

The transformation of basic functions of Bratislava after 1989: trends and spatial consequences

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Abstract: The submitted paper overviews the transformation of basic functions of Bratislava after 1989. The main attention is given to the key-function of Bratislava – the function of capital city of independent state. Geographical position of the city and its genius loci play an important role in the transformation of basic functions of the city. Main features of the development of basic functions before 1989 are presented in first part of the paper. For an evaluation of changes in Bratislava's basic functions, there are used data on employment in economic branches in the city in 1985 and 1998. Comparison of Bratislava and Prague reveals some particularities in the development of these two capital cities. The most apparent transformation process of economic base of Bratislava is strengthening the tertiary and quaternary sectors, especially business and financial activities, retail and car services.

Key words: basic functions, capital city, economic base, geographical position, Genius loci, inner spatial structure

1. Introduction

The transformation of basic functions belongs to five most important trends of the development of post-communist cities. The remaining four are: (i) the return of the importance of land rent and increasing number of actors competing for space; (ii) the return of the self-government, the shift of an absolute control over the space from central to local institutions; (iii) the increase of social and spatial differentiation and the changing rules of spatial distribution of people from political to economic criteria; and (iv) the substantial transformation of the urban landscape and architecture. There are several authors that are familiar with and share this particular opinion (Musil, Illner, 1994; Sýkora, 1996; Weclawowicz, 1997). The post-1989 transformation of basic functions of the city of Bratislava has a specific character largely connected with: a) the location on the contact line between the former communist and the current capitalist Europe, b) the new status of the capital of an independent state, and c) continuing dominant position of Bratislava in the economic and cultural life of Slovakia in the time of its modern history since 1918.

There are in the literature two main approaches of evaluating the basic functions of the city. The former is concerned with the importance of the city, functions that the city provides for its extended hinterland or the whole country or part of the continent (Musil and Illner, 1994; Falt'an, 1997; Vaishar, 2000). The latter is based the analysis of labor distribution between particular components of the city's economic base (Korec and Buček, 1999). There are also studies combining both these approaches. It is, for example, well-elaborated in a paper on the capital city of Prague written by Dostál, Hampl (1994). In

accordance with these two approaches, the main aim of the present paper is (i) to make an evaluation of the post-1989 development of basic functions of Bratislava and (ii) to indicate its consequences for the inner spatial structure of the city.

There have been published since 1989 several papers concerned with the analysis of factors that are changing the basic Bratislava's functions within the Central Europe space (Dostál and Hampl, 1992; Gorzelak, Jalowiecki, Kuklinski and Zienkowski, 1994; Paulov, 1996; Mládek, Buček and Korec, 1998). According to these papers, the changes in basic functions are determined by the change of the political and economical system and by very significant impacts of the opening of the Slovak Republic and the capital city of Bratislava to global influences and competition pressures. Democratic and economic changes initiated and managed by the Slovak government provided a new institutional and organizational strategic context for the development of basic functions of Bratislava followed by the change of its spatial structure. According to above-mentioned authors the development of basic functions of Bratislava is significantly influenced by its new geographical position. The author of the paper agrees with Faltan's conclusion that one needs to take into consideration the "genius loci" of an area – particularly the one of Bratislava that is also influencing the development of its basic functions.

2. The new geographical position of Bratislava

The new geographical position of Bratislava or its influence for the further development of the city is analyzed in detail in the papers written by Korec and Galasová (1994) a Korec and Smatanová (2000). In this paper, I can only emphasize main features of the geographic location of Bratislava in terms of the development of its basic functions.

The location of Bratislava in the center of Europe – the contact of four great natural units – played an important role in the foundation of the city, and it plays an crucial role also in its development today. The Alps and Carpathian Mountains, with lowlands of Vienna and Danube basins meet together in a wider space surrounding Bratislava. Mountain ranges of the Alps and the Carpathians are the two biggest barriers complicating contacts between particular European regions. The role of the contact space of both mountain ranges has been strengthened by one of the greatest rivers of Europe – the Danube, which right in this space penetrates across lower parts of these mountain ranges. Transport routes coming from surrounding lowlands in northwest and southeast have been directed right to this point, where the Danube intersects these mountain ranges. In consequence, the territory of Bratislava had been important crossing point of European routes since early times and, therefore, it always had important military-strategic and economic-commercial functions.

Among the other features of the (new) geographical position of Bratislava, one must pay attention to the following:

- (i) Bratislava is located right at the contact point of Slovakia, Hungary and Austria. Its cadastral lines are copying state boundaries at the same time. Bratislava – the capital of the Slovak Republic – is located only 65 km from Vienna, the capital of Austria, and 193 km from Budapest, the capital city of Hungary.
- (ii) Bratislava is situated at the contact point of eastern and western European countries (former communist and capitalist European countries). The city has a gateway position

between these two different regions. The importance of the gate location between eastern and western Europe in the post-communist period is examined in papers written by Musil, Illner (1994), Drbohlav, Sýkora (1997), Korec, Smatanová (2000) and others.

- (iii) Bratislava has a very favorable transport-geographical position towards the Czech Republic. The only highway connecting the Slovak Republic with the neighboring Czech Republic begins in Bratislava. The highway distance between Bratislava and Prague is about 300 km, and between Bratislava and Brno only 125 km.
- (iv) Bratislava has in the territory of the Slovak Republic a non-central position. It is situated in the outmost southwest margin of Slovakia.

Political composition of Europe after the Second World War had resulted in formation of two politically, socially and economically different regions. The border between the eastern communist block and Western Europe was very effective barrier and, in consequence, contacts between these two regions were limited. In spite of the Bratislava's position in the center of Europe, its position became marginal. The western border of its cadastral territory was at the same time also the state border with Austria, i.e. with the "western world". The marginal position of Bratislava and an immediate presence of borders with the "enemy" have influenced the development of its basic functions and the inner spatial structure.

A number of studies dealing with new possibilities of the Bratislava's development have been written shortly after the 1989 fall of political and economic barriers between the East and West. Dostál and Hampl (1992) emphasize that Bratislava is about to become a part of East Central European geo-economic zone, which will be a core space of this part of the continent. Gorzelak, Jalowiecki, Kuklinski, Zienkowski (1994) consider the "Bratislava-Budapest" region as one of three innovation centers of Eastern Europe. According to the German research institute Empirica at Bonn, Bratislava's region is the most perspective one among the other 471 European regions from the point of view of investors. The wider space of Bratislava – the triangle of Bratislava-Vienna-Győr located in the territory of three states – has also been evaluated as a "golden triangle" of production in Europe (Trend 1993). Probably the most significant development potential of Bratislava is related to the new quality of relations between Bratislava and Vienna (Mládek, Buček, Korec 1998). Such a close location of the two capital cities with different political and economic development before 1989 is unique in Europe and can provide new development possibilities.

3. The "Genius loci" of Bratislava

The position of Bratislava from an international point of view has changed rather significantly after 1989. With the removing of barriers between the communist and capitalist blocks, the marginal location has changed for rather central one. The extended area of Bratislava (northwestern Hungary, Eastern Austria, Southeastern Czech Republic, and Southwestern Slovakia) has become a very active economic and political space. Other new developmental impulses emerged in Bratislava after January 1st, 1993, when the city

became the capital of an independent country. The situation after 1989 enabled Bratislava to take advantages of its location and even cultural and economic prerequisites that it gained during its unique history of its development. Several authors claimed these advantages of a city (region, country) to be its *Genius loci* – “the spirit of the area”, upon which the vitality and development of the city have always been based and reached high levels for a long time (Ivanička 1996; Falt’an 1997). There is little doubt about the importance of *Genius loci* for further development of Bratislava, given its unique location and special features that it inherited from the past. Falt’an (1997) emphasizes the following dimensions of the *Genius loci* of Bratislava: geographical dimension, political dimension, economic dimension, cultural dimension, and infrastructure dimension.

The history has shown that the geographical position has influenced significantly the development of the city. Many authors assess the current geographical location of Bratislava as a very promising for its further development. However, one can say that it is more appropriate to consider this advantageous location as a chance for future development rather than a hard prove. Besides several political, economic and social factors that influence possible management of the city location, it is obviously necessary to pay attention to its competitors. Within the very close hinterland of Bratislava at least four other cities (Vienna, Budapest, Győr a Brno) are trying to take advantage of similar unique locations within the Central European space.

Owing to the geographical position of Bratislava, one can observe frequent shifts between cooperation and confrontation throughout the history. The geostrategical significance of the space of Bratislava resulted in its permanently high geopolitical value. Evaluating the importance of Bratislava within Slovakia, the political dimension has always been important. As early as in 1918 when Czechoslovakia was established, the successful political campaign took place for incorporation of Bratislava into the new state. Also in later periods there were several discussions concerning the status of this city as an administrative center of Slovakia (in 1919, 1939, 1945, 1969 and 1993). Some doubts emerged, however, given Bratislava’s border location within the country. The communist government was pointing out in 1948–1989 that Bratislava was not a “workers orientated” city as it was supposed to be according to communist ideology. It is interesting to note that in the last ten years, there have been discussions about differences in political opinion of Bratislava’s inhabitants compared to those of populations other regions of the country. It is often claimed that Bratislava is a city with non-Slovak character, or at least with a character that is less orientated on the one of Slovak majority.

The economic dimension is obviously an important part of the *Genius loci* of Bratislava. With its economic potential, Bratislava is significantly outreaching other cities or regions of Slovakia. The economic base of Bratislava began to take form in the Middle Ages when its development was mainly based on three kinds of economic activities: trade, crafts and viniculture. New impulses in the development of Bratislava occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century when, owing to Turks’ overtaking of Budapest, Bratislava became the capital of Hungary. Hungarian administration and religious offices moved to Bratislava in 16th century. Besides administrative functions, judiciary including, and the previous three mentioned activities there also were other such as education, culture, religious activities, etc. In that period of time already, the economic base of Bratislava started to be a significant multi-functional center with an important part of service and administrative

activities. Over the period of the time after the Austro-Hungarian treaty of Dual Monarchy in 1867, new conditions for location of modern industry in Bratislava were created. In 1918 through the establishment of Czechoslovakia for the first time ever, Bratislava became an economic and later even a cultural and political center of a specific border territory. The next important milestone in the development of Bratislava's economic base was the year of 1948. Bratislava became the biggest Slovak industrial center, with an industrial employment of about 9% of the total industrial employment before 1989. A tremendous expansion of building industry appeared in Bratislava at that time. The establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993, brought the key function of a capital city of the new state to Bratislava and significantly strengthened tertiary and quaternary sectors in the economic base of the city.

In consequence, the border location of Bratislava was also bringing an interesting development of its ethnic structure. Big cities and particularly capital cities are always multiethnic and multicultural to a certain degree. Bratislava is located in the area of interactions between three main and different nations and cultures. They were Slovak, German, and Hungarian speaking nations. Concerning this cultural setting, the city was maintaining certain uniqueness for a long time that was caused also by the fact that for almost five hundred years the mentioned nations belonged to the one state unit; the Habsburg Monarchy or the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Also some other nations or their cultures (Jewish, Croats, Czech, Bulgarians and others) and influences emerged in the history of the city. At the end of the 19th century both the German and the Hungarian nationalities had approximately a share of 35–40% in the ethnic structure of the city while the Slovak nationality had a share of about 15%. The 20th century brought into this multicultural development of the cultural milieu several important changes following mainly the post-1918 state development in the Central and South Eastern Europe. The establishing of the Czechoslovak Republic allowed to take place so-called "slovakization" of Bratislava and gradually the Slovak minority became majority in the city. Such a development was intensified by the state-administrative and political organization after the Second World War. The fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and Bratislava's capital city function since 1993 has once again been creating conditions for a multi-cultural milieu in the city.

The infrastructure of Bratislava, in the early periods focused only on transport and later on energy and on information, has always been in the background of the development of its basic functions. The geographic position of Bratislava has determined the establishment of a special infrastructure that has significantly been supporting the development of the city after 1989. Bratislava is the only Slovakian city where all five basic means of transportation meet in one location point. They are as follows: main roads, railways, continental water transport, airlines, and pipelines. In addition, all of them are of international significance. If the railways were importantly conditioning the industrialization of Slovakia in the second half of the 19th century, one can say with little exaggeration that in the current development of economic activities this function has been taken over by highways. Bratislava became an important international highways crossing. The international importance of the Bratislava's transportation knot can be documented by the fact that four of ten Pan-European corridors (II, IV, V a VII) are going through this location point. From this point of view, the good transport infrastructure of Bratislava is

significantly decreasing the handicap of the non-central location within the state territory. The information infrastructure has been developing fast especially since 1989.

4. The transformation of basic functions of Bratislava

There are some periods of time in the history of the city when it is better from a methodological point of view to speak about a transformation of its basic functions rather than about a development. In the Bratislava's case such a period of time are years following immediately after 1989. Over the past ten years, there have been mainly three processes that caused the transformation of basic functions of Bratislava. The processes were (i) the transition of the state command economy to the market economy, (ii) internationalization of society and impacts of globalization, and (iii) the status of the capital city of an independent state.

4.1. The development of basic functions of Bratislava before 1989

Dostál and Hampl (1994) present a view that is fully matching the transformation that is implied in the above-mentioned changes of the economic base of the city. According to these authors, the long-term perspective of the development of the capital city economic base is mainly associated with this key function of the city: an organizational dominance (control) over a specific territory. This perspective provides room for an evaluation of the development of the economic base of the city.

The period since the second half of the 19th century was of decisive importance for the forming of basic functions (economic base) of Bratislava had. The city remained a part of Hungary till 1918, and with the exception of the Second World War, the city was a part of Czechoslovakia in the period of 1918–1989. Its organizational dominance (control) over all that period was directed towards the Bratislava zhupas, Bratislava large zupas, Bratislava region or Western Slovakia region. Since 1969 – after the establishing of the Czechoslovak Federal Socialistic Republic – the dominance of the city became orientated to a limited degree to all Slovakia. It is not necessary to discuss in this paper Bratislava's governing of an independent state over the short six war-years period (1939–1945). In the period of a dynamic development of the European continent after the Second World War, the city of Bratislava could not have any ambitions to gain a more significant status within the Central European space. It is necessary to take above-mentioned facts into account if one is evaluating the development of basic functions of Bratislava over the long period of 1867–1989.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the industry and trade became major parts of the economic base of Bratislava. The industry started to emerge at the beginning of the 19th century. The Austro-Hungarian Treaty in 1867 accelerated economic, especially industrial development in the entire monarchy. Bratislava prospered exploiting advantages of its macro- and micro-location. Industrial plants depended mostly on the Austrian capital, but they worked after all for larger Hungarian market. The second half of the 19th century may be considered as the time of modern industrial formation in Bratislava. Before 1918, Bratislava was one of the most industrialized cities in Hungary, and the foremost industrial city in Slovakia. During that period, the primary micro-location factors were the river port

and railways, and large industrial areas were built close to the center. In addition to the Stein Brewery built early 1871, one may mention a chemical plant of Dynamit Nobel Factory (1873), electric and cable factory of Kablo (1894), petrochemical plant of Apollo (1895), chocolate producer Stollwerck (1896), engineering plant of Westen Werke (1899), textile factories of Cvernovka (1900) and Danubius (1907), rubber producer of Gummi Werke (1904), etc. The economic life in Bratislava was based on industrial development. Compared to other cities in Slovakia, Bratislava was virtually the single city of industry, commerce and banking of the country.

Table 1. Shares of Bratislava in population of Slovakia and Prague in Czech Lands

Year	Bratislava			Prague		
	Population	%	Growth	Population	%	Growth
1869	46 540	1.875	–	252 364	3.339	–
1880	48 006	1.938	1.03	329 471	4.007	1.31
1890	52 411	2.02	1.09	414 964	4.789	1.26
1900	61 537	2.211	1.17	534 594	5.704	1.29
1910	73 459	2,519	1.19	640 000	6.35	1.20
1921	93 189	3.113	1.27	700 014	6.994	1.09
1930	123 844	3.725	1.33	899 097	8.424	1.28
1940	138 988	3.919	1.12	976 760	13.10	1.09
1950	192 896	5.604	1.39	999 682	11.237	1.02
1961	241 796	5.792	1.25	1 071 937	11.199	1.07
1970	285 448	6.29	1.18	1 079 526	11.007	1.01
1980	380 259	7.619	1.33	1 182 186	11.487	1.09
1991	442 197	8.384	1.16	1 212 010	11.765	1.03
1999	448 292	8.304	1.01	1 186 855	11.547	0.98

Sources: Retrospektivní lexikon obcí ČSSR, 1850–1970 I/2, FSÚ, Praha, 1978

Štatistický lexikón ČSR 1982, FSÚ, Praha, 1984

Štatistický lexikón obcí SR 1992, ŠÚ SR, Bratislava, 1992

Statistical Yearbook of the Slovak Republic. Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 2000.

During the second half of the 19th century period, the number of inhabitants of Bratislava has been increasing rather slowly. Table 1 gives indexes of population growth indicating that a regular increase took place from 1.03 in 1869–1880 to 1.27 in 1910–1921. The share of Bratislava's inhabitants in total population of Slovakia was increasing very slowly too. It rose from 1.875% in 1869 to 3.113% in 1921. Comparing Bratislava with Prague, one can establish that their development was in that period different. Population growth indexes of Prague were high from the very beginning; the number of Prague's inhabitants increased by about 450 thousand and its portion within the inhabitants of the Czech Lands increased from 3.339% in 1869 to 6.994% in 1921. This different development was mainly a consequence of two circumstances. First, in the middle of the 19th century the Czech Lands were the most industrialized part of the Austro-Hungarian

empire and thus the development of industry after 1867 has been much more dynamic there than in agrarian Slovakia. Second, at that period of time, the concentration of political, cultural and commercial/financial functions in Prague was already significant as the major center of a relatively rich Bohemia and partly of Moravia and Silesia. Also Dostál and Hampl (1994) emphasized the positive impacts of these two factors on the Prague's development.

The development of Bratislava's economic base after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic was difficult. Before 1918, the economy in Bratislava was closely connected with the larger domestic market of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. A great loss for the city was caused above all by disruption of relations between Vienna and Budapest. The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, however, had also a positive influence on the development of basic functions of Bratislava. In the year of 1918, the borders of Slovakia were created for the first time ever. Despite of the fact that Slovakia did not have its own state sovereignty, it was considered as one of the two basic parts of the sovereign republic. Since that point of time, Bratislava started to form itself as a cultural, economical, and later on even a political-administrative center of Slovakia. In 1919, the first Slovak university, Comenius University, was founded in Bratislava and in 1920 the Slovak National Theatre was established as a first Slovak professional theatre. In the same year, the well-known Slovak Bank founded as early as in 1879 was moved from Ružomberok to Bratislava. In the formation of economic base of the city more service activities started to catch up and Bratislava began to form itself as a typical multi-functional city.

Table 2. Development of number of inhabitants of ten largest cities of Slovakia

	City	1869	1921	1950	1991	1999	1921/ 1869	1950/ 1921	1991/ 1950
1.	Bratislava	46 540	93 189	192 896	442 197	448 292	2.00	2.07	2.29
2.	Košice	21 742	52 898	62 729	235 160	241 874	2.43	1.19	3.75
3.	Prešov	10 772	17 577	22 947	87 765	93 977	1.63	1.31	3.82
4.	Nitra	10 683	19 118	22 203	89 969	87 591	1.79	1.16	4.05
5.	Žilina	2 870	12 073	26 034	183 911	86 818	4.21	2.16	3.22
6.	B. Bystrica	5 950	10 587	13 0605	85 030	84 272	1.78	1.29	6.25
7.	Trnava	9 737	17 745	26 078	71 783	69 802	1.82	1.47	2.75
8.	Martin	1 844	5 657	24 383	58 393	60 870	3.08	4.31	2.39
9.	Trenčín	3 949	10 411	16 235	56 828	59 174	2.64	1.56	3.50
10.	Poprad	1 061	2 881	10 259	52 914	55 398	2.72	3.56	5.16
11.	Praha	2523364	700014	999682	1212010	1186855	2.77	1.43	1.21

Sources: Retrospektivní lexikon obcí ČSSR, 1850–1970 I/2, FSÚ, Praha, 1978.

Štatistický lexikón obcí SR 1992, ŠÚ SR, Bratislava, 1992.

Statistical Yearbook of the Slovak Republic. Stat. Office of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 2000.

Population growth indexes of Bratislava are fairly high over that period of time, but to assess this development is hard. For example, a slight increase in the number of inhabitants

of the city in 1930–1940 was influenced by the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1939 and by the following emigration of large numbers of Magyar and Czech inhabitants from Bratislava. On the other hand, however, a significant increase in the number of inhabitants of Bratislava was caused in the period 1940–1950 by amalgamation of seven villages with Bratislava in 1943 and 1946. Comparing population growth indexes of ten biggest cities of Slovakia over that period of time (see Table 2) one can see that Bratislava experienced considerable population growth.

The most important formation of economic base in Bratislava took place in 1948–1989, even when one is taking into account early developments. Under the communist regime, the development of economic base in Bratislava was influenced by more impulses. The more important ones were: (i) the huge industrialization of Slovakia, (ii) the strengthening of Bratislava as an economic, cultural and political-administrative center of Slovakia (in particular after the constitution of the Czechoslovak Federal Socialist Republic in 1968), and (iii) the establishment of the COMECON market. As Dostál and Hampl (1994) emphasized, considerable numbers of work opportunities in the capitals cities of communist states and also their economic base were partially determined by the bureaucratization of economic and political organizations of the state. Bratislava as a city has been developing for more than 700 years. However, the forty years of so-called “communist development” of the city were decisive for both the formation of its economic base and for its inner spatial structure.

Table 3. Selected indicators of position of Bratislava in Slovak Republic
(in percentages)

Indicators	1985	1998
population	8.08	8.30
employment opportunities	11.64	13.98
employment in terciar	15.20	18.88
employment in trade, services, financial intermediation, research and development	15.89	28.53
jobs in industry	8.56	7.37
jobs in construction	15.83	11.99
jobs in transport and communication	26.96	18.29
jobs in trade (excl. foreign trade)	10.43	21.39*
jobs in financing and insurance	21.62	37.37
jobs in education	15.34	14.94
jobs in science and research	27.62	42.62
jobs in health and social work	12.59	12.00
jobs in foreign trade	89.58	
jobs in jurisdiction	27.20	
jobs in real estate, renting and business activities		70.64

*Wholesale and retail; Retail of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods

Sources: Štatistická ročenka hlavné mesto SSR Bratislava. Mestská správa SŠÚ, Bratislava 1986.

Štatistická ročenka hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy. Krajská správa ŠÚ SR, Bratislava 1999.

Štatistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky. FSÚ, Praha, 1986.

Statistical Yearbook of the Slovak Republic. Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 1999.

Table 4. Employed by economic activity in Bratislava in 1985 and 1998

Number of employed in 1985			Number of employed in 1998		
Section of econ. activity	number	%	number	%	Section of econ. activity
Total	279 122	100	307 258	100	Total
Agriculture Forestry <i>Total</i>	4 951 454 5 505	1.97	1 762	00.57	Agriculture, hunting and forestry; fishing
Industry Printing <i>Total</i>	69 271 4 547 73 818	26.45	48 827	115.89	Mining and quarrying; Manufacturing; Electricity, gas and water supply
Construction Geological Survey Planning <i>Total</i>	38 348 725 7 475 46 548	16.68	24 513	77.98	Construction
Production activities total	125 871	45.10	75 102	24.44	Production activities total
Transport Communication <i>Total</i>	19 161 5 731 24 892	8.92	31 041	10.10	Transport, storage and communication
Domestic trade International trade Material-technical supply Purchase of agric. Products <i>Total</i>	22 852 2 956 4 780 515 31 103	11.14	56 105	18.26	Wholesale and retail trade; Retail of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods;
Research and development Commercial and technical services Housing politics/economy <i>Total</i>	15 136 6 796 4 479 26 411	9.46	47 682	15.52	Real estate, renting and business activities, research and development
Accommodation services Tourism services Communal services <i>Total</i>	745 773 2 700 4 218	1.51	6 361	2.07	Hotels and restaurants
Education	23 776	8.52	24 705	8.04	Education
Health Social care/security <i>Total</i>	14 129 949 15.078	5.40	17 559	5.71	Health and social work
Money/Finance Insurance <i>Total</i>	1 599 357 1 956	0.70	13 900	4.52	Financial intermediation
Administration, judicial system, prosecutor system, and arbitrage	9 851	3.53	18 174	5.91	Public administration and defense; Compulsory social security
Culture Other activities <i>Total</i>	11 369 4 597 15 966	5.72	16 629	5.41	Other community, social and personal services
Non-production act. total	153 251	54.90	232 156	75.56	Non-production act. total

Sources: Štatistická ročenka hlavné mesto SSR Bratislava. Mestská správa SŠÚ, Bratislava 1986.

Štatistická ročenka hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy. Krajská správa ŠÚ SR, Bratislava 1999.

Intensive development was also taking place after 1948 in the second important productive branch of the economic base of the city: construction sector. Table 4 shows that the share of jobs in construction was in 1985 as high as 16.68%. The development in construction has been caused mainly by two facts. First, there was a large house-building project within the city area after 1948. For example, there have been 97,247 new flats built Bratislava in the years of 1969–1989, thus an average of 4,678 new flats each year. Second, there was the concentration of top-management of big construction companies (at that time state-owned ones) in Bratislava. It was the development of the industry and construction that caused the high 45.10% employment share in the city in its production branches; together with the transport and communication the share was as high as 54.02%. Obviously, such a big share of the production is not typical for capital cities. Bratislava was “only” a capital of the republic in a federation.

However, the period 1948–1989 must be seen as an era of the complex development of the economic base of Bratislava with specific features of a socialistic city. There has been a boom in service branches, particularly in higher education, science and research, culture, health service, but even in trade and retail services. Given the specific features of a socialistic economy, however, some of service branches remained undeveloped (finances, producer services, retail and car services, etc.). The share of service branches in total employment of the city was in 1985 54.90%; without transport and communication only 45.98%. Table 4 also documents that a significant share in the city’s employment was in 1985 in domestic trade (8.19%) and education (8.52%), and a very low share in finance and insurance business (0.70%). In the period 1948–1989, two other functions appeared important in Bratislava: political-administrative functions and housing function. The importance of these two functions could not be directly shown in the employment from the understandable reasons, but their influence on the development of the city was tremendous. The political-administrative function became very important mainly after 1969, when Bratislava became the capital of the Slovak Socialistic Republic. In the very beginning of the “socialistic” development in 1950 the territory of Bratislava was 192 km² and housing 192 896 inhabitants. As of December 31, 1989 these numbers increased to 368.6 km² and 440 629 inhabitants.

Table 1 shows that population increase of Bratislava was higher in comparison to Prague. One can better indicate the difference in the population growth of Bratislava and Prague by comparing the increase of its shares in the total number of inhabitants of Slovakia or the Czech Lands. While the share of Prague did not really changed since 1950, the share of Bratislava increased in approximately 2.7%. From the long-term perspective, however, this different development of Bratislava and Prague is associated mainly with the overall lagging behind Prague of Bratislava in terms of the cultural, economic, and political-administrative development. In other words, all the basic functions of Bratislava occurred as late as after 1948 and even after this year, Bratislava started to take shape as a modern capital city of Slovakia. Table 2 shows two interesting tendencies. First, there is a regular growth of the number of Bratislava’s inhabitants since 1869 pointing out on a certain “resistance” of Bratislava in comparison to surrounding influences or on the important of its “Genius loci”. Second, there is a high growth of inhabitants in other big cities of Slovakia after 1950. Significant influence on this had small numbers of inhabitants

of these cities in 1950, large amalgamation of surrounding villages and, of course, an intensive industrialization process in these cities.

4.2. The transformation of basic functions of Bratislava after 1989

The transformation (not a development) of basic functions of Bratislava after 1989 has been influenced by two factors. First, since 1989 the political system of Czechoslovakia has changed from a totalitarian to a democratic one and centralized economy to a market-driven economy. The post-1989 urban change in all of the large Slovak cities has been conditioned primarily by the government-led reforms aimed at the establishment of a capitalist system based on a pluralist democracy and market-driven economy; and spontaneous market-led transformation of economic, social and cultural environment. Second, Bratislava became the capital of a new independent state – Slovakia – on January 1, 1993. Quoting from the paper by Dostál, Hampl (1994) one can paraphrase that the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993, bringing the key function of a capital city of the new state to Bratislava, strengthened the tertiary and quaternary sectors in the economic base of the agglomeration. The trade and financial activities expanded significantly, but also activities connected with political, administrative and cultural functions of Bratislava in the new state experienced a great expansion. According to the above mentioned authors and their work the transformation of the economic base of Prague (one can even say all capital cities of the post-communist countries including Bratislava) has been influenced by the following location requirements:

- (i) a great potential for inter-organizational face-to-face contacts,
- (ii) specialized information provided by business services (financial, legal, advertising),
- (iii) the central government and administration having far-reaching competencies, and
- (iv) high level of accessibility of other (competing) major centers (usually capital cities) of the other countries.

After 1989, and in particular after January 1, 1993, the basic functions of Bratislava have changed. The basic functions of the city gained a significant international dimension. Bratislava, as the capital of an independent state, became a representative city of Slovakia in outside-inside direction to the state. Bratislava became a contact place, a gate for abroad not only in terms of political relations with Slovakia, but also in economic and cultural affairs. In terms of the geographical location and the "Genius loci", Bratislava has had ambitions to become an important political, economic, and cultural center of the Central-Eastern Europe. Despite the complicated political development in Slovakia over the past eight years, the development in sectors of foreign trade and business activities, financial sector, transport and communication, hotels and restaurants, cultural activities, etc. has sustained these ambitions. In terms of an area of Slovakia, Bratislava is not only the capital or its administrative center (which is also a new and very important function of the city), it is also the city that brings new knowledge, experiences and new ideas. It is a leading unit in the national settlement system that is considered to fulfill an important function as a center of production and diffusion of innovations. Currently, the geographic location of Bratislava is sustaining this requirement. One can say that the economic base of Bratislava is being restructured in order to transform the organizational dominance of the

capital city under new conditions of an open political system and market-driven economy and increased international competition.

Basic information about the transformation of functions and the economic base of Bratislava after 1989 is given in Tables 3 and 4. The year of 1985 can be considered as a year when the socialistic development culminated in Slovakia. The share of the population of Bratislava on the number of inhabitants of whole Slovakia increased only slightly by 0.22% in 1998 in comparison with 1985. However, there was important increase of Bratislava's share in employment opportunities, in employment in tertiary sector and in trade, services, financial intermediation, research and development (Table 3). The share in Bratislava's employment opportunities increased with 2.34%, the share in tertiary sector with 3.68% and the share in trade, services, financial intermediation, research and development in as much as with 12.64%. These changes must be seen in the perspective of the new functions of Bratislava. On the other hand, however, one has to note that currently the sector of trade, services, financial intermediation, research and development has played the most decisive role in the regional development carried on the human potential in the capital city.

Regarding the changing shares of specific branches of the economy of Bratislava, one has emphasize a decline in the production branches (industry by 1.19%, construction by 3.84%) and transportation and communication (by 8.67%) and the increase in service-orientated branches, particularly in trade (by 10.96%), financing and insurance (by 15.75%) and in science and research (by 15.00%). A big share (as high as 70.64%) in Bratislava's real estate, renting and business activities in 1998 is a consequence of above-mentioned new functions of Bratislava in foreign and even domestic affairs. The shares in Bratislava's education and health and social work have shown a declined. Some special state policies had impact on these activities, the policies concerned with developing universities and university centers in Slovakia. In comparison with 1985 when there were two university centers, i.e. Bratislava and Košice and two universities in Slovakia, there were in 1998 nine university centers (in Bratislava, Košice, Prešov, Nitra, Žilina, Banská Bystrica, Trnava, Trenčín a Zvolen); all eight capitals of administrative regions became university centers at the same time, with in total 15 universities.

Employment changes by economic activity in Bratislava are shown in Table 4. Large post-communist cities are transforming to centers of trade and services and do not remain exclusively centers of production. This applies especially to the capital cities that concentrate numerous service-orientated activities not only for the city and its surroundings, but also for the rest of the country and abroad. The total number of employees in Bratislava increased by 28,136 in 1985–1998. The share of production activities decreased, however, from 45.10% to 24.44% over that period of time. On the contrary the share of non-production activities increased from 54.90% to 75.56%. A significant decrease in employment took place in industry. While in 1985 there were 69,271 industrial jobs in Bratislava, there were only 48,827 such jobs in 1998. The decline in employment did not affect all branches of the local industry equally. The highest decrease took place in branches such as machinery and metal products (12,677 jobs in 1985 and less than 4,000 in 1998), electrical equipment (from 8,809 jobs to 4,543), chemical industry (from 7,194 jobs to 3,127) and oil production (from 7,877 jobs to 4,076). Only two industrial branches (publishing and printing with an increase of jobs from 2,835 to 4,332,

and food processing with 4,477 to 5,014) increased job opportunities. The number of employees in local construction companies decreased from 38,348 in 1985 to 24,513 in 1998. The share of construction employment in total of Bratislava decreased from 13.74% to 7.98%. This significant decline in construction activity was not only caused by the termination of large scale housing construction in Bratislava, but also by a general decline of investment in Slovak economy. The group of service-orientated activities employed 232,156 people in 1998 compared to 153,251 in 1985. In sum, the present employment shows in comparison to the one at the peak of the previous regime that the following three branches rose quite dramatically in their importance: wholesale and retail trade; real estate, renting and business activities; and financial intermediation.

Bratislava's retail sector underwent the most dramatic changes after 1989. The main transformation process called small privatization – selling of shops to a new private owners – was one of the first privatization processes leading to private sector formation. Within the whole city, 705 units in total value exceeding 1 bln. Czechoslovak crowns were privatized by auction sale in 1991–1992. In consequence there took place dismantling of former centralized national or regional retail networks in largely all segments of the retailing sector. This small privatization was later accompanied by a massive growth of small shops of new small entrepreneurs. Newly established prestigious parts of retailing that were penetrating especially the city center, started to serve rising number of new rich customers and higher middle class. Several foreign retailers have tested Slovak market there (e.g. food retailer Billa). K-Mart and later TESCO took over the main city center shopping mall. The result was fragmented and unstable (frequent changes of owners and good spectrum, and closures) in main segments of the market. The development from 1996 to 1998 was typical with rising market concentration observable by presence of new retail chains shops in Slovakia, smaller local retail networks (within the city) and solid position of certain number of independent retailers. From 1999 on, the building of hypermarkets started in Slovakia. In two years, five hypermarkets were opened in Bratislava (in May 2001 twelve hypermarkets were established in Slovakia). Emergence of suburban specialized centers (IKEA, NAY Elektrodom, Baumax) and general shopping centers (such as Polus City Centre, Shoping Park Soravia) is also matter of last years. In the city center outside single shops of trade mark retailers, new quality goods shop-keepers are concentrated in many newly reconstructed shopping centers on main shopping streets.

Financial sector has been one of the most important sectors carrying on urban transformation within the city. Its influence has been manifold. It has generated one of the most important increase in employment (in 1985 the sector of banking and insurance had 1956 employees, in 1989 2010 employees, while in 1998 it provided jobs for 13 900 employees). This sector has allocated huge investment into physical environment of the city (branches, buildings) and finally it has generated high amount of money through much higher than average salaries of financial sector employees. Bratislava is without any doubt the leading financial center of the country (37.37% of the total Slovak financial sector employment is located in the city), housing 22 from 25 the biggest financial companies in Slovakia (Trend Top 2000). Only 6 from 28 banks, branches of foreign banks and state financial institutions, had their headquarters outside Bratislava in 1998 (see for a discussion of basic features of the development of the banking sector in Bratislava after 1989 Buček and Pitoňák, 1997). Similar processes have taken place in retail trade and

financial intermediation, and also in development of business activities, accommodation and food service facilities, administrative activities, and other service activities.

5. Spatial consequences of transformation of economic base of Bratislava

Thanks to the impact of institutional and policy factors typical for the communist regime, inner spatial structure of Bratislava developed many special features that became barriers of its development after 1989. Particular attention must be given to central directive management of territorial-administrative and economic units, abolition of land market and introduction of administratively determined fixed prices of urban land, long-term preference given to industrial and construction sectors in detriment to tertiary and quaternary sectors. These features were associated with nationalization of retailing, small businesses and services, and development of large monopolistic structure in whole service sector were accompanied by general priorities of public and societal interest in the field of urban planning; introduction of a redistributive housing system with administrative distribution of flats, and many other regulations, etc. The internal spatial structure of Bratislava has developed in an irregular pattern. Bratislava has been developed to northeast and east directions from the city center before 1970. There have been three major obstacles in the physical landscape (i.e. Small Carpathian Mountains, the Danube river and the border with Austria). Regarding future development of the city, one has to emphasize the following features of its inner spatial structure in 1989. The city center was functionally and physically underdeveloped. In practice, it was an area with a cluster of devastated buildings, without reconstruction and suitable exploitation. Large zones of industry with low land use intensity were located close to the city center. Extensive mono-functional housing complexes were built on the margin of the city offering to its inhabitants only very limited scope and standard of services. Main road network was not built in the city and was not able to support local exchange within the city and allow for regional and transit transport.

An artificial barrier to the city development has been raised at the eastern side of the city (i.e. large Slovnaft the oil refinery, airport, freight railway station and a natural reservation). As a consequence of large-scale amalgamation of surrounding villages (13 villages were joined to the city since 1946), cadastral territory of Bratislava increased from 58.5 square kilometers in 1945 to 367.8 square kilometers in 1989. Large parts of territory of Bratislava are covered by agricultural land (approximately 40% of city territory) and by forests (21%). There is a great extension of classical village settlements in the city.

Many studies were published after 1989 that addressed internal spatial structure of the post-communist city (see for example Hall 1993, Musil, Illner 1994, Weclawowicz 1992, 1997, Smith 1996, Matlovič 1998). Regarding the development of internal spatial structure of Slovak cities – and especially of Bratislava – the most important studies are the analyses of the capital city of Prague made by Sýkora (1993, 1996, 1999, 2000). Among other authors that dealt with specific changes in internal spatial structure of Bratislava, one can mention studies by Bašovský (1991), Divínský (1997), Korec, Husárová (1994), Korec, Smatanová (1997), Korec (2000a, 2000b).

Internal spatial structure of Bratislava has changed rapidly since 1989. The most visible six processes of urban change have been: (i) the commercialization of the city center, (ii) revitalization of production areas located within urbanized space of the city, (iii) implantation of various business activities into originally mono-functional housing estates (iv) construction of houses with high standard of living, (v) construction of hyper-markets and large shopping and service centers, and (vi) intensive use of land located alongside main transport routes of the city. All these six processes are associated with radical change of land use patterns in terms of replacement of existing activities with new and economically more efficient uses and, simultaneously, with physical upgrading.

The city center commercialisation, increased share of commercial function spaces (banks, business offices, retailing, restaurants, hotels, etc.) on the total land use of the city center, indicate the most dynamic processes changing internal urban structure of Bratislava after 1989. As Sýkora (1999) pointed out in a similar way as far as Prague is concerned, also in Bratislava "the most common mechanisms of commercialisation are the change from residential to commercial use within existing building stock demolition of existing structures with residential and commercially less intensive uses and their replacement by new taller and larger buildings and land use intensification through new commercial development on vacant land".

An important post-1989 process changing the urban structure of Bratislava was the transformation of large mono-functional production areas located close to the city center. Production areas in which industry and construction dominated (north-east industrial area, Trnávka, Nivy) were changed into poly-functional areas with high share of storehouses, shops, and service activities. Original production function remained there, but significantly reduced. An important feature of the development in these areas was extensive physical reconstruction of existing buildings and construction of new buildings (see for analyses of transformation processes in three mentioned areas Korec 2000a).

Extensive housing development with high standard of living (in apartment houses, as well as in family houses of villa type) was largely triggered on by the changing basic functions of Bratislava. Residential requirements of top-managers, employees of diplomatic missions, as well as some other economically well established social groups have been very high. Understandably, the demand for quality housing also has changed under the influence of general transformation of personal values of Slovak citizens. Housing offering high standard of living were build in attractive and already built areas (Vnútorne Hory, Koliba, Kramáre, Lamač, Čuňovo, etc), as well as in attractive "green site" locations (Záhorská Bystrica, Rača). This housing development, areas and associated problems have been assessed by Smatanová (1999).

The development of hypermarkets and large business service centers started later in Bratislava and in Slovakia than in neighboring transition countries (Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary). However, there is very dynamic development in this sector in Bratislava since 1999. Four hypermarkets and two large shopping and service centers were built in two years. Development of such units has induced large-scale changes and has influenced practically in an indirect way the whole city. The development alongside the main transport routes is similar. As regards already mentioned specific features of the urban development before 1989 and the location of the city, there are the biggest changes in the eastern part of the city (Vajnorská ul., Rožňavská ul., Trnavská ul. and Senecká cesta).

Besides services for motorists (including car shops), there are located other business and service activities, as well as other entrepreneurial facilities. In the assessment of the changing internal spatial structure of Bratislava, one should also mention certain processes that have been expected, but that remained underdeveloped until now. There is emerging development of various specialized economic zones development, and there is also suburbanization (within the city borders as well as outside). These processes can accelerate after the highway transit routes across the city will be completed, and/or after the first period of transformation will finish, because the transformation has been characterized by growing intensity of land use of already exploited land.

6. Conclusion

The main results of the paper allow to draw the following conclusions. First, the extent and dynamics of changes of the basic functions of Bratislava after 1989 are so huge and intensive that one can speak of the transformation of the basic functions rather than their development. The transformation of the basic functions of Bratislava has been significantly influenced by (a new) geographical position of the city and its *genius loci*.

The crucial development of the basic functions and inner spatial structure of Bratislava before 1989 took place in the period of 40 years of so-called socialist city development. During the period 1948–1989, in the economic base of the city there were dominating the industry and construction branches (45.98 per cent of total employees). Some service-orientated branches (university education, sciences and research, health services, culture, etc.) were developed there, as well. Some branches, however, remained undeveloped, such as finances, business industry, retail and car services, etc. In the post 1989 development of the basic functions of Bratislava the key function of Bratislava became the function a capital city of the new state. This basic function development strengthened the tertiary and quaternary sectors in the economic base of the agglomeration. Business and financial activities, retail and services are closely connected with car expansion. The share of service-oriented activities in total employment opportunities of Bratislava – including transport and communication – increased from 54.90% in 1985 to 75.56% in 1998.

The inner spatial structure of the city has been significantly influenced by the post-1989 basic functions transformation processes in Bratislava. The six most important processes of the urban change have been: (i) the commercialization of the city center, (ii) revitalization of production areas, (iii) implantation of various activities into housing estates, (iv) construction of houses with high standard of living, (v) construction of hypermarkets and shopping centers, and (vi) intensive use of land located alongside main transport routes of the city. Certain processes remained underdeveloped until now (various specialised economic zones' development, processes of sub-urbanisation etc.).

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TRANSFORMACE ZÁKLADNÍCH FUNKCÍ BRATISLAVY PO ROCE 1989: TRENDY A PROSTOROVÉ NÁSLEDKY

Résumé

Příspěvek poskytuje přehled a rozbor transformace základních funkcí Bratislavy po r. 1989. Autor věnuje pozornost klíčové funkci Bratislavy, funkci hlavního města nezávislého státu. Geografická pozice města a jeho *genius loci* hrají důležitou roli v transformaci základních funkcí Bratislavy. Hlavní charakteristiky vývoje před r. 1989 jsou prezentovány v první části příspěvku. V hodnocení změn v základních funkcích Bratislavy jsou použity údaje o zaměstnanosti v ekonomických sektorech města v letech 1985 a 1998. Srovnání Bratislavy a Prahy ukazuje některé zvláštnosti ve vývoji obou měst. Nejvíce nápadné transformační procesy ekonomické základny Bratislavy jsou posilující terciární a kvartérní sektory, hlavně podnikatelské a finanční aktivity, obchod a další služby.