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## THE REDISCOVERED CITY: A CASE STUDY OF POST-SOCIALIST BRATISLAVA

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Post-socialist urban development in the case study of the Slovakia's capital city is considered from an integrating generalizing perspective. The purpose of this paper is to propose a descriptive model of the spatiotemporally differentiated urban change, a potential base for further research. Such a model should have the ability to reflect a complex network of interdependencies between various wide and narrow partial processes discussed in literature. A cyclic expression of the urban dynamics linking its elements in the urban social and material environment serves as a basis for identification of a hypothetical footprint typology. In the scheme, the footprints of the most visible processes are connected to actual morphological types and sub-periods of transition. An exact testing of the spatiotemporal hypothesis is left in this paper for later stages of research.

**Key words:** postsocialism, urban dynamics, morphological structure, functional structure, Slovakia

## INTRODUCTION

East Central Europe at the end of the 1980s was in a state of an unfinished large-scale project engineered according to the principles of socialism. The city, in current administrative borders since the last land annexations in 1972, was growing impressively during this period. Urban population increased by 18 %

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during the 1950s; by 24 %; 22 %; and 15 % during the subsequent decades. Bratislava reached the population size of 440.6 thousand in 1989. Its population was only 209.4 thousand in 1950. The city was transformed into a multi-functional center during the socialist industrialization and the large-scale state-managed urbanization. The birth (20.8 births per 1,000 inhabitants in 1977) and net migration rates (20.8 persons per 1,000 inhabitants in 1975) secured its long-lasting growth at the expense of the remaining territories of the state in its own hinterland and other regions. At the end of the 1960s, with establishment of the Czechoslovak federation, the city received an extensive administrative function. The engines behind the population dynamics slowed down later, after the mid-1970s, as is documented in Fig. 1. The transition succeeded the political changes during the early 1990s, but the trends progressing further were present in the evolution pattern even before.

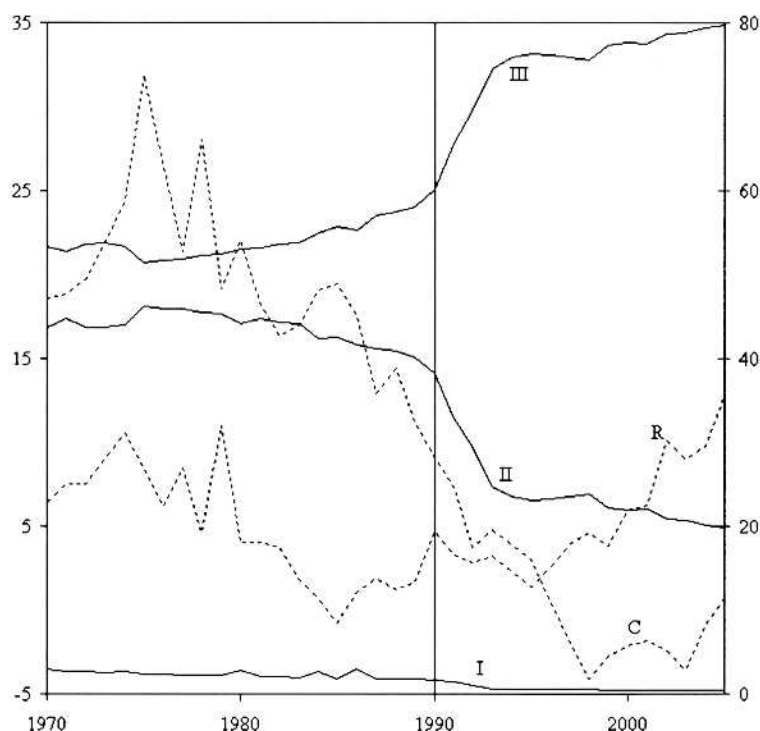


Fig. 1. Selected long-term societal and economic trends in Bratislava: share of agricultural (I), manufacturing (II) and service (III) sector per 100 employees (right axis); population dynamics in the core city (C) and the suburban ring (R) of the FUR as total change per 1,000 inhabitants (left axis), 1970-2005 Sources: SUSR 1973-2006, FSÚ 1973-1991, Infostat 1997-2006.

The core of the socialist experiment in the physical sense was the socialization of the land rent collection through public ownership and administrative allocation according to Bertaud and Renaud (1997). They conclude that the sys-

tem without any urban land market suffered primarily from its "inability to collect information on the changing value of land for the society over time. This resulted in a land use freeze, residential estates pushed toward the urban peripheries or obsolete activities remaining in accessible well served enclaves". Bratislava at the beginning of the 1990s was an example of a city with a clear socialist settlement layer, including all typical features in its morphological, functional and social-demographic internal structure (Matlovič 2004). Local patterns of evolution, appearing to retain their unique form, practically until the end of the 1980s, do not allow us to accept Musil's (2001) arguments. According to these, "the major differences between socialist and capitalist cities are limited to the early phase after the political break. After 10-15 years of development these trajectories should converge internally within East Central Europe and externally with Western Europe". Matznetter (2004) in his conclusions interprets developments in Bratislava rather as delayed. His comparative study of Bratislava and Vienna showed that suburbanization arrived three decades later.

Returning to the last decade of socialism, Borén and Gentile (2007) identify the "seeds of transformation in particular in the economic stagnation of mature socialism". A significant post-revolution crash initiating transition arrived in a climate resembling the decreasing phase of a standard economic cycle. The 1980s left a number of stagnating public investment projects unfinished across the urban area. Postsocialism first brought a further decrease in the extent of the visible activity in urban development for a necessary, relatively long period. From the current perspective, it is obvious that the calm surface was accompanied by dramatic processes deeper in the societal structure, forming the basis for the later stages appearing only recently.

The crucial element of change is in the urban functional structure and the urban economy, which creates the means of transition and prevailingly decides whether a physical process appears (Korec 2002). Sailer-Fliege (1999) links the ideological level of transition to the general processes: "Stratified society, multi-party system, neo-liberal market economy, priority given to private property and commoditization of housing" are translated as "re-establishment of local self-government, deindustrialization and growth of services, increase of FDI, rise in social inequalities, return of land rent, privatization/restitution, abandonment of state housing construction and promotion of private housing" according to her. A prevailing feature of the development is statistically identifiable as deindustrialization.

The local urban system stepped on to a new evolutionary path driven by market principles towards a new quality resembling the traditional spatial urban model of the Western Europe. Allocation of the urban development activity was started and remains in a direct relationship to the multiple aspects of space (suitability, accessibility, planning status or identity) and its physical amount (small central and large suburban zones). The clustering appearing in the micro-scale urbanization spatiotemporally is then only a logical consequence. The nature of the residential development, as a good example, witnesses the depth of transition inside its core. A competitive market-driven development facing public regulations and consisting of individual projects replaced the former planned construction. Public resources were exchanged for domination of the private. This change necessarily had a prerequisite in the demanding creation of the new

environment, enabling competition in demand, supply and intermediation based on previously suppressed profit creation. Property development became a new field emerging in the urban economy on the ruins of the previously existing construction and planning industries.

### SEARCH FOR AN APPROPRIATE EXPRESSION OF CHANGE

The end of socialism and its consequences in the urban context opened a path leading through various processes to the hot spots of activity. Our intention is to propose a generalized and descriptive, more schematic than formal model of local transition, observed and understood from the viewpoint of the present. This model should link the particular locations of change with a deeper insight into the major components of the integrally understood transition. Appropriately, it should also consider the multitude of relationships appearing among the basic mechanisms of change, their spatial footprints and specific consequences depending on varying scale employed.

It is appropriate to represent urban dynamics in a network or a chain of urban elements and interacting processes, altogether responsible for the specificity of the post-socialist urban change. The representation in Fig. 2 provides a synthesis of the generally recognized theoretical concept commonly used, for example, by Sýkora (2001). A new contribution can be found in the cyclic shape, connecting the society directly back to the environment, which cannot communicate that human is, despite all the specifics, only an integral part depending on it.

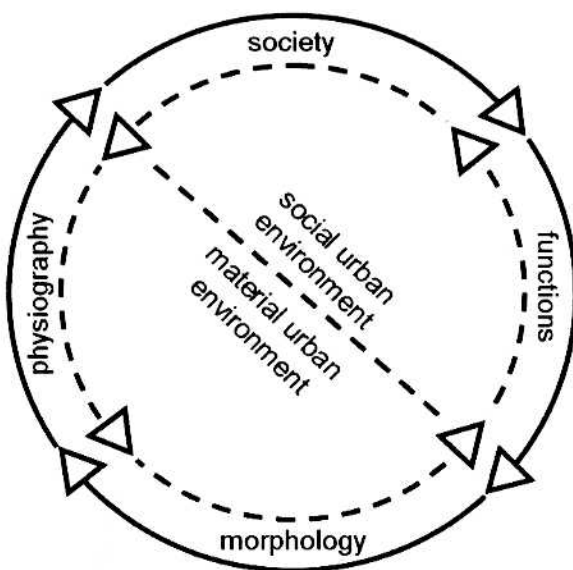


Fig. 2. Cyclic expression of the complex urban structure with internal interactions between material (physiographic, morphological) and social (social-demographic, functional) urban substructures

Economic liberalization at the beginning of the 1990s prepared the territory for the establishment of a competitive environment and stands at the beginning of the whole story. Its gates have been unlocked for the actors arriving from inside the country and abroad. The exploitation of the local demand and the local production factors have activated a multiplicative spiral resulting primarily in the growth of business and services. Fig. 2 generalizes these phenomena under the element of the functional segment, one of the four considered. The re-birth of societal stratification with an obvious economic differentiation has also become a very fast outcome. Arising domestic and foreign, public and private institutions, including the new state administration, have created demand for more physical and human resources. Translated into economic dimensions these meant the activated labour and property markets under the elements of society and morphology. Later stabilization of the evolving political-economic framework elevated the level of investment safety up to the point where irreversibility could be reasonably expected. From this moment, the real-estate market tends to react to a growing demand for space in a more standard way. The previous developments in the intermediation framework operating in longer time periods and the developments of the private income security on the demand side were also understandable. The existing housing stock also needed to pass through the privatization process. Another of the inhibiting factors, the barrier of population stabilization had to be overcome by means of the life-cycle. The effects on the remaining fourth element, the environment, are probably self-evident, as with the link connecting it to the urban society increasingly recognizing values until recently much suppressed. To conclude, the source of urban change is on the side of urban social structure and the recipients are on the side of the material urban structure. To illustrate the former, let us take a detailed look at those changes centred in the urban economy as well as those in urban society.

### The change centred in the urban economy

The employment share of the manufacturing and manufacturing-related sectors fell from 50.2 % in the year 1960 to 19.9 % in the year 2005. Conversely, services together with the administration-related increases since the year 1993 plus their multiplications elevated the employment share from 50.1 % to 79.7 % during the same time. Therefore the trend appearing in Fig. 1 is rather long-term and continuous, responsible for shaping of the current situation. Arrival of the strong employment-creating forces in the financial, business and ICT services opening their operations in Bratislava brought an inevitable impulse for the contemporary urban economy. The effect of a dominating metropolitan region linked with the consequences of the post-industrial phase in the evolution of society and globalization (Cox 1993, Haila 1996, Marcuse and van Kempen 2000, Hampl 2005, Korec 2004 and 2007) is obvious in the Slovak case, too.

The residential and office property development revived with a certain delay, in comparison with the neighbouring larger cities of the post-socialist region, for which hierarchical gap can represent a part of the possible answer. The retail stores, shopping malls and other service developments follow the consumption trends within the society changed since the 1990s dramatically. "One improvement really materialized when post-socialist consumption patterns started to

look like those in the West” (Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005). Shortly after development of the earliest large-scale retail projects in 2000, optimum saturation horizon for this segment was projected towards the year 2020. In practice, the same level as forecast has been reached only five years later (Korec 2006). Supply-driven rather than demand-driven mechanisms still represent a serious factor in the urban change referring to the new forms of retail. Indirectly, they cause a secondary wave of transition in the central locations, gaining once again a new structure with the retail and service functions re-shuffled. Services are an excellent example of a field changed by synergy of region-specific impulses – the post-socialist transition and the forces hierarchically higher – wide represented internationalization and globalization. Further growth of the urban economy is still seriously expected. This can be estimated from the indicating power of dynamics in the property market, and its office segment in particular in the current situation. The expanding supply of speculative space to a certain degree replacing the obsolete property stock until then in use says a lot about the degree of risk for the private capital being invested.

### The change centered in urban society

According to the available population migration records it is obvious that the concentrating metropolis of socialism has been replaced by the post-socialist metropolitan region, approximating to the functional urban region as defined by Bezák (2000). The former city attracting population from the hinterland has been transformed into the attracting region with the population resources left in the non-metropolitan regions. Restructured flows inside it document that the rural fringe has been opened for suburban growth. But on other hand, Bratislava in its transitive development phase follows the pattern well-known from the Western Europe, preserving local communities instead of a problematic, low-density sprawl. The changing details and spatial linkages of the population taking part in the process have not been focused yet.

The heightened standard of living is closely connected with the elevated level and transformed structure of consumption, in turn responsible for further multiplications. Technological development enabled the creation of several economic sectors, previously virtually non-existent or in their earlier stages of development. In overall result it has easily compensated most of the statistical loss resulting from the down-fall of the old system. However, the societal segments, for which the added value of change has remained unreachable, are still part of the mixed urban society. These groups include the people disadvantaged by their previous position in the command system, far from information flows, overall sight or decision-making. This position has been translated into a serious advantage disparity with possible trans-generation consequences. Sailer-Fliege (1999) adds that “the economic recession has so far meant a real loss of income for the majority, in some cases with a considerable impoverishment, mainly for the elderly, state employees, unskilled and semi-skilled workers”. A household survey in 2005 (Smith and Rochovská, 2007) in Petržalka measured the risk of poverty in relation to the median regional income. Less than the whole median income per month was the reality for 15 % of households while less than 60 % of the median for 36 %, according to their results.



## FOOTPRINTS OF CHANGE IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

The internal spatial structure of the city consists of distinct elements witnessing varying conditions of morphogenesis. The morphological spatial structure in our case consists of the standard region-specific urban plan classes (Sýkora 2001, Ira 2003, Matlovič 2004). A generalized spatial pattern exhibits some signs of distance dependency towards the centre, the old town core in the following order: dense inner city, early industry/transportation zones, garden city, several generations of functionalist housing districts, modern industry and annexed semi-rural settlements in varying stages of physical agglomeration and transformation (Ira 2003). The transitive urban development will be connected with this scheme – spatiotemporally differentiated as in Tab. 1.

**Tab. 1. Scheme linking the morphological-functional spatial structure facing four stages of urban transition in Bratislava**

	Early post-socialist city under initial transition	Mature post-socialist city under full transition	Late post-socialist city under full transition	Early capitalist city under final transition
Center	Commercialization	Revitalization	-	Commercial citadelization
Inner city	Commercialization	Intensification	Revitalization	Verticalization
Garden city	-	Revitalization	Residential citadelization	-
Manufacturing zones	-	Deindustrialization	Polyfunctionalization	-
Housing districts	-	Polyfunctionalization	Intensification	Construction revival
Semirural cores	-	-	Revitalization	Construction revival
Green zones	-	-	-	Residential suburbanization
Agricultural hinterland	-	-	Suburbanization	Suburbanization

The new urban developments during the transition tend to concentrate in the central zone and in the fringe (Sýkora 2001, Ira 2003 and Matlovič 2004). Intermediate locations were predicted to attract a significantly smaller portions of change. The preliminary results of a survey of construction activity between the years 1989 and 2006, based on land-use change methodology, conversely propose a different model for post-socialist Bratislava. Without any definitive regularities appearing at this point, the whole urbanized area has been overlaid by a scattered construction sites layer. The processes of morphological transformation and addition have been employed hand in hand, increasing the built environment coverage and forming new urban zones, exploiting the pockets of unoccupied space across the city. The distance from the central city, the existing urbanized areas, the infrastructure and the transportation networks are, according to common expectations, the factors playing their usual role – limiting the sprawl, for example. Rather than clusters of development, the zones of inactivity could be defined. Hypothetically these should appear in the socialist period housing districts and in the industrial zones.

### Centre and new central city

The first signs of urban transition materialized in renewal of the central city. For decades heavily underinvested, the physically deprived old town served as

the administrative, service and residential neighbourhood. The most visible, prestige location attracted the contemporary business, new retail and consumer services during the earliest years (Buček and Pitoňák 1997). The protected historical zone, thanks to its symbolic value and identity, was also emphasized by the new local government. Accompanied by commercialization the location could not take a different trajectory than that experienced. Later, tourism became one of the factors of change in the central locations. A similar, but less concentrated dynamics evolved in parts of the inner city and along the road arteries.

The location receiving exclusive attention from investors in the changing city is the new Bratislava central city. This area directly borders the old town district. Not long ago this neighbourhood started to expand its central functions eastward into the oldest manufacturing zone in the inner city. The Ružinov district on its western side also has a potential for further growth thanks to the reserves existing in its open functionalist urban plan and flat surface. The Mlynské Nivy area around the central bus terminal attracted the first business projects as soon as in the middle of the 1990s. The later clustering of the private developments in fact realizes the long existing visions of urban planners, originated already during the socialist past. A steep acceleration of activity can be observed in the latest period. The zone is inflated by a large supply of office space yearly and its morphology is changed with towers in place of the derelict industrial fabric. The mixed-use city blocks approaching the river bank form the new central city in Bratislava planned decades ago, but materialized only in the fragments of the press tower or the theater. Significant investments expected during the years coming should elevate the area up to the standards more competitive with similar-size business zones of the urban centres in the former West.

A potentially similar area is located on the opposite river bank, on the edge of Petržalka. The new motorway line separating the 1970s residential district from the green river belt has attracted an increasing amount of activities recently. The junction of Einsteinova and Panónska streets hosts the late-socialist exhibition centre and one of the first shopping malls, expanded recently with an office tower. A number of business projects have formed a new linear cluster along both streets. The former and this development zone have already been connected by a new bridge. Further growth is expected to expand in this area with high probability resulting in consumption of the remaining reserves left for this purpose in the master plan. The third zone of expansion contiguous with the centre is back on the left bank. A strip of land to the West from the old town is a site cleared of the original fabric located exclusively under the castle hill. The site remained unchanged since the 1960s and became the subject of development pressure recently. The change was already started at the side of former exhibition centre with a mixed-use development that is expected to attract further activity similarly to the other examples discussed. All three cases support the hypothesis based on numerous experiences that "successful urban revitalization is typically connected with the formerly less exploited phenomenon of water" (Marcuse 1993).



### Low and high density residential districts

Villa neighbourhoods with traditionally higher social status are concentrated in the Western part of the central city and at the foot of the Carpathian slopes (Ondoš and Korec 2006). Family-house zoned and the former villages also received early signs of physical improvements. The scattered renewal, extensions and new complexes appeared not always welcome. New residential projects increasing density in the neighbourhoods touched and consequently devaluated the qualitative advantages of their environment. These attractive locations have been addressed by several studies (Smatanová 1999, Ira and Andráško 2007). Residential and commercial projects have seriously transformed the formerly high appreciated green Eastern side of the Mlynská dolina, Little Carpathian forests in the Staré Grunty or vineyards north of the central city.

The socialist heritage of housing districts is one of the most resistant parts within the urbanized territory according to Mládek (2003). But selected segments have been facing redevelopment interests thanks to partial or total functional change. The entry of the new services has been the strongest factor for physical development. The retail, service, office and mixed-use properties have taken over the most favourable locations. The urban landscapes of the iconographic housing districts, together with the industrial zones represent a deciding part of what Matlovič (2004) refers to as the "socialist settlement layer". "In the standard market conditions, housing developers maximize the value. But in the supply-driven command economy housing builders only minimized costs. Construction organizations had little interest in final user satisfaction because future residents were not their direct clients" (Bertaud and Renaud 1997). A possibility of potentially unstable future was predicted for these functionalist parts of the East Central European districts. Despite the fact that an expanding residential property market can bring unexpected turns, the predictions were not fulfilled. The selective nature of the process was considered by Ruoppila and Kährik (2003). They noticed that "the locations of the wealthiest and the poorest strata in the society change. Concerning the majority in the middle strata, their conclusion is that a dramatic change in territorial distribution is not expected in the near future."

Until recently, the development in the residential districts has been minor and selective. Privatization forming the ownership structures together with problematic property maintenance led to potentially serious underinvestment in many cases. But their spatial reserves, even parks and parking lots were recognized as having some potential in the growing property market. All projects increase the density of built-up space but only a few do so appropriately, completing the functionalist structures, as in the Petržalka case criticized for its former mono-functionality. Some project locations are problematic, enabled only thanks to the regulation framework not powerful enough during the transition period. Environmentally sensitive sites surviving previous decades of extensive urbanism often became endangered by the intensified market. The residential property market underwent a significant revival only in the latest years. Since the availability of financial resources increased together with the income level, housing became an attractive new target for entrepreneurial efforts. The newly developed housing zones tend to be built with even higher density than their non-market predecessors. The functional diversification experienced on the

other hand is not necessarily of a commercial character. An exception is the appearance of sacred structures, also new in these urban territories (Matlovič 2004).

### Space for the new city

The earliest commercial development projects of mixed character profited from the existence of relatively large territories cleared during the previous period. Scattered across the urban area these resulted mostly from the infrastructure improvements or site preparations for the forthcoming public construction. Subsequently these remained empty for many years. Complicated ownership and planning barriers are responsible for further delays in the case of numerous locations with high potential value of land rent. But the lack of investment capital was probably the biggest problem. A qualitative break during the last few years supports this hypothesis. Increased investment pressure has finally reached the locations long addressed by architects. Developments in the zone encircling the old-town became, for example, highly visible and discussed. The river Danube potentially expanding the central functions along the banks was immediately recognized by the property investors applying schemes successful in other cities.

The role of transport infrastructure is significant in an urban transition. In the outer zones of the urban area and the semi-rural fringe transport became especially important (Korec 2006). This territory was expanded to its current size by the last annexation of seven communities providing the city with 48 % of the area (174.8 sq. kilometers). This territory became the subject of suburbanization during the transition. In its wide and narrow meaning (out of and within the administrative borders) it has appeared selectively. Typical residential suburban districts have been added to the most accessible semi-rural settlements. Commercial suburbanization depends crucially on road infrastructure.

A unique feature linked to the location is the "Southwestern quadrant of Bratislava", actually the Austrian agricultural territory neighbouring the city. For obvious reasons it represents an increasingly recognized spatial reserve, touching the future inner city in the generalized model. With living standard improvements on the Slovak side and the changing state-border functions inside the EU, the possibility of increasing investment pressure and migration must be considered seriously.

### CONCLUSION

The urban dynamics of Bratislava have received a series of transition impulses during the post-socialist development. The market principles introduced in the earliest phase created first signs of change, immediately present in the form of the changed nature of functional relationships but not much later materialized in new physical structures. Another transition impulse had its origin in the new status of the capital. But only the political stabilization and improvement of the international position in the late 1990s together with the neo-liberal reforms were responsible for qualitatively new framework conditions. The actors actively stepping in to post-socialist urban development have entered the

local market under strong external influences. More networking in terms of current global economy and more integration through the EU accession were the factors responsible for the acceleration of spontaneous changes in the evolution of the internal spatial structure of this city.

A dynamic progress in overall development was predicted for Bratislava, one of the European cities located directly on the former East-West frontier. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Bratislava has been one of the most dynamic emerging European territories reentering the former Western civilization (Paulov 1992, Dostál and Hampl 1992 and 1994, Gorzelak 1996). After the years of calm transition and creation of the fundamentals for later development phases, the process of changing urban settings increased its strength with a number of investment projects located in and around the city. This case study attempted to provide an updated overview of answers to the basic inquiries concerning the reasons and location of the well-known changes in spatial-temporal perspective, despite similar works in our knowledge (Ira 2003). Bratislava was given the impulse for a change of key importance in the year 1993. The federal state was divided and the new country was officially established. The city was suddenly moved up the formal hierarchy one level higher, placing it among other European capital cities. The wider area including Bratislava has been several times rated among the most promising emerging economic zones across the European continent. Instead, a surprising low level of activity, except the anticipated service sector growth and investment attraction in the most profitable fields of the new-created market, remained stable until the end of the 1990s. The redirection towards the EU accession in 2004 translated into urban development terms meant that the delayed urban development could be set in motion.

Bratislava is a place of dynamics recently accelerated. Cyclical aspects of the market are a necessity recognized by the experts, but unfortunately not by the responsible framework institutions. The lack of city-wide modern strategic documents has been compensated on an ad hoc basis during recent times. The waves of public discussion with every new-appearing larger project frequently create a platform unsuitable for rational solutions. Fitting into the mosaic of the democratization and liberalization of Slovak society, probably with responsibility little lower than would be welcomed by later generations, this temporal state should be taken with understanding. A sharp contrast with the style of urban development before 1989, although not always ideally resulting, has to be perceived patiently and with a certain amount of optimism. The rediscovered city has been left to its "natural" evolution for some time. Its urbanization spiral is currently in motion. The capital city function also means, except other aspects, that every growth in the national territory is mirrored in a particular growth transferred into the metropolitan area, directly or indirectly. The role for its inhabitants is therefore somewhat different, but their responsibility is still in place in delegation of decision-making representation driving the urban development. Once the economic cycle reaches its peak, the slow-down will be inevitable. But the remaining physical structures will have to be incorporated and used with the least possible problems, if our responsibility should not be simply transferred to the following generations, which we believe should not happen.

Steinführer and Haase (2007) note that the postsocialism has brought rather fragmented and contradictory developments in both physical and social struc-

ture. Their question of how the heritage will develop remains open-ended, with Western concepts of urban change and demographics depending on specific context. In the words of Borén and Gentile (2007), "the post-communist city is, in practice, a range of urban places after a political and economic experiment whose dramatic impacts will be evident for many years to come". Similarly than with all other cities, the process of urban development and its results are not granted, or pre-determined. The evolution of local urbanization can take a very specific trajectory, according to the historical, political, societal and economic context available. Musil (1997) notes, that "status, political power and economic role is closely linked to societal changes and to the changing geopolitical context. A city absorbs various impulses; therefore, a city is always an individual with its future estimated probabilistically". Our attempt to summarize what is known concerning the urban transition in this city aspires to suggest the trends widely expected with increasing relevance and therefore worth further attention.

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## ZNOVUOBJAVENÉ MESTO: POSTSOCIALISTICKÁ BRATISLAVA

Bratislave sa podarilo prekonať socialistickú podobu urbanizácie transformáciou na multifunkčnú, takmer polmiliónovú metropolu. Do roku 1989 dosiahla, z pôvodných 209,4 tisíc v roku 1950, 440,6 tisícovú trvalo bývajúcu populáciu. Minulé obdobie zanechalo priestorovej štruktúre jej mestskej krajiny osobité formy, medzi ktorými dominujú veľké sídliská, priemyselné zóny, nízka intenzita zástavby a sociálna heterogenita v rámci obytných areálov. Najmä druhá polovica poslednej dekády socializmu priniesla stabilizáciu mestskej štruktúry vo výrazne sa spomaľujúcej ekonomike.

Typickým pre porevolučný prechod do tranzitívnej vývojovej fázy bolo množstvo verejných projektov z predchádzajúceho obdobia v neukončenom štádiu výstavby. Postsocialistický vývoj priniesol hlboký pokles aktivity na pomerne dlhé obdobie. Kľúčový rastový impulz roku 1993 bol následkom rozdelenia federálneho štátu a získaním štatútu hlavného mesta, formálne o hierarchickú úroveň vyššie. Dalo sa usudzovať, že predpoklad dôsledkov akcelarovaneho rozvoja ekonomiky a priestorovej štruktúry by mohol byť pomerne istý. Vzhľadom na to však následný vývoj prekvapil. Veľmi nízky stupeň aktivity, s výnimkou očakávaného rozvoja služieb a investícií profitujúcich z otvoreného slovenského trhu, pretrval do konca 90. rokov. Priaznivý vnútorný vývoj krajinu nasmeroval do Európskej únie a bol súčasne signálom pre zmenu iného charakteru. Dynamika mestotvorných procesov sa následne po objektivnom oneskorení oživila v hlavnom meste okamžite.

Liberalizácia prvej fázy pripravila priestor pre vznik súťaživého prostredia a vstup investícií, predovšetkým v mimoriadne rýchlo rastúcich odvetviach obchodu a služieb. Znovuobjavenie stratifikovanej sociálnej štruktúry so zrejým ekonomickým založením bolo logickým dôsledkom realizovaných zmien. Všeobecný nárast objemu sféry domácich a zahraničných, verejných a súkromných inštitúcií, vrátane novej verejnej správy, vytvoril dopyt nielen po kapitále. V Bratislave v krátkom čase výrazne expandoval pracovný trh a začal sa presadzovať aj nový trh s nehnuteľnosťami. Stabilizácia politicko-ekonomického rámca posunula hodnotenie investičnej bezpečnosti na znesiteľnú úroveň. Trh s nehnuteľnosťami vďaka tomu mohol začať reagovať na disproporcie prostredia vytvorené nárastom dopytu najmä po kancelárskych a bytových priestoroch. Prílev finančných, obchodných a informačných služieb prekračujúcich rámec národného trhu priniesli rad ďalších impulzov pre ekonomiku mesta, zdroj zmeny aj v ostatných aspektoch, hmotných i nehmotných.

Vo vnútornej priestorovej štruktúre našli tieto premeny zodpovedajúcu odozvu. Obzvlášť rýchlo získali vysokú hodnotu lokality v centre mesta. To sa prejavilo komercIALIZáciou, rekonštrukciami a intenzifikáciou využívania územia. Zóny priemyselnej výroby, stavebných a dopravných podnikov spravidla degradovali. Len selektívne dochádza k revitalizácii ich území, najmä implantovaním nových funkcií. Zvýšená úroveň spotreby tovarov a služieb aktivovala expanziu maloobchodných funkcií, vytvárajúc v meste celkom nové komerčné zoskupenia. Tieto sa podobne ako v celom regióne objavili nielen v urbanizovanej časti, ale aj na periférii. Sídliská sa takisto začali nedávno meniť vďaka prílevu služieb a novej výstavbe bytových domov. Napriek predpokladom rýchlej sociálnej polarizácie zostali živými štvrťami, vďaka modernej infraštruktúre, dobre integrovanými s mestom. Pokračujúca polarizácia a odstredivé sily dynamiky však vyvolali a naďalej podporujú rezidenčnú suburbanizáciu. Jej komerčná forma s celkom inými riadiacimi faktormi je tak isto veľmi viditeľnou realitou.

Príspevok integruje poznatky o uvedených procesoch, opakovane popísané a diskutované literatúrou do generalizujúcej schémy. V cyklickom vyjadrení dynamiky ide

o znázornenie úplnej prepojenosti medzi parciálnymi urbánnymi štruktúrami, kde je našim príspevkom nová forma uzavretia komplexu priamou väzbou sociálnej štruktúry s fyziografickou štruktúrou. Schéma navrhovaného modelu následne znázorňuje alokáciu zmeny podľa typických morfologicko-genetických zón mesta a obdobia transformácie.