

The Challenge of Postsocialist Suburbanization

Luděk Sýkora and Kiril Stanilov

Introduction

Since the collapse of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), cities in the former socialist countries have entered a period of dramatic transformation. One of the most important processes in the ensuing frenetic rearrangement of urban space has been the dispersal of urban functions beyond the edges of the compact city, into territories that experienced very little development during the socialist years (Sailer-Fliege, 1999; European Academy of the Urban Environment [EAUE], 2003; Hirt and Kovachev, 2006; Borén and Gentile, 2007; Stanilov, 2007a). There is widespread evidence that, since the mid-1990s, suburbanization has become the predominant mode of urban growth in postsocialist metropolitan areas (Kok and Kovács, 1999; Hamilton, Dimitrowska-Andrews, and Pichler-Milanović, 2005; Pichler-Milanović, 2005; Tammaru, 2005; Tosics, 2005; Tsenkova and Nedović-Budić, 2006; Hirt, 2007; Leetmaa and Tammaru, 2007; Novák and Sýkora, 2007; Ouředníček, 2007; Stanilov, 2007a; Sýkora and Ouředníček, 2007; Leetmaa, Tammaru, and Anniste, 2009; Krisjane and Berzins, 2011; Szirmai, 2011) and has a visible presence in medium-sized cities as well (Timár and Váradi, 2001; Parysek, 2004; Kotus, 2006; Matlovič and Sedláková, 2007; Marcińczak, 2012). Furthermore, studies suggest that postsocialist suburbanization is characterized by fragmented spatial patterns broadly associated with urban sprawl and

its controversial environmental, economic, and social consequences (Nuissl and Rink, 2005; Pichler-Milanović, Gutry-Korycka, and Rink, 2007; Stanilov and Sýkora, 2012).

After a tempestuous decade of suburban explosion that lasted roughly from the second half of the decade 1990–2000 to the second half of the next decade – a period during which little concern was given to the impacts of unreservedly embracing urban dispersal as a principal growth strategy – it is time to pause and look back at the effects of such practices. The global financial and economic crisis that set in at the end of 2008 is a perfect opportunity to do so. It has given investors and developers a strong impetus to reassess their intentions and plans. More importantly, the crisis has opened up opportunities to consider alternatives to the neoliberal, free market policies and approaches adopted by postsocialist governments that have contributed to the extensive decentralization of CEE urban areas since the mid-1990s. The massive suburban development that started in the mid-1990 is an entirely new phenomenon for cities in the former socialist countries. Understanding its forms, conditions, causes, and consequences has become a great challenge for the general public and, specifically, for authorities responsible for the management of urban environment.

Our ultimate goal in this book is to explore and understand the processes of suburbanization in the specific context of postsocialist societies that are transitioning from one sociospatial order to another. By casting a light on the swift trajectory of suburbanization in CEE we hope to illuminate the key conditions for the emergence and proliferation of this phenomenon and to highlight the typical forms and features it takes in a dynamically evolving urban context. The explosion of suburban development in the former Eastern Bloc countries offers a rare chance to trace the impact of socioeconomic forces on the logic of (sub)urban space generation in conditions of rapid and radical social transformation. The fact that most CEE countries underwent a second round of complete societal makeover in the course of less than 50 years allows us to look at the region as a unique laboratory, in which the built environment has been molded so as to adjust to profound shifts in the basic principles of social organization.

Urbanization, Suburbanization, and Socioeconomic Order

A starting point for our exploration of postsocialist suburbanization is the juxtaposition of the trajectories, patterns, and underlying forces of urbanization and suburbanization under socialism and capitalism. These two opposing systems produced their own logic of urban space generation,

which was shaped by contrasting approaches to setting the balance between the public and private realms. In this section we bring into focus the underlying bond between (sub)urbanization and socioeconomic order, which constitutes the theoretical foundation of our approach to understanding the phenomenon of postsocialist suburbanization.

Urban growth under socialism

Following the establishment of communist rule in the countries of CEE that fell under the influence of the Soviet Union after World War II, socialist government authorities imposed strict control over private property rights and economic activity, including the right to own, develop, rent, or trade land. The void created in the socialist economy by the imposition of strict constraints on private property rights and economic freedoms was filled by a commensurate expansion of the public sector through massive expropriation of the means of production. The socialist state became the main owner of land, as well as the main provider of goods, housing, and services through a centrally planned system of top-down hierarchical control exercised by the Communist Party. The emphasis was placed on planned production and controlled collective consumption as a more efficient and equitable system of resource utilization than the one based on balancing demand and supply through the actions of independent individual agents on the market.

Under these conditions, urbanization under socialism took on a strikingly different form by comparison to urban development in capitalist countries in terms of the allocation of human activities in space (French and Hamilton, 1979; Andrusz, Harloe, and Szelenyi, 1996; Enyedi, 1996; Gentile and Sjöberg, 2006; Sýkora, 2009). In contrast with the patterns of urbanization shaped by forces operating within a market economy that characterized development in capitalist countries, including those in CEE during the period up to World War II, the new socialist regimes promoted planned or “managed” urbanization (Musil, 1980; Smith, 1996) as the key instrument in the rational distribution and efficient utilization of economic and social resources.

A paramount development priority of the communist governments was the industrialization of the socialist economy. This goal absorbed the lion share of public resources, channeling them toward the formation of urban industrial hubs. The demand for labor in these growing industrial centers attracted waves of rural migrants pushed away from their villages by the collectivization of agricultural land and the mechanization of agricultural production (French and Hamilton, 1979; Musil, 1980). As a result, the socialist CEE countries experienced a dramatic boost in their urbanization rates. Between 1950 and 1990,

the urban population of the region almost doubled, increasing its share from 38.3 to 66.5 percent, in contrast to an increase from 61.7 to 72.8 percent registered in the Western European countries over the same period (UN, 2011).

While the socialist system of central planning concentrated investments in selected cities and towns, which acted as regional and local growth poles, other areas and settlements were largely neglected. As a result, socialist urbanization was characterized by a sharp contrast between the growing, densely developed cities and towns, and the disproportionately smaller villages found within their surroundings, which featured a very limited range of economic activities. Despite the clear spatial separation of cities from their rural hinterlands, these two elements of the city regions were functionally related. Due to the decline in agricultural employment that resulted on the one hand from collectivization and modernization, on the other from the growth of industrial jobs in urban areas, an increasing share of rural residents started to commute to cities, using mass public transit systems – which consist of busses, trains, underground and trams – as a main form of transportation. The rural to urban commuting was further impacted by the discrepancy between jobs and housing availability. As the growth of urban jobs was not paralleled by a corresponding supply of new housing, a significant portion of the rural population employed in nearby cities retained its rural residence – a phenomenon described as under-urbanization (Murray and Szelenyi, 1984; Szelenyi, I., 1996).

As the highest priorities were placed on public ownership of resources, centralized delivery of goods and services, and collective consumption, the socialist system generated compact urban environments characterized by high-density residential districts, extensive industrial zones, fairly well-developed networks of public transit and infrastructure, and hierarchically organized provision of space for retail and service facilities. Once land development was completely under the control of state authorities, government policies concentrated the spatial allocation of public investments in three target areas within cities: (1) the expansion of industrial capacity through the development of new and the extension of existing industrial zones; (2) the development of massive housing estates at the urban edges; and (3) the redevelopment of city centers as monuments of the social and economic prosperity achieved under the leadership of the communist regime.

Most of the investments and new construction were concentrated in vacant areas found within the existing urban fabric and on the edges of the built-up urban cores. Most of the new residential development during the socialist period was in the form of large housing estates planned as urban extensions at the urban edge, side by side with newly established industrial zones (Figure 1.1).

(a)

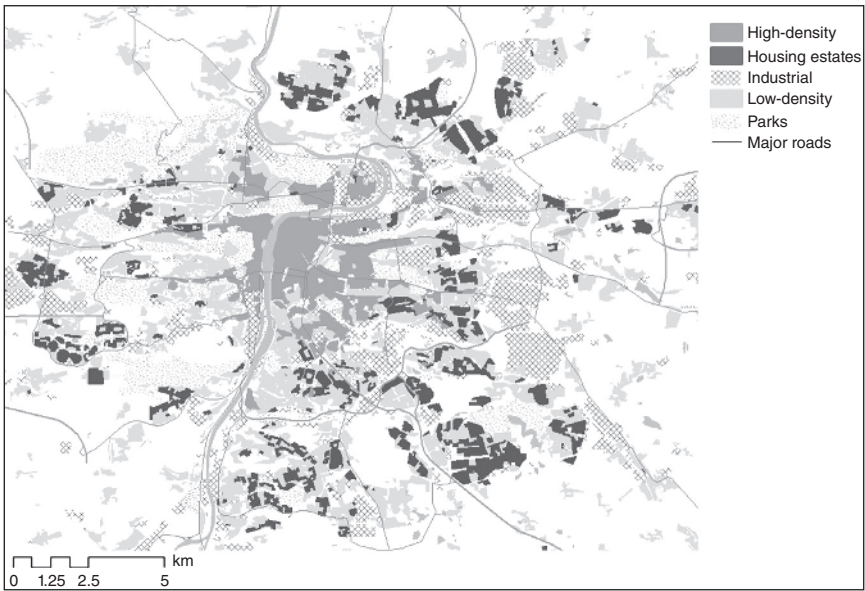


Figure 1.1a Location of socialist housing estates and industrial zones in Prague.
Source: the authors.

(b)



Figure 1.1b Location of socialist housing estates and industrial zones in Sofia.
Source: the authors.

Besides housing, these estates provided a selection of local services in carefully planned retail, educational, medical, and recreational facilities. We should note that this model of urban expansion through high-density extensions in the form of housing estates was not a unique invention of the socialist states. It was embraced by many governments in postwar Europe (Power, 1998; Rowlands, Musterd, and van Kempen, 2009) and spread to other parts of the world. In the Eastern Bloc countries, however, it was adopted extensively and universally, as the key housing policy of the socialist states. A main reason for this was the fact that the modernist concept of urban growth through high-density extensions suited perfectly the communist ideology of centralized control over the production, supply, and allocation of housing and urban services.

The new socialist housing estates were only rarely located at a distance from the compactly built-up urban areas. They were planned as an integral part of the socialist city, functionally integrated with industrial zones and service nodes through public mass transit infrastructure. Under these circumstances, the socialist cities developed as fairly compact urban environments with sharply delineated physical boundaries (Ioffe and Nefedova, 1998). Thus, while most western cities began to deconcentrate in the postwar decades, the socialist countries in CEE experienced accelerated urbanization in conditions of urban centralization (van den Berg, Drewett, Klaassens, Rossi, and Vijverberg, 1982).

Outside of the well-defined boundaries of the compactly built-up area of the socialist city, new developments were limited to the growth of some settlements in the metropolitan periphery; this process was spurred by the influx, from the rural interior, of migrants in search for jobs in the emerging large industrial centers. Compared to the expansion of socialist housing estates, however, the growth of these peripheral communities was relatively minor and had very limited influence on the prevailing dynamics of metropolitan growth, which was characterized by the increasing dominance of the urban core. The tight control exerted by the state over land development prevented the growth of middle-class suburbs of the type that characterized the evolution of metropolitan peripheries in the western world. Experiments with the relaxation of constraints on the private ownership of land and the development of such properties in Yugoslavia and Hungary during the 1970s and 1980s were a key factor in the emergence of elements of low-density suburbs in the periphery of Budapest and Ljubljana, but on the whole these instances remained exceptions in the socialist Eastern Bloc countries.

The only evidence for tendencies toward suburban living that might have been latent in urban residents during socialist times was in the clusters of small landholdings that abutted many of the peripheral villages surrounding urban cores. These properties were designated for use as recreational and garden plots; they were adorned with simple cottages and used as weekend and holiday retreats. Similar dacha zones could be found also in relatively isolated areas in the urban hinterland – areas characterized by more attractive natural settings. While a few of these zones had already emerged as cottage settlements in the pre-socialist era, their popularity increased greatly during the socialist years, through the conversion of village houses into second homes (Vágner, Muller, and Fialová, 2011). At weekends, flows of urban residents commuted from their flats to these recreational properties to enjoy the countryside. While the vast majority of such properties were not suitable for permanent residence, their existence signaled people's dreams for alternative living environments – a desire that could not be fulfilled in that context, given the investment priorities and constraints imposed by the system of centrally planned allocation of resources.

In a dramatic contrast to the metropolitan landscapes beyond the Iron Curtain, the socialist cities developed without suburban communities and ribbon developments of the type that became the quintessential mode of western – and especially North American – urbanization in the post-World War II decades. The key reason for this was to be found in the severe constraints exercised by the state over property rights, within a rigid system of top-down, centralized control over territorial development. Metropolitan areas in the socialist countries were managed as a unified and hierarchically organized system, significantly different from the urban regions in the western capitalist societies, where suburbs grew as politically autonomous entities, governed independently from the core city authorities (Teaford, 2008).

The postsocialist suburban revolution

After nearly half a century of communist rule, CEE societies made a desperate leap straight into the world of free market capitalism (Enyedi, 1998; Herrschel, 2007). As a result, the underlying logic of urban growth patterns changed dramatically in the course of only a few years. Following the sudden collapse of the communist regimes in Europe at the end of 1989, the main rules of social organization in the former Eastern Bloc countries were abruptly reversed: from authoritarian centralized control to minimal government intervention; from

public to private ownership of resources and means of production and provision of goods and services; and from collective to individual forms of consumption.

This swing of the pendulum of history in CEE from systems of totalitarian control to decentralized market societies triggered profound changes in the logic of urban space generation. The adoption and institutionalization of capitalist principles of political, economic, and social organization was followed by an evolutionary adaptation of social practices at the level of firms, individuals, and households, which in turn led to a profound sociospatial reorganization of the postsocialist urban landscapes (Sýkora, 2008; Sýkora and Bouzarowski, 2012). The former system of centralized planning, which concentrated all investments in core cities and controlled tightly any land development within city regions, was replaced by a new, capitalist system of market-based allocation of investments and resources; this system was characterized by the presence of a multiplicity of agents in the market place and by the decentralization of regulatory powers over land development from state authorities to individual municipalities. Under these circumstances, suburbanization became the most visible process of postsocialist metropolitan change.

The transition to capitalism The main goal and the first political priority of the postsocialist transition governments was the radical restructuring of the balance between the public and private realms. This imperative to reform was in complete accord with neoliberal ideology, which had established itself as the dominant political philosophy toward the end of the twentieth century and called for a maximization of the role of the market and a corresponding reduction of the role of the state (Walton and Seddon, 1994; Govan, 1995). In the early years of transition, the market was viewed as the major (and, quite frequently, the only) agent of positive change, while the role of postsocialist governments was confined to curtailing their influence, attracting investments, and making sure that capital flowed freely within the elements of the newly established capitalist socioeconomic system, facilitating its integration into the networks of the global economy.

An integral feature of the transition to capitalism in postsocialist CEE has been the enthusiasm with which the former Eastern Bloc countries embraced the instructions of world capitalist powers – instructions mediated through international institutions in the early years of the transition period (Govan, 1995; Smith and Swain, 1998). The particular set of programs and policies associated with the so-called Washington consensus and recommended by foreign experts from revered transnational organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary

Fund, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development charted a reform path with a strong neoliberal bent, centered on liberalization, privatization, and deregulation. In the aftermath of a half-century of totalitarian rule and with anti-communist sentiments riding high, these concepts were embraced as the most potent recipe for socioeconomic restructuring and revival.

The postsocialist CEE governments were hardly alone in their widespread acceptance of neoliberal ideology. By the 1990s neoliberalism had established itself as the leading economic doctrine on a planetary scale (Walton and Seddon, 1994; Haque, 1999; Harvey, 2005). The collapse of socialism in CEE, coupled with the acceleration of globalization processes, signaled the establishment of a global capitalist system, which became increasingly neoliberalized (Overbeek, 1993; Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In this new global order the former communist countries of Europe became a testing ground for neoliberal policies and practices (Pickles and Smith, 1998; Smith and Rochovska, 2007), which had a profound effect on the logic of urban space generation and on the patterns of urban growth.

The process of liberalization was the first instrument of those reforms that intended to establish a new, market-based economy. The liberalization of prices and rents was an essential component in the development of proper urban real estate markets, while the liberalization of foreign trade linked those markets with the global investment circles. The rapid development of property markets was driven by privatization and led to a profound restructuring of the metropolitan space. The massive transfer of state assets into private hands – expressed in the urban context through the processes of restitution of properties and privatization of public housing (Struyk, 1996) and other real estate – shaped the development of cities and their neighborhoods (Eskinasi, 1995; Kährlik, 2000; Bodnár, 2001; Dawidson, 2004; Brade, Herfert, and Wiest, 2009). Housing privatization changed dramatically the role (and mentality) of households, transforming significant portions of the urban population from recipients of state-supplied services into free agents on the housing property market, who quickly began to expand their interest to include newly constructed residential developments in the suburban territories.

A key aspect of the process of privatization, impacting directly the patterns of metropolitan growth, was the restitution of land. Under the socialist regime, the bulk of non-urbanized land surrounding cities was owned by the state and by agricultural cooperatives, most of it being designated for agricultural use. Private landownership outside the urban edge was limited to small residential parcels in towns and villages and in clusters of small garden plots with cottages. The restitution of agricultural lands situated outside compact urban areas established

active suburban land markets, on which former agricultural properties could be traded and converted for urban uses through the activities of independent agents, who operated within a much looser system of land development controls.

The process of deregulation involved the transfer of responsibilities from state and local agencies to market actors. It included a sharp reduction in the redistributive functions of the government through dramatic cuts in subsidies for public goods and services such as the provision of housing, which triggered the rise of new forms and patterns of real estate development. The withdrawal of the state from its role as a major provider of housing created a void that was filled by the emergence of numerous private construction firms. This process of deregulation of housing construction encouraged a much more flexible system of housing delivery, centered on market-based demand-and-supply principles. New private developers responded immediately to the opportunity by capitalizing on the demand for housing that had accumulated during the socialist years; they particularly cherished the prospects of developing the suburban housing market for middle- and upper-income households.

The process of deregulation, however, was stretched a lot further than the arena of housing construction, with a view to establishing the market as a primary regulator of socioeconomic relations. Following this policy directive, state and local governments underwent a complete makeover, turning from enforcers of centrally planned decisions into facilitators of the development of bottom-up market forces, and from defenders of the public good into protectors of private interests. In this new role, governments had little justification for curbing the pursuit of development opportunities beyond urban boundaries. On the contrary, they were expected to promote and secure such opportunities by relaxing regulations and by adopting market-driven investor-friendly policies, programs, and plans (see Chapter 10 in this volume; also Altrock, Günter, Huning, and Peters, 2006).

Driving forces: Globalization, legacies, and decentralization A significant impetus for the proliferation of suburbs during the postsocialist years was provided by the forces of globalization, which entered the region in the early years of the transition period and were in full swing by the turn of the millennium. The profound changes in the political and economic systems of the former socialist countries unlocked the doors for the integration of their states into the global financial and economic networks. The arrival of foreign capital to the Eastern European markets coincided with the tidal wave of globalization, which swept countries around the world in the 1990s (Turnock, 1997). Toward the end of the

decade, the initial uncertainty and apprehension about transformation in postsocialist Europe quickly dissipated, and international developers ventured without reservations into the CEE real estate sector (Sailer-Fliege, 1999). The flow of international companies to the emerging markets of CEE provided a vital push for the development of new residential, industrial, retail, and office premises, a substantial share of these new developments being backed by international investments (Adair et al., 1999; Ghanbari-Parsa and Moatazed-Keivani, 1999; Tasan-Kok, 2004; Hamilton and Carter, 2005; Tsenkova, 2008). A vast portion of this growth was concentrated in the major metropolitan areas, an increasing share being directed to the urban outskirts.

Producer and consumer services were initially accommodated within the expanding city cores (Gritsai, 1997; Sýkora, 1998; Lisowski and Wilk, 2002), but the urban fabric inherited from the socialist city could not absorb all of this new commercial demand. As development opportunities in the center were quickly reaching the point of saturation, new large-scale developments spilled out to the main roads, intersecting the metropolitan fabric and reaching out to previously undeveloped territories at the outskirts (Pommois, 2004; Garb and Dybicz, 2006; Rebernik and Jakovčič, 2006; Sýkora, 2007). And, as the supply of large tracts of developable land was quickly diminishing in the compact city, firms turned their attention to opportunities in the urban hinterlands, where they could gain access to ample land with good transport connections. The increasing preference of foreign developers and investors for edge-of-city and suburban locations was also determined by the application of ready-to-use commercial schemes, which had proven their profitability in the global marketplace and could be most easily accommodated on greenfield sites, where developers did not have to consider the factor of sensitivity to local urban contexts (Robinson, 1996). The development of these sites, located in small suburban municipalities eager to attract investors at any cost, could be accomplished more quickly and with less friction than that of sites located in the more complex urban environments of inner cities. This was an important comparative advantage, fostering the decentralization of urban activities still further.

In the residential sector, the initial barrier for suburbanization was the lack of a sufficient quantity of economically prosperous households, which could afford to subscribe to the model of suburban living actively promoted through media channels and real estate agencies. With the recovery of the CEE economies toward the end of the 1990s, effective demand quickly gained ground, pushed by the rise of a new middle class in the booming postsocialist metropolitan areas. These large urban centers became the hubs of the national economy in each country and

a primary target of foreign direct investments, attracting many well-educated young residents from less prosperous urban and rural areas. The emerging urban upper and middle classes spurred the gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods, the construction of new condominiums and gated compounds inserted in the existing urban fabric, and especially the development of new suburban communities. The demand for higher standards in housing was further supported through the establishment of a system of mortgage financing, which was in turn buttressed by national housing policies aimed at strengthening ownership. This growth in affluence and financial security provided a critical impetus for an increasing proportion of the urban population to pursue its dreams of a suburban life – a notion that was unthinkable under the socialist regime. The rapid increase in car ownership improved household mobility, clearing the last barrier to suburbanization and the unprecedented diffusion of urban activities across the postsocialist metropolitan landscapes. The new, market-based supply of housing reacted quickly to the availability of (re)privatized land, taking advantage of the flexible re-zoning – adopted by most suburban municipalities – of agricultural land for construction. The pent-up demand for single-family homes, accumulated during the socialist years, could be more quickly and cheaply addressed on greenfield sites in the urban periphery, dispersing new houses to hundreds of small clusters around the compactly built-up inner cities.

The emerging new form and structure of the postsocialist city have been tightly related to the structural disparities between the housing and commercial stock left behind by the socialist regime as part of its urban legacy and the spatial demands of a rapidly developing capitalist society. The decades of accelerated urbanization and the inability of the socialist system of housing production to keep up with this growth induced a huge demand for urban housing. The socialist system of planning not only failed to provide the necessary number of dwellings, but it also produced a housing stock that did not offer much choice to address residential preferences. With regard to lower density single-family homes, the large gap between supply and demand inherited from the socialist regime began to push many households away from the inner city and the housing estates to the suburban hinterland, where they could seek alternative living environments.

In addition to the huge discrepancy between housing demand and supply, the socialist city left an inadequate stock of commercial space. The socialist urban economy was characterized by a significantly lower share of services by comparison to advanced capitalist societies, while it generated an industrial sector that was excessively high in terms of both employment and land use. While socialist industrial enterprises

employed mass segments of the labor force and accounted for large portions of the urban land, consumer-oriented services constituted only a fragment of their western counterpart, in terms of commercial space per capita. Producer services, a key component of capitalist economies, were limited during the socialist years to a few state-controlled institutions. Not surprisingly, after the fall of the socialist regime, dynamic economic restructuring by way of deindustrialization and development of consumer and producer services quickly followed the establishment of market economies. The rapidly increasing demand for commercial space spurred the construction of new offices and retail facilities. The urban fabric inherited from the socialist era was not, however, fit to absorb all of this new demand. As development opportunities in the city center began to dwindle, new commercial developments spilled over to the main roads (as mentioned above). Within cities, only the vast amounts of industrial land left after the collapse of the socialist state-run enterprises presented a substantial opportunity for development. But these brownfield areas were harder to develop due to high levels of contamination and to complicated property right. This situation prompted many developers to shift their attention to the suburbs, where properties with clear titles were much easier to find.

Postsocialist suburbanization has been strongly impacted by the decentralization of power, which passed from the state to local authorities, and by the radical transformation of governance structures and public policies that followed. After 1989, the postcommunist states first terminated the practice of national economic and spatial planning and then transferred virtually all land planning powers to local institutions. This transfer was mandated via new laws of municipal self-governance, which were adopted in most postsocialist CEE countries by the mid-1990s. The process of diffusing responsibilities from the top to the bottom of the governance structures was not, however, paralleled by a comparable transfer of institutional capacity and financial means. Lacking the expertise to address the challenge of managing the spatial needs of a radically changing society, most local governments, and particularly those of small suburban municipalities, resorted to handling urban development on an ad hoc basis, rubber-stamping initiatives as they were put on the table by prospective developers. The decentralization of power and the imperative to create opportunities for economic development turned many local officials into ardent promoters of growth (Horák, 2007). Given the highly fragmented geography of local governments and the unwillingness of national and regional authorities to intervene in local affairs, the decentralization of power inevitably began to produce highly fragmented and decentralized patterns of metropolitan growth.

Postsocialist urban restructuring and the suburban explosion The main processes in the transformation of urban space in the former socialist cities and their metropolitan areas were the commercialization and expansion of city centers; the dynamic revitalization of some urban communities within the overall context of inner-city stagnation; and the radical transformation of outer cities and urban hinterlands through commercial and residential suburbanization (Stanilov, 2007b; Sýkora, 1999, 2009). While the first decade of the transition period was characterized by an inflow of investments into city centers, in the first years of the new millennium suburbanization became the most dynamic process that altered the postsocialist metropolitan landscape.

Suburbanization in the form of low-density, developer-built, middle-class residential environments – virtually nonexistent during the socialist era – quickly developed on a massive scale as the main form of metropolitan growth. The first signs of a modest growth in the suburbs were witnessed in the first half of the 1990s, but they were masked by a concomitant population decline in most Eastern European cities. This early postsocialist suburban growth did not outpace the population losses incurred at the urban core, which resulted in a shrinkage of city regions – a situation described as decentralization and de-urbanization (Hall and Hay, 1980; van den Berg, Drewett, Klaassens, Rossi, and Vijverberg, 1982; Cheshire, 1995; Champion, 2001). With the recovery of the postsocialist economies toward the end of the twentieth century, both core cities and suburban zones in major metropolitan areas began to grow again. Suburban areas gained increasing shares of the metropolitan population, thus changing the balance between urban and suburban territories. While only a small fraction of the metropolitan population and jobs were located outside of the urban core during the socialist period, the postsocialist suburban explosion radically reshaped urban regions.

In the metropolitan hinterlands, landowners, private investors and developers combined forces with local government officials to form alliances similar to the ones aptly described in the literature as “urban growth machines” (Logan and Molotch, 1987), which focused on the pursuit of development opportunities and economic growth objectives. While central cities usually retained high levels of planning control within their jurisdictional boundaries, their attempts to guide development outside of their administrative territories were confronted by the decisions of numerous suburban municipalities, which were competing for a stake in the circuits of real estate development and investments. As a result, suburban landscapes begun to exhibit a haphazard mixture of development patterns: new urban extensions of low-rise single-family and high-rise multi-family housing; low-density housing clusters in and

around villages and towns surrounding metropolitan cores; and nonresidential clusters and ribbon developments of retail, warehousing, and industries stretched along major highways and their intersections. The overall spatial outcome of this suburban explosion was the emergence of highly disjointed city regions, which grew with minimal consideration for the efficient provision of basic services and infrastructure.

By the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, many of the most sprawling urban areas in Europe were found in the former socialist countries (EEA, 2006). This fact is remarkable considering that, due to the specifics of socialist urbanization, there was very little evidence of suburban growth in the region as late as the mid-1990s. Thus, in the course of approximately one decade, the spread of suburbanization in the former socialist states dramatically reconfigured their metropolitan landscapes. At the same time, the establishment of sprawl as a dominant form of growth generated a number of economic, social, and environmental challenges.

Placing Postsocialist Suburbanization in the Context of Global Urbanization and Sustainable Development

In this section we relate postsocialist suburbanization to the urban experience of other world regions and argue that the ongoing spread of suburbanization across the globe is a concomitant development of the broader processes of globalization, being linked with the expansion of capitalism as a dominant socioeconomic order on a planetary scale. In consequence, we interpret similarity in spatial outcomes as a phenomenon engendered by the social practices of firms, households, and governments under the ever more homogenized political, economic, and cultural conditions of global capitalism. In the postsocialist countries of Europe, these practices have produced highly dispersed and fragmented patterns of metropolitan growth, which has seriously undermined the prospects of sustainable development and should therefore become a key concern in managing the future evolution of cities in Central and Eastern Europe.

Postsocialist suburbanization and global urbanism

While examining the specificities of suburbanization in postsocialist CEE, we do not want to overlook the linkages of the phenomena exhibited in that region with suburbanization processes that take place in other parts of the world. The analyses presented in this volume are aimed at developing a deeper understanding of these phenomena by highlighting key regional specifics while they also identify important

commonalities of suburbanization across time and space, thus situating the Eastern European experience in the broader context of global urbanization.

At the beginning of the new millennium, suburbanization has become undoubtedly a global phenomenon (Stanilov and Scheer, 2003; Bruegman, 2006; Phelps and Wu, 2011) and it is most likely that for many residents of the bulging twenty-first century metropolitan areas the urban future will be, indeed, a suburban one (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000; Clapson and Hutchison, 2010). The new body of literature on suburbs as a global phenomenon, which has surfaced in the last couple of decades, has begun to coalesce along two main axes, outlining a distinction between first-world and third-world urban realities (Harris, 2010). An apparent omission in this binary classification is the experience of the former second-world nations, which now form the group of postsocialist countries in CEE. The analysis of suburbanization in these countries can thus enrich our understanding of the patterns, processes, and impacts defining contemporary metropolitan growth around the globe.

A number of recent studies of global suburbanization have cast a light on the variety of suburban experiences, suggesting that the dissonant mixture of suburban environments is a key feature of contemporary urbanization. It appears that the diversity of suburbs in terms of their patterns and forms has become the norm rather than the exception in metropolitan peripheries all around the globe (Vaughan, Griffiths, Haklay, and Jones, 2009; Ekers, Hamel, and Keil, 2012), juxtaposing exclusive gated compounds, modest working-class communities, thriving or desolate shopping centers, crowded squatter settlements, and sleek high-tech logistics parks (Garreau, 1991; Soja, 2000; Lang, 2003; Knox, 2008; Kolb, 2008; Teaford, 2008). This chaotic mosaic has become a common sight not just in advanced metropolitan areas of the West, but in the periphery of many large cities in Africa (Simon, McGregor, and Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2004), Asia (Wu, 2006; Zhou and Logan, 2008), and South America (Pirez, 2002; Heinrichs, Lukas, and Nuissl, 2011).

Suburbs today are so prevalent and so different from the late nineteenth-century bourgeois utopian vision that fueled their early growth (Fishman, 1987) that some scholars have argued that the term “suburbs” has lost any useful meaning, as has the urban–suburban dichotomy, extensively employed in urban literature (Bourne, 1996). The sprawling peripheries of today’s cities, the argument goes, signify an entirely different type of environment; they represent a radical departure from past processes of urbanization and usher in the arrival of a post-suburban world (Teaford, 1996; Phelps, Parsons, Ballas, and Dowling, 2006; Phelps and Wu, 2011; Mace, 2013). The proponents of this view see as doomed

all efforts “to corset emerging urbanisms into existing (but obsolete) analytical containers” (Dear and Dahmann, 2008: 269).

The global dimensions of the ongoing restructuring of metropolitan areas have called into question the relevance of the old approaches to understanding contemporary urbanization processes. There is a growing recognition that the prevailing focus on the Anglo-American experience of suburbanization has hindered a more nuanced understanding of the impact of suburbanization in a variety of local contexts around the globe (Couch, Leontidou, and Petschel-Held, 2007; Harris, 2010). In this light, some scholars have argued that we need a new paradigm for understanding urbanization and suburbanization in the early twenty-first century (Clapson and Hutchison, 2010), one that should be based on enquiries of a broader scope, which encompass the diverse experiences of countries around the world (Harris, 2010).

While we acknowledge that contemporary urbanization in many parts of the globe has moved beyond the urban and suburban dichotomy, our analysis offers support for the argument that, rather than signaling the arrival of a new post-suburban world, recent developments in postsocialist countries manifest more traditional processes of suburbanization adapted to the socioeconomic realities of postsocialist society. Although the pervasive dispersal of urban activities and the emergence of new suburban centers has led to the formation of more complex metropolitan spatial structures, the proclamation of a post-suburban dawn would seem to be a bit premature in the CEE postsocialist context.

At the start of the new millennium, similar forms of market-led urban and suburban development have proliferated around the world in the countries that are trying to realign their societies in accordance with the model of a contemporary capitalism based on strict adherence to neoliberal ideological principles. With its expanding networks – which explore economic opportunities and promote highly diversified and socially uneven consumption, realized within spatially fragmented and decentralized regulatory environments – global capitalism has been the most powerful agent in the spread of suburbanization across the former socialist countries of Europe, as well as in many other regions around the world. Our analysis of the seven case studies included in this book confirms the assumption that the capitalist system bears the crucial conditions for the development of suburbanization as a dominant form of urban growth (Walker, 1981; Harvey, 1989; Gottdiener, 1994). This is particularly the case with the neoliberal variant of capitalism, which has guided economic reforms and shaped social practices in postsocialist CEE, creating optimal conditions for unfettered suburban expansion.

The postsocialist sprawl and sustainability

Since the end of the socialist era, in which the bulk of new development was concentrated within city boundaries, suburbanization has dramatically reconfigured postsocialist metropolitan areas, spreading not only housing but also retail, offices, and industrial uses in highly fragmented and diffused patterns. As we have argued above, we associate this massive suburban expansion with the establishment of capitalist socioeconomic order and its principles in the context of socialist legacies and under the strong influence of globalization forces. Furthermore, urban development in postsocialist CEE has been managed through a mixture of free market practices centered on the belief in the sanctity of private property rights and a highly decentralized, locally based, and regionally uncoordinated system of land development controls conducive to the proliferation of sprawl (see Chapter 10 in this volume; Stanilov and Sýkora, 2012). As in many other parts of the world where suburbanization has flourished, these new forms of metropolitan growth have posed major challenges in postsocialist countries in terms of their finding a path to sustainable development.

In the former Eastern Bloc countries suburbanization, which has been praised in other urban contexts for providing greater individual freedom, choice, and lower housing prices (Gordon and Richardson, 1997; Bruegmann, 2006), has increased the range of housing options for the middle- and upper-income households and has brought employment and shopping opportunities closer to residents living in the periphery of the metropolitan cores. At the same time, sprawl, which has become the typical form of postsocialist metropolitan growth, has created a number of problems. The rampant suburbanization has generated a string of consequences familiar from the experience of many other metropolitan areas around the globe, where sprawl has been linked with cost inefficiencies, higher energy consumption, environmental degradation, and loss of social cohesion (TCRP, 1998, 2002; Burchell, Downs, McCann, and Mukherji, 2005; European Commission, 2011). In postsocialist Europe the list of environmental impacts includes the disappearance of prime agricultural land and open space, the fragmentation of natural habitats, increased instances of erosion and flooding, and higher levels of water, soil, and air pollution. The economic costs of urban sprawl have strained the ability of the public sector to provide infrastructure and services. The dispersal of public and private investments in metropolitan peripheries has undermined opportunities for redevelopment and upgrading in inner-city communities. Suburban shopping centers have shrunk the customer base of small-scale local retailers, while the dispersal of new housing to areas underserved by

transit has increased car dependency, limiting the mobility of large segments of the population without access to automobiles.

Overall, the new patterns of metropolitan growth have seriously undermined the prospect of achieving the goals of sustainable development, whereby the ability of future generations to meet their needs is not compromised by current practices of resource utilization (United Nations, 1987). Regretfully, the knowledge gained from the experience of western cities in regulating urban growth and controlling urban expansion has not been sufficiently recognized and efficiently deployed by the postsocialist governments of CEE.

Suburbanization is usually associated with the extensive spatial expansion of cities, realized outside of existing urban cores; but the distinction between what is considered urban and what is considered suburban varies depending on context. While in the US all areas surrounding central cities are recognized as suburbs, in Europe suburbanization is usually associated with new developments outside of so-called intravilan zones (Gaebe, 1987, 2004; Richardson and Bae, 2004; Cough et al., 2007; Szirmai, 2011). Intravilan growth is represented by development taking place within the urban built-up area and at the edges of the compact city fabric. A range of forms can be employed for the development of such extensions of the urban core, but the important distinction is that these developments are contiguous with the existing urban fabric and therefore are usually well connected with the urban infrastructure and service networks. This sets this type of development apart from the extravilan type, both in terms of their spatial characteristics and in terms of their social, environmental, and economic impacts.

Extravilan development can take a variety of forms, but two contrasting spatial patterns define the ends of this range. In the first one, suburban developments are concentrated in a relatively limited number of nodes of different sizes, which contain a varying mixture of residences, jobs, and services. These nodes of suburban growth are usually anchored in a nucleus of a historical settlement, but they could also be a result of planned development. The second pattern of extravilan growth, on the other hand, takes the form of highly fragmented developments scattered in a large number of clusters, many of which are of single use, often exclusively residential (Galster, Hanson, Ratcliffe, Coleman, and Freihage, 2001). These two generic patterns of suburban development represent the two extremes of a continuum between concentrated decentralization (most characteristic of Western European metropolitan areas) and urban sprawl (typically associated with suburbanization in North America). The two contrasting patterns differ in terms of their economic, social, and environmental consequences (TCRP, 1998, 2002), as well as in the regulatory regimes that

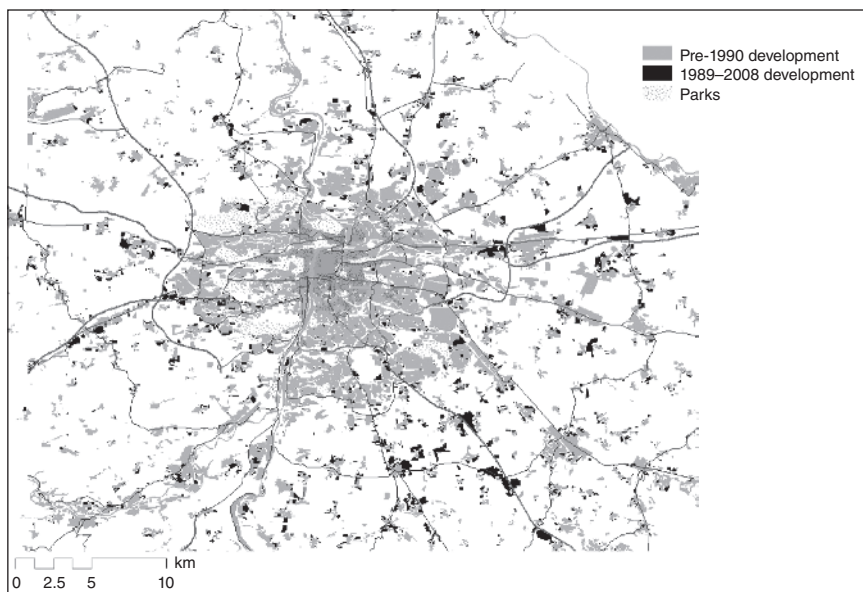


Figure 1.2 Urban development in Greater Prague, 1989–2010. Source: the authors.

govern their development. While concentrated decentralization is usually achieved through a combination of coordinated urban and regional planning and policies, urban sprawl is associated with much looser development controls and the reign of free market forces.

The distinctions between intravilan and extravilan areas, and between the two patterns of extravilan growth, are particularly important in analyzing the explosive growth of suburbanization in the former socialist countries. While the socialist era was characterized by a sharp contrast between the compactly developed cities and their surrounding rural hinterland, this feature of metropolitan form has been consistently eroded since the early 1990s through development that has acquired all of the typical characteristics of sprawl (Figure 1.2).

Postsocialist cities could have utilized much better existing advantages, inherited from the socialist era and related to these cities' compactly built form, high urban densities, and well-developed networks of public mass transit; or related to the expansive extent of central cities' jurisdictions, which often cover vast belts of immediate hinterlands. However, the massive dispersal of urban activities after 1989 in the form of sprawl is swiftly displacing the advantages of the compact urban form inherited from the socialist era.

The explosive growth of the suburbs has impacted negatively the ability of central cities to regenerate some of their areas threatened by long-lasting urban decline. The profound economic restructuring of the post-socialist economies, which resulted in massive deindustrialization, has left large chunks of the urban fabric as derelict industrial land. The opening of vast amounts of territories for development in the suburban periphery has undermined significantly the prospects of brownfield redevelopment, as investment has followed easier and more promising development opportunities on greenfield sites. Similar dynamics have impacted the evolution of the socialist housing estates, where the outmigration of more affluent residents is threatening to put these communities on a path of social decline by syphoning resources to more prosperous suburban or inner-city areas. The servicing of ever-expanding suburban territories, in that respect, has put a strain on limited public resources, diverting attention from the inner cities to the periphery.

These problems highlight the need to consider suburban growth as an integral component of the overall process of metropolitan change. In our view, suburbanization emerges as a defining phenomenon, reshaping an urban region when suburban growth outpaces the growth of the core city. During the socialist era this was hardly the case, as only a small fraction of the metropolitan population resided outside of the urban core. However, since the late 1990s suburban territories began to gain larger shares of the metropolitan population, jobs, and investments, and this led to a change in the balance between urban and suburban territories that signaled a clear shift to suburbanization.

Transforming the urban fabric of a region takes time; but the evolution of CEE metropolitan areas appears to have reached a critical junction. From here on, suburbs having firmly established their presence and importance, there are two possible paths. The first one leads toward a more coordinated metropolitan development, emphasizing concentrated decentralization in line with the principles embedded in the European Spatial Development Perspective (European Commission, 1999). The second path represents a continuation of existing practices that leads to more uncoordinated development and more sprawl, thus seriously compromising the chances of attaining any long-term sustainable development goals.

At this junction in time, the most pressing challenge for confronting suburbanization in the region hinges on the ability of national, regional, and local authorities to recognize that sustainable development requires a thorough revision of the policies and practices pursued since the early 1990s. Taming suburban sprawl and achieving more efficient patterns of urban growth are goals that demand much stronger spatial and interscalar

coordination and planning at the national, metropolitan, and local levels. Yet a type of management based on stricter regulation and stronger governments is still resisted, being associated with painful experiences from the communist past. It also runs counter to the neoliberal ideology that so far has guided the transition of CEE countries to capitalism. Finally, another significant impediment in the path toward sustainable metropolitan growth is the extent of sprawl that has already taken place. As suburbs have grown, so has the influence of investors, developers, landowners, and local politicians with vested interests in sustaining the current mode and forms of suburban expansion.

We argue that a critical starting point for the effective management of suburbanization is the understanding that the phenomenon is not simply a reflection of the preferences of individual households and firms, since the patterns of urban growth are a spatial representation of the fundamental principles of social organization. Urban development is a key arena where societies test and contest the balance between individual freedom and collective responsibility. Ultimately, suburbanization is not just a matter of personal choice, but one of societal choice. The neoliberal paradigm strongly affected postsocialist societies in the formative years of the early 1990s, pushing this balance to the far right. The high priority placed on economic freedom and property rights, coupled with the push for deregulation and decentralization, made it difficult to recognize the larger societal impacts of individual actions, given the complex processes that shape the formation of city regions. The need to redress this issue represents a huge political challenge: it highlights the fact that postsocialist transition is a project still not finished (Sýkora and Bouzarovski, 2012). In this respect, confronting suburbanization has become a mirror of confronting the wider societal challenges that need to be addressed in order to construct a sound framework for a sustainable future development.

Book structure and organization

The purpose of this book is to advance our understanding of suburbanization by exploring the development of this phenomenon in the specific context of the rapid social transformation of CEE countries from one socioeconomic order to another. As the title of this book suggests, the massive explosion of suburbanization in the postsocialist countries of CEE needs to be “confronted.” We aim to do this in two principal ways. First, we attempt to address the challenge of comprehending the nature of the phenomenon by exploring its dimensions, forms, causes, and consequences. Second, we discuss the challenges of managing metropolitan growth and the negative consequences of

uncontrolled suburbanization. These two principal challenges are interrelated, as the ability to change the current course of growth depends on a sound understanding of the forces underlying postsocialist suburbanization.

The book is organized in three parts. In the first part, comprised of this introductory chapter, we lay out our theoretical argument, linking suburbanization to key structural forces and factors that underlies the transition of the former socialist countries of CEE to a capitalist socioeconomic order. We highlighted the decisive influence of neoliberal ideology in this process of societal transformation and the impact of globalization and socialist legacies on the patterns of metropolitan growth. While stressing the distinct characteristics of postsocialist suburbanization that emerged in the period of transition, we attempt to situate the experience of the CEE countries in the broader context of global urban change. Finally, we underscore the key challenges facing postsocialist metropolitan areas that are related to the explosive growth of uncontrolled suburbanization, which has dominated metropolitan growth since the collapse of the communist regimes.

The second part of our book – Chapters 2–8 – constitutes the main body of the text. We track the boom of the postsocialist suburbs in seven CEE capital city regions, where the forces of urban decentralization have been strongest during the past 20 years. The seven case studies – Budapest, Ljubljana, Moscow, Prague, Sofia, Tallinn, and Warsaw – represent a typical range of CEE metropolitan areas in terms of their size, ranging from a little over 0.5 million residents (Ljubljana and Tallinn) to a little less than 3 million (Budapest); Moscow (including Moscow Oblast), Europe's largest metropolis, accommodating over 18.5 million residents, is the outlier in our group. Moscow stands out from the other six cities not just by its size, but also by its particular form of state capitalism, adopted since the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. As such, Moscow serves as an illustration of a divergent evolutionary track and as a basis for comparing the impacts of socioeconomic order on patterns of urban development and metropolitan growth.

The analysis of postsocialist suburbanization is based on a common methodological framework that guides the exposition of the case studies and serves as a basis for a comparative analysis offered in the last part of the book. The case studies examine the phenomenon of suburbanization along four main vectors of analysis: development patterns, driving forces, consequences and impacts, and the management of suburbanization. The chapters begin by placing contemporary suburbanization in the historical context of urban development before and during socialism. This historical narrative illuminates key distinctions between different modes of societal organization and their inherent patterns

of territorial development and metropolitan growth. The analysis of contemporary patterns of suburbanization includes both residential and nonresidential deconcentration as integral parts of metropolitan growth. The case studies offer a qualitative assessment of suburbanization patterns and processes, made with the help of simple statistical measures aimed at illuminating the dynamics of metropolitan growth, the morphological characteristics of residential and nonresidential suburban developments, and the social and demographic characteristics of the suburban population. To facilitate comparison across these different case studies, we applied a common definition of suburbanization as a process of metropolitan growth taking place outside of the urban core and leading to an increase in population, housing, and jobs in these territories. The majority of our case studies utilized the official definitions of metropolitan areas and administrative central-city boundaries in order to distinguish between urban and suburban growth (see the discussion in Chapter 9).

The analysis of spatial patterns in each of the case studies is followed by a discussion of the conditions and driving forces of postsocialist suburbanization, with a focus on the narrative of the variety of economic, social, political, and institutional factors impacting the process of urban decentralization. The emphasis is placed on the transition from socialist to capitalist society and on the operation of market forces in transforming the metropolitan landscapes inherited from the socialist past. Each case study underscores the growing role of international and global forces in the production of contemporary suburban landscapes and their interplay with local, regional, and national institutions. This is followed by the critical assessment of economic, environmental, and social impacts of urban decentralization and various forms of suburban growth. The case studies conclude with an overview of the specific public policy and urban planning approaches adopted in addressing the challenges of suburbanization.

The third and final part of our book – Chapters 9 and 10 – offers a comparative summary of postsocialist suburbanization on the basis of the evidence presented in the case studies. The two concluding chapters frame our analytical argumentation by summarizing the insights gained from the detailed accounts of suburbanization in the seven metropolitan areas. Chapter 9 begins by offering a historical perspective, tracing the evolution of suburbanization in CEE from the early days of the formation of metropolitan areas in the region to the present. The patterns of metropolitan growth and change are at the center of this chapter, the core of the text focusing on intraregional similarities and differences and on the key factors that account for

their existence. The final chapter continues the argument about the critical importance of public policies and planning for the spread of suburbanization, which is presented both here in the introductory chapter and in the final section of Chapter 9. The book concludes by casting a speculative glance at the likely future scenarios for metropolitan growth in the region, linking the possible trajectories of suburbanization to the ways in which societies in CEE will address the dual set of challenges arising from problems specific to the region as well as from the problems that face the planet at the beginning of the new millennium.

References

- Adair, A., Berry, J., McGreal, S., Sýkora, L., Ghanbari Parsa, A., and Redding, B. 1999. Globalization of real estate markets in Central Europe. *European Planning Studies* 7(3): 295–305.
- Altrock, U., Günter, S., Huning, S., and Peters, D., eds. 2006. *Spatial Planning and Urban Development in the New EU Member States: From Adjustment to Reinvention*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., and Szelenyi, I., eds. 1996. *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Postsocialist Societies* (Studies in Urban and Social Change). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bodnár, J. 2001. *Fin de millénaire Budapest: Metamorphoses of Urban Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Borén, T. and Gentile, M. 2007. Metropolitan processes in post-communist states: An introduction. *Geografiska Annaler B: Human Geography* 89(2): 95–110.
- Bourne, L. S. 1996. Reinventing the suburbs: Old myths and new realities. *Progress in Planning* 46(3): 163–184.
- Brade, I., Herfert, G., and Wiest, K. 2009. Recent trends and future prospects of socio-spatial differentiation in urban regions of Central and Eastern Europe: A lull before the storm? *Cities* 26: 233–244.
- Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. 2002. The urbanization of neoliberalism: Theoretical debates – Cities and the geographies of “actually existing neoliberalism.” *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* 34(3): 349–379.
- Bruegmann, R. 2006. *Sprawl: A Compact History*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Burchell, R. W., Downs, A., McCann, B., and Mukherji, S. 2005. *Sprawl Costs: Economic Impacts of Unchecked Development*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Champion, T. 2001. Urbanization, suburbanization, counterurbanization and reurbanization. In R. Paddison, ed., *Handbook of Urban Studies*. London: Sage, pp. 143–161.
- Cheshire, P. 1995. A new phase of urban development in Western Europe? The evidence for the 1980s. *Urban Studies* 32(7): 1045–1063.

- Clapson, M. and Hutchison, R., eds. 2010. *Suburbanization in Global Society* (Research in Urban Sociology 10). Bingley: Emerald Group.
- Couch, C., Leontidou, L., and Petschel-Held, G., eds. 2007. *Urban Sprawl in Europe: Landscapes, Land-Use Change and Policy*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Dawidson, K. E. K. 2004. Redistributing nationalized housing: Impacts on property patterns in Timișoara, Romania. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 45(2): 134–156.
- Dear, M. and Dahmann, N. 2008. Urban politics and the Los Angeles School of Urbanism. *Urban Affairs Review* 44: 266–279.
- Ekers, M., Hamel, P., and Keil, R. 2012. Governing suburbia: Modalities and mechanisms of suburban governance. *Regional Studies* 46(3): 405–422.
- Enyedi, G. 1996. Urbanization under socialism. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, and I. Szelenyi, eds., *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Postsocialist Societies* (Studies in Urban and Social Change). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 100–118.
- Enyedi, G. 1998. Transformation in Central European postsocialist cities. In G. Enyedi, ed., *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 9–34.
- Eskinasi, M. 1995. Changing housing policy and its consequences: The Prague case. *Housing Studies* 10(4): 533–548.
- European Academy of the Urban Environment (EAUE). 2003. Twelve candidate countries overview report on sustainable urban management, sustainable urban transport, sustainable urban design and sustainable construction. Berlin: European Academy of the Urban Environment.
- European Commission 1999. ESDP, European Spatial Development Perspective. Towards a Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Union Territory, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/pdf/sum_en.pdf
- European Commission. 2011. Cities of Tomorrow: Challenges, Visions, Ways forward, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/conferences/citiesoftomorrow/index_en.cfm
- European Environment Agency (EEA). 2006. *Urban Sprawl in Europe: The Ignored Challenge*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Fishman, R. 1987. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*. New York: Basic Books.
- French, R. A. and Hamilton, F. E. I., eds. 1979. *The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Gaebe, W. 1987. *Verdichtungsräume: Strukturen und Prozesse in weltweiten Vergleichen*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Gaebe, W. 2004. *Urbane Räume*. Stuttgart: Ulmer.
- Galster, G., Hanson, R., Ratcliffe, M. R., Coleman, S., and Freihage, J. 2001. Wrestling sprawl to the ground: Defining and measuring an elusive concept. *Housing Policy Debate* 12(4): 681–717.
- Garb, Y. and Dybicz, T. 2006. The retail revolution in postsocialist central Europe and its lessons. In S. Tsenkova and Z. Nedovic-Budic, eds., *The Urban*

- Mosaic of Postsocialist Eastern Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy*. Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag, pp. 231–252.
- Garreau, J. 1991. *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*. New York: Doubleday.
- Gentile, M. and Sjöberg, Ö. 2006. Intra-urban landscapes of priority: The Soviet legacy. *Europe-Asia Studies* 58(5): 701–729.
- Ghanbari-Parsa, A. R. and Moatazed-Keivani, R. 1999. Development of real estate markets in Central Europe: The case of Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest. *Environment and Planning A* 31(8): 1383–1399.
- Gordon, P. and Richardson, H. W. 1997. Are compact cities a desirable planning goal? *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63(1): 95–105.
- Gottdiener, M. 1994. *The Social Production of Urban Space*, 2nd ed. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Govan, P. 1995. Neo-liberal theory and practice for Eastern Europe. *New Left Review* 213: 3–60.
- Gritsai, O. 1997. Business services and restructuring of urban space in Moscow. *GeoJournal* 42(4): 365–376.
- Hall, P. G. and Hay, D. G. 1980. *Growth Centres in the European Urban System*. London: Heinemann.
- Hall, P. G. and Pfeiffer, U. 2000. *Urban Future 21: A Global Agenda for Twenty-First Century Cities*. London: Routledge.
- Hamilton, F. E. I. and Carter, F. W. 2005. Foreign direct investment and city restructuring. In F. E. I. Hamilton, K. Dimitrowska-Andrews, and N. Pichler-Milanović, eds., *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 116–152.
- Hamilton, F. E. I., Dimitrowska-Andrews, K., and Pichler-Milanović, N., eds. 2005. *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Haque, M. S. 1999. The fate of sustainable development under neoliberal regimes in developing countries. *International Political Science Review* 20(2): 197–218.
- Harris, R. 2010. Meaningful types in a world of suburbs. In M. Clapson and R. Hutchison, eds., *Suburbanisation in Global Society* (Research in Urban Sociology 10). Bingley: Emerald Group.
- Harvey, D. 1989. *The Urban Experience*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Harvey, D. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heinrichs, D., Lukas, M., and Nuissl, H. 2011. Privatization of the fringes: A Latin American version of post-suburbia? The case of Santiago de Chile. In N. A. Phelps and F. Wu, eds., *International Perspectives on Suburbanization: A Post-suburban World?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 101–121.
- Herrschel, T. 2007. Between difference and adjustment: The re-/presentation and implementation of postsocialist (communist) transformation. *Geoforum* 38(3): 439–444.
- Hirt, S. 2007. Suburbanizing Sofia: Characteristics of postsocialist peri-urban change. *Urban Geography* 28(8): 755–780.

- Hirt, S. and Kovachev, A. 2006. The changing spatial structure of postsocialist Sofia. In S. Tsenkova and Z. Nedovic-Budic, eds., *The Urban Mosaic of Postsocialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy*. Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag, pp. 113–130.
- Horák, M. 2007. *Governing the Post-communist City: Institutions and Democratic Development in Prague*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ioffe, G. and Nefedova, T. 1998. Environs of Russian cities: A case study of Moscow. *Europe-Asia Studie* 50(8): 1325–1356.
- Kährlik, A. 2000. Housing privatisation in the transformation of the housing system: The case of Tartu, Estonia. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography* 54: 2–11.
- Knox, P. L. 2008. *Metroburbia, USA*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Kok, H. and Kovács, Z. 1999. The process of suburbanisation in the agglomeration of Budapest. *Netherlands Journal of Housing and Built Environment* 14: 119–141.
- Kolb, D. 2008. *Sprawling Places*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Kotus, J. 2006. Changes in the spatial structure of a large Polish city: The case of Poznań. *Cities* 23(5): 364–381.
- Krisjane, Z. and Berzins, M. 2011. Postsocialist urban trends: New patterns and motivations for migration in the suburban areas of Riga, Latvia. *Urban Studies* 49(2): 289–306.
- Lang, R. E. 2003. *Edgeless Cities: Exploring the Elusive Metropolis*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Leetmaa, K. and Tammaru, T. 2007. Suburbanisation in countries in transition: Destinations of suburbanisers in the Tallinn metropolitan area. *Geografiska Annaler B: Human Geography* 89(2): 127–146.
- Leetmaa, K., Tammaru, T., and Anniste, K. 2009. From priority-led to market-led suburbanisation in a post-communist metropolis. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 100 (4): 436–453.
- Lisowski, A. and Wilk, W. 2002. The changing spatial distribution of services in Warsaw. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 9(1): 81–89.
- Logan, J. and Molotch, H. 1987. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mace, A. 2013. *City Suburbs: Placing Suburbia in a Post-suburban World*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Marcińczak, S. 2012. The evolution of spatial patterns of residential segregation in Central European Cities: The Łódź Functional Urban Region from mature socialism to mature postsocialism. *Cities* 29(5): 300–309.
- Matlovič, R. and Sedláková, A. 2007. The impact of suburbanisation in the hinterland of Prešov (Slovakia). *Moravian Geographical Reports* 15(2): 22–31.
- Murray, P. and Szelenyi, I. 1984. The city in the transition to socialism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8(1): 90–107.
- Musil, J. 1980. *Urbanization in Socialist Countries*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Novák, J. and Sýkora, L. 2007. A city in motion: Time-space activity and mobility patterns of suburban inhabitants and structuration of spatial organisation in the Prague Metropolitan Area. *Geografiska Annaler B: Human Geography* 89(2): 147–167.

- Nuissl, H. and Rink, D. 2005. The "production" of urban sprawl in eastern Germany as a phenomenon of postsocialist transformation. *Cities* 22(2): 123–134.
- Ouředníček, M. 2007. Differential suburban development in the Prague urban region. *Geografiska Annaler B: Human Geography* 89(2): 11–126.
- Overbeek, H., ed. 1993. *Restructuring Hegemony in the Global Political Economy: The Rise of Transnational Neoliberalism in the 1980s*. New York: Routledge.
- Parysek, J. J. 2004. The socio-economic and spatial transformation of Polish cities after 1989. *Dela* 21: 109–119.
- Phelps, N. A. and Wu, F., eds. 2011. *International Perspectives on Suburbanization: A Post-suburban World?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Phelps, N. A., Parsons, N., Ballas D., and Dowling, A. 2006. *Post-suburban Europe: Planning and Politics at the Margins of Europe's Capital Cities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pichler-Milanović, N. 2005. Ljubljana: From "beloved" city of the nation to Cenral European "capital." In F. E. I. Hamilton, K. Dimitrowska Andrews, and N. Pichler-Milanović, eds., *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 318–363.
- Pichler-Milanović, N., Gutry-Korycka, M., and Rink, D. 2007. Sprawl in the post-socialist city: The changing economic and institutional context of Central and Eastern European cities. In C. Couch, L. Leontidou, and G. Petschel-Held, eds., *Urban Sprawl in Europe: Landscapes, Land-Use Change and Policy*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 102–135.
- Pickles, J. and Smith, A., eds. 1998. *Theorising Transition: The Political Economy of Post-Communist Transformations*. London: Routledge.
- Pirez, P. 2002. Buenos Aires: Fragmentation and privartization of the metropolitan city. *Environment and Urbanization* 14: 145–158.
- Pommois, C. 2004. The retailing structure of Prague from 1990 to 2003: Catching up with the western cities? *European Spatial Research and Policy* 11(1): 117–133.
- Power, A. 1998. *Estates on the Edge: The Social Consequences of Mass Housing in Northern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rebernik, D. and Jakovčič, M. 2006. Development of retail and shopping centres in Ljubljana. *Dela*, 26: 5–26.
- Richardson, H. W. and Bae, C.-H. C., eds. 2004. *Urban Sprawl in Western Europe and the United States*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Robinson, W. 1996. Globalization: Nine theses on our epoch. *Race and Class* 38(2): 13–31.
- Rowlands, R., Musterd, S., and van Kempen, R. 2009. *Mass Housing in Europe: Multiple Faces of Development, Change and Response*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sailer-Fliege, U. 1999. Characteristics of postsocialist urban transformation in East Central Europe. *Geojournal* 49: 7–16.
- Simon, D., McGregor, D., and Nsiah-Gyabaah, K. 2004. The changing rural–urban interface of African cities: Definitional issues and an application to Kumasi, Ghana. *Environment and Urbanisation* 16(2): 235–247.

- Smith, A. and Rochovska, A. 2007. Domesticating neo-liberalism: Everyday lives and the geographies of postsocialist transformations. *Geoforum* 38(6): 1163–1178.
- Smith, A. and Swain, A. 1998. Regulating and institutionalizing capitalisms: The micro-foundations of transformation in Eastern and Central Europe. In J. Pickles and A. Smith, eds., *Theorising Transition: The Political Economy of Post-communist Transformations*. London: Routledge, pp. 25–53.
- Smith, D. M. 1996. The socialist city. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, and I. Szelenyi, eds., *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies* (Studies in Urban and Social Change). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 70–99.
- Soja, E. W. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stanilov, K., ed. 2007a. *The Postsocialist City: Restructuring of Urban Form and Space in Central and Eastern Europe after Communism*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Stanilov, K. 2007b. Taking stock of postsocialist urban development: A recapitulation. In K. Stanilov, ed., *The Postsocialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 3–17.
- Stanilov, K. and Scheer, B. C., eds. 2003. *Suburban Form: An International Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Stanilov, K. and Sýkora, L. 2012. Planning, markets and patterns of residential growth in postsocialist metropolitan Prague. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 29(4): 278–291.
- Struyk, R. 1996. Housing privatization in the former Soviet block to 1995. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, and I. Szelenyi, eds., *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Postsocialist Societies* (Studies in Urban and Social Change). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 192–213.
- Sýkora L. 1998. Commercial property development in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw. In G. Enyedi, ed., *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 109–136.
- Sýkora, L. 1999. Changes in the internal spatial structure of post-communist Prague. *GeoJournal* 49(1): 79–89.
- Sýkora, L. 2007. Office development and postcommunist city formation. In K. Stanilov, ed., *The Postsocialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 117–145.
- Sýkora, L. 2008. Revolutionary change, evolutionary adaptation and new path dependencies: Socialism, capitalism and transformations in urban spatial organizations. In W. Strubelt and G. Gorzelak, eds., *City and Region: Papers in Honour of Jiří Musil*. Leverkusen and Opladen: Budrich UniPress, pp. 283–295.
- Sýkora, L. 2009. Postsocialist cities. In R. Kitchin and N. Thrift, eds., *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 387–395.
- Sýkora, L. and Bouzarovski, S. 2012. Multiple transformations: Conceptualising post-communist urban transition. *Urban Studies* 49(1): 41–58.

- Sýkora, L. and Ouředníček, M. 2007. Sprawling post-communist metropolis: Commercial and residential suburbanization in Prague and Brno, the Czech Republic. In E. Razin, M. Dijst, and C. Vazquez, eds., *Employment Deconcentration in European Metropolitan Areas: Market Forces versus Planning Regulations*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 209–233.
- Szelenyi, I. 1996. Cities under socialism and after. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, and I. Szelenyi, eds., *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Postsocialist Societies* (Studies in Urban and Social Change). Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 287–317.
- Szirmai, V. 2011. *Urban Sprawl in Europe: Similarities or Differences?* Budapest: AULA Kiadó.
- Tasan-Kok, T. 2004. *Budapest, Istanbul, and Warsaw: Institutional and Spatial Change*. Delft, Netherlands: Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Tammaru, T. 2005. Suburbanisation, employment change, and commuting in the Tallinn metropolitan area. *Environment and Planning A* 37(9): 1669–1687.
- TCRP 1998. *The Costs of Sprawl: Revisited* (TCRP Transit Cooperative Research Program, Report 39). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- TCRP 2002. *Costs of Sprawl, 2000* (TCRP Transit Cooperative Research Program, Report 74). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Teaford, J. C. 1996. *Post-suburbia: Government and Politics in the Edge Cities*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Teaford, J. C. 2008. *The American Suburb: The Basics*. New York: Routledge.
- Timár, J. and Váradi, M. 2001. The uneven development of sub-urbanization during transition in Hungary. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 8(4): 349–360.
- Tosics, I. 2005. Postsocialist Budapest: The invasion of market forces and the response of public leadership. In F. E. I. Hamilton, K. Dimitrowska Andrews, and N. Pichler-Milanović, eds., *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 248–280.
- Tsenkova, S. 2008. Managing change: The comeback of postsocialist cities. *Urban Research and Practice* 1(3): 291–310.
- Tsenkova, S. and Nedović-Budić, Z., eds. 2006. *The Urban Mosaic of Postsocialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy*. Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag.
- Turnock, D. 1997. Urban and regional restructuring in Eastern Europe: The role of foreign investment. *GeoJournal* 42(4): 457–464.
- United Nations. 1987. Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development. General Assembly Resolution 42/187, December 11, 1987, at <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/42/ares42-187.htm> (accessed May 14, 2011).
- Vágner, J., Muller, D. K., and Fialová, D. 2011. Second home tourism in light of the historical-political and socio-geographical development of Czechia and Sweden. *Geografie* 116(2): 191–210.
- van den Berg, L., Drewett, R., Klaassens, L. H., Rossi, A., and Vijverberg, C. H. T. 1982. *Urban Europe: A Study of Growth and Decline*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

- Vaughan, L., Griffiths, S., Haklay, M., and Jones, E. 2009. Do the suburbs exist? Discovering complexity and specificity in suburban built form. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34: 475–488.
- Walker, R. 1981. A theory of suburbanization: Capitalism and the construction of urban space in the United States. In M. Dear and A. Scott, eds., *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*. New York: Methuen Young Books, pp. 383–429.
- Walton, J. and Seddon, D. 1994. *Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Wu, W. 2006. Migrant intra-urban residential mobility in urban China. *Housing Studies* 21(5): 745–765.
- Zhou, Y. and Logan, J. R. 2008. Growth on the edge. In J. R. Logan, ed., *Urban China in transition*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 140–160.