2009). Perceptions of citizens and the socio-economic impact of flagship projects were investigated by Doucet, B. *et al.* (2010). Significant interest has also been paid to the role of planning documents, applied policies and regimes of governance (e.g. Coiacetto, E. 2007; Hoyle, B. 2000; Breen, A. and Rigby, D. 1994; Feldman, M. 2000; Gordon, D.L.A. 1996, 1997; Marshall, R. 2001; Imrie, R. *et al.* 2009).

However, only a limited number of papers put the emphasis on the conceptualisation of waterfront transformation, its relevance for society, and the complex relationships within urban region at different hierarchical levels. Critical urban geographers looked at the relationship between urbanisation, capital, water and development (e.g. Swynegdouw, E. 2004; Harvey, D. 1989; Malone, P. 1997). Marcuse and Van Kempen, R. (2000) labelled waterfronts as „*soft location*", i.e. areas where processes of globalisation and post-fordist transformation are even more obvious and have specific socio-spatial implications. Only a few studies of waterfront transformation have shown deeper causality and evaluation of outcomes for the city and its society. In a certain way we lack a critical discussion about the legitimacy of the newly built, functionally mixed projects replacing old functions. Where such studies exist, they question their contribution to society as a whole (Pinder, D.A. and Hoyle, B.S. 1992).

The movement of people, goods and capital is typical for waterfronts and makes them a gate into the city. Desfor, G. *et al.* (2011) presented a geographical conceptualisation of waterfront transformation with the *‚fixity and flows*' concept based on underlining static and dynamic elements of the environment. They pointed out the understanding of waterfronts as places existing within the networks of historical relationships, through transportation of objects, information and people. These historical relations significantly influence the origin of power relations in the whole network. Desfor, G. *et al.* compares the impacts of power

relations on space with the influence of flows emphasised by Castells, M. (1996), who highlights the importance of informational and technological revolution in the 1980s and its influence on economics. The importance of power relations in the multiple transformations of post-socialist cities are also emphasised by Sýkora, L. and Bouzarovski, S. (2012). According to them post-socialist cities are cities in transition which experience revolutionary changes as an outcome of their long societal evolution which has path dependent character (Sýkora, L. 2008).

We understand by waterfront transformation a continuous process of urban adaptation from industrial to post-industrial waterfront development triggered by technological innovation and a complex set of socio-economic relations which have been transforming waterfronts into places with a postmodern consumer culture and increasingly segregated places with a dual character.

Waterfronts represent transforming localities where people, capital, institutions and politics play a crucial role. Waterfront transformation has usually an overall impact on the city and its region (e.g. the Bilbao effect). Waterfronts have been frequently used in place-making and competition for global capital at the expense of social justice and direct social displacement. At the same time we think that during the evaluation of this transformation the geography of places, different social needs, urban hierarchy and institutional environment of different cities cannot be ignored. Therefore, we think that time, space and scale should be fundamental criteria in various attempts to evaluate such transformations.

In this paper we focus on specific parts of waterfronts which we consider especially important when we talk about transforming waterfronts, namely '*bluefields'*. Pinch, P. and Munt, I. (2002, p. 172) define '*bluefield' as "Infrastructures, such as piers, wharfs, jetties, slipways and boatyards, need to be acknowledged as inextricably related to the use and 'development' of waterspaces" and could be reclassified as 'bluefield' sites"*. However, we widen its application for infrastructure as well as adjacent shores i.e. areas with functions that are primarilly dependent on water surface and creates a background for water related activities. Or to put it in other words, areas and infrastructure that mediate interactions between water and land. We use the „bluefield" concept to draw the attention to the heterogeneity of shores which are currently represented in urban planning from a land based perspective and by terrestrial discourse. This heterogeneity has an influence on people's physical access to water and its uneven transformation has therefore social consequences for whom and where these gates are open. This article shows an uneven struggle for these sites in two case studies: Karlova Ves cove and Jarovce river branch.

The growing capital value of the waterfront in post-socialist Bratislava generates increasing disconformities between the use and exchange value of these sites, considered also by David Harvey (2014) to be one of the basic contradictions of capitalism. Both areas are used for active and passive recreation in an increasingly dense urban core of Bratislava. Therefore, these functions

especially in Karloveska Cove have high use value for citizens. On the other hand, increasing capital value of the land increases the pressure and, therefore, the exchange value of this land on the real estate market. As a consequence, new functions with higher exchange value replace water related activities. These disconformities between the use and exchange value have a wider social impact when the popular functions historically located in certain areas are being replaced according to the exchange value of the land for a significantly narrower group of consumers. Due to the pressure of exchange value such geographically and socially valuable areas are becoming socially more selective and within the current uneven transformation functionally more homogenous.

Research questions and methodology

The process of waterfront transformation in post-socialist Bratislava characterised by asymmetric power relations among stakeholders raises several questions: What are the benefits of the transformation for the city and its citizens? Does this transformation increase the quality of life of local people and their happiness? Who influences the outcomes and impacts of the waterfront transformation? What type of injustices are being created and how they could be avoided? Bearing these questions in mind, we focus on cases which provide different access to water for people with different social and power position in the society and we analyse the role of planning and institution in this process. Consequently, we can contribute to the debate on how uneven and dual the transformation really is.

The main research techniques we applied were: qualitative analysis of planning and other official documents, content analysis of media coverage, semi-structured in-depth interviews and a field survey. Subsidiary knowledge and information were obtained from a series of public discussions thematically aimed at Bratislava waterfront (2011), from the professional seminar "turn towards the river"[2] and, "*urban-walk*"[3] in Karlova Ves cove.

We evaluated the following spatial planning documents: Land Use Plan of the Slovak capital Bratislava (2007), Changes and amendment to land use plan 02 (2010), Urbanistic zone study Karlova Ves cove (2003) and Law from the 27th of April 1976 on spatial planning and construction order. In the above mentioned spatial planning documents we focused on the obligatory but in some cases also on non-obligatory parts and their perception and importance for examined areas of the city.

[2] International seminar organised by the author of this article in 2013, was dedicated to the issue of waterfront regeneration. Participants included actors from the public and private sector, academics etc.

[3] Urban walk – project organised by Tomáš Hanáčik in Karlova Ves cove in 2013

In both cases we first made a chronological reconstruction of the historical genesis of the area mostly based on primary documents (official information documents, petition documents etc. altogether 11 documents), analysed media documents (local newspapers, state-wide journals, web pages and portals etc.) and acquired information from semi-structured discussion. Information was acquired by analysis of daily press, internet and media, verified by triangulation – within the primary sources and actors. The statements of stakeholders published on their own web pages were interpreted.

Semi-structured interviews with main stakeholders included representatives of the city, state institutions; independent professionals; water sportsmen, activists; prosecutor. They were the main sources and verifying tools of the acquired information and attitudes. In several cases we used phone calls, or email and in the case of newcomers informal discussions. In total 14 people were interviewed – some of them twice in order to verify and specify the collected information.

Karlova Ves cove: struggle for access to water

Karlova Ves cove represents a valuable area with citywide importance from the environmental point of view as well as from its historical role regarding water sports. Several generations of water sportsmen were trained in the area who represented Slovakia and Czechoslovakia at the most prestigious international sport events. Considering the mechanisms of Karlova Ves cove's transformation, we identified 3 key areas which significantly influence the development of the area (*Figure 1)*.

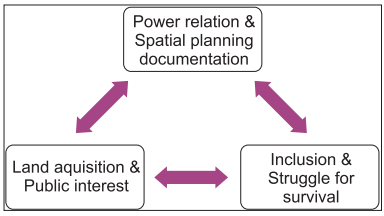

Fig. 1. Mechanism of waterfront development at Karlova Ves cove

Portioning Karlova Ves cove: power relations and spatial planning

Portioning of Karlova Ves cove is a continuous process. As a first step an urbanistic study for the area was elaborated, which was followed by changes in relevant spatial planning documents. These changes showed the growing interest of the market towards the cove in favour of higher exchange value (i.e. residential function). The question arises who is favoured by the rezoning process and to what extent urban development is regulated and controlled by the public sector in Bratislava. Before we start the analysis of the planning process it is necessary to underline that the city's land-use plan (further LUP) itself allows a wide range of interpretations due to the disequilibrium between the obligatory and non-obligatory parts.

When the transformation of Karlova Ves cove started (around the turn of the new millennium), a LUP from 1993 regulating the use of the area in scale of 1:25,000 was still valid. The urbanistic study of 2003 elaborated by a private company regulated the area in scale of 1:1,000 and became the main spatial planning groundwork for the 'Karloveske rameno I.' project. The project envisaged the dominance of housing function, surrounded by a boatyard and auxiliary buildings from the west and the reconstruction of the former Slavia complex with a dominant function of water sports in the east. The project was completed between 2004 and 2006 and it became one of the first contemporary interventions at Bratislava's waterfront. Two newly built residential objects were constructed at the edge of the regulated area (with codes 501[4] a 401[5]).

The comparison of the satellite image of the area with the proposals of the urbanistic study shows clearly the development of a poly-functional area (*Photo 1* and *Figure 2*.). This discrepancy between the urbanistic study and reality was caused by the non-obligatory nature of the urbanistic study which has from the legal point of view only recommending character. So while the urbanistic study was created especially for the project, at the end of the day it had no binding influence on the extent of designed project.

In 2007 the new LUP which integrated main elements of the urbanistic study of 2003 was approved. This brought about an extension of 501 code (func-

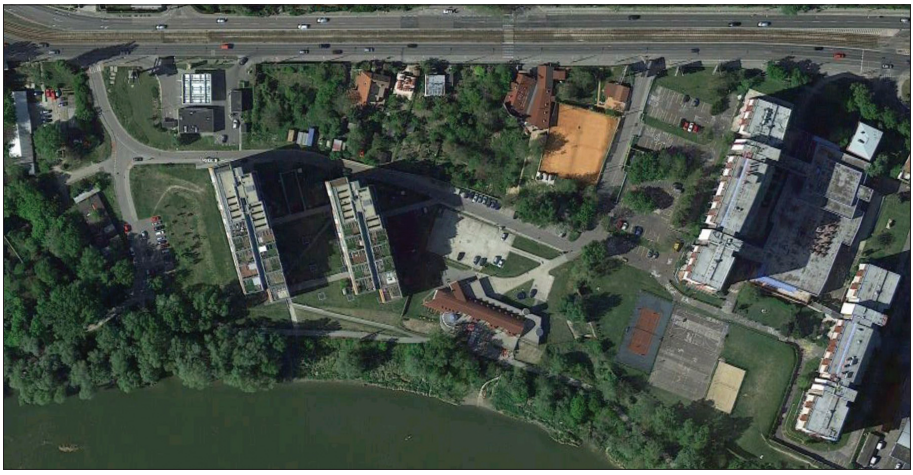

Photo 1. Satellite image of the area. *Source*: Google Earth

[4] 501 – mixed territories of housing and civic facilities
[5] 401 – sport, physical education and leisure

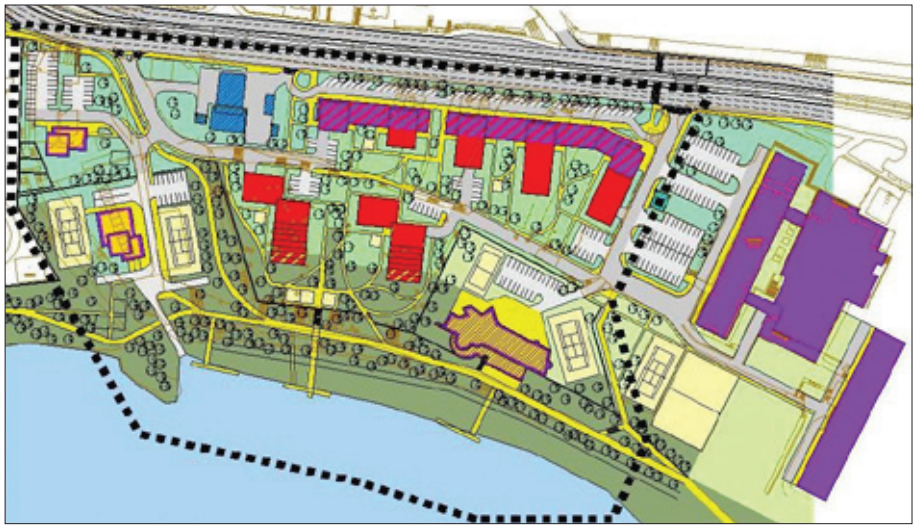

Fig. 2. Complex functional usage proposed by the urbanistic study
Source: Urbanistic study, 2003.

tionally mixed areas) at the expense of 401 code (areas designated for sport, physical education and leisure) and changed the scale of regulation from 1:1,000 to 1:10,000[6]. This important change removed from the planning document the detailed resolution of functional and spatial planning in scale 1:1,000, which has been replaced by general regulation of 501 and 401 codes in scale 1:10,000. As later on became clear, the shift in scale of planning documents in combination with extension of code 501, created preconditions for the expansion of mixed-use functions on the land previously dedicated to sport and leisure.

Private-public partnership

After the completion of the first phase of 'Karloveske rameno I.' the transformation of Karlova Ves cove was supposed to continue with the construction of the identical third building with a similar function but different name, on a neighbouring area (*Photo 2*). During the period of project preparation there

[6] It has to be mentioned that regulation of the urbanistic study was non-obligatory – obligatory at that time was regulation of the previous LUP 1:25,000. In other words, if we have ignored the urbanistic study, the obligatory scale has changed from 1:25,000 to 1:10,000. Regardless the urbanistic study being obligatory or not, it is still an official planning document that was elaborated in cooperation between the municipality and elaborator/investor for the purpose of a more detailed regulation of the concerned area.

Photo 2. The proposed scheme of 'Karloveske rameno III.' project.
Source: www.skyscrapercity.com

was a change in the definition of planning code 401. Although the original one had a less rigorous wording it forbade construction of apartment blocks. However, the acting director of the company stated in a national newspaper that as well as sportsmen from local sport clubs, anyone interested in buying a flat could live in the building.

Surprisingly, the municipality issued a concurrent binding declaration for the object construction even without examining detailed fulfilling of the regulation of the area, for which it was later blamed for by the procurator. The subject matter of the concurrent binding declaration was attacked by the general attorney office (repeatedly called for by the citizens). The municipality after the protest of the general attorney's office did not approve its previous suggestions, but came up with its own explanation why it cannot approve the previous concurrent binding declaration. So at the end the municipality froze the project due to formal reasons which are not in line with the arguments of citizens and attorney. In other words the municipality defended itself and is still in line with the investment.

The selection process of elaborator of planning document for the area was realised on the basis of public procurement, where the main criterion was the price. The reality as one of the respondents noted is "*Competition for competition. In reality it is about who is the most courageous to give a price that would not even cover the basic expenses*". The member of the construction and territorial planning committee of city district Karlova Ves stated that the office deals with dumping prices. The winner of the public procurement process estimated his two year work of territorial plan elaboration for 1,500 EUR, the second bid was 4,500 EUR.

The estimation of a qualified respondent was at minimum 4.5–5 times higher than the price of the current elaborator. The process of selection of private elaborator on the basis of price – not idea (or content and quality), strengthened the power of private actors in elaboration of territorial planning and led to the selection of the same elaborator who prepared the case of study in 2003. It was the mayor of Karlova Ves district who chose the elaborator of the regulatory documentation directly on the basis of the second lowest price in the public procurement process.

Land acquisition and public interest

The interest of developer in Karlova Ves cove was manifested in buying the plots in the area. The lots included in 'Karloveské rameno I.' were expanded on both sides of the project. Almost two months after the approval of the new spatial plan (which expanded the surface of 501 code in the area) the city district Karlova Ves sold the public property directly to a developer company without any competition. The sale was initiated by the mayor of Karlova Ves. The representatives of Karlova Ves and the city approved the sale of the estate on the basis of information regarding function and general intention, without any knowledge about specific functional and spatial segmentation of the estate (moreover, the estate was crossed by the border dividing the area between codes 401 and 501).

After signing the contract of sale, a private-public partnership was set up. It took more than ten months for the developer to fulfil its obligations according to the signed contact while the municipality or the city could cancel the contract after 30 days. During these ten months, on the one hand a civic petition *"Save the access to the Danube and Karlova Ves cove for the citizens"* was initiated, while on the other hand the city gave permission for the developer (before it settled its obligations) to cut out trees in the area still owned by the city. This clearly shows that the municipality favoured private interests.

The civic movement became one of the key stakeholders in the transformation of Karlova Ves cove. It was the activity and endeavour of non-organized public that defended its rights to the area in this uneven struggle. Three weeks after the public hearing of the direct sale of the estates in Karlova Ves cove, citizens wrote and signed a petition called "Save the access to Danube and Karlova Ves bay for the citizens". The citizens used this petition to express clearly their fears of the proposed project.

Despite the civic petition, (almost seven months from petition formation) the district mayor and the former mayor of Bratislava signed the contract with the developer company without any selection procedure. After complicated obtaining of the information that the estate was finally sold, the citizens started again a new petition under different name "Safe the access to the waters of Danube in Karlova Ves cove for the citizens." Among the main arguments of the petition were: "...significant limitation of sport activities development in this area, mostly for the youngsters; limiting the access of citizens to the river branch of Danube, to the cycle route and new promenade". The public and water sportsmen clearly declared their feeling that the development is not supporting but limiting the development of sports activities in Karlova Ves cove.

Jarovce river branch: demonstration of power in the urbanisation of water

Boathouses began to appear in the Jarovce river branch of the Danube in Bratislava after the Velvet Revolution. During communism the Danube as international border-zone was strictly regulated and controlled. After opening the area to the public Jarovce river branch became the target of a small group of wildlife enthusiasts, active fishermen and water sportsmen whose boats and boathouses started to spread there. In 1993 there were only 3 boathouses in the river branch belonging to private owners, however, since 2002 their number has started to grow rapidly and by 2001 it reached 146 (*Figure 3*). Simultaneously, the interest in mooring in the Jarovce river branch grew enormously.

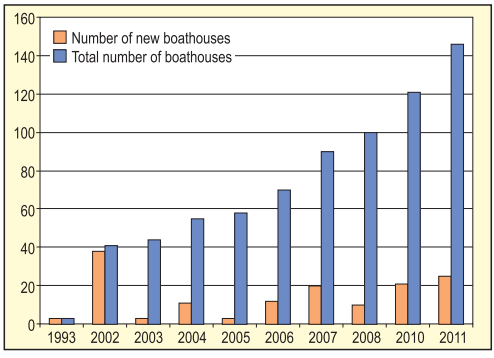

Fig. 3. Number of boathouses in the Jarovce arm of the Danube.
Source: Plus 7 dni

The current capacity of mooring in the Danube´s meander in Jarovce is defined as 226 positions by the Slovak Water Management Enterprise. Out of them about 150 are already occupied. The average price of a boathouse is estimated to be between 100 and 200 thousand EUR.

Rules – just for some

In terms of land use regulations we can conclude that the territory is regulated in favour of active recreation and preservation of the natural environment. Jarovce river branch is part of the protected forests near the Danube. However, not all of the new boathouses are owned or occupied by enthusiasts of nature, just the opposite.

Damage caused by newcomers in the protected area are estimated by the State Nature Conservation Office to be 437,713 EUR. These damages were caused by cutting out of protected trees, shrubs or other vegetation in order to make easy access to the river. Illegally modified river banks, construction of summer shelters or other permanent structures, building access roads for cars led to a fundamental change in the character of the conservation area. None of these structures built on the river bank met the criteria set by legislation and the city LUP. They were built arbitrarily without planning or acquiring building permission. Moreover, the absence of defining a boathouse in the law as property guarantees the owners' exemption from tax (property tax), at the same time owners enjoy sewage, and water supply free of charge. Therefore, newcomers do not normally ask permit from the Building Authority, but only mooring permission from the Traffic Department (former State Navigation Administration).

The inherited, inflexible but still valid Building Act from 1976 is constantly criticised especially for the easy legalisation of illegal constructions. Demolition of illegal buildings has hardly occurred. The main obstacle to the clearance of illegal constructions is the unknown ownership of the property.

Illegal colonisation of water

In Jarovce river branch the power ambitions of boathouse owners in the form of privatisation of public spaces can clearly be observed. State-owned river banks in the administration of the Slovak Water Management Enterprise have been gradually annexed to boathouses through the symbolic enclosure of front gardens (*Photo 3*). Privatization of the public area through barriers and ramps built by boathouse´s owners and preventing access to boathouses is also widespread (*Photo 4*). This process can be described as the colonisation of the Jarovce

Photo 3. Luxurious boathouse in the Jarovce arm of the Danube. *Source*: www.cas.sk

Photo 4. Privately built gate preventing access on the path. *Source*: www.pluska.sk

river branch by a small group of people who occupied this valuable territory. Unregulated, linear development of private boathouses can prevent easy and free access to the Danube´s banks which can be considered as a public asset.

Some of the owners of boathouses highlighted the fact, that newcomers are advised by their friends, owners of old boathouses, how to privatise their surroundings. Among the newcomers and owners of new boathouses influential people with high public positions can be found such as: members of parliament, ministers, and mayors.

Consequently, we can summarise that the illegal privatisation of public land has been initiated by a relatively small group of affluent people and their effort to obtain control over the Jarovce river branch can be understood as the uncontrolled creation of a semi-gated community on water.

The role of public institutions

From an institutional point of view the urbanisation of water surfaces in Bratislava shows not only weak coordination between different hierarchy levels of public administration (i.e. lack of real multilevel governance), but also a low rate of cooperation among public institutions of the same level. Despite the pressure from the public and the media, the mushrooming of boathouses near the Danube continued. However, the mentioned pressure and negative publicity set into motion two public institutions for action: the Slovak Water Management Enterprise and the Water Construction Enterprise. Until 2013, the illegal development in the Jarovce river branch had been tolerated by public authorities.

As a symbol of scandalous practices reflecting the gap between private and public interests practices of the Ministry of Environment in the period 2006–2009 can be mentioned, when publically owned flood land was rented to a private company for 99 years. In spite of the fact that the contract was later cancelled by the prosecutor, such agreement would have given enormous power to a private developer and control over the access to the Jarovce river branch. Future tenants would have needed the permission of the company for obtaining a place in Jarovce river branch. Only recently have authorities started to act in order to clear at least the infamous constructions built on the river bank.

Conclusions

In this paper we demonstrate the uneven struggle for access to water in post-socialist Bratislava. We focuse on locations which are essential parts of the waterfront transformation story. The ongoing waterfront transformation in Bratislava confirms the conflicting nature of highly exposed localities and reflects the contradictory

interests of various stakeholders. The current use of waterfronts is characterised by asymmetric power relations among the main actors of urban development.

The unevenness in access to water is shown on two localities with sharply contrasting character of transformation. The first case, Karlova Ves cove, is an environmentally highly valuable area with a historical relation to water and water sports, which is guaranteed by the LUP of the city and also by the relatively large community of citizens. However, the course of transformation shows the weak position of water-enthusiasts and citizens who struggle for the access to the Danube and future use of this area. The driving force behind this process is the endeavour of a private investor to maximise the exchange value of the land under the existing legislative and spatial planning environment of a rapidly transforming post-socialist city.

The second case shows the robust transformation of an environmentally very valuable area, the Jarovce river branch, where the invasion of a small group of affluent newcomers and the illegal privatisation of public land can be observed. The 'wild urbanisation' of Jarovce river branch and the endeavour of newcomers to privatise public property is accompanied by the development of an illegal semi-gated community on the river bank.

Both case studies raise two important concerns related to asymmetric power relations in post-socialist urban space, namely the role of spatial planning and legislation in urban development and the attitude of public institutions in post-socialist urban development.

Firstly, the mechanism of spatial planning is still from the time of communism and it is a very exclusive matter. The planning process of the city or city districts as well as the interpretation of LUP is very technocratic, rigid and has hardly any connection with the wider public. The spatial planning process is the domain of a relatively small group of experts who are planning for the citizens, without them. This persisting system increases its inclination to strong individual interests. Secondly, the widening possibilities of private investors were shown to control the future development of an area through spatial planning documentation. The authors of planning documents are often private companies whose intention to protect public interest, consider wider relations as well as prefer functions with high use value are very limited. Lastly, our criticism also goes to the land based character of spatial planning process in general by which we follow Pinch, P. and Munt, I. (2002). Functions primarily dependent on water are not recognised at all and are misrepresented by land based codes. Planning, therefore, does not integrate river into the wider urban environment. This planning can result in the degradation of the importance of the river for the city.

The second group of problems we want to underline here is the behaviour of public institutions in the process of urban development. We came to similar conclusions as Feldman, M. (2000), who showed the fragile status of the municipality in relation to its fiscal, political and organisational status

as well as the whole institutional fragmentation and absence of cooperation among public stakeholders. Additionally, we want to highlight a significant difference between the *de facto* and *de jure* position of post-socialist institutions in Bratislava. Whereas the position of public authorities is *de jure* relatively strong and they are equipped with robust regulatory tools, these tools are, however, *de facto* not used effectively, or misused through technocratic and non-participatory procedures. As the Jarovce river branch case showed there are significant limits in coordination and multilevel-governance among different public institutions.

In conclusion we want to make some possible normative suggestions. Besides the solutions to our above mentioned criticism, we believe that the concept of locally embedded leadership in the highly organised network of stakeholders (regardless their hierarchical position) is the key to improvement. This might be initiated not exclusively from the public sector; however, the role of entrepreneurial public institutions is essential in the fight against social, spatial and environmental injustices in urban development of post-socialist cities.

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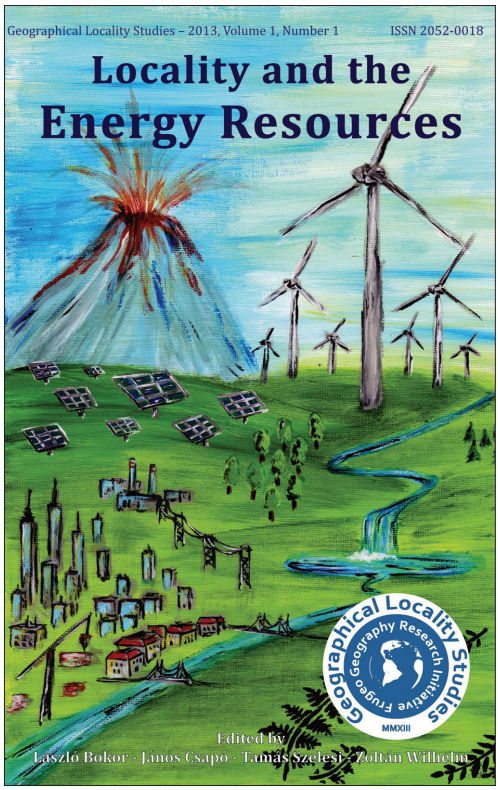
Hungarian Geographical Bulletin 63 (3) (2014) pp. 353–356.

Bokor, L., Szelesi, T., Wilhelm, Z. and Csapó, J. eds.: Locality and the Energy Resources. Frugeo Geography Research Initiative. Shrewsbury, UK, 2013. 216 p.

This publication was prepared in honour of Klára Bank, associate professor of the University of Pécs, Hungary. Her main research areas are energy industry, energy management, current issues of energy problems and the role and use of renewable energy sources. In February 2013, she celebrated her 60th birthday, and on the occasion sixteen authors pay tribute with this volume to the staff member, researcher, teacher, but not least the always direct and helpful colleague.

The book differs fundamentally from similar volumes in several aspects. Firstly, the edition was undertaken by Frugeo Geography Research Initiative (FGRI) working in England, which is an educational, research and editorial enterprise that specialises in Geography and Environmental Sciences. The book was scheduled to be the first volume of the series of Geographical Locality Studies, appearing periodically in the FGRI library. Unconventionally, the manuscripts originally did not start as co-authored works, because the editor considered it relevant that studies published in the book should be the intellectual property of only and exclusively of the authors indicated at the beginning of the papers, presenting their own research, reflecting their own views. This idea, however, was superseded by practical considerations in the meantime. At the same time, the writings are in English, so the book is beyond traditional Hungarian volumes of studies and is scheduled to attract the interest of international experts.



Articles included in the volume are basically organized around few keywords: locality, efficiency, reduction (e.g. output, consumption, wasting), independence (e.g. from imported energy sources), sustainability and stability. These keywords are plastic in content, but all are connected to the sources of energy and closely intertwined. Substantial requirement towards the authors was to focus on the connection between locality and the use of energy resources. The authors' task was to describe energy consumption and technological methods and emphasize the use of energy resources with local importance, the possibility of the improvement

of efficient technologies and methods, that of the reduction of consumption, wasting and sensitivity from imported energy sources, and the relevance of sustainability.

The relevance of this field of research in the new millennium is quite obvious. Since we have to confront a number of strategic challenges, among which healthy foods, clean drinking water and sustainable energy supply are the most important. In the energy sector, the next period will be the age of structural and paradigm shift on both the demand and supply side. Even today, many people live in the delusion of the cheap and infinite supply of energy, but the current consumption patterns are not sustainable in the future. In order to ensure our own future and the next generations' needs and to maintain a liveable environment, a swift change of attitude in the energy field is urgent as well. Performance of the economy, social issues, investor confidence and social well-being also depends on the energy safely accessible and affordable; therefore, one of the major challenges for Hungary is answering the energy-related issues.

There is no doubt about the relevance of the topic, the European Union developed the Europe 2020 Strategy for the ambitious purpose to find a solution to the economic recovery and future challenges at the same time. This also means that the growth should be socially inclusive and above all, more sustainable. At the same time, National Energy Strategy was adopted which formulates the new energy development trends outlining the Hungarian energy vision.

In the success of such strategies locality plays an important role, cities should undertake concrete actions to achieve the targets. Cities as key centres of economic development and innovation provide the territorial framework for environmentally friendly and socially inclusive growth. In addition to the fact that we must find a solution for social exclusion in cities, the greatest energy saving potential is also concentrated in urban areas. Investments in energy-efficient urban infrastructure create a thriving business environment and attract more people to the local labour market. Higher levels of employment can help overcome the income-dependent and energy-wasting habits of consumers as well as can provide the financial resources for the new, climate-proof growth. Thus, cities represent both a challenge and a solution to climate change. A challenge because the energy demand of the world's cities covers two-thirds of the total energy consumption, but also a solution, since, due to the dense urban network and compactness, cities have the opportunity to operate in a very energy-efficient manner.

Papers included in the volume are structured as follows. First, the former PhD-student of Klára Bank, László Bokor pays tribute to her with the paper titled 'The Importance of Energy Resources in the Local Environment'. The author's goal is to shed light on the nature, origin, natural relations and the importance of local-level utilization of energy resources, all in accordance with the social sphere. It also aims to help understand the geographical interpretation of power systems, in order to show the ever closer relations between the natural and social, as well as local and global spheres.

In his essay Béla Munkácsy (Department of Environmental and Landscape Ecology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) argues for the importance of holistic approach in energy planning and he believes that we need to break with the narrow-minded technological approach. There are many non-technological principles that have serious impact on energy planning. In this respect the changing role of geography is remarkable, because it can be considered a complex discipline in itself. Therefore, the author attributes a decisive role to spatial approach, also because renewable energy sources are scattered in space.

János Csapó a former student and current colleague of Klára Bank discusses best practices of 'Energy Efficiency in Tourism' both on Hungarian and international level where energy efficiency practices are integral part of tourism development. Selected case studies include New Zealand, Australia, the European Union and South Transdanubia (Hungary). He concludes that energy efficiency is an important driving factor for tourism development.

Nándor Zagyi current PhD-student of Klára Bank, provides possible solutions to mitigate the environmental impact of air conditioning, under dry and semi-arid climatic conditions in his paper, with the title 'Traditional Energy – Free Solutions for Ventilation and Air-Cooling in Arid Tropical Areas of Asia' In the study areas (North Western India and the Iranian Basin) many long-established technical methods are applied which could be used also in modern architecture. These methods help adapt to extreme weather conditions by making use of water cooling and heat removal capability, as well as the possibilities of shading.

Zoltán Wilhelm analyses the role of water as natural resource, cultural heritage and tourism attraction in India pointing out its weaknesses in relation to the possibilities. Furthermore, he demonstrates the specific role of water as a natural resource in the sub-continent. The author notes that the traditional and sustainable water management practices can contribute to the broadening of tourism supply. The current and former student of the celebrated, László Bokor and Tamás Szelesi greet her by publishing their work titled 'Bhutan: A Nature-based Holistic Society in the Himalayas'. The study using the current comprehensive international literature highlights how the population tries to live in harmony with nature, which is evident in the course of their daily lives and activities. Conditions for the development of energy systems are basically defined by the surrounding mountain ranges that can also be considered as the basis for the Bhutanese culture.

The results published by Lajos Göőz in the paper titled 'The Feasibility of Small-regional Autonomous Energy Systems' are also adapted to the geographical career of the celebrated. The study describes the regional development effect of renewable energy sources. The positive effects are linked to employment, research and development, SME activities and industrialisation. The author points out that renewables have strong positive impact on the living standard and human resources. The work emphasizes the importance of budget support, because if the government fails to take a part in these developments, Hungary will not be able to achieve the goals of the Energy Action Plan.

Károly Tar, associate professor at the College of Nyíregyháza investigates the relationship between relative frequency, relative energy content, average velocity, and the average length of time of the wind directions. He also determines the measure of stochastic connection between the energetic parameters for characterisation of inner definiteness of the wind energy field. He draws the reader's attention to the fact that the value of wind direction's energetic parameters and the ratio of their significant connections are also dependent on the orography.

Over and above, it has a downward trend in time. Most non-significant connections were observed between the average velocity and average length of time or between the relative frequency and the average velocity of the wind directions. Results of the author show, that the inner definiteness of the wind field became weaker in Hungary which requires more caution in the site selection of wind energy utilisation. Károly Tar and Mihály Tömöri together greet the celebrated with the paper on 'Realistic Potentials of Wind Energy Utilisation in Hungary'. The authors not only explore the climatic potentials of wind energy utilisation, but also the potentials in Hungary's geography and land use, science and energy policies. The study presents the main factors in installing wind turbines and designates the areas recommended for installation.

Gabriella Ancsin (University of Szeged) explores the advantages of the utilisation of geothermal energy with respect to the technology and economic performance. Thermal waters have been widely exploited for nearly half a century in the area of the Great Hungarian Plain not only for balneological, but also for industrial and agricultural purposes, as well as for public heating. The use of geothermal energy for heating has been more and more propagated, and substantial economic advantages can be achieved in case of larger public buildings as well as residential complexes.

Mária Mohos and Lajos Keczeli salute the celebrated with a study titled 'The Functioning of the Cement Factory in Királyegyháza in a Rural Area'. The authors provide interesting results connected to the human geographical aspect of the topic. They clearly identify three possible ways of development in the micro-region affected by the cement factory. In the first case, the agricultural nature remains, which will be linked to a nearly equivalent industrial profile. Agricultural production is strengthened by the cement plant supplied by biomass fuel. In the second case, the primary sector is completely relegated, while the secondary and tertiary sector would take up the majority of workers. According to the third variant – based on the negative trends in the world economy – the failed economic restructuring would lead to a situation where the original agricultural profile remains dominant.

Viktor Glied assistant professor at the Department of Political Studies, University of Pécs highlights the background of 'Social Conflicts in the Shadow of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant'. As author argues surveys of the last decade show that the Hungarian society does not reject the operation of Paks Nuclear Power Plant. However, the proposed new extension sets new questions related to the financing of the investment and its necessity. The author points out that international considerations against nuclear power and energy are guided by not only financial issues but also emotional and political motivations. The author draws the reader's attention to the case of the Hungarian situation: it is not the security risks which are primarily mentioned in connection with the expansion of the plant. It is rather the costs associated with the construction of the new blocks and the reconstruction of uranium mining.

The organising principle of the book was from the general to the more specific topics, from the higher territorial level towards the lower. Thus, the introductory provisions are followed by Asian and Hungarian examples. In case of the latter, the book also moves from the general to the regional and in sectoral approach, where wind, geothermal and finally nuclear energy are discussed. The editors are to be commended for the carefully designed internal structure of the volume and to its attractive appearance. The cover design is a hand-painted drawing about the natural energy sources by Viktória Nemes. On the back, info arousing the interest of the readers can be read. One tab gives the concise biography of the celebrated, the other a short description of the editors.

To conclude the present volume attempts to provide a starting point for those who are open to heed the recommendations and add their own experiences to it. However, the main target groups are professionals and local experts involved in city management, urban and regional planning, decision-makers, officials managing processes and professionals supporting their work. In fact, it can be recommended to all those who are involved in the development of local, regional or sectoral development-policy making, implementation, professional preparation, what is more, the education at national or European level. Instead of permanent reference to the lack of funds, understanding approaches different from ours (even Asian) described in the book can be exemplary and strongly recommended for consideration, which may contribute to the practical and cost-effective management of problems and the change of attitude. We understand that the knowledge connected to the importance of energy awareness is expanding almost day-to-day. That is why we encourage all readers of this volume to adapt the information described here to the conditions of his/her own locality, complete it and contribute to the construction of this growing knowledge. Asking them to use and propagate, explain to others the described information in this volume, consider these guidelines and initiate further discussions at local and national levels.

Róbert TÉSITS

Hungarian Geographical Bulletin 63 (3) (2014) pp. 357–360.

Report on the 2014 Regional Conference of the International Geographical Union

Krakow, 18–22 August, 2014

The International Geographic Union (IGU) has long history in uniting geographers from all over the world by organising large-scale congresses around the globe every four years. Between the congresses smaller-scale regional conferences give the chance to gather and discuss research results and to develop disciplines. This year the regional conference was held in Krakow following the 2013 conference in Kyoto. Even though, it was 'only a regional conference' great number of researchers attended from a wide range of counties from all over the world, for example from China, Nigeria or Brazil. The timing of the conference coincided with the 650th anniversary of the Jagiellonian University, which provided excellent spiritual setting for the conference. The Opening Ceremony and the Ice-breaker party took place in the Auditorium Maximum of the Jagiellonian University, in the very centre of the city, only few blocks away from the historical Old Town and

Jagiellonian University building for natural sciences (Photo: Zita Martyin)

Wawel. The regular conference venue was the newly-built and easily accessible Campus where sessions, workshops and the closing ceremony took place in three buildings.

The number of participants at the conference far exceeded the expectations, more than 1,400 presentations, lectures and posters were delivered in 41 sessions and in four special workshops. The theme of the conference was "Changes, Challenges and Responsibility" that drew attention to the constantly changing environment, society and economy which stimulate geographers to find new methods and to develop new ideas in order to understand better the outside world. The conference not only emphasised the importance of recent geographical and interdisciplinary researches but also the responsibility of researchers to find solutions for actual problems, safeguarding sustainability for the future.

Numerous presentations focused on climate change and its effects on the physical and social environment. For example, the Hazard and Risk Commission's Disaster and Resilience session put the emphasis on regionally developed but globally adaptable methods for impact and risk assessment, for instance landscape hazards such as floods or earthquakes. Several types and aspects of hazards and risks were presented from flash floods to droughts and from tsunami to nuclear vulnerability. The presenters of the session highlighted that it is crucial to combine risk indicators with socio-economic indices. Moreover, time-space modelling of the behaviour of the society should be a more decisive factor in assessments. Different viewpoints from social geography were applied in traditionally physical geographical topics such as gender, political power, vulnerability and deprivation which are strengthening the original synthetising feature of geography.

Globe fountain situated at the main entrance of the building for natural sciences (Photo: Gábor Lados)

Participants could also discuss the effects of migration from different points of view. The numerous and various sessions showed how diverse this topic is. Not only the economic drivers but also the political, religious and environmental factors were in focus. Presenters described the reasons and the outcomes of migration which is undoubtedly but not exclusively a local issue. Mentioning only a few examples without completeness, there were presentations about sacralisation

St. Mary's Basilica at the main market square of Krakow (Photo: Zoltán Kovács)

of public spaces in Poland, emigration of young and skilled Spaniards, or climate refugees.

Intense discussion took place about the role of scale and the reliability of census in the Urban Commission: Urban Challenges in a Complex World's session. The question rose whether national census data and their spatial resolution are adequate to measure current versatile changes in the urban environment. Unanimously, experts emphasised the need of better, extensive and specialised databases, which would provide more up-to-date and accurate information in the field. Additionally, these databases would be more cost-efficient to operate and to be maintained, than organising national censuses in every ten years. The session provided insights to new theoretical and methodological approaches for instance in the case of the real estate market in Fukushima, the diversifying Polish metropolitan areas or the segregation in post-socialist cities like Budapest.

The conference provided not only high quality presentations, but also opportunities for recreation and possibilities to get to know Krakow and Southern Poland a little bit better. As an outdoor social event, participants could visit the Stara Zajezdnia restaurant in the former Jewish quarter of Krakow called Kazimiers. Those who were interested had the opportunity to visit and experience the charming atmosphere of Krakow's Old Town including the Wawel and the historical city centre.

For those who were less in the tourist mood, an approximately three hour long guided tour introduced the former socialist new-town Nowa Huta. This programme focused not only on the development of the new-town which is nowadays a district of Krakow, but also let an insight to the evolution of the Solidarity movement, which had strong roots among the workers of the Nowa Huta metallurgical complex. A small exhibition presented

original relicts and items and contemporary art works portraying the role of the movement in the transition. Nowa Huta is today under architectural protection, as a perfect example for Soviet planning idealism of the 1950s. A semicircle shape is enmeshed by avenues and boulevards meeting in the very centre which is called today: Reagan square. The buildings are representing the socialist realism doctrine, the so called Stalin-baroque style. Maybe one of the most interesting imprints of the transition into capitalism in the district is the functional change of the Świt (Down) Cinema. The building was designed and built in the early 1950s, and nowadays the former palace of the socialist propaganda is the palace of consumer society as a home of a TESCO supermarket.

It is worth mentioning that this year, even more than earlier, many representatives, researchers and PhD students of the Hungarian geographical community attended the event and presented an inspiring lecture at the IGU Regional Conference in Krakow. Almost all main research centres were represented, like the Geographical Institute and the Institute of Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and also the country's leading universities like Debrecen, Miskolc, Nyíregyháza, Pécs and Szeged. Hungarian geographers arrived not only from Hungary, but also from the Carpathian Basin (Babeş-Bolyai University) and from the Hungarian Diaspora from all over Europe (highlighting only a few cities: Turku, Vienna, Joensuu, Berlin, and Groningen) to present their research results.

As a conclusion, the IGU Regional Conference was far more worldwide than the organisers and the participants expected. Outdoor programmes gave the opportunity to discover Krakow and its surroundings and to know each other better, strengthening the connections among geographers which hopefully will lead to fruitful cooperation. The various and wide-range geographic and interdisciplinary topics gave the possibility to the attendants to get a little insight how recent geographical researches take the responsibility to accept the challenge of environmental, social and economic changes. The next IGU regional conference will take place in Moscow in August 2015, however, for Hungarian geographers and colleagues working in Central Europe the main attraction will probably be the 5th Congress of EUGEO to be held in Budapest, 31 August – 2 September 2015.

Gyula NAGY

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Hungarian Geographical Bulletin (formerly Földrajzi Értesítő) is a double-blind peer-reviewed English-language quarterly journal publishing open access **original scientific works** in the field of physical and human geography, methodology and analyses in geography, GIS, environmental assessment, regional studies, geographical research in Hungary and Central Europe. In the regular and special issues also discussion papers, chronicles and book reviews can be published.

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The Cover Page of the article should only include the following information: title; author names; a footnote with the affiliations, postal and e-mail addresses of the authors in the correct order; a list of 4 to 8 keywords; any acknowledgements.
An abstract of up to **300 words** must be included in the submitted manuscript. It should state briefly and clearly the purpose and setting of the research, methodological backgrounds, the principal findings and major conclusions.

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Books:

Pye, K. 1987. *Aeolian Dust and Dust Deposits.* Academic Press, London, 334 p.

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