

## Changes in the spatial structure of Prague and Brno in the 1990s

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**Abstract:** The article overviews the most important changes in the spatial structure of the two largest Czech cities, Prague and Brno, in the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century. It focuses on (1) the reinvention, commercialisation and expansion of city centres, (2) islands of dynamic revitalisation within the overall stagnation in inner cities, (3) potential problems and development potential of housing estates and (4) the radical transformation of outer cities and urban hinterland through commercial and residential suburbanisation. Conclusions stress that urban changes have been spatially very selective and contributed to the growth of disparities between areas within cities.

**Key words:** post-communist cities, intra-urban spatial structure, urban change.

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### 1. Introduction

The spatial structure of cities is changing in the course of time. The relatively gradual process of urban change is sometimes interrupted by periods of radical spatial restructuring influenced by turbulent developments in society. One recent example of such changes are urban transformations in post-communist societies, which are conditioned by a transition from totalitarian to democratic political regimes and from centrally-planned to market economies. Ten years of transition is a too short period for a complete change in urban patterns and city landscapes. However, there have been some significant transformations in the spatial pattern of former communist cities.

The main purpose of this contribution is to review the most important transformations in the spatial urban structure of two largest cities in the Czech Republic – Prague and Brno – since the fall of communism. The overview aims to contribute to the knowledge about paths of urban transformations in the transition from communist to capitalist society. We will focus on changes in built environment, distribution of functions within the urban land use structure and differentiation in socio-spatial patterns. Using a comparative perspective, we attempt to identify similarities and differences in the contemporary urban development of both cities.

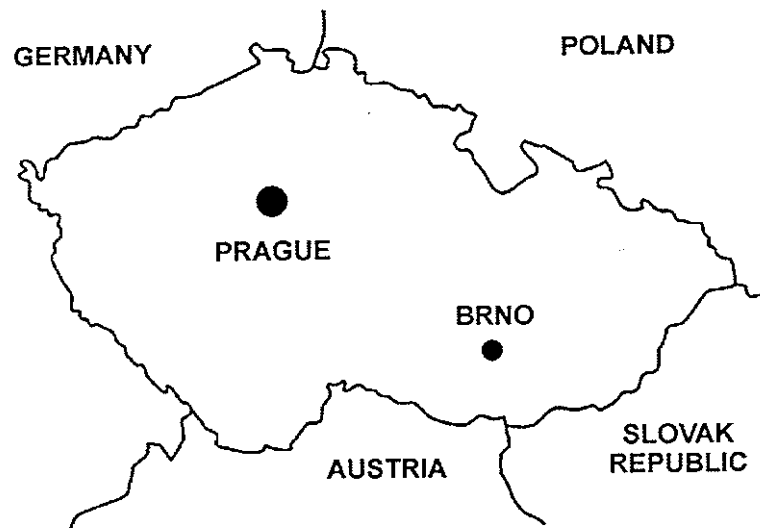


Figure 1: The location of Prague and Brno

We are well aware of the differentiating impact of size, importance and geographical location of the two cities. Prague with population of 1.2 million is a dominant centre in the Czech settlement system, it concentrates most of government institutions and control and command economic functions (Dostál, Hampl 1994) and is a gate-way to the country for foreign investors. Brno with nearly 400 thousands inhabitants is a settlement centre of a lower rank (there are some central state institutions, such as Supreme Court, and the city is also a major trade-fair centre in the country). The dynamics and intensity of contemporary changes differ between the two cities, with transformations in Brno slower and delayed in comparison with Prague. However, we expect that the general character of changes in the spatial structure will be similar.

The historic development of intra-urban spatial structure in both cities was to a large extent comparable. Both cities have medieval cores, which are now protected heritage areas. The historic cores also concentrate government and commercial functions and play the role of city centres. Historic cores / city centres are encircled by inner city neighbourhoods, which development was stimulated by industrialisation and rural-to-urban migration in 19th century. In inner city, densely built-up residential neighbourhoods are often mixed with old industrial zones. This urban zone was in gradual physical decline accompanied with population loss through most of communism. In the inter-war period of 1920s and 1930s, low rise and low density residential areas consisting of villas and detached or terraced single family houses were constructed around inner city in both cities. During communism, a new zone emerged, characterised by housing estates with high-rise prefabricated blocks of flats and new industrial districts spatially separated from residential areas. Behind this zone, there is a rural landscape with small villages and agricultural land.

Table 1: Selected characteristics of Prague and Brno

	Prague	Brno
Population (31. 12. 1998)	1,193,270	384,727
Average annual population change per 1000 inhabitants (1991-97) <sup>3</sup>	-1.8	-0.9
Average annual natural change per 1000 inhabitants (1991-97) <sup>3</sup>	-3.6	-2.3
Average annual migration change per 1000 inhabitants (1991-97) <sup>3</sup>	1.9	1.4
Share of population in age 0-14 (1991) <sup>1</sup>	18.5	19.7
Share of population in age 15-59 (1991) <sup>1</sup>	57.5	57.7
Share of population in age 60+ (1991) <sup>1</sup>	24.0	22.6
Share of university educated (from population over 15) (1991) <sup>1</sup>	16.0	15.1
Share of dwellings in single-family houses (1991) <sup>1</sup>	12.0	18.9
Living space in m <sup>2</sup> per dwelling (1991) <sup>1</sup>	39.3	41.1
Living space per capita (1991) <sup>1</sup>	16.4	16.1
Share of households owning second (weekend) housing (1991) <sup>1</sup>	28.0	19.5
Average gross monthly salary (1997) <sup>2</sup>	14,073	11,053
Number of visitors (1997) <sup>2</sup>	2,826,380	362,216
Share of foreign visitors (1997) <sup>2</sup>	79.7	46.6
University students per 1000 inhabitants (1997/98) <sup>3</sup>	6.3	9.8
Personal cars per 1000 inhabitants (1998) <sup>4</sup>	513	370
Vehicles per 1000 inhabitants (1998) <sup>4</sup>	616	517
Rate of unemployment as registered by labour offices (1999) <sup>5</sup>	3.7	8.2

Sources: <sup>1</sup> Czech Statistical Office, Census 1991; <sup>2</sup> Czech Statistical Office, Districts of Czech Republic in 1998; <sup>3</sup> Vaishar and Zapletalová 1999; <sup>4</sup> Institute of Transport Engineering in Prague, Transport in Prague 1998; Vaishar and Zapletalová 1999; <sup>5</sup> Czech Statistical Office, September 1999

For our description of contemporary urban change we use a division of Prague and Brno to four main zones: city centres, inner city areas, communist estates and suburban zone. Before the discussion of changes in intra-urban spatial structure we will first pay attention to major general trends that have influenced post-1989 urban development in the Czech Republic.

## 2. Main underlying processes of intra-urban spatial change

After 40 years of communism and centrally planned economy, democratic political regime and market economy were quickly established during the first half of the 1990s. The government especially pursued a quick privatisation of state assets and liberalisation of prices. The reforms also aimed at the integration into international political and economic systems. The establishment of market principles of resource allocation and growing exposure to the international economy have been the major forces which have shaped the urban development in former communist cities.

The government-led transformations changed the rules of the game, which are now compatible with the capitalist political and economic system. Consequently, a spontaneous market-led transformations of economic, social and cultural environment developed. The urban change in post-communist Prague and Brno has been influenced especially by internationalisation and globalisation, public policies favouring unregulated market development, economic restructuring in terms of deindustrialisation and the growth of producer services, and increasing social polarisation.

The liberalisation of foreign trade brought a rapid internationalisation of Czech economy. In cities, foreign activities were particularly important in trade (import of goods, distribution and wholesale, retail) and producer services (such as finance, audit, consultancy, real estate, public relations, media). Internationalisation has especially influenced Prague, which plays the role of gate-way for foreign firms, which extend their operations into the Czech Republic. At the end of 1996, nearly one third of firms registered in Prague was in foreign or joined (Czech and foreign) ownership. In the field of internationalisation, Brno can hardly compete with Prague. However, some foreign companies, for instance international retail chains such as Euronova (daughter company of Dutch Ahold) or Austrian Billa (part of international concern REWE), established their country headquarters in Brno (Vaishar et al. 1995).

In Prague, foreign companies demanded office, retail and warehousing premises for their operation and foreign developers become very influential actors in the commercial property development (Sýkora, Šimoníčková 1996; Sýkora 1998; Adair et al. 1999). In Brno, which is less attractive for foreign firms in advanced service sector, new office space has been mostly developed by domestic companies. However, foreign retailers made a significant imprint on the built-up environment through the establishment of shopping facilities in suburban areas. Internationalisation has also influenced labour market, especially in Prague. On the one hand, there was an inflow of western managers and employees and, on the other hand, international economic migration brought workers from Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine, and small traders and vendors from Vietnam and China (Drbohlav, Čermák 1998). Another factor which contributed to rapid internationalisation in Prague was a rapid growth in visits of foreign tourists attracted by the historical, architectural and cultural heritage (Cooper, Morpeth 1998; Hoffmann, Musil 1998).

Economic restructuring has been characterised by deindustrialisation and tertiarisation. While employment in Prague's industry declined by 36 % between 1992 and 1996, the number of employees in financial intermediation increased by more than twice. The industrial employment in Brno declined by 41 % between 1989 and 1996, which was the highest decrease among 76 districts in the Czech Republic (RMMC Southeast 1999). Due to large decline of industrial employment, the unemployment rate in Brno is on the level of national average, while Prague is the region with the lowest rate of unemployment. In Brno, the employment growth concentrated particularly in retail, i.e. that part of service sector with lower salaries. The differences between Prague and Brno concerning the involvement of international companies and the structure of employment by industrial branches are mirrored in the income level. While the average salary in Prague in 1997 was 132 % of the national average, in Brno it was only 103 %.

The economic restructuring impacted transformations in intra-urban spatial patterns. In central and inner Prague, several industrial plants were closed or reallocated to out-of-town locations. Fortunately, in several location, former industrial land and buildings have been replaced by offices, retail, leisure and residential complexes. In Brno, the shrinkage of manufacturing sector has left behind hollowed-out landscape of brownfields. The development of service sector impacted especially the city centre, where finance and business services and specialised shops concentrated, and suburban locations, with mushrooming shopping centres, hypermarkets and DIY (do-it-yourself) stores.

Table 2: Share of employment by economic sectors in 1996

	Prague	Brno	Czech R
Agriculture, hunting and forestry and fishing	0.14	1.64	5.87
Industry and construction	24.65	33.21	40.63
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods, hotels and restaurants	8.73	22.55	18.45
Transport, storage and communication	12.91	6.28	7.34
Financial intermediation, real estate and business activities	19.86	15.83	9.42
Public administration and defence, compulsory social security, education, health and social work, other community, social and personal service activities	33.71	20.50	18.28

Source: Czech Statistical Office (CSU), 1997

Since the beginning of economic reform in 1991, there are rapidly growing income disparities within the population, which are mirrored in the processes of socio-spatial differentiation (Sýkora 1999). While there is a group of new owners, successful entrepreneurs and managers and employees in foreign-owned firms in the sector of producer services on the upper end of the scale, there is also a growing number of homeless, unemployed and low-income households on the subsistence level. The contrast between wealthy and poor population is highest in major cities. The social polarisation is also characterised by reduction of the middle class or households who can afford a decent housing mortgage.

The growing socio-spatial disparities are exhibited through the re-emergence of pre-war patterns of residential differentiation and the establishment of new enclaves of affluent population. Social and physical upgrading are present in inner neighbourhoods which had higher social status before the communist take-over. The construction of condominiums with apartments for sale in inner city enclaves and the growth of small suburban communities of expensive housing for new rich are new forms of separation that contribute to residential segregation. One of major questions is the future development in areas of communist housing estates. At present, there are signs of their differentiation concerning the social-status of population.

The post-1989 changes in the urban environment of Prague and Brno were formed largely by the approach of the state, city and borough governments to urban development, especially in the fields of urban planning, property development and housing policy. The decisions of the central government as well as local politicians have been grounded in a neo-liberal approach, which has seen the free, unregulated market as the only mechanism of allocation of resources, that would generate a wealthy, economically efficient and socially just societal system.

In the urban setting, short term, highly individualised, ad hoc decisions of local politicians and administrators were often preferred to the creation of basic rules of the game embedded in a long term plan, strategy or vision of city development. This was characteristic especially for Prague, where the new master plan was approved only in autumn 1999, ten years after the political change. Detail regulation plans for Prague's city centre and inner city zones, which are under pressure of developers, are missing. The city government in Brno is more active in its attempts to influence urban development in comparison with Prague's administration. A master plan for Brno was approved in 1994.

the city pursued and regulated revitalisation in some areas, such as the main city square and adjacent shopping streets and in a large dilapidated industrial zone called South Centre, and established public-private partnerships to promote local economic development, such as in the case of Czech Technological Park or South Centre.

The general processes of political, economic and social change influenced various other processes that were crucial for urban change in Prague and Brno during the 1990s. The most important were the rapid growth in the use of cars and decline in public transport use, the radical drop in housing construction and increasing housing shortage, the overall decline of population and migration losses that started from mid-1990s. The general transformations have impacted concrete urban environments in various neighbourhoods. The next sections of this paper are devoted to the examination of specific changes in particular zones within both cities.

### 3. City centres: reinvention, commercialisation and expansion

The most important process which has influenced the historical cores of both cities has been commercialisation, i.e. the increase of commercial functions (business offices, retail, restaurants, hotels, etc.) in the total land use of the area. Commercialisation has been driven especially by rapidly increasing demand for commercial space from foreign trade and business service firms expanding to East Central Europe and domestic financial sector companies. Property development companies reacted by (1) the refurbishment and functional change of existing residential properties to commercial spaces and (2) the development of new offices and multipurpose commercial centres, such as Mysibek in Prague or International Business Centre in Brno. Supply of land and buildings for development and redevelopment was made available by the quick privatisation of real estate during the first half of 1990s (Sýkora, Šimoníčková 1994) and through sales or long-term leases of municipal land for private commercial developments. The inflow of foreign tourist to Prague stimulated the development of new hotels and other tourist oriented facilities which further contributed to commercialisation.

The development and redevelopment of real estate brought revitalisation of the physical appearance of buildings and more economically effective utilisation of downtown space. Industrial units, stores and vacant places were replaced by advance service functions with highly intensive space utilisation, such as banks and other financial services, company headquarters, consulting and legal firms, etc. Commercialisation caused further concentration of jobs in city centres and densification of built-up environment. The new commercial developments also present problems to urban development. The major negative consequences have been the reduction of residential function, the damage to historical heritage and rapidly increasing car traffic (Sýkora 2000). The intensity of negative impacts of commercialisation was higher in Prague than in Brno.

At present, the opportunities for new development in central Prague are exhausted. There is virtually no vacant land for new construction and the protection of historic urban fabric does not allow vertical expansion. Consequently, development activities are shifting to inner and outer city locations. Since 1997, we can observe the territorial



*Photo 1: Revitalisation and commercialisation and mixture of new and old architecture on major Prague's shopping street Na Příkopě (photo Sýkora)*

expansion of central city functions to adjacent inner city neighbourhoods. Some of these areas were established in 19th century as industrial zones and working-class neighbourhoods. Declining industries are now being replaced by new office, retail and residential complexes. The Master Plan of Prague declares the territorial growth of Prague's centre. However, there are no urban development policies or programmes which would stimulate or co-ordinate such development. At present, the territorial expansion of city centre is driven by individual activity of property developers.

The historical core of Brno is small and overloaded by commercial functions. The pressure on city centre can be reduced through the South Centre project, which is promoted by city government. The project intends to revitalise old mixed use (mostly industrial) zone adjacent to city centre, transform it to modern office, retail and residential area and thus expand the territory for accommodation of central city functions. The major obstacle for the project is a railway, which cuts between the old city centre and South Centre area, because the shift of railway track and the construction of new railway station is an investment far beyond the possibilities of city budget.



Photo 2: International Business Centre: an example of the expansion of Prague's business core (photo Sýkora)

#### 4. Inner cities: stagnation with islands of dynamic revitalisation

The major problem of inner cities in Prague and especially in Brno is the existence of declining industrial zones and adjacent working-class housing. In Prague, the old industrial areas do not create major barriers in the urban territory and due to the interest of investors, some of them (Smíchov, Karlín, Holešovice) are being transformed to office, retail and residential zones. The situation in Brno is worse, as the city centre is from the south and east enclosed by a large zone of declining industrial and residential areas (Mikulík, Vaishar 1996).

Since 1989, signs of revitalisation have appeared across all of the inner city in both cities. However, its spatial distribution has been highly uneven. Physical revitalisation associated with commercialisation has concentrated along major streets with shops and office buildings. The development of larger commercial projects in new business nodes (such as Pankrác or United Nations Square at Vysočany in Prague and Morávka in Brno) during the second half of 1990s brought more radical impact of commercialisation on inner city revitalisation.

The majority of inner city residential areas is characterised by stagnation. There are some districts with dilapidated housing and concentration of lower social status population. However, there are also neighbourhoods with a higher quality residential environment and higher social status of residents. These are especially neighbourhoods with single family houses and villas and some zones of apartment housing dating from

the 19th century. In such areas, some single-family houses are being reconstructed, old apartment houses refurbished to luxurious residences and some residential houses are even converted to offices. Single family houses are purchased and renovated by wealthy households. Residential upgrading in the form of gentrification has been observed in some of Prague's inner city neighbourhoods since the beginning of 1990s (Sýkora 1996, 2000). In gentrified properties and areas, such as Vinohrady in Prague 2, local inhabitants are replaced by foreigners working and living in the city.



Photo 3: Gentrification at Vinohrady area in Prague (buildings on American street) (photo Sýkora)

Since the mid-1990s, apartments for sale in condominiums, which are sometimes clustered into residential complexes, have been constructed on vacant zones and individual plots of land dispersed across the inner city. This form of living especially attracts young people with relatively high earnings, who prefer urban life linked to their professional career and value the vicinity of city cultural opportunities. However, this kind of housing is affordable only for a small segment of affluent people, such as entrepreneurs, managers, professionals and better situated employees in foreign firms.



Photo 4: Condominiums with apartments for sale (project U kříže, Prague) (photo Sýkora)

### 5. Housing estates: potential problems and/or development potential

There are areas within the zone of communist housing estates, which could become a major problem in post-communist cities. The life-span of standardised mass-produced residential buildings constructed during 1960s-1980s will be soon exhausted. Some buildings are already in a desperate need of structural repairs. The advantage of housing estates in post-communist countries is (in comparison with similar areas in Western Europe) a social composition of inhabitants. In time of construction, this housing was often allocated to younger people, who are now in productive age and have jobs in tertiary sector, higher education and above city average incomes. However, there are also housing districts, where high share of dwellings was allocated by industrial enterprises to their predominantly blue-collar employees.

Although, the vast areas of communist housing estates are not a subject of major physical and social changes, there are signs of their differentiation. While at some housing estates new apartment houses, offices and retail facilities are being constructed and older multifamily houses renovated, residential districts with higher concentration of manual workers and with worse accessibility by public transport show signs of decline. The vicinity of green areas to concentrations of mass housing also play an important role in the current perception of their residential desirability.

Due to housing shortage, little construction of new housing and limited affordability of newly built dwellings to middle-income households, there is not any significant out-migration from housing estates in both cities. The existing social mix creates a potentially stable population. The residents are not satisfied with housing maintenance and quality of services in their neighbourhoods, but do not criticise the urbanistic concept and architecture of the estates (Maier 1997). Therefore, if decent housing and environmental conditions are maintained and improved through programs of rehabilitation of buildings and overall revitalisation of physical, economic and social conditions in the area, housing estates can serve as a reasonable housing to next generation. The city government in Brno is pursuing a program of housing estate humanisation in selected areas (such as Juliánov or Vinohrady), focused on the upgrading of services, sport facilities and green spaces. Prague has no city-wide concept of revitalisation of housing estates. However, local governments in city parts with dominant share of housing in prefabricated blocks of flats (Prague 11 – South Town and Prague 13 – Southwest Town) have applied strategies of housing and environmental rehabilitation.



Photo 5: Rehabilitation of prefabricated housing from the early 1960s in Brno-Juliánov (photo source – Brno 2010)

There are large tracks of empty land, which can be easily linked to existing infrastructure and serve new residential as well as commercial uses. Such developments can benefit both residents with the supply of services and jobs, and commercial companies, who can utilise large potential of purchasing and labour power of locally concentrated population. Property investors are interested in the development of such areas, however, only in locations with good public transport and road connection and better social composition of inhabitants.

#### 6. Outer city and urban hinterland: radical transformation through commercial and residential suburbanisation

Residential and commercial suburbanisation is quickly developing in the outer parts of Prague and Brno and the adjacent zone of their metropolitan regions. New residential districts and reconstructed village properties are accompanied by mushrooming shopping centres, hypermarkets, supermarkets, warehousing and industrial properties.

Residential suburbanisation takes several forms. There are districts of speculatively built housing for sale. Developers also assemble land, add infrastructure and sell plots for housing construction, often on a turn-key basis. Both of these forms create new residential districts of wealthy population, which are spatially attached to existing settlements. There are also individual developments, which transform the existing villages. Households purchase vacant lots within villages and build new homes, or purchase existing properties which they demolish and replace with new luxurious homes or reconstruct and expand as modern housing. The suburban zone is now gaining a better educated population with high incomes. The suburban settlements with newly emerged residential districts now consist of two very distinct types of areas with contrasting population – rich newcomers and lower income, less educated indigenous inhabitants of rural villages. Residential suburbanisation is due to higher share of households with high incomes, more developed around Prague than Brno. It is spatially very selective. New districts of suburban housing emerge in areas with good physical environment (such as south-east of Prague and north of Brno) and transport connection to city centres.

Commercial developments have more important impacts on the transformation of outer urban areas. Commercial projects concentrate in complexes built along major highways and important transport intersections. In Prague, another important location factor is the existence of an underground transport system, which extends to the city outskirts. In Prague and its hinterland, there are several locations with new commercial construction. The most important are shopping centres at Černý Most (east) and Letňany (north) and shopping parks in Zličín (west) and Průhonice (south-east). In Brno, one dominant commercial zone is quickly emerging in southern part of the city next to the junction of two major highways (Kolibová 1999). While until recently most retail turnover was concentrated in the city centre and inner city shopping areas, a large proportion of shopping is now moving to the suburban zone.

Beside retail, there is also development of warehousing and distribution complexes, which concentrate along highways and in the vicinity of Prague's airport. The expansion of Prague's international airport stimulated development of offices in the area, which is



Photo 6: Malá Šárka: suburban residential district in Prague (photo Sýkora)



Photo 7: Černý Most Shopping Centre in Prague (photo Sýkora)

the first example of office decentralisation to the suburban zone. The local government in Brno is pursuing the development of Czech Technological Park at the northern edge of the city.

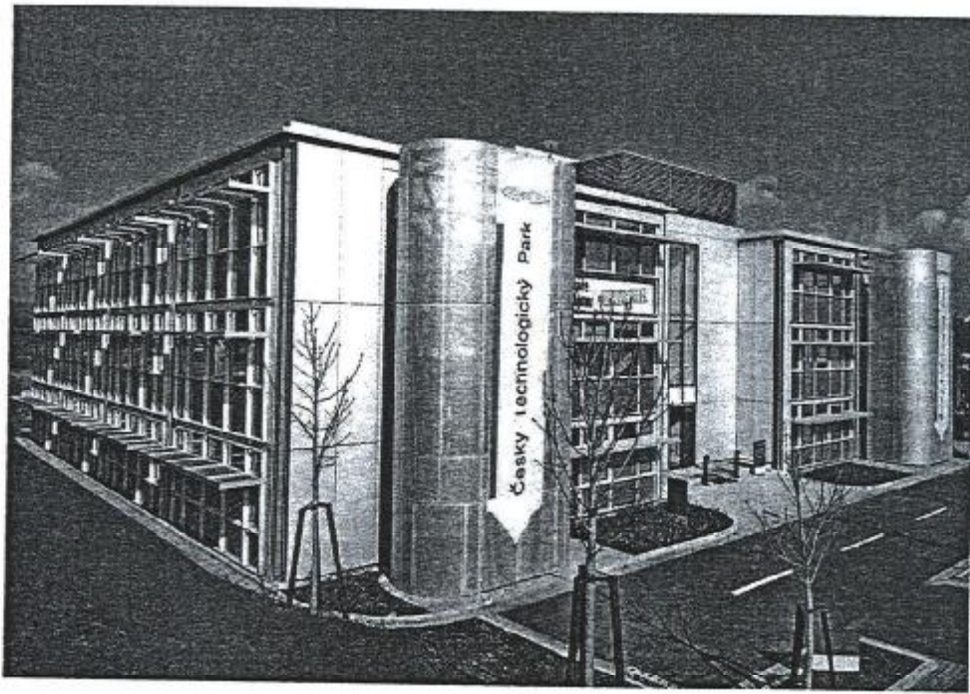


Photo 8: Czech Technology Park in Brno (photo source – Czech Technology Park Brno)

Prague and Brno have large amounts of undeveloped land within their administrative boundaries. However, many suburban commercial and especially residential projects are constructed outside of city boundaries, because the negotiation with small municipalities is for developers easier, costs of changes in land use zoning are cheaper and projects can be realised more quickly than in Prague or Brno. The interests of core cities and municipalities in their hinterland are often in contradiction. Cities attempt to keep compact urban structure, while local governments of surrounding municipalities attract investments to their territories and thus promote urban sprawl. At present, there is virtually no co-ordination between city governments and local governments of many surrounding municipalities. This situation will be changed with the establishment of elected political representations on regional level (Balchin et al. 1999).

### 7. Conclusions: spatially selective urban transformations, creation of new urban landscapes and growing disparities

The urban change in Prague and Brno in the 1990s has had many similar features. The main differentiating factor was the difference in size and prominence of the two cities.

Prague, which is the dominant centre of the settlement and regional systems in the Czech Republic, has been characterised by an exceptional dynamic of changes in intra-urban structures. The urban transformation in Prague has been especially influenced by the rapid growth of advanced tertiary activities and their spatial concentration to the capital city. Prague also plays the role of gateway into the Czech Republic (Drbohlav, Sýkora 1997) as most contacts between local and international actors are realised in Prague. The impact of international actors and globalisation processes has contributed significantly to the dynamics of Prague's transformation (Sýkora 1994). In comparison with Prague, Brno is a lower rank centre. There has been less inflow of domestic and especially foreign capital, firms and labour. Consequently, less dramatic spatial restructuring has occurred. Nevertheless, the main trends in intra-urban change have been very similar in both cities. The most important processes of urban change in Prague and Brno have been the commercialisation of historical cores, the commercial and residential suburbanisation in the outer city and urban hinterland, the revitalisation and gentrification as well as decline in inner city neighbourhoods and differentiation between housing estates.

The city centre and suburban areas have been territories with the most radical urban change. Commercialisation of city centres brought land use changes, physical rehabilitation and transformations in urban morphology. Suburbanisation is adding another ring to the existing spatial structure of Prague and Brno, which main features, i.e. luxury suburban single-family villa, hypermarket and highway, are symbols of new post-communist urban landscapes. The physical and economic revitalisation has been very selective within urban space of both cities and there are vast areas that are stagnating or even declining. The differences in the quality of built environment and socio-economic status of neighbourhoods have widened during the first 10 years of post-communism.

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## ZMĚNY VE VNITŘNÍ PROSTOROVÉ STRUKTUŘE PRAHY A BRNA V 90. LETECH

### Résumé

Hlavním cílem příspěvku je podchycení současných procesů proměňujících vnitřní prostorovou strukturu největších českých měst Prahy a Brna. Pozornost je věnována zejména prvním pozorovatelným proměnám ve fyzické struktuře a morfologii měst, změnám v rozmístění funkcí a využití pozemků a transformacím sociální prostorové struktury měst. Nejdříve jsou však diskutovány vybrané obecné trendy změn ve společnosti, které ovlivnily proměny prostorových vzorců. Nastíněn je zejména vliv internacionalizace, ekonomické restrukturalizace (především deindustrializace a terciarizace) a sociální polarizace. Příspěvek se pak ve čtyřech samostatných sekcích věnuje: (1) znovuobjevení, komercializaci a expanzi městských center, (2) selektivní revitalizaci uvnitř stagnujícího celku vnitřních měst, (3) potenciálním problémům a rozvojovému potenciálu sídlišť a (4) radikální transformaci vnějších částí měst a přílehlé příměstské krajiny prostřednictvím komerční a residenční suburbanizace. Na závěr je zdůrazněno, že fyzická i ekonomická revitalizace se zatím v urbanistické struktuře obou měst projevila velmi selektivně a přispěla ke zvýraznění rozdílů v sociálním a ekonomickém statusu mezi jednotlivými čtvrtěmi i širšími zónami města.