

# Jan Kubeš

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## European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland in intra-urban geography literature

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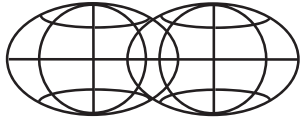
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## European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland in intra-urban geography literature

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**Abstract.** Over 180 articles concerning urban geography aspects of European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland, published between 1990–2012 in international journals, were selected for the analysis in this paper. Statistics of articles by journals, analysed cities (and their countries) and authors proves the preponderance of research on post-socialist Central European capitals, especially Berlin, Prague and Budapest, followed by Leipzig and Łódź, as well as Moscow and Tallinn. It also proves that the number of domestic authors and those who moved from post-socialist Europe to Western universities gradually increased, while the number of authors from the West decreased. The analysis of representations of article topics, their explanations and justifications were carried out in the second part of the paper. The most frequent article topics include ‘social spatial structure of the city and its transformation’, followed by ‘urban planning and management in the city’ and ‘suburbanisation and urban sprawl in the near hinterland of the city’. A smaller number of articles refers to ‘physical spatial structure of the city and its transformation’, ‘housing structure in urban neighbourhoods in connection with changes in housing policy and market’ and ‘functional spatial structure of the city and its transformation’. Indexes of the articles are part of this paper.

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## 1. Introduction

Since 1989 changes in European post-socialist cities, in their spatial structures, have been significant. Revitalisation and commercialisation of buildings in city centres, housing privatisation, the construction of shopping centres and new residential areas on city fringes, suburbanisation, social space differentiation and other processes, have transformed the spatial structure of those cities. These issues very soon attracted Western researchers, followed by urban geographers and sociologists from European post-socialist countries. Especially in the last decade, quality research concerning development and state of spatial structures in European post-socialist cities was published in internationally renowned journals. It is interesting to observe the occurrence of research topics and differences between regions, countries, cities and authors.

Initial findings indicated that heterogenisation of originally relatively homogenous social space in monitored cities is a frequent topic in articles. This reflects deep social and economic changes in post-socialist countries and cities, which include suburbanisation, gentrification and separation as well as partial reversion towards the pre-socialist situation. Suburbanisation, which strongly and irreversibly reshapes the near hinterland of large cities, has been heavily discussed among Central European and Baltic urban geographers over the last decade. Urban geography institutes in Eastern Germany (Leipzig), Estonia (Tartu), Hungary (Budapest), Poland (various university centres) and the Czech Republic (Prague), created in the last ten years, are capable to conduct research and produce publications at the world level. Location of these institutes in specific cities and their research orientation is reflected in the focus of the articles they produce.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the representations, explanations and justifications of topics in articles concerning (the transformation of) spatial structures of European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland. Under the study are the articles published between 1990–2012 in internationally accepted journals. Articles must meet specific criteria mentioned in the paper. Yet another aim is to identify and comment on the arrangement of articles according to journals, cities, countries and authors. Geography of authorship of the articles helps explain the orientation of intra-urban geography research. An additional aim is to compile indexes of articles serving scholars interested in the aforementioned matters.

## 2. Search for and selection of articles

*Selection criteria.* In this paper it was possible to analyse only a limited number of articles. Therefore, it was necessary to choose high-quality articles that are globally easy to find and accessible. Attention was focused on articles published in internationally accepted research journals, especially in the journals publicised at the Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters). The journal impact factor between 2008 and 2011 had to be higher than 0.5 (criterion a1). Therefore, articles published in Polish, German, Czech and other post-socialist journals, potentially even in some Western geographical, sociological or urban journals that did not have a determined impact factor, were eliminated. There are certainly good articles in the journals that do not meet this criterion. There is a question, though, how to choose such articles. Also the search can prove problematic, especially if they are published in national languages and journals and are not available

in internationally accepted research literature databases. The attention was focused especially on the developing phase of European post-socialist cities so the articles had to be published between 1990 and 2012 (criterion a2). The finally chosen articles discuss matters from this period and sometimes also mention the socialist times. Very few articles about European socialist cities were published and posted on the Web of Knowledge before 1990.

The articles focused on the relatively complex intra-urban geography questions (criterion a3), specifically physical, functional, housing or social spatial structure of cities and their near hinterland, including processual, developmental, planning and management aspects. The authors of these articles used intra-urban geography (intra-urban sociology) approaches, and their own evaluations and explanations were developed from revealed space differentiations, arrangements or interconnections. Therefore, urban geography articles focused only on the comparison of whole cities were not included. There were approximately 40–45 such inter-urban geography articles, especially of geomorphology character (e.g. by R.H. Rowland about Soviet-Russian cities, by T. Tammaru et al. about Estonian cities, or by A. Steinführer et al. about European post-socialist cities). Similarly, sociological articles about individual cities without spatial structure analysis were eliminated, as well as those including narrowly focused analysis of special urban spatial structures (referring to crime, tourism, protection of monuments, roads, traffic flow, etc.), mostly not classified directly as urban geography. Moreover, articles of geocological character and those emphasising GIS and cartographic methodological aspects were not included. Articles about housing and the housing market without space aspects (30–40 articles) or about city management systems not concerned with space aspects (larger amount of articles) were also eliminated. On the other hand, articles comparing spatial structures of several cities were included in this paper. These decisions were sometimes difficult to make.

Urban units analysed in articles had to have a population size of cities (criterion a4). In the conditions of post-socialist Europe it has to be at least 80–100 thousands residents, so that their spatial structure could be recognised by urban geography methods, using the data relating to city

neighbourhoods or districts. If the object of interest was the hinterland of a city, then its spatial structure had to be analysed (criterion a5).

At least one of the cities analysed in the article had to be a city in post-socialist Europe (criterion a6), hence in post-socialist Central Europe (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, East Germany – incl. West Berlin), Baltic Europe (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), South Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, the countries of the former Yugoslavia apart from Slovenia) and Eastern Europe (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, the European part of Russia). This regional border used in this paper excluded several articles about cities in the Asian part of Russia, Transcaucasia and Central Asia (approx. 16 articles in total) and a large amount of articles about the transformation of spatial structure of Chinese cities (published especially in the last decade). Non-European post-socialist and socialist cities (except Russian-Asian and some Transcaucasian cities) are developing in a slightly different way, and somewhat different spatial structure and slightly different transformation processes are taking place there. However, contemporary globalisation tendencies, to a certain extent, converge in all cities of the world.

Authors (co-authors) of the articles were from various locations – post-socialist Europe, Western Europe, North America, or other places, or they were authors who came from post-socialist Europe but worked for a longer time at universities in the USA, Canada, the UK or other Western countries. Abstracts, summaries, book reviews or short editorials and discussions were not included in the set of articles in this paper; the articles had to show the character of a scholarly article and have at least 6 pages (criterion a7). The selected articles had to meet all of the criteria (a1–a7).

*Search for articles.* The following methods of searching for articles were used (methods b1–b7). At the websites of urban study and human geographical journals (which meet the criterion a1) the articles meeting the criteria a2–a7 were searched using ‘journal content online’ (method b1), gradually, by name, key words, abstract, chapter names and the entire text of article. For some journals, volumes from the first half of the 1990s were not included in their website and it was therefore necessary to use printed forms. At the websites of

journals it was possible to use an internal search engine to search for other articles – ‘search in journal’ (method b2), using suitable key words, e.g. Poland, Czech, Russia; Poland city, Czech city, Russia city; Poland urban, Czech urban, Russia urban; socialist city, post-socialist city, communist city, post-communist city. Similarly, other articles were sought at the websites of major publishers of scientific journals using ‘search in publisher’ (method b3).

On-line databases of the world science literature (method b4) were also used, specifically the Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters) and Scopus (Elsevier), using the above-mentioned key words, authors of articles that were previously found following other procedures and also through ‘cited’ or ‘references’ in articles already found. Other articles were found using the internet search engines Google and Google Scholar (method b5) after entering multiword key words associated with the questions under discussion.

In the literature lists located at the websites of urban geographers and sociologists, urban study departments and research groups or research projects it was possible to find other articles – websites of authors, research groups and projects (method b6). Many articles were found in the printed materials during the search in journals stored in libraries, based on correspondence with authors (obtaining of ‘reprints’) and in ‘references’ in those articles – printed journals, articles (method b7). Search methods were combined and repeated. The amount of articles gradually diminished after

obtaining more detailed information about articles and the application of criteria a1–a7. In October 2012 a final set of 186 articles was chosen and further evaluated. The November and December, or the last journal issues in the year, were not available.

### 3. Statistics of articles with commentaries

*Articles by journals and years – nine most frequent journals and an increasing number of articles.* The selected articles were published in 32 journals with an impact factor of 0.500–3.395. Some journals contained many articles (see Table 1). Over 30 articles were found in ‘Cities’ (‘city profile’ were also included) and ‘Urban Studies’ (there are also many articles about ‘socialist’ Chinese cities). Another group of journals included ‘Euroasian Geography and Economics’ (especially the articles about post-Soviet cities and recently about Chinese cities), three significant urban (planning) journals, the Dutch and Swedish ‘national’ human-geography journals (which deserve acknowledgements for publishing texts about European post-socialist cities), and ‘Urban Geography’ (focused primarily on cities in Asian–North American Trans-Pacific region). These journals comprised 78% of the articles (Table 1). Articles associated with European post-socialist cities were represented differently in those journals; relatively largest representation (share of pages) were found in the journals ‘Cities’, ‘European

**Table 1.** Intra-urban geography articles about European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland by journals (1990–2012)

Rank	Journal (Publisher – 2011)	Number (%) of articles <sup>a</sup>
1.	Cities (Elsevier, UK)	34 (18.3%) <sup>b</sup>
2.	Urban Studies (Sage, UK)	31 (16.7%)
3.	Eurasian Geography and Economics <sup>c</sup> (Bellwether Publishing, USA)	15 (8.1%)
4.	European Planning Studies (Routledge, UK)	14 (7.5%)
5.	International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (Wiley, USA)	13 (7.0%)
6.	European Urban and Regional Studies (Sage, UK)	12 (6.5%)
7.–8.	Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Wiley, USA)	9 (4.8%)
7.–8.	Urban Geography (Bellwether Publishing, USA)	9 (4.8%)
9.	Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography (Wiley, USA)	8 (4.3%)
10. – 32. <sup>d</sup>	Other journals <sup>d</sup>	4–1 (22.0%) <sup>d</sup>

*Explanation:* <sup>a</sup>total of 186 articles in 32 journals, <sup>b</sup>incl. 13 articles with ‘city profile’ character, <sup>c</sup>formerly Post-Soviet Geography and Economics, even formerly Post-Soviet Geography, <sup>d</sup>2 journals with four articles, 1 journal with three articles, 9 journals with two articles, 11 journals with one article

*Source:* Own processing – see methodology

**Table 2.** Intra-urban geography articles about European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland by years of issue (1990–2012)

	Number of articles by years:																						
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 <sup>a</sup>
All authors	2	0	10	7	11	2	5	5	7	7	7	10	10	2	11	5	6	11	9	11	14	13	21
BP(%)	50.0	–	70.0	64.3	51.5	33.3	60.0	40.0	35.7	35.7	64.3	70.0	66.6	83.3	72.7	90.0	58.3	78.8	77.7	81.8	72.6	78.2	86.5

*Explanation:* total of 186 articles, BP – percentage of articles by authors born in socialist Europe (and in West Germany), <sup>a</sup>to October 2012

*Source:* Own processing – see methodology

Urban and Regional Studies’ and ‘Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography’.

Between 1990–2012 the number of articles concerning the monitored issues gradually grew in several ‘waves’ (see Table 2). The first wave of 1992–1994 was a response to major social-political changes in European post-socialist countries, the need of introducing the specialties of their cities, especially capitals, and to the start of transformation of those cities. Some experienced Western urban researchers took part in this wave and also several fresh urban geographers and sociologists from the post-socialist Central Europe. The wave of 1998–2002 was supported by other Western authors, sometimes together with the authors from post-socialist Europe (especially the articles about Moscow and Berlin), as well as new Central-European, Estonian and Russian urban researchers broke through.

Since 2007 a further growth in the amount of articles can be noticed. Especially urban scholars from UFZ Helmholtz Centre in Leipzig (established after the unification of Germany in the eastern part of country), urban geographers from the Charles University in Prague, the Czech Republic, the University of Tartu, Estonia, and from several Polish universities, and also individual Bulgarian, Macedonian and Russian urban researchers working at North-American and British universities, conducted high quality research published in internationally accepted journals (see following sub-chapters). This growth will probably continue because the organisational and, to some extent, financial situation in the Central European and Baltic research stabilised and there is a pressure to publish in these journals.

*Articles by analysed cities – predominance of Central European cities, Tallinn and Moscow.* Some articles were rarely generic – they discuss intra-urban geography questions concerning all cities in particular countries or regions of countries (together 33 articles). The articles included in this paper mostly focus on one European post-socialist city only, i.e. 72% out of 186 articles, less often they focus on 2 to 6 such cities. If the article was concerned with several cities, Table 3 indicates the proportions (e.g. 0.5+0.5 of the article). When the cities located outside post-socialist Europe were also analysed in the article, they were not included in this evaluation.

Most articles concerned with the capital cities of Central European countries, Russia, Estonia and Bulgaria. According to the sum of the article shares, 26 articles addressed the issues of Moscow, followed by Berlin (15.5), Prague (12.9), Budapest (11.2) and Tallinn (11.0); 5–10 articles refer to Leipzig, Łódź (not capital) and Sofia (Table 3). Moscow, due to its size, importance and location, is often introduced in articles as the current and future world metropolis. Similarly, there were articles focused on Berlin (also the issues of reunification of this city), Prague (revitalisation and commercialisation of built-up area and strong suburbanisation), Budapest (housing and social structure), Leipzig (shrinking population, sprawl and reurbanisation), as well as Tallinn and Sofia (specifics suburbanisation) (cf. Table 5 and Appendix). In the capitals the transformational development was the fastest, most intense and most visible, foreign authors had an easier access to them and domestic urban geography/sociology research groups were usually formed directly in those cities. Numerous middle

**Table 3.** Intra-urban geography articles about European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland by analysed cities, countries and regions (1990–2012)

Region Country City	Number (%) of articles [BPW/BPP%]	Number (%) of cities with 100,000+ residents in 2011 <sup>a</sup>
Post-socialist Central Europe	92.8 (49.9) <sup>b</sup>	68 (20.1)
<i>East Germany</i>	31.7 (17.0) [7.0/56.5]	12 (3.5)
<i>Berlin (East + West)</i>	15.5	
<i>Leipzig</i>	9.7	
<i>Poland</i>	23.2 (12.5) [11.3/55.5]	39 (11.5)
<i>Łódź</i>	7.3	
<i>Poznań</i>	4.0	
<i>Gdańsk</i>	4.0	
<i>Warsaw (Warszawa)</i>	3.6	
<i>Czechia – The Czech Republic</i>	16.6 (8.9) [12.4/62.7]	5 (1.5)
<i>Prague (Praha)</i>	12.9	
<i>Hungary</i>	16.2 (8.7) [6.7/70.7]	9 (2.7)
<i>Budapest (Budapesti)</i>	11.2	
Post-socialist Baltic Europe	22.7 (12.2) 9 (2.6)	
<i>Estonia</i>	18.0 (9.3) [2.8/80.1]	2 (0.6)
<i>Tallinn</i>	11.0	
<i>Latvia:</i>	4.0 (2.2) [31.3/43.8]	2 (0.6)
<i>Riga (Rīga)</i>	3.0	
Post-socialist South-East Europe	25.6 (13.8)	56 (16.5)
<i>Bulgaria</i>	6.2 (3.3) [72.6/8.0] 9 (2.7)	
<i>Sofia (Sofija)</i>	6.2	
<i>Romania</i>	6.0 (3.2) [0.0/25.0]	25 (7.4)
<i>Bucharest (București)</i>	3.0	
<i>Albania</i>	5.0 (2.7) [10.0/40.0]	4 (1.2)
<i>Tirana (Tiranë)</i>	4.0	
<i>Serbia</i>	4.5 (2.4) [51.8/48.2]	5 (1.5)
<i>Belgrade (Beograd)</i>	3.5	
Post-socialist East Europe	34.9 (18.7) 206 (60.8)	
<i>European Russia</i>	34.9 (18.7) [15.8/22.2]	145 (42.8)
<i>Moscow (Moskva)</i>	26.0	
<i>Saint Petersburg (Sankt-Peterburg)</i>	3.4	
Post-socialist Europe – total	186.00 (100.0) <sup>c</sup>	339 (100.0)

*Explanation:* Countries and cities with at least three articles (in italics), BPW – percentage of articles by authors working in West countries (outside Germany), but born in socialist Europe (incl. West Germany); BPP – percentage of articles by authors working in listed countries; <sup>a</sup>see country statistics on the internet; <sup>b</sup>incl. also two intra-urban geography articles about all cities in post-socialist Central Europe; <sup>c</sup>incl. also ten intra-urban geography articles about all cities in post-socialist Europe

*Source:* Own processing – see methodology

sized and smaller cities of post-socialist Europe, in which a substantial part of the country's urban residents usually lives and which are regional centres, are dealt with in a few articles (articles about Polish and East German cities). It is a pity we do not receive findings about specific transformation of spatial structures of these cities, findings, which would be useful in directing their development.

There are relatively few articles included in this paper concerned with cities in post-socialist South Eastern Europe. However, in recent years, articles about Sofia, as well as Tirana, Belgrade, Bucharest, Skopje and other cities were published. Also cities in Eastern Europe (except Moscow) and cities in Slovenia, Slovakia and Lithuania are hardly dealt with at all. There is not a single article concerning

cities in Ukraine (!), Belarus, Moldova, although there is a large number of cities with 100 thousand and more residents (Table 3). Out of 145 Russian cities only Moscow, Yaroslavl' and St. Petersburg were dealt with in the articles. The justification of that may also be linked to the authorship of articles (see the next sub-chapter).

In connection with the countries where the described cities are located and the number of articles about them listed in Table 3, the data on the proportion of the authors born in socialist Europe but working in Western countries (BPW in Table 3) and the authors working at universities and other institutions of post-socialist Europe (BPP) are also interesting. Whereas articles concerning the cities of post-socialist Central and Baltic Europe were written mostly by authors born and working there (especially after 2000 when the quality of urban geography/sociology groups were established), the articles by authors from Western Europe and North America prevail in the other two regions. Female authors born in and graduated from institutions in Bulgaria, but working for a longer time at North American institutions 'improve' BPW of Bulgaria/Sofia. Also some quality articles about Moscow, St. Petersburg and Skopje were compiled by the authors who had migrated. All the cities that selected articles dealt with are listed in the Appendix.

*Articles by authors and their countries – amplifying role of Central European and Estonian authors.* Research on spatial structures in cities was very poor in European socialist geographies and sociologies in the 1970s and 1980s. Only few experienced

Central European sociologists and geographers, who kept in touch with Western research at that time, soon after the events of 1989 were able to publish on cities in their countries in quality Western journals and monographs, such as G. Enyedi and J. Hegedüs from Budapest, G. Węclawowicz from Warsaw (the author of chapters in the following monographs) and J. Musil from Prague. Moreover, some Western urban geographers, especially those who previously monitored socialist cities, e.g. J.H. Bater or R.H. Rowland, soon began to report on the state of spatial structures of former socialist capitals (esp. Moscow) against fascinating political and economical changes.

In the early 1990s some young geographers, sociologists and urbanists from post-socialist Europe got to Western universities on postgraduate courses to study urban geography and related disciplines. After their return to their home countries they published. Some of them stayed in the USA and UK but still deal with their home cities in their work, e.g. S. Tsenkova, followed by S. Hirt, O. Golubchikov, S. Bouzarovski. They bring knowledge about post-socialist cities to the West and inspire research in post-socialist countries. Studies by those scholars who stayed in the West are usually characterised by a narrower research focus and the use of specific sociological and mathematical-statistical methods.

Almost 82 articles (43.9%) were written by authors working in Western countries. Nevertheless, 27.1% of these articles (11.9% in total) were by authors born in socialist countries of Europe (see Table 4). The authors working in the USA were

**Table 4.** Intra-urban geography articles about European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland by the authors' countries (1990–2012)

Author's region, country – number of articles ( <i>article percentage</i> ) [BPW or BRW or BBW]
West countries – 81.6 (43.9%) [BPW -11.9%]
USA – 30.4 (16.4%) [BPW -6.0%], Great Britain – 29.5 (15.9%) [BPW -3.8%], Sweden – 9.2 (4.9%), Canada – 4.7 (2.5%), Netherlands – 3.7 (1.9%), Norway – 1.5 (0.8%), Finland – 1.5 (0.8%), Turkey – 0.5 (0.3%), Ireland – 0.3 (0.2%), other countries – 0.3 (0.2%)
European post-socialist countries – 104.4 (56.1%)
Germany – 27.4 (14.6%), Estonia – 15.8 (8.5%), Poland – 14.6 (7.9%), Hungary – 14.3 (7.7%), Czechia – 13.0 (7.0%), Russia – 8.0 (4.3%) [BRW +3.5%], Serbia – 2.2 (1.2%), Albania – 2.0 (1.1%), Latvia – 1.8 (1.0%), Romania – 1.5 (0.8%), Slovakia – 1.3 (0.7%), Slovenia – 1.0 (0.5%), Croatia – 1.0 (0.5%), Bulgaria – 0.5 (0.3%) [BBW +3.5%]

*Explanation:* Total 186 articles. If there are more authors from different countries in the article then the relevant shares are counted in (e.g. 0.5+0.5); BPW – percentage from all articles by authors working in West countries, but born in socialist Europe (percentage higher than 1.0%; by analogy, BRW or BBW – born in Russia or in Bulgaria)

*Source:* Own processing – see methodology



strongly represented, especially in the 1990s, in monitored research; their number amounted to 16.4% in total (including originally Bulgarian and Russian authors). The authors working in the UK represented 15.9%. Not a single author was from France (!), Spain, Italy, remaining Western or other country not listed in Table 4. The domination by American and British authors, as well as Scandinavian and Dutch, is considerable among the monitored set of articles and journals. That is due to the tradition in urban study research in those authors' countries, due to English being used in those journals and relative closeness of the national urban geography/sociology research as well as publishing in other Western European countries.

Over 104 articles (56.1%) were created by the authors working in European post-socialist countries, mostly in Germany – 14.6% (workplaces in the Eastern part of Germany dominate here), followed by Estonia, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Russia (Russians have a high BRW) (Table 4). Only 6.1% were written by the authors from other European post-socialist countries. The research monitored in this paper does not have a strong position or financial support there yet, and there is no such a strong pressure on publishing in quality journals.

A number of geographers and other experts as well as several research groups have gradually developed expertise in the discussed issue. The aforementioned Estonian geographer T. Tammaru is represented in the set of 186 articles most frequently. He is an author or co-author of 14 articles, and his converted value through co-author shares equals 7.8. The urban geographer L. Sýkora reaches values of 7 and 5.5, respectively. His articles about Prague transformation from the 1990s – Sýkora (1994, 1999) – are the most frequently cited works according to the Web of Knowledge. The next places are taken by A. Haase (7 and 1.9, respectively), S. Hirt (6 and 5.5), S. Bouzarovski (6 and 3.1), K. Leetmaa, M. Gentile, A. Steinführer, J.H. Bater, O. Golubchikov, Ö. Sjöberg, Z. Kovács and S. Krátke.

Geographers from the University of Tartu (Estonia) wrote 17 and 15.5 articles (T. Tammaru, K. Leetmaa, A. Kährlik and others). Those researchers study mainly suburbanisation in the hinterland of Tallinn and migration from/to Estonian cities.

Urban scholars from the UFZ Helmholtz Centre Leipzig in East Germany authored 13 and 11.0 articles (A. Haase, A. Steinführer and others). They study population changes in the Leipzig-Halle agglomeration and the reurbanisation of Leipzig. Urban geographers from the Charles University in Prague (L. Sýkora, M. Ouředníček and others) authored 12 and 11.5 articles. They published mainly on regeneration of built-up areas and social space transformation in Prague, as well as on its suburbanisation. Those urban geography/sociology research groups were created after 2000 around several research personalities who attended internships and conferences at Western universities, gained experience in publishing in quality journals and had favourable conditions in their countries and at their universities. Other groups are also to be found in Budapest, Warsaw, Łódź (Institute of Urban Geography and Tourism Studies, University of Łódź), or Poznań. At present, there is cooperation between the mentioned, somewhat differently focused research groups, also including those who had worked for a longer time at Western universities. Projects and publications are being prepared and realised, incl. Buzar et al. (2007), Haase et al. (2010), Steinführer et al. (2010), Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012).

#### 4. Article topics – types, representations and commentaries

##### 4.1. Physical spatial structure of the city and its transformation

The articles from the early 1990s analysed problems of the *socialist urban structures* and presented visions of post-socialist era. Enyedi (1992) wrote about belated urban development in socialist Central Europe and the beginning of post-socialist development according to Western patterns. Neglecting the old and constructing the new sets of buildings in Budapest during socialism was assessed by Elter and Baross (1993). Hammersley and Westlake (1996) introduced pre-socialist and socialist urban development regulated by plans in Prague. Similarly, Jürgens (1996) in Leipzig wrote about neglecting of pre-war prestige inner-city housing blocks. Turnock (1990) documented an

inappropriate demolition and rebuilding in the inner-city Bucharest neighbourhood in the 1980s.

Regeneration, revitalisation or modernisation – these were the issues frequently discussed in articles on *post-socialist urban transformation processes* initiated in the inherited physical structure of the socialist city. Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012) asked how far the development of post-socialist cities had gone and how the different processes of transforming spatial structures of these cities had been dependent and integrated. At first, city centres were hit with ‘citization’ (i.e., functional and partly physical transformation of centres based on the expansion of financial, legal and other specific services, while residential floor spaces and the number of residents were diminishing). Beluszky and Timár (1992) or Hegedüs and Tosics (1994) identified these processes in the districts of Budapest originating in the political and economical changes as well as housing privatisation. Sýkora (1994) presented the beginning of the regeneration in Prague; Staddon and Mollov (2000) – rapid urban changes in Sofia; Temelová (2007) – revitalisation and conversion of the old inner-city housing blocks in Prague’s Smíchov and its driving forces. A specific situation, discussed by Ellger (1992), occurred in Berlin after its reunification where it was necessary to connect two different urban conceptions of East and West Berlin. The declining areas and brownfields gradually developed within cities. On the city edges, according to the Western European pattern, newly built areas were established with single- and multi-family houses or blocks of super- and hypermarkets and variously focused commercial companies (built by Western investors from corrugated iron). Hirt 2008b or Hirt 2009 evaluated new urban forms in Sofia and in Belgrade. Urban transformation of Tirana featured similar aspects as other cities heading from socialism towards capitalism. There were also Balkan and Albanian specifics, e.g. many illegal constructions, discussed by Nase and Ocakci (2010).

Large *prefabricated housing estates* were and still are a significant urban structure created during the socialist era. Even nowadays about half of the population of post-socialist cities usually lives in them (especially in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, the Baltic region, Russian and Ukrainian industrial cities). Reconstruction and revitalisation is needed

(including a mitigation of ‘greyness’ and uniformity). The articles dealing with this sub-topic were published rather late; Temelová et al. (2011) wrote about the Czech estates; Bouzarovski, Salukvadze and Gentile (2011) dealt with the estates in Skopje and Tbilisi; and Kovács and Herfert (2012) – in Leipzig, Budapest, Sofia and Vilnius.

The analysis of representation of article topics and sub-topics indicates that urban geographers, unlike urbanists, are afraid a bit of questions concerning the physical spatial structure of the city. Although the morphological diversity of built-up areas in post-socialist cities is large and well-identifiable, it is also possible to see an interesting connection with functional, genetic-concentric and social spatial structures or project models of morphological structure. The exceptions are ‘city profiles’ in the journal ‘Cities’.

#### 4.2. Functional spatial structure of city and its transformation

It is known that directing the arrangement of functional areas in European socialist cities was mostly rigorous and that particularly monofunctional areas were planned. Unlike Western cities, industrial areas had a greater range. On the other hand, smaller areas were designated for services for residents. Since the mid-1990s the functional-spatial arrangement of post-socialist cities was relatively quickly transformed. This is due to the processes of commercialisation in city centres, deindustrialisation, automobilisation and construction of super- and hypermarkets, followed by revitalisation of industrial, railway and army brownfields within cities.

Few analyses of *spatial patterns of functional areas* or genetic-concentric-functional zones in cities were attempted, as well as the creation of models of those spatial structures. Gentile and Sjöberg (2006) created such models for Soviet cities; Ott (2001) for Central European cities (in connection with geodemographic differentiation); Kotus (2006) justified the functional changes in Poznań; Riley (1997) – in the Łódź centre 1989/1995. The cited models of socialist/post-socialist city were compiled by Sailer-Fliege (1999) and Dingsdale (1999). Surprisingly, city land use studies did not appear in the set of articles included in this paper.

Other articles focused only on some particular type of functional areas, especially on *service and industrial areas*, or on functional transformation of city centres. Kovács (1994) analysed 'citisation' in Budapest in the early 1990s (specifically conversion of apartments into offices and business); Nagy (2001) discussed winners and losers of transformation of city-centre retailing in the Czech and Hungarian cities; Kolossov, Vendina and O'Loughlin (2002) focused on commercialisation of Moscow city sub-centres (arrival of department stores, banks, business services); Lisowski and Wilk (2002) analysed changing spatial distribution of services in Warsaw in 1986–1999; Rudolph and Brade (2005) discussed the same topic but dealt with it in the Moscow's periphery zone; Nae and Turnock (2011) – in Tirana, and Tirana in this regard was also tracked by Pojani (2011). The use of services in the territory of the divided city Zgorzelec/Görlitz by Polish and German residents of this city was described by Dołzbłasz and Raczyk (2012).

Transformation and withdrawal of *industry* from post-socialist Budapest is referred to by Kiss (2002, 2004), specifically restructuring of industrial areas and its causes, as well as differences between Budapest and smaller Hungarian cities. Ailing textile and arrival of new industry via foreign investors were monitored in the territory of Polish Łódź by Walker (1993). The withdrawal of the traditional industry and spread of the high tech industry in Berlin is discussed by Krätke (2004). Whereas in the 1990s the 'citisation' of city centres was in progress, after 1997 the functionally clear-cut construction on city edges (commercial, business and residential) and after 2003 a search for new functional utilisation for inner-city *brownfields* was more noticeable. This timing applies to the Central European capitals where this transformation started earliest and most profoundly.

In urban study journals minimal attention was paid to the greenery, including large colonies of collective gardens (allotments) in cities, as discussed by Kotus (2006). Some authors focused only on the equipment of specific services, e.g. business services, such as Ellger (1994) in East-German Cottbus, or global high-level business services discussed by Krätke (2001) in Berlin.

#### 4.3. Housing structure in urban neighbourhoods in connection with changes in housing policy and market

In the socialist era multi-apartment houses, constructed both before and during this period, were owned by socialist industry enterprises, cooperative building associations, the state or municipalities. Among socialist countries distinctions can be noted with regard to percentage of the mentioned ownership. Poor maintenance and inadequate renovation of pre-socialist houses led to their neglect. In the decade after 1989 *housing privatisation* took place – houses were returned to restitutions or sold, while apartments in housing estates were sold cheaply to residents associated in the new mutual communities. The following articles concern those transformations in territories of some cities. Housing privatisation in Moscow and Budapest, including the impacts on tenants, was evaluated by Pickvance (1994); solely in Moscow – by Bäter (1994) and Mozolin (1994), including changes in preferences of housing values and the impact on social status of neighbourhoods; in Ljubljana – by Pichler-Milanovich (1994); and in the Yaroslavl' districts, including the social consequences – by Lehman and Ruble (1997). Proportional changes in the ownership of apartments, consequences of restitution of houses and urban renewal in the East-Berlin inner-city districts were analysed by Reimann (1997); while in Romanian Timisoara, including quality of apartments or ethnic aspects – by Dawidson (2004a). The 'wild times' of Central European post-socialist housing privatisation mostly faded at the turn of the millennium. Bodnár and Molnár (2010) pursued suitable proportions of private and municipal apartments in the 'post-transformed' Budapest and Berlin.

Other articles focused also on other *parameters of apartments and houses* in city neighbourhoods. Kovács (1994) monitored the conversion of apartments in Budapest for business use; Kemper (1998) focussed on rent level, the ethnicity of living and residential segregation in Berlin; while Kulu (2003) assessed the dwelling types and social characteristics of living based on census in Estonian Tartu. Glock and Häussermann (2004) analysed the specific East German urban sub-topic – the large amount of unoccupied apartments (up to

1/3) caused by migration to the Western part of Germany and relevant housing policy.

Since the mid-1990s the *apartment market* (incl. apartment rental) as well as houses and building plots market were set in motion particularly by the rising real estate agents. ‘Rent gaps’ in the centres of post-socialist cities in the early 1990s (e.g. in Prague – Sýkora (1993)) were a prerequisite for a purchase of houses located there for city-centre business activities of the Western type. Hegedüs and Tosics (1994) turned to ‘cold rents’ in socialist Budapest (low apartment rents adjusted by state, only 7% of revenues) and the resulting consequences. The shift of the German capital back to Berlin and demands for and cost of commercial building space were discussed by Strom (1996). Keivani, Parsa and McGreal (2001) asked agents, consultants, investors and developers in the Central European capitals about economical parameters of the real estate market. Kauko (2009) covered the differences in the rise of apartment prices in four renovated Budapest districts with the impact on residents.

*Squatting* and *homelessness* had not been registered until a new capitalist period. The interaction of squatter movements and strategies of urban restructuring in Berlin was the subject of the article by Holm and Kuhn (2011). O’Neill (2010) monitored the homeless in the territory of Bucharest.

#### 4.4. Social spatial structure of city and its transformation

Flats in prefabricated housing estates were, at the time of their creation during socialism in the 1970s and 1980s, assigned mostly to young married couples with children. The population of housing estates gradually aged. If economically successful in the post-socialist period, the children with their own families often moved from the housing estates into new houses built on the city edges and in suburb settlements. The *geodemography according to city districts* is also influenced by post-socialist reduction in fertility, life expectancy extension, reduction of multigenerational households, and locally, in single city districts, by the beginning of the gentrification processes, especially in Central European big cities.

The development of numbers of residents in city districts and zones was commented upon and justified in the articles by Rowland (1992a, 1992b) who dealt with Moscow zones between the censuses in the 1980s; Bater (2006) – long-term development in St. Petersburg; Ioffe and Zayonchkovskaya (2011) – in the Moscow region; Tölle (2008) – the latest development in Gdańsk-Gdynia agglomeration parts; and by other authors. Tammaru, Kulu and Kask (2004) analysed the development of residents and migration flows within the Tallinn metropolitan region using a model of the stages of urban development. Steinführer and Haase (2007) outlined future population development in Central European cities. Some of the new studies monitored reurbanisation in Central European inner-city neighbourhoods, often in the form of gentrification. Buzar et al. (2007) revealed reurbanisation in ‘splintering’ urban populations of Leipzig and Ljubljana; Haase et al. (2008) presented a set of demographic and social indicators for monitoring the reurbanisation in Leipzig; Haase et al. (2010) – in Leipzig and Ljubljana. A debate about ‘urban shrinkage’, especially among East German scholars from Leipzig, engaged Kabisch, Haase and Haase (2010) to refer to Leipzig. On the other hand, arrival of new residents to some inner parts of Leipzig was monitored (incl. Haase, Herfert, Kabish and Steinführer 2012). Steinführer et al. (2010) evaluated decline of number of residents in Polish and Czech cities. Young transitory urbanites took the inner-city as appropriate for the phase between early adulthood and own family formation, which is discussed by Haase, Grossmann and Steinführer (2012). Gentrification of the inner city of Budapest is focused by Kovács, Wiessner and Zischner (2012), while Temelová and Dvořáková (2012) evaluated residential satisfaction of the elderly in two Prague revitalising inner-city neighbourhoods.

The relatively homogeneous *social spatial structure* of socialist cities created by the politics of social egalitarianism gradually diversified after 1989, especially in big cities of Central Europe. Gentile, Tammaru and van Kempen (2012) coined the term ‘heteropolitanisation’ to name the process leading to heterogeneous social (not only social) spatial structure of cities. Wiest (2012) drew attention to the problems of comparison of cities and countries due to different initial conditions.

Enyedi (1992) yet returned to the socialist period, while Sýkora (1994, 1999) pointed out the changes in urban reconstructed areas of Prague (including the withdrawal of inner-city poorer housing). Parysek and Wdowicka (2002) introduced the neoliberal socio-economic development in Poznań and social problems arising out of it, while Kovács (2009) dealt with the same issues in Budapest. The expected deterioration of social structure in originally socialist housing estates was only partially fulfilled. Some of them kept middle-class statute, as described by Kährlik and Tammaru (2010) in Tallinn, or Temelová et al. (2011) in Czech cities. Other authors came out with questionnaires to acquire the opinions and data directly from city residents. That way Sidorov (1992) monitored the changes in perception of prestigious districts in Moscow during the 'perestroyka' period. The impact of urban restructuring on the daily life of residents of downtown Moscow were analysed by Pavlovskaya and Hanson (2001, including gender aspects), and Pavlovskaya (2004, with a focus on multiple household economies).

Socialist cities had also a relatively homogenous spatial structure of *household income*. The differences among the workers, officials or medical doctors were small and households of these professionals existed together in the same neighbourhood, street or house. That has gradually been transformed since 1989. Inside Budapest, Belgrade and in other big cities gradually tens of gated communities were formed, where wealthy people were looking for peace and quiet, security and prestige, as described by Cséfalvay (2011) or Hirt and Petrović (2011). Middle-income neighbourhoods were also formed, especially since the new millennium started (Badyina and Golubchikov 2005 – 'from proletarianisation to gentrification' in the central Moscow district of Ostozhenka), as well as segregation of residential precincts and neighbourhoods. Research of social segregation has recently been frequent, mentioned by Levine (2004) in East Berlin districts; Polanska (2008) in Gdańsk's Dolne Miasto (also scenarios regarding upgrading); Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009) in downgraded enclaves in five post-socialist cities; Marcińczak (2012) or Marcińczak and Sagan (2011) in Polish Łódź; Marcińczak, Musterd and Stepniak (2012) in Łódź, Kraków and Warsaw;

or Spevec and Klempić Bogadi (2009) in Zagreb and other Croatian cities.

In Russian and German cities, segregation may fall under the category of *ethnic segregation*. Ethnic segregation in Berlin districts was researched by Kemper (1998), dealing with Turkish, Yugoslav and Polish districts; in Moscow districts – by Vendina (2002), dealing with Caucasian and other former Soviet ethnics; in Estonian Tartu – by Hess, Tammaru and Leetmaa (2012), dealing with ethnic differences in housing. Increasing number and size of Roma segregated enclaves, or even ghettos, in some of the Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Balkan towns, which has increased in recent years, is a process which will significantly influence social and physical structure of those cities. The Roma issue was discussed by Ladányi (1993) in Budapest and, more recently, by Sýkora (2009) and Temelová et al. (2011) in Czech cities.

A sociological probe of yet another deprivation – *unemployment* – was conducted by Smith et al. (2008) regarding some neighbourhoods of Bratislava and Kraków (also various household benefits). The structure of *employment by economic sectors* in cities and their districts has undergone a significant transformation, as the proportion of services significantly increased while the industrial sector fell into decline. This is documented by Bater, Amelin and Degtyarev (1994) in central Moscow; Krätke (2000, 2004) in Berlin neighbourhoods from the point of view of services for production and trade; Petrovici (2012) in Romanian Cluj-Napoca (also ethnicity and education of employees); and some other research. Gentile and Sjöberg (2010) are interested in an older issue, namely retaining workers in socialist (industrial) enterprises in Latvian Daugavpils through housing owned by enterprises.

The sporadic number of articles dealing with the analyses of social and other aspects of *quality of life* in city parts is surprising, with the exception of Bater (2001) who assessed central Moscow. The presence of *local communities* within the city and the engagement of city residents in the local activities was mainly discussed by sociologists. Spatial aspects of these issues in East-German Rostock were published by Rueschemeyer (1993), who referred to the post-revolutionary lack of interest and great expectations of capitalist well-being;

Smith (1999) who referred to Leipzig and redefined relations between residents, officials and experts; and Shomina, Kolosov and Shukhat (2002) who referred to Moscow's neighbourhood-based housing movements. Bouzarovski (2009) monitored the socio-spatial urban life of households and their 'building events' in Gdańsk inner-city. Specific behavioural urban geography matter – e-mail self-organisation within neighbourhood community – was mapped by Kotus and Hlawka (2010) in Poznań; Špačková and Ouředníček (2012) wrote an article on a similar theme. Young and Kaczmarek (2008) analysed the post-socialist changes of urban identity as well as the contexts of Europeisation and globalisation in Łódź.

#### 4.5. Suburbanisation and urban sprawl in near hinterland of city

Suburbanisation in West European countries started in the 1960s, while in the socialist part of Europe this process did not take place. The problem was to obtain building loans, building plots, various official permits, building companies, craftsmen, building materials. Relatively high availability of apartments in prefabricated housing estates, especially in Czechoslovakian, East-German and Soviet cities, played a role against suburbanisation. The suburban way of life was practised during socialism and even after 1989 by those native residents of settlements in the middle and near hinterland of cities who worked in the cities and lived in newly built single-family houses of a town character in rural areas, as researched by Timár (1992) in Hungary. Ioffe and Nefedova (1998) pointed out the functionally similar small towns in the Moscow agglomeration ('prigorods'). A study of the real but weaker socialist suburbanisation is mentioned only by Tammaru (2001a) in the vicinity of Tallinn.

The desire of city residents to live outside the cities was fulfilled, at least partially, using *second homes* (cabins, cottages) in the city hinterland, particularly in former Czechoslovakia, as described by Ouředníček (2007); as well as in Poland, the Soviet Baltics or in the Moscow region, as described by Ioffe and Nefedova (1998). Leetmaa and Tammaru (2007), Leetmaa, Tammaru and Anniste (2009) and

mainly Leetmaa et al. (2012) wrote about the role of second homes in the Estonian post-socialist processes of suburbanisation.

It took some time before the *post-socialist suburbanisation* started in monitored countries. Middle and upper classes of city residents gradually emerged and it was necessary to provide building loans, building plots and developer projects. Since 1997 the suburbanisation in near hinterland of cities (n.h.c.) started to develop, especially in the hinterland of Central European and Baltic capitals, after 2000 also in n.h.c. of other cities situated there. In other parts of post-socialist Europe suburbanisation was time-shifted and weaker, as mentioned by, e.g., Bouzarovski (2011). Brown and Schafft (2002) noticed the increase of residents and houses in Budapest n.h.c.; similarly – Kotus (2006) in Poznań, and Tölle (2008) – in Gdańsk. The restructuring and further development in Moscow's peri-urban zone was analysed by Rudolph and Brade (2005). The strengthening role of the market in the suburbanisation in Tallinn n.h.c. was discussed by Leetmaa, Tammaru and Anniste (2009). The temporal and spatial dynamics, as well as the conditions, forms and transformations of Tallinn suburbanisation was documented by Tammaru et al. (2009). Kährik, Leetmaa and Tammaru (2012) focused on the factors that lead households to move from the city to new suburban settlements in Tallinn n.h.c., while Krišjāne and Bērziņš – in Riga n.h.c. (2012).

*Negatives of suburbanisation* are another sub-topic of articles. Hirt (2006, 2007) drew attention to blurring of Sofia's urban edge and to architectural problems within Sofia's suburbs. The special situation in East German cities, from where in last two decades a lot of residents in the productive age have moved to West Germany ('shrinking cities') and where new houses were built in their hinterland (urban sprawl can be noticed), was described by Ott (2001) regarding Erfurt; Nuißl and Rink (2005) and Couch et al. (2005) – regarding Leipzig (including relevant urban policy, planning and management); as well as Haase and Nuißl (2007) regarding Leipzig (particularly the impact on the natural environment). Timár and Váradi (2001) stated that suburbanisation in Hungary raises social tensions, segregation and exclusion in cities and their n.h.c.

Another sub-topic is geodemographical and social *characteristics of suburbanites*. Suburban migration and its influence on the composition of residents in settlements was monitored by Ouředníček (2007) in Prague n.h.c.; Hirt (2007) – in Sofia n.h.c.; Kontuly and Tammaru (2006) – in Tallinn n.h.c. Daily mobility of suburbanites was analysed by Tammaru (2005) in Tallinn n.h.c. (also employment changes), followed by Ahas et al. 2010; by Krišjāne et al. (2012) – in Riga n.h.c.; Novák and Sýkora (2007) – in Prague n.h.c. (including other time-space activities); and Hirt (2008a) – in Sofia n.h.c. (also gender problems).

#### 4.6. Urban planning and management on city territory

*Socialist urban planning* and its realisation was significantly reflected in post-socialist urban planning and development. Special features, including pluses and minuses of socialist urban planning in individual countries, were presented by, e.g., Shomina (1992) who referred to the strong role of industrial enterprises in urban planning and its realisation in Soviet cities; Grava (1993) who wrote about urban planning in Riga subordinated to the interests of the Soviet state; or Sjöberg (1999) who referred to the socialist urban planning and growth. Unlike in the West, in socialist states it was relatively easy to expropriate land for the construction of roads, industrial plants and prefabricated panel housing estates. Everything was supervised by ubiquitous and almighty state officials and the communist party. Both public transport and technical infrastructure were quite well planned and realised (e.g. in East-German and Czechoslovak cities). Nedović-Budić (2001) compared the socialist and post-socialist urban planning, legislation and the strategic planning in three Central European cities, while Nedović-Budić, Djordjević and Dabović (2011) dealt with the development of Serbian spatial planning legislation.

*Post-socialist urban planning and development* was influenced newly by businessmen, investors, developers, political parties, environmental groups (new actors mentioned by Hoffman (1994)) or local civic initiatives. Some of the city representatives and building officers, subjected to pressure

of local and foreign investors and developers, allowed the construction of shopping centres or new residential areas in inappropriate locations or inappropriate conversion of architecturally valuable buildings. In some cities of the Balkans, irregular constructions occurred, which had to be either torn down or acknowledged as legal, as described by Žegarac (1999) and Hirt (2009) in Belgrade; Nientied (1998) and Pojani (2010) in Tirana. Cities strive to create new master plans suitable for oncoming capitalist era (articles about Polish Szczecin by Mieszkowska (1996) and about Tallinn by Ruoppila (2007)). Nientied (1998) referred to Albanian cities; Golubchikov (2004) – Russian cities; Nase and Ocakci (2010) – Albanian cities, and other authors listed in this sub-chapter, presented specific transformation of urban planning and its realisation in individual countries and cities. After 1989 post-socialist cities were not prepared for the rapid growth of car use, so new plans try to solve its negative consequences to city life.

Particularly after 2005, the *post-modern urban visions* for bigger European post-socialist cities were created and applied in master and strategic plans. Alden, Beigulenko and Crow (1998) commented and complemented on urban planning issues for Moscow as the ‘world capital city’; Argenbright (2011) – for New Moscow planned on the southwest outskirts of the city; Couch et al. (2005) – for the ‘shrinking’ Leipzig; Parysek and Mierzejewska (2006) – for the post-modern Polish Poznań; Hirt (2009) – for the future Belgrade; Tölle (2010) and Cochrane and Jonas (1999) – for Berlin (creation of links to pre-socialist and socialist Berlin). Golubchikov (2010) introduced new spatial visions for St. Petersburg with regards to preservation of its historical face (see also Trumbull (2012), while Mitchneck (1998) – for the Russian Yaroslavl. Particularly after the entry of Central European and other countries into the EU, strategic urban planning focused on starting new local construction investments, as described by, e.g., Tsenkova (2007) who referred to challenges, opportunities and space aspects of strategic planning, with examples from Sofia; and Scott and Kühn (2012) who generally referred to cities in post-socialist countries.

Articles about opinions, roles and activities of *urban actors* due to urban policy, planning and their realisation were relatively frequent. Simpson

**Table 5.** Intra-urban geography articles about European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland by topics (1990–2012)

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*A – Physical spatial structure of the city and its transformation (12.3%)*  
 Badyina and Golubchikov (2005), Borén and Gentile (2007), Bouzarovski (2011), Bouzarovski, Salukvadze and Gentile (2011), Cochrane and Passmore (2001), Cook (2010), Cséfalvay (2011), Ellger (1992), Elter and Baross (1993), Enyedi (1990), Feldman (2000), Golubchikov and Phelps (2011), Hammersley and Westlake (1996), Hegedüs and Tosics (1994), Hirt (2006, 2008b, 2009), Hirt and Petrović (2011), Jürgens (1996), Kotus (2006), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Kovács, Wiessner and Zischner (2012), Latham and McCormack (2009), Marcuse (1998), Mieszkowska (1996), Mitchneck (1998), Musil (1993), Nae and Turnock (2011), Niemczyk (1998), Nuissl and Rink (2005), Pojani (2010), Scott and Kühn (2012), Staddon and Mollov (2000), Sýkora (1994), Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012), Sýkora and Štěpánek (1992), Temelová (2007), Temelová et al. (2011), Tölle (2008, 2010), Trumbull (2012), Turnock (1990), Wiest (2012)

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*B – Functional spatial structure of the city and its transformation (10.3%)*  
 Bater (2001), Brade and Rudolph (2004), Dozblasz and Raczyk (2012), Ellger (1994), Gentile and Sjöberg (2006), Gritsai (1997, 2004), Kiss (2002, 2004), Kolossov, Vendina and O'Loughlin (2002), Kotus (2006), Kovács (1994), Krátke (2001, 2004), Lisowski and Wilk (2002), Mieszkowska (1996), Musil (1993), Nae and Turnock (2011), Nagy (2001), O'Loughlin and Kolossov (2002), Pojani (2011), Riley (1997), Rudolph and Brade (2005), Stenning (2000), Sýkora and Štěpánek (1992), Walker (1993), Young and Kaczmarek (1999)

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*C – Housing structure in the city neighbourhoods on the background of changing housing policy and market (11.3%)*  
 Bater (1994), Bodnár and Molnár (2010), Bouzarovski (2009), Bouzarovski, Salukvadze and Gentile (2011), Cséfalvay (2011), Dawidson (2004a, b), Glock and Häussermann (2004), Haase et al. (2012), Hegedüs and Tosics (1994), Hess, Tammaru and Leetmaa (2012), Hirt and Petrović (2011), Holm and Kuhn (2011), Kauko (2009), Kährlik and Tammaru (2010), Keivani, Parsa and McGreal (2001), Kemper (1998), Kovács (1994), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Kulu (2003), Mozolin (1994), Nientied (1998), Pichler-Milanovich (1994), Pickvance (1994), Reimann (1997), Spevec and Klempić Bogadi (2009), Strom (1996), Struyk and Romanik (1995), Sýkora (1993), Sýkora and Štěpánek (1992), Temelová et al. (2011)

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*D – Social spatial structure of the city and its transformation (32.6%)*  
 Ahas et al. (2010), Badyina and Golubchikov (2005), Bater (2001, 2006), Bater, Amelin and Degtyarev (1994), Bater, Degtyarev and Amelin (1995), Beluszky and Timár (1992), Bernt (2009), Bouzarovski (2009), Bouzarovski, Salukvadze and Gentile (2011), Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009), Buzar et al. (2007), Couch et al. (2005), Cséfalvay (2011), Dawidson (2004a, b), Enyedi (1990, 1992), Gentile and Sjöberg (2006, 2010), Gentile, Tammaru and van Kempen (2012), Haase et al. (2008, 2010, 2012), Haase, Grossmann and Steinführer (2012), Hess, Tammaru and Leetmaa (2012), Hirt and Petrović (2011), Holm and Kuhn (2011), Ioffe and Zayonchkovskaya (2011), Kabisch, Haase and Haase (2010), Kährlik and Tammaru (2010), Kemper (1998), Kontuly and Tammaru (2006), Kotus and Hlawka (2010), Kovács (1994, 2009), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Kovács, Wiessner and Zischner (2012), Krátke (2000, 2004), Krišjāne and Bērziņš (2012), Krišjāne et al. (2012), Kulu (2003), Ladányi (1993), Lehmann and Ruble (1997), Levine (2004), Marcińczak (2012), Marcińczak and Sagan (2011), Marcińczak, Musterd and Stepniak (2012), Musil (1993), O'Loughlin and Kolossov (2002), O'Neill (2010), Ott (2001), Parysek and Wdowicka (2002), Pavlovskaya (2004), Pavlovskaya and Hanson (2001), Petrovici (2012), Polanska (2008), Rowland (1992a, b), Rueschemeyer (1993), Sagan and Grabkowska (2012), Shomina (1992), Shomina, Kolossov and Shukhat (2002), Smith (1999), Smith et al. (2008), Spevec and Klempić Bogadi (2009), Steinführer and Haase (2007), Steinführer et al. (2010), Stenning (2000), Sýkora (1994, 1999, 2009), Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012), Špačková and Ouředníček (2012), Tammaru (2000, 2001b, 2005), Tammaru, Kulu and Kask (2004), Temelová and Dvořáková (2012), Temelová et al. (2011), Tölle (2008), Vendina (2002), Wiest (2012), Young and Kaczmarek (2008)

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*E – Suburbanisation and urban sprawl in the near hinterland of the city (14.3%)*  
 Ahas et al. (2010), Borén and Gentile (2007), Bouzarovski (2011), Brown and Schafft (2002), Couch et al. (2005), Golubchikov and Phelps (2011), Haase and Nuissl (2007), Hauswirth, Herrschel and Newman (2003), Hirt (2006, 2007, 2008a), Ioffe and Nefedova (1998), Kährlik and Tammaru (2008), Kährlik, Leetmaa and Tammaru (2012), Kontuly and Tammaru (2006), Kotus (2006), Krišjāne and Bērziņš (2012), Krišjāne et al. (2012), Leetmaa and Tammaru (2007), Leetmaa et al. (2012), Leetmaa, Tammaru and Anniste (2009), Novák and Sýkora (2007), Nuissl and Rink (2005), Ott (2001), Ouředníček (2007), Pojani (2010), Rudolph and Brade (2005), Sidorov (1992), Sjöberg (1992), Špačková and Ouředníček (2012), Tammaru (2001a, 2005), Tammaru, Kulu and Kask (2004), Tammaru et al. (2009), Timár (1992), Timár and Váradi (2001), Tölle (2008)

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*F – Urban planning and management on the city territory (19.2%)*  
 Alden, Beigulenko and Crow (1998), Argenbright (2011), Bater, Degtyarev and Amelin (1995), Bernt (2009), Bollens (2008), Borén and Gentile (2007), Bouzarovski (2011), Buček (2000), Cochrane and Jonas (1999), Cook (2010), Couch et al. (2005), Ellger (1992), Enyedi (1990), Feldman (2000), Gentile and Sjöberg (2006, 2010), Golubchikov (2004, 2010), Golubchikov and Phelps (2011), Grava (1993), Hauswirth, Herrschel and Newman (2003), Hirt (2009), Hoffman (1994), Holm and Kuhn (2011), Keivani, Parsa and McGreal (2002), Mieszkowska (1996), Mitchneck (1998), Nae and Turnock (2011), Nae and Ocakci (2010), Nedović-Budić (2001), Nedović-Budić, Djordjević and Dabović (2011), Niemczyk (1998), Owen (1994), Pagonis and Thornley (2000), Parysek and Mierzejewska (2006), Pojani (2010, 2011), Polanska (2008), Ruoppila (2007), Sagan and Grabkowska (2012), Scott and Kühn (2012), Shomina (1992), Simpson and Chapman (1999), Sjöberg (1999), Smith (1997), Stenning (2000), Surazska (1996), Temelová (2007), Tölle (2010), Trumbull (2012), Tsenkova (2007), Žegarac (1999)

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*Explanation:* If in the article there are two or maximum three urban geography topics represented more significantly (in 67 out of 186 articles), then the relevant parts of the article are accounted (0.5+0.5 or 0.3333+0.3333+0.3333). Sums of articles and their parts within the topics are converted to percentages.

*Source:* Own processing – see methodology



and Chapman (1999) compared Prague to Edinburgh in terms of their urban governance and urban policies; likewise Golubchikov and Phelps (2011) – referred to Khimki at the edge of Moscow. Pagonis and Thornley (2000) evaluated and compared the roles of developers and city managers in three Moscow urban projects. Keivani, Parsa and McGreal (2002) interviewed the leaders among the developers, banks and city institutions about the possibility of influencing urban development in Warsaw. Hauswirth, Herrschel and Newman (2003) analysed the obstacles of governance in the territory of the Berlin-Brandenburg conurbation. Bernt (2009) focused on governance of urban renewal in East-German shrinking smaller cities. Cook (2010) asked foreign developers who create exclusive apartments in Prague inner-city old houses, under the supervision of city officers, about the problems they face. Tensions between the Gdańsk city government, revitalisation strategies for Gdańsk's Dolne Miasto and the spontaneously ongoing renovation were shown by Sagan and Grabkowska (2012).

Another sub-topic – the reform of *spatial arrangement of public administration in cities* (also its sublocal decentralisation) – was worked on by Owen (1994), Surazska (1996) and Buček (2000) in reference to Polish Płock, Central-European capitals and large Slovak cities.

## 5. Addition to other articles and monographs

To make the list of publications complete, ten significant monographs are mentioned. They concern issues monitored in this paper and were published in English by prestigious Western publishers (except one). Seven out of the ten monographs were published in 2005–2009, when a similar thought developed in several places to recapitulate transformations of city spatial structures in European post-socialist countries, including Hamilton, Dimitrowska Andrews and Pichler-Milanović eds. (2005), Eckardt and Hassenpflug eds. (2005), Van Kempen, Vermeulen and Baan eds. (2005), Tsenkova and Nedović-Budić eds. (2006), Altrock, Günter, Huning and Peters eds. (2006), Stanilov

ed. (2007), Hirt and Stanilov (2009). In the 1990s monographs were edited by Andrusz, Harloe and Szelényi (1996) and Enyedi (1998). The latest book was by Haase, Steinführer, Kabisch, Grossmann and Hall eds. (2011). The topic selection in those monographs is relatively diverse.

To those interested in the issue dealt with in this paper, it is necessary to introduce one important and often cited article – by Sailer-Fliege (1999) – which generalises the development of functional and social spatial structures of Central European cities, including relevant transformation processes. Similar are articles by Kovács (1999) and Dingsdale (1999), which focused on Budapest. These articles, though, were published in the journal without an impact factor.

## 6. Conclusion

Overall 186 articles about spatial structure of European post-socialist cities and their hinterland, published in 32 internationally accepted journals, were studied in this paper. Most articles come from the journals 'Cities' and 'Urban Studies'. In the reported period of 1990–2012 there was a gradually growing number of articles, particularly those compiled by authors from Central European post-socialist countries and Estonia. This is the reason why many of the articles analyse cities such as Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Tallinn, Leipzig and Łódź. Initially, Western experts specialised in cities in socialist countries, however, young urban geographers from the former Eastern bloc took their part in the second half of the 1990s. Urban institutes were established in Leipzig, Prague, Tartu and other places. Cooperation between these institutes has thrived in the recent years, while the cooperative research with West European universities and institutions, supported by the EU funds, has become widespread.

While attempting an exhaustive search for articles, a few undiscovered articles certainly have remained. Additionally, some of the articles selected in this set are somewhat debatable from the point of view of 'topics' (criterion a3). The most frequent article topic was 'social spatial structure of a city' (percentages in Table 5). This is due to relative ease

of accessing data from censuses in city districts, and also the involvement of urban sociologists. What would be interesting is the diversification of originally very homogenous income/property structure of households in cities leading to residential separation and segregation. Segregation localities, occupied mainly by the Roma population, arise in many cities of Hungary, Slovakia and the Balkan countries. These enclaves pose social and urbanistic problems. On the other hand, the level of heterogeneity of social spatial structures in post-socialist cities does not reach the extent observed in cities in western world, mainly in the USA.

Another two topics with higher percentage were dedicated to 'urban planning and management' and 'suburbanisation and urban sprawl', and are recently often discussed because post-socialist cities deal with planning and management imperfections and there is a need to appropriately regulate the related affairs and growing suburbanisation. There are slightly fewer articles concerning 'physical spatial structure of the city', 'housing structure in city neighbourhoods' and 'functional spatial structure of the city'. Urban geographers deal with physical and functional city spatial structures insufficiently. It is a pity because these structures have historically, concentrically, physical-geographically and otherwise conditioned arrangement. It is possible to cartographically view and generalise them in an interesting way. When analysing the articles, it was difficult to monitor separately their topics if they were interrelated and connected.

Will cities in Central, Baltic, South-East and East post-socialist Europe, cities with inherited socialist spatial structures, head towards a character of modern or even post-modern Western cities? Or, will they follow their own post-socialist way? Will globalisation trends be significant for their further development? Will it be a 'mix' of those mentioned tendencies? The last question probably articulates the correct tendency for the future but it will depend on developments in individual countries, on the size and geographical position of the respective city and other characteristics of the city. This paper might serve to urban geographers, urban sociologists and urbanists interested in European post-socialist cities. It can also provide Western, Chinese and other scholars with information and suggestions for comparison to cities in their countries.

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## Appendix

European post-socialist cities and their near hinterland analysed in intra-urban geography articles (1990–2012)

*Post-socialist Central Europe* – whole: Musil (1993), Keivani, Parsa and McGreal (2002)

*East Germany* – whole: Glock and Häussermann (2004), Haase et al. (2008), Bernt (2009)

Berlin (East+West): Ellger (1992), Strom (1996), Reimann (1997), Kemper (1998), Marcuse (1998), Cochrane and Jonas (1999), Krätke (2000,2001,2004), Cochrane and Passmore (2001), Hauswirth, Herrschel and Newman (2003), Levine (2004), Bodnár and Molnár (2009), Latham and McCormack (2009), Tölle (2010), Holm and Kuhn (2011)

Leipzig: Jürgens (1996), Smith (1997), Smith (1999), Couch et al. (2005), Nuissl and Rink (2005), Buzar et al. (2007), Haase and Nuissl (2007), Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009), Haase et al. (2010), Kabisch, Haase and Haase (2010), Haase et al. (2012), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Wiest (2012)

Cottbus: Elleger (1994)

Erfurt: Ott (2001)

Görlitz: Dołzbłasz and Raczyk (2012)

Rostock: Rueschemeyer (1993)

*Poland:*

Łódź: Walker (1993), Riley (1997), Young and Kaczmarek (1999, 2008) Steinführer et al. (2010), Marcińczak and Sagan (2011), Haase, Grossmann and Steinführer (2012), Marcińczak (2012), Marcińczak, Musterd and Stepniak (2012)



Warsaw (Warszawa): Surazska (1996), Niemczyk (1998), Keivani, Parsa and McGreal (2001), Lisowski and Wilk (2002), Marcińczak, Musterd and Stepniak (2012)  
 Gdańsk: Polanska (2008), Tölle (2008), Bouzarovski (2009), Sagan and Grabkowska (2012)  
 Poznań: Parysek and Wdowicka (2002), Kotus (2006), Parysek and Mierzejewska (2006), Kotus and Hlawka (2010)  
 Kraków: Smith et al. (2008), Marcińczak, Musterd and Stepniak (2012)  
 Nowa Huta: Stenning (2000)  
 Szczecin: Mieszkowska (1996)  
 Płock: Owen (2008)  
 Zgorzelec: Dołzbłasz and Raczyk (2012)

*The Czech Republic* – whole: Hoffman (1994), Sýkora (2009)

Prague (Praha): Sýkora and Štěpánek (1992), Sýkora (1993,1994,1999), Hammersley and Westlake (1996), Surazska (1996), Simpson and Chapman (1999), Nedović-Budić (2001), Ouředníček (2007), Temelová (2007), Novák and Sýkora (2007), Cook (2010), Špačková and Ouředníček (2012), Temelová and Dvořáková (2012), Temelová et al. (2011)  
 Brno: Steinführer et al. (2010), Haase, Grossmann and Steinführer (2012), Temelová et al. (2011)  
 Kladno: Temelová et al. (2011)  
 Most: Temelová et al. (2011)

*Hungary* – whole: Timár (1992), Beluszky and Timár (1992), Timár and Váradi (2001), Brown and Schafft (2002), Kiss (2004)

Budapest (Budapesti): Ladányi (1993), Elter and Baross (1993), Hegedüs and Tosics (1994), Kovács (1994, 2009), Pickvance (1994), Surazska (1996), Dingsdale (1999), Nedović-Budić (2001), Kiss (2002), Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009), Kauko (2009), Bodnár and Molnár (2009), Cséfalvay (2011), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Kovács, Wiessner and Zischner (2012), Wiest (2012)

*Slovakia* – whole: Buček (2000)

Bratislava: Surazska (1996), Nedović-Budić (2001), Smith et al. (2008)

*Slovenia*:

Ljubljana: Buzar et al. (2007), Haase et al. (2010)

*Post-socialist Baltic Europe*:

*Estonia* – whole: Tammaru (2000, 2001a, b), Tammaru, Kulu and Kask (2004), Kontuly and Tammaru (2006)

Bouzarovski, Salukvadze and Gentile (2011)

Tallinn: Feldman (2000), Tammaru (2005), Leetmaa and Tammaru (2007), Ruoppila (2007),

Kährlik and Tammaru (2008,2010), Leetmaa, Tammaru and Anniste (2009), Tammaru et al. (2009),

Ahas et al. (2010), Kährlik, Leetmaa and Tammaru (2012), Leetmaa et al. (2012)

Tartu: Kulu (2003), Hess, Tammaru and Leetmaa (2012)

*Latvia*:

Riga (Rīga): Grava (1993), Krišjāne and Bērziņš (2012), Krišjāne et al. (2012)

Daugavpils: Gentile and Sjöberg (2010)

*Lithuania*:

Vilnius: Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Wiest (2012)

*Post-socialist South-East Europe*:

*Romania*:

Bucharest (București): Turnock (1990), O'Neill (2010), Nae and Turnock (2011)

Timișoara: Dawidson (2004a, b)

Cluj-Napoca: Petrovici (2012)

*Croatia* – whole: Spevec and Klempič Bogadi (2009)

*Bosnia and Herzegovina:*

Mostar: Bollens (2008)

Sarajevo: Bollens (2008)

*Serbia – whole:* Nedović-Budić, Djordjević and Dabović (2011)

Belgrade (Beograd): Žegarac (1999), Hirt (2008b, 2009), Hirt and Petrović (2011)

*Bulgaria:*

Sofia (Sofija): Staddon and Mollov (2000), Hirt (2006,2007,2008a, b), Tsenkova (2007), Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009), Kovács and Herfer (2012), Wiest (2012)

*Albania – whole:* Nientied (1998)

Tirana (Tiranë): Sjöberg (1992), Nase and Ocakci (2010), Pojani (2010,2011)

*Macedonia:*

Skopje: Bouzarovski (2011), Bouzarovski, Salukvadze and Gentile (2011)

*Post-socialist East Europe:**Russia – whole:* Shomina (1992), Struyk and Romanik (1995), Gentile and Sjöberg (2006)

Moscow (Moskva): Rowland (1992a, b), Sidorov (1992), Bater (1994), Bater, Amelin and Degtyarev (1994), Mozolin (1994), Pickvance (1994), Bater and Degtyarev, Amelin (1995), Gritsai (1997), Alden, Beigulenko and Crow (1998), Ioffe and Nefedova (1998), Pagonis and Thornley (2000), Bater (2001), Pavlovskaya and Hanson (2001), Kolossov, Vendina and O'Loughlin (2002), O'Loughlin and Kolossov (2002), Vendina (2002), Brade and Rudolph (2004), Golubchikov (2004), Gritsai (2004), Pavlovskaya (2004), Badyina and Golubchikov (2005), Rudolph and Brade (2005), Shomina, Kolossov and Shukhat (2007), Argenbright (2011), Golubchikov and Phelps (2011), Ioffe and Zayonchkovskaya (2011)

St Petersburg (Sankt Peterburg): Bater (2006), Brade, Herfert and Wiest (2009), Golubchikov (2010), Trumbull (2012), Wiest (2012)

Yaroslavl: Lehmann and Ruble (1997), Mitchneck (1998), Ioffe and Nefedova (1998)

*Post-socialist Europe – whole:* Enyedi (1990, 1992), Pichler-Milanovich (1994), Kovács (1999), Sailer-Fliege (1999), Sjöberg (1999), Nagy (2001), Borén and Gentile (2007), Steinführer and Haase (2007), Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012), Gentile, Tammaru and van Kempen (2012), Scott and Kühn (2012)*Explanation:* If there are several cities analysed in the article than this article is listed with all the cities*Source:* Own processing – see methodology