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**ECONOMIC AND
BUSINESS REVIEW**

**Post-Socialist City:
Competitive and
Attractive**

Guest Editor:
Irena Ograjenšek

Assistant Guest Editors:
Tamara Pavasović Trošt and Lejla Perviz

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CHALLENGES OF URBAN REVITALISATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE ReNewTown PROJECT PERSPECTIVE AND BEYOND

IRENA OGRAJENŠEK¹

JEL Classification: R11

The project with the title *New Post-Socialist City: Competitive and Attractive* (in short the *ReNewTown* project: <http://www.renewtown.eu>) was implemented through the Central Europe Programme co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund in the period April 2011 – March 2014. Its primary focus was on reduction of disparities and improved quality of post-socialist urban environment (not only by positive transformation of residential landscapes but also by improved quality and accessibility of public spaces, increased provision of cultural and social events, increased support of entrepreneurial initiatives, strengthened identity, creation of common values, etc.). To this end four pilot actions (project investments) were implemented in post-socialist cities of four different Central and Eastern European countries:

- ArtZONA in Kraków (Poland): <http://www.renewtown.eu/artzona-krakow.html>.
- Centre for small and medium enterprises in Prague (Czech Republic): <http://www.renewtown.eu/smes-prague.html>.
- Museum of socialist curiosities in Hnúšťa (Slovakia): <http://www.renewtown.eu/museum-hnusta.html>.
- Renovation of a public space in Velenje (Slovenia): <http://www.renewtown.eu/renovation-velenje.html>.

In parallel to implementation of the pilot actions, numerous model approaches to socialist urban heritage revitalisation were identified in the process of both desk and field research. The collected cases from all across Europe were organized in two openly accessible project databases:

- Database of good practices: <http://www.renewtown.eu/good-practices.html>.
- Database of initiatives: <http://www.renewtown.eu/initiatives.html>.

The core six models of socialist urban heritage revitalisation are those directly related to the *ReNewTown* project key areas:

- Improved provision of local cultural and social events.

¹ Irena Ograjenšek, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics, Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: irena.ograjensek@ef.uni-lj.si

- Improved public spaces between blocks of flats.
- Provision of support for the development of small business operators in the area of blocks of flats.
- Improved attractiveness of buildings from the socialist period.
- Promotion of the local community involvement in events organized in its quarter.
- New functions for structures from the socialist period.

In addition to these, other models of socialist urban heritage revitalisation we managed to identify in the framework of the *ReNewTown* project focus on:

- Use of voluntary work to improve post-socialist urban environment.
- Improved awareness of the socialist urban heritage.
- Improved energy efficiency of buildings from the socialist period.
- Direct involvement of the local community in decision-making processes on urban development projects.
- Shared maintenance responsibility between owners and users of buildings (not necessarily built during the socialist period but neglected during that time).
- Improved attractiveness of buildings built before and intentionally neglected during the socialist period (1945-1989/1991).

Further to model identification, we were also brought to acknowledge the fact that sometimes demolition of existing structures needs to pave the way for revitalization efforts. The main issue in such cases is the challenge to assign the proper content to newly created empty spaces.

The project databases of good practices and initiatives served as the invaluable source of information for three core project publications. Each of them builds on the identified models; each from a different perspective, aiming at a different target groups.

The so-called *Handbook of Models* with the title *Post-Socialist City: A Role Model for Urban Revitalisation in the 21st Century* (Ograjenšek, 2013) was developed for institutions, groups and individuals interested in positive transformation of urban environment at national, regional, and municipal level. It features selected case studies of identified models' implementation from the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, along with valuable lessons learned. These were obtained in in-depth interviews with individuals directly involved in models' implementation processes within their communities. The interviewees were not only given the opportunity to describe the positive aspects of their achievements, but also to state what they would do differently were they to launch the same project from scratch. One of the more prominent examples from the *Handbook*, the story of the Slovenian post-socialist industrial centre Velenje, is further elaborated from the internal city marketing perspective in Ograjenšek & Cirman (2015).

In addition, the *Handbook* also contains a showcase of benchmark analysis comparing attitudes of people living in post-socialist cities (Slovenian cities of Velenje and Nova Gorica were used as illustrative examples) with the attitudes of adult population in a selected

country (in this case Slovenia) towards urban development (past, present, and future), trends in population and business development, as well as social responsibility, values, and happiness. A set of relevant questionnaires is available in the *Handbook's* Appendix. The benchmark data served as inputs into in-depth analysis of community satisfaction in post-socialist cities; both their factors and implications (Cirman & Ogriajenšek, 2014).

The *Transnational Manual for Urban Revitalisation* (Hlaváček & Cingl, 2014) targets people who live in post-socialist urban environment. It offers inspiration and practical step-by-step guidelines on how to initiate and plan revitalisation activities using the bottom-up approach, secure funding, and start implementing creative solutions for positive urban transformation.

The *Transnational Development Strategy for the Post-Socialist Cities of Central Europe* (Węclawowicz, 2013) is a comprehensive text containing proposals for new urban policies, whose implementation seems vital in the post-socialist cities of Central (and Eastern) Europe but might also be applicable in the 21st century urban environment anywhere in the world.

All three core project publications were presented and discussed at the *ReNewTown Final Conference* (<http://konferencje.ef.uni-lj.si/renewtown/>) which took place at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Economics in February 2014. The conference aimed to provide a broader perspective on the competitiveness and attractiveness of post-socialist cities in Central and Eastern Europe by establishing a forum for exchange between academic researchers, urban planners and decision-makers dealing with these issues in the framework of, and beyond, the *ReNewTown* project. At the conference, special attention was given new economic and social functions of post-socialist buildings, public spaces, estates and/or districts; identity of, and differentiation among, post-socialist urban settlements; as well as values, well-being and sustainability challenge in post-socialist urban settlements.

Some of the ideas and insights from the conference are included in contributions to this special issue of *Economic and Business Review*.

Tomi Deutsch (2015) analyzes the real estate market in Slovenia and selected Slovenian city municipalities in order to establish whether or not it is possible to use the Housing Price Index as an indicator of urban development.

Magdalena Szmytkowska and Klaudia Nowicka (2015) deal with the problem of degraded post-industrial areas which characterize many post-socialist cities; in particular they focus on waterfronts. In their paper, they evaluate the directions of waterfront development in Poland.

Christina Götz, Ian Cooper and Krassimira Paskaleva-Shapira (2015) explore the potential of small-scale projects for urban regeneration, thus contributing to the scientific exchange about projects that are being implemented on the local level, by tackling the so-

cio-cultural dimension of urban life. Their arguments are built upon selected case studies from Eastern Germany.

Naja Marot (2015) reveals the importance of the youth in the redevelopment process of any post-industrial region. The basis for her discussion are two surveys performed among the youth in the Slovenian Zasavje region and its central town of Trbovlje.

Last but not least, Jana Barvíková (2015) discusses the results of the qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with respondents in their thirties (who as children at the age of 2-3 moved with their parents into the Prague housing estate Jižní Město in 1977-1978 and spent their childhood and adolescence there) and with their parents. The dataset allows for analysis of phenomena and processes that have been typical of large housing estates across Central and Eastern Europe in the past thirty years.

This special issue could not have been prepared without the support of very special people. I am much indebted to my Assistant Guest Editors, Tamara Pavasović Trošt and Lejla Perviz, and to those of my colleagues who accepted my invitation to review submissions. Their careful work and insightful contributions are deeply appreciated. Special thanks go to Tomaž Ulčakar of the EBR Editorial Office for his continuous support during the entire editorial process.

I hope you will find the special issue informative and inspirational.

Irena Ograjenšek
Guest Editor

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PLANNING AND MONITORING OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF THE HOUSING PRICE INDEX

TOMI DEUTSCH¹

ABSTRACT: *In this paper the real estate market in Slovenia and selected Slovenian city municipalities is analyzed with the goal of establishing whether or not it is possible to use the Housing Price Index as an indicator of urban development. The analysis shows that the real estate market in the Slovenian city municipalities has in recent decades been subject to a number of changes with a long-term effect. The analysis further proves that under certain conditions the Housing Price Index can serve as one of the indicators policy makers could use in planning and monitoring of urban development.*

Keywords: *city municipalities, Housing Price Index, post-socialism, real estate market, Slovenia, urban development*

JEL Classification: R31

1. INTRODUCTION

The Housing Price Index is basically designed to monitor trends in housing prices. Based on the positive growth in housing prices we can conclude that the demand for housing exceeds the supply, and that the area under observation has the potential for growth in the present and also in the future, as far as the latter provides a sufficient supply of housing units. This function of the Housing Price Index becomes particularly articulated in situations where purchasing a housing unit is the only real option for the solution of the housing problem in a particular area.

Since we can assume that the real estate market is more vibrant in circumstances where the area prospers, or at least has the possibility to prosper in the future, this index can also be proposed as of the key indicators of current and future development, and can be used when designing appropriate development policies.

The main objective of this paper is to analyse the real estate market in Slovenia and selected Slovenian city municipalities in order to establish the applicability of the Housing Price Index as an indicator of urban development. The trends in housing prices are analysed in a broader context, taking into account many factors that co-shape the housing prices.

¹ University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics, PhD Student, Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: tomideutsch@gmail.com

In this way the information on the trend of housing prices in Slovenia and selected Slovenian city municipalities is as comprehensive as possible.

Apart from the introduction, the paper consists of four sections. Section 2 explains the development of the Slovenian real estate market in the last few decades. It is a period marked by pronounced fluctuations in housing supply and important changes in the housing ownership structure. Section 3 describes the methodology and data used in the analysis of the real estate market. Section 4 presents and discusses the results of the real estate market analysis in Slovenia as a whole and in the selected Slovenian city municipalities. For Slovenia as a whole, prices of single-family houses and prices of housing units in apartment buildings are analysed for the period from 1 January 2007 to 30 June 2012. For the selected Slovenian city municipalities, the analysis is made for housing units in apartment buildings, which are the dominant type of housing in the Slovenian (post-socialist) cities. The final section summarizes the main findings and discusses implications that these have for policy-making.

2. SLOVENIAN REAL ESTATE MARKET IN THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1. The Ownership Structure

Change in the political system 25 years ago instigated a number of changes in the Slovenian real estate market, which - due to the absence of effective housing policies - are affecting the real estate market even today. Besides the high rate of single-family houses constructed for own use in the time of Yugoslav socialism, changes mainly occurred in apartment buildings, which represent a significant share of the housing stock in Slovenian post-socialist cities. Until 1991 the latter type of housing was mostly common or public property for rent, and did not generate particularly high costs for users. Prior to 1991, the social housing stock represented approximately 33 percent of the total housing stock in Slovenia. Tenants normally paid only symbolic rents, which did not even cover the maintenance costs (Stanovnik, 1994). Due to privatisation of this housing between 1991 and 1993, approximately 100,000 of these rental housing units were »transformed« into owner-occupied housing through a sale to the tenants at a substantial discount (Stanovnik, 1994). Since the location of this housing was not taken into account as a criterion in setting the price, some housing in elite locations (e. g. in the centre of Ljubljana) was sold at prices that reached only 10-15 percent of the market value (Stanovnik, 1994). Privatisation with such a large discount was also carried out in other Central and Eastern European countries (Stanovnik, 1994). In neighbouring Hungary, for example, housing units were sold to tenants at 15 percent market value, with a possibility for an additional 40 percent discount (Kovács & Hervert, 2011), which is quite identical to the situation in Slovenia.

The privatisation led to the transformation of the housing stock ownership structure in the cities, but it was geographically not evenly distributed. During the mass privatisation, purchases of the housing units occurred mostly in those municipalities where housing

was more attractive for the market and where residents had higher and more stable incomes (Stanovnik, 1994). Although there were also those to whom the real (market) maintenance costs represented an excessive burden among the new housing owners, these new owners are certainly the big winners of the transition, since they gained potential profit of 80 to 90 percent of the housing value. In later years, this profit further increased due to the growth of the housing prices. From the findings of Stanovnik (1994) it can be deduced that after the privatisation was completed, market- and probably quality of living-inferior housing, which was used by economically weaker tenants without gaining any potential profit, stayed in public ownership.

In contrast to the cities, the ownership structure of housing in other areas of Slovenia did not change significantly in the transition period. In other words: the transition itself did not significantly impact this part of the housing stock. Single-family houses were in most cases built individually: it was the individual investor who, along with family members, has been using the house after completion of construction. According to the available statistics (SORS, 2015), the number of housing whose investors are individuals remained rather constant in the period before and after the change of the political and social order. Therefore, for a significant number of the population, i.e. the vast majority of non-urban population, living circumstances have not changed with the transition. Since this housing was in private ownership before the transition, their owners did not gain any potential profits due to the difference between the purchase and the market price, but only potential profits due to the increase in real estate prices. Potential profits from the sale could have been expected for at least three reasons. Firstly, because of the housing stock privatisation, housing supply was passed from the state to the individuals. Secondly, because in parallel with the privatisation of housing stock, construction and public property housing supply diminished, and thus the total number of available new housing units was reduced. And thirdly, because the individual constructions or single-family houses are in line with the new values of society and new trends, which set individualism before the common good.

2.2. New Housing Construction Characteristics

New and used housing is sold (and rented) on the real estate market.

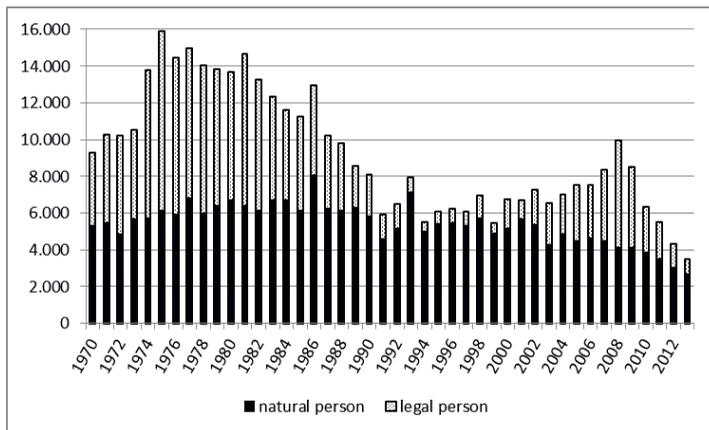
New constructions include all housing, which will be passed to the use of first users after its completion, regardless if the housing was completed just before the start of use or a few years earlier. Multiannual delay can occur when the investor puts housing that is not interesting for the potential buyers on the market, but does not respond to poor or non-existent demand by lowering the prices.

Used housing on the real estate market includes all housing which will after some time of use be passed to a new user. This housing is generally older, although situations, where due to the rapid resale the used housing was built later than the housing that has a status of a new construction on the market, are known.

Simplified definitions that make the categorisation of housing easier also exist. For example, GURS (2013) considers all housing that was built in the last three years prior to the date of sale as new constructions.

Regardless of the definition, it is considered that new constructions supply on the real estate market depends on the number of housing completed in a shorter period prior to the date of purchase, while the completion period of existing housing is longer and spans through more decades. Figure 1 shows the number of completed housing units in Slovenia in the period from 1970 to 2013 according to the investor. Completed housing where the investor is an individual (natural person) generally consists of single-family houses, which were constructed for own use. Legal entities (legal persons) on the other hand invest both in single-family houses and in apartment buildings, which are intended for the market. In the latter case, we witness a change: in the socialist period, legal entities mainly invested in apartment building. After the change of the political and social order, much more of their investment has been focused on the construction of single-family houses because of their search of competitive advantages on the real estate market.

Figure 1: *Number of completed housing units according to the investor*



Source: SORS, 2015.

In general, construction of housing for the market with legal entities as investors has experienced a few ups and downs in recent decades. From 1970 onwards there were two prominent building cycles in which a larger number of housing intended for the market was built. The larger cycle took place in the time of socialism, before the transition, and the smaller one much later, a decade after the transition begun. In the time of socialism a significant number of housing was completed every year, most of it in the years from 1974 on. Mass construction of such housing began to decline in the second half of the eighties of the 20th century and has virtually stopped with political and social changes at the beginning of the nineties. In the decade that followed, the number of housing constructions financed by the legal entities is so small that it does not play any significant role for the real estate market in Slovenia. Revival of the housing construction for the

market began in 2002, soon experienced the peak and then dropped to the level at which this type of construction persisted for a decade before the rise. In relation to the structure of the housing for the market, the second construction cycle was slightly different than the first one, because – as already stated - the legal investors which build housing for the market adapted to the new market conditions by increasing construction of individual single-family houses.

This change in the structure of housing constructed for the market probably also affected a slight decline in those housing constructions where investors are individuals. The new single-family houses supply slightly slowed down the construction for own use or started to successfully replace it. Regardless of this perceived trend of decline in construction for own use, it can be argued that construction of housing by individuals was rather stable over the decades until the last economic crisis from 2008 onwards, when together with the total number of completed housing for the market the number of housing built for own use also declined. After the onset of the crisis financial capacities of the population apparently became too small both for purchasing as well as for housing construction for own use. The number of completed housing in the last two years of the analysed period suggests this was the biggest crisis in the Slovenian housing supply in the past few decades.

2.3. Current Real Estate Market Supply and Demand Imbalance

Insufficient and inappropriate housing supply coincides with insufficient housing demand. After the transition, the conditions for acquiring appropriate housing in Slovenia have changed significantly. At the end of mass privatisation, the majority of the population with housing problem was forced to solve it with construction for own use (which is not an appropriate or feasible solution for all future housing users) or by purchasing housing at a market price. As Cirman (2006) noted, people are forced to acquire owner-occupied housing because they do not have appropriate available rental alternatives. Due to insufficient supply, prices of available housing, both of new constructions and existing housing, are too high for average purchasers. In order for Slovenia to meet the needs for housing, between 11,000 and 16,000 housing should be completed annually (Banovec, 2005), which is significantly above the actual number of completed housing.

Despite the housing prices being significantly above the purchasing power of an average housing purchaser, purchases still occur. One share of these purchases can be explained by appropriate purchasing power of a certain part of the population, another by excessive credit loads, and yet another large one by intergenerational help. As a response to the fierce conditions in the real estate market, intergenerational family financial transfers (transfers from parents to children) for housing purchases have increased after 1991 (Cirman, 2008). It is not irrelevant that a significant share of the generation that was capable of providing intergenerational help in the last two decades purchased their own housing under favourable conditions at the time of mass privatisation and was therefore not been financially incapacitated by this purchase. It can be expected that so created surplus of capital in a certain part of the Slovenian population will disappear over time, so a partial decline of such purchases in the future seems realistic.

Besides the intergenerational help in form of financial help with the housing purchase, two or more generations residing together in the same housing unit is also an important buffer of a non-functional real estate market. Young people, if they have this option, due to their inability to enter the real estate market, remain living at home - they delay moving out for a certain period of time or even continue living with their parents permanently. In case they form their own family, the extended stay may continue at the parents' of one of the partners. This alternative allows young people to solve their housing problem completely independent of the real estate market. Extended stay of individuals with their parents will normally not be affected by the size of the apartment, while the family stay with the parents of one of the partners is more or less possible only with a slightly larger apartment. To a greater extent this option is used by those young people whose parents live in houses that were built for their own use and were typically oversized (they are much larger than the typical single-family houses built for the construction market in the last construction cycle).

Slovenian statistical data show that both the share of young people who live with their parents alone, as well as the share of young people who live with their parents together with a partner and/or children, have significantly increased in the post-socialist period (Kuhar, 2013). Between 2007 and 2011, the share of young people in Slovenia who live with their parents additionally increased; in comparison with the other EU countries, the growth of this group of young people was higher only in Hungary (Eurofond, 2014). An increase in temporary or even permanent postponement of the entry of young people to the real estate market has therefore occurred in the time of transition and during the last economic crisis, during periods of a decline in housing construction and deteriorating financial situation of the population. As extended stay with parents, whose longevity increased during the transition period, was not reduced by the recent construction cycle, we cannot expect any significant improvements during and after the next construction cycle.

Similarly to Slovenia and Hungary, with the latest crisis, the position of young people in the real estate market has deteriorated also in the majority of other post-socialist countries, especially in Poland and Lithuania (Eurofond, 2014), suggesting that the impact of the transition on the real estate market persists. Position of young people in the real estate market is also deteriorating in the Western Europe. Although the changes there were not so radical, increased role of the market in the housing supply can also be determined (Pichler-Milanovich, 2001). Therefore, in Slovenia, as elsewhere in Europe, an increase in the share of owner-occupied housing and predominantly market housing supply can be observed. Such market model can only function with a proper housing supply, as well as with the ability of residents to generate demand for this housing. Data show that the real estate market in Slovenia is not functioning optimally, that the supply of housing is far below the satisfactory level, and that the population to a great extent solves its housing problems through the available mitigation measures. In the non-urban areas, where there are mostly large single-family houses, co-residing of young families and parents of one of the partners will prevail further into the future. In the cities, financial help of the parents in purchasing available smaller (compared to single-family houses) used housing will be dominant. Following from Figure 1 in the previous subsection, in most cases the subject

of purchase will be a housing unit which was built in the last 25 years before the transition. Considering the needs, the number of housing units completed after this period is almost negligible.

3. USE OF THE HOUSING PRICE INDEX IN THE REAL ESTATE MARKET ANALYSIS: METHODOLOGY IN THE SLOVENIAN CONTEXT

3.1. Data Source and Data Quality

The Real Estate Market Record is »the first and only systemic data source for systematic monitoring of realized contract prices of the real estate in Slovenia« (Perovšek, 2009) and as such represents the basis of all other, also officially published, data on the prices of real estate in Slovenia. The constraints faced by the analysis in this paper, are therefore to some extent the general constraints pertaining to the use of these data. Given that the Real Estate Market Record was completely re-established, the quality of data in the database from the initial period onwards is (as expected) not the best. However, the changes that have been introduced after the database was established (GURS, 2013) should improve the data quality and enable more detailed analyses in the future.

For the purposes of this analysis, the available data for the analysed period (1 January 2007 – 30 June 2012) can be deemed appropriate although not optimal (GURS, 2008). Therefore, before the analysis a substantial number of transactions that are not the subject of the analysis (e.g. for non-residential buildings) were eliminated along with transactions for which the data were insufficient (particularly due the absence of real estate prices or the information on the size of the property) or transactions that were evidently incorrectly entered into the database. Additionally, all transactions where the sale of housing as a whole was not carried out; and a small number of transactions with the lowest and highest values were also eliminated. All in all, the eliminations of bad data were carried out very carefully in order to avoid any significant impact of deletions on the results of analysis.

3.2. Units of Observation and Basic Indicators

Analysis of the real estate market is made for the territory of Slovenia and the territories of the eight largest Slovenian city municipalities (Celje, Koper, Kranj, Ljubljana, Maribor, Nova Gorica, Novo mesto and Velenje). The analysis is made for apartments in apartment buildings as well as single-family houses which were the subject of purchase contracts in the period from 1 January 2007 to 30 June 2012. Analysis of both types of housing is done only for Slovenia as a whole. Since the urban areas are dominated by the housing in apartment buildings, the analysis for these areas is limited only to this type of housing. This somewhat curtails the presentation of the Housing Price Index; it is presented only separately for each type of housing (in form of two subindices), thereby allowing greater comparability between the entire Slovenia and selected city municipalities.

The analysis is limited to the price and the size of the property, and excludes other property characteristics such as the age of the property, construction phase of the new construction and the size of the attached land. Average price per square meter and the average price for housing as a whole are calculated. Average prices are calculated using arithmetic and geometric mean. Next, quarterly chain indices are calculated using the first quarter of 2007 as a base. Indices are calculated both for the case where the unit is a square meter of the housing, as well as for the case where the unit is the housing as a whole. By expanding the range of possible calculations of the average prices and indices, we are increasing the possibility of an in-depth understanding of housing prices movements in Slovenia and in selected city municipalities over the analysed period.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE SLOVENIAN REAL ESTATE MARKET ACTIVITY

4.1. Number of Transactions

Despite some limitations resulting from the elimination of certain transactions during the preparation of data for the analysis, the number of transactions is a rather good indicator of developments in the real estate market over time, and for comparisons between different types of transactions, since it can be assumed that the compilation of data is independent of the time of transaction and it does not affect the data structure.

Figure 2 shows the number of transactions by quarters. Transactions involving housing in apartment buildings and single-family houses are shown separately. The total number of transactions included in the analysis for Slovenia as a whole and eight selected city municipalities is shown in Table 1.

Figure 2: *Number of transactions by quarters in the analysed period*

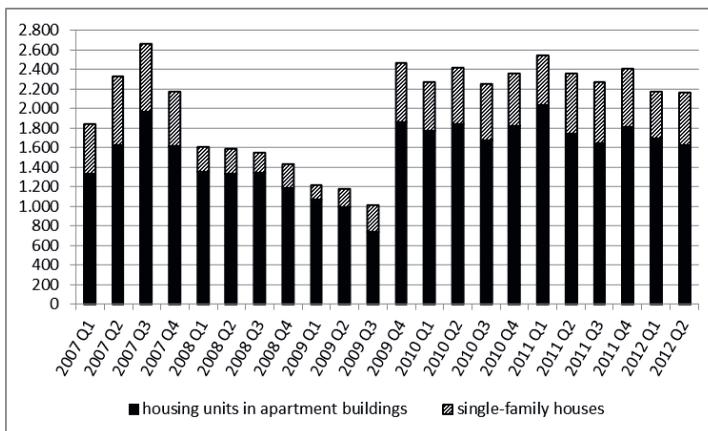


Table 1: *Total number of transactions in the analysed period*

Area*	Apartments in apartment buildings	Single-family houses	Total
Slovenia	34,153 (100,0%)	10,148 (100,0%)	44,301 (100,0%)
Celje	1,555 (4,6%)	196 (1,9%)	1,751 (4,0%)
Koper	1,055 (3,1%)	275 (2,7%)	1,330 (3,0%)
Kranj	1,482 (4,3%)	251 (2,5%)	1,733 (3,9%)
Ljubljana	9,012 (26,4%)	876 (8,6%)	9,888 (22,3%)
Maribor	4,006 (11,7%)	472 (4,7%)	4,478 (10,1%)
Nova Gorica	610 (1,8%)	154 (1,5%)	764 (1,7%)
Novo mesto	584 (1,7%)	164 (1,6%)	748 (1,7%)
Velenje	1,314 (3,8%)	91 (0,9%)	1,405 (3,2%)

* Names of cities denote the analysed city municipalities.

Most transactions in the real estate market refer to apartments in apartment buildings. The ratio between both types of housing was maintained in all quarters, as well in the years 2008 and 2009, when due to the crisis a significant decline in the housing market turnover occurred. In urban areas, subject of most transactions were housing units in apartment buildings (57.4 per cent of all transactions involving housing units in apartment buildings took place in the eight largest Slovenian city municipalities). In other areas single-family houses were the subject of most transactions; in the eight largest Slovenian city municipalities only 24.4 per cent of all transactions pertained to single-family houses.

Most transactions in the Slovenian real estate market were carried out for housing units in apartment buildings in urban areas, which suggests that in these urban areas the real estate market is more active than in other areas of Slovenia. This finding is further confirmed by a comparison of the number of completed transactions and the size of the housing stock in individual areas. According to SORS (2015) in Slovenia in 2013 there were 857,007 housing units in the housing stock, of which 284,655 housing units or 33.2 per cent of total housing stock is located in the eight largest city municipalities. At one-third share of the total housing stock, half of all real estate transactions falls to the eight largest city municipalities (22,097 or 49.9 per cent of all transactions in the analysed period), which means that housing units (especially in apartment buildings) in selected urban areas change their owner on the real estate market quite often.

According to SORS (2015), in 2008, at the peak of the latest construction cycle, in eight largest city municipalities there were 3,470 housing units completed. This represents 34.8 per cent of all housing units completed in that year, while in 2013, in the same municipalities, there were only 522 housing units completed which amounts to 15.0 per cent of the housing units completed in that year. Enlargement trends or at least trends in renewal of housing stock before the construction decline were approximately evenly distributed between the larger urban and other areas, but have almost stopped with the decline of the latest construction cycle. Therefore, the housing stock in non-urban areas

will, after the end of the cycle, to some extent still continue to renew itself through the construction of single-family houses for own use, while in the urban areas its renewal is stopping. As already noted, mostly used housing will be traded on the real estate market, among which the housing built in the last 25 years before the transition will prevail.

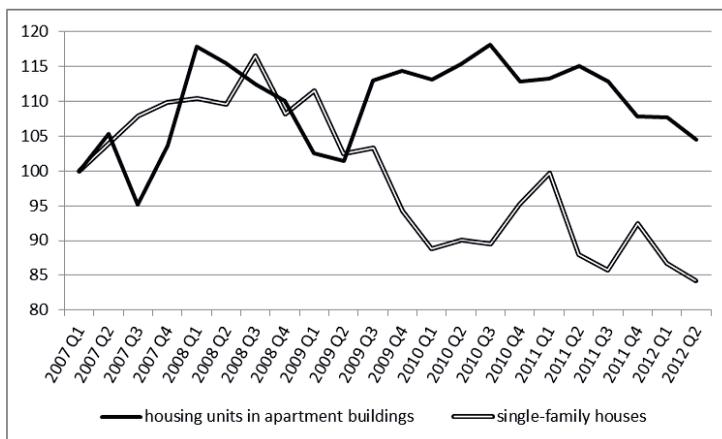
4.2. Trends in Prices for Apartment Buildings and Single-Family Houses in Slovenia

Extremely large fluctuations in the construction and supply of new constructions in Slovenia, especially in the larger cities, do not allow for analysis of real estate price trends over time, which would be based solely on new constructions. The housing price indices, which are calculated using data from the Real Estate Market Record - data which mainly relate to transactions involving used housing - are therefore probably the best approach to the analysis of the Slovenian real estate market. Analysis of these data could otherwise be improved using data of higher quality and also by weighting various categories of housing in the calculation of the overall index.

Let us take a look at real estate prices trends in the analysed period using currently available data. These enable an appropriate weighted merging of housing in apartment buildings and single-family houses in the calculation of the overall residential real estate property index, but for the purposes of this paper, indices for both categories are shown separately.

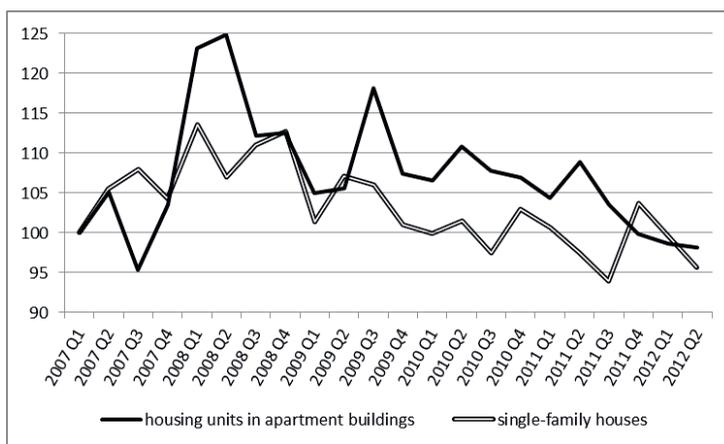
Figure 3 shows the quarterly index of housing prices in apartment buildings and single-family houses price index for the entire territory of Slovenia. The base period of the index is the first quarter of 2007 (as for all indices in this paper). Average prices were calculated as the arithmetic mean. With the indices in Figure 3 the average prices per square meter of housing are compared. In Figure 4 comparisons for housing as a whole are made; average housing prices calculated as the arithmetic mean are compared.

Figure 3: *The Housing Price Index, comparison of prices per square meter, Slovenia (arithmetic mean)*



In the second quarter of 2012 price per square meter of housing in the apartment buildings was 1,577 EUR, which is almost 5 per cent above the base quarter price, when the price per square meter was 1,510 EUR. Unlike housing in apartment buildings, the prices of single-family houses relative to the base quarter fell substantially, with the biggest fall recorded in the second half of 2009. The square meter of a single-family house in the first quarter of 2007 cost 1,031 EUR, and in the second quarter 868 EUR, which is about 15 percent below the starting point. The square meter of a single-family house was from the start a lot cheaper than a square meter of a housing unit in an apartment building. By the end of the analysed period, this difference further increased.

Figure 4: *The Housing Price Index, comparison of housing prices, Slovenia (arithmetic mean)*



Two price indices used for comparison of average housing prices are in the analysed period much closer than two indices used for comparison of average price per square meters. There are two reasons for such a state of affairs. Firstly, the prices of single-family houses decreased much less than the prices of a square meter of single-family houses. And secondly, the prices of housing units in apartment buildings did not persist so much above the price in the base period as the price per square meter of housing did. These differences occurred naturally due to changes in the size of housing, which was the subject of transactions, both due to a decrease in the average size of housing units sold in apartment buildings as well as an increase in the average size of single-family houses sold. The average size of housing units in apartment buildings which were the subject of the real estate market transactions, decreased from 56.7 to 51.9 square meters during the first quarter of 2007 and the second quarter of 2012. The average size of single-family houses, on the other hand, increased from 129.5 to 147.3 square meters during the same period.

4.3. Trends in Prices for Apartment Buildings: Comparison of Slovenia and Selected City Municipalities

When calculating average prices using the arithmetic mean all prices have equivalent weight, while when using the geometric mean, there is more emphasis on the lower prices. The price index used for comparisons of the average prices which is calculated as the geometric mean will therefore largely reflect trends in the prices of cheaper housing.

Figures 5 and 6 show the difference caused by the selection of arithmetic or geometric mean, in Figure 5 for the calculation of the average price per square meter, and in Figure 6 for the calculation of the average price of housing units in apartment buildings. How large are the differences that occur in average prices due to the choice between arithmetic and geometric mean is shown in Table 2 (for the first quarter of 2007) and Table 3 (for the second quarter of 2012).

Slightly higher index values in case where compared average prices per housing square meter were calculated as a geometric mean show a slightly higher growth in prices of cheaper housing units in apartment buildings on the Slovenian territory. But differences cannot be established for all areas of Slovenia. For Ljubljana, for example, both indices have almost the same value, which means that in the largest Slovenian municipality significant differences between cheaper and more expensive housing in apartment buildings did not occur.

Figure 5: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, comparison of prices per square meter, Slovenia*

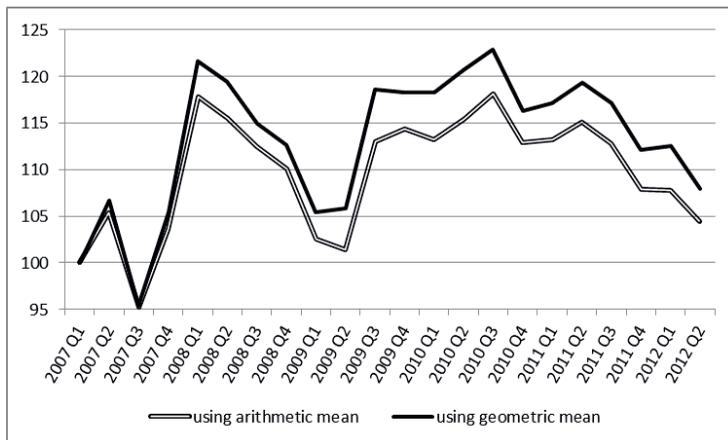


Figure 6: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, comparison of the housing prices, Slovenia*

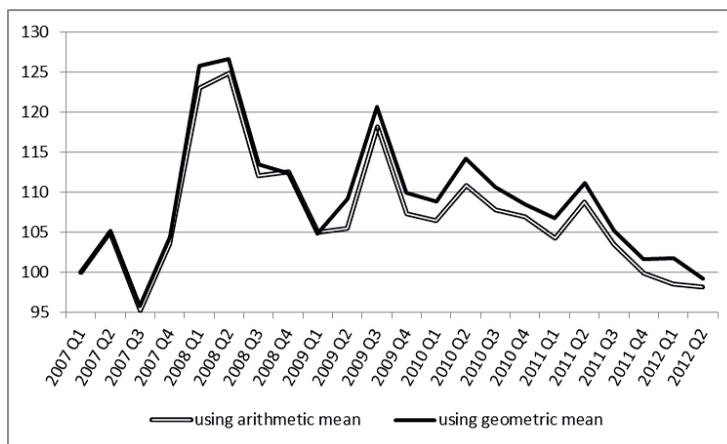


Table 2: *Average prices in the first quarter of 2007, housing units in apartment buildings*

Area*	Number of transactions	Price (in Euro)			
		Arithmetic mean		Geometric mean	
		Housing	Square meter	Housing	Square meter
Slovenia	1,337	81,860	1,510	68,505	1,304
Ljubljana	352	127,470	2,364	119,152	2,291
Maribor	166	59,921	1,107	53,471	1,032
Kranj	78	83,092	1,596	79,711	1,558
Koper	23	114,767	2,170	112,230	2,137
Celje	47	51,951	991	44,768	903
Novo mesto	34	70,600	1,309	67,867	1,284
Velenje	40	51,345	883	48,083	858
Nova Gorica	28	94,403	1,514	90,939	1,470

* Names of cities denote the analysed city municipalities.

Table 3: Average prices in the second quarter of 2012, housing units in apartment buildings

Area*	Number of transactions	Price (in Euro)			
		Arithmetic mean		Geometric mean	
		Housing	Square meter	Housing	Square meter
Slovenia	1,627	80,361	1,577	67,998	1,408
Ljubljana	417	120,789	2,301	109,679	2,232
Maribor	215	59,755	1,137	53,920	1,098
Kranj	67	84,190	1,689	79,373	1,646
Koper	55	107,217	2,277	100,487	2,209
Celje	62	55,468	1,147	50,827	1,095
Novo mesto	12	80,563	1,342	77,557	1,325
Velenje	35	59,228	1,161	54,430	1,136
Nova Gorica	36	78,147	1,619	74,537	1,572

* Names of cities denote the analysed city municipalities.

Among the analysed city municipalities there are considerable differences in the prices of housing units in apartment buildings. Significant differences also occur between the average prices calculated as the arithmetic and geometric mean, which suggests that there are significant differences in housing prices even within individual city municipalities. Furthermore, there are also differences between the movement of housing prices and prices per square meter of housing units as shown in Figures 7 to 12.

Figure 7: The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, Ljubljana, arithmetic mean



In Ljubljana (see Figure 7), the city municipality with the largest real estate market and the highest average real estate prices, housing prices in 2010 and 2011 stabilized at a level slightly below the base quarter price. The moderate growth of prices per square meter of housing in these two years was therefore more a result of small housing sales rather than actual changes in housing prices. For the municipal area of Ljubljana, compared to other Slovenian municipal areas (and Slovenia as a whole), growth and thus decreases in prices in the analysed period were much lower. Both in the case of average price per square meter as in the case of average price of housing as a whole, the growth of prices of housing units in apartment buildings in Ljubljana during this period was 6 to 7 per cent lower than the Slovenian average.

Figure 8: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, Maribor, arithmetic mean*



In Maribor (see Figure 8), the Slovenian city municipality with the second largest real estate market, in which the real estate prices are, considering other Slovenian city municipalities, among the lowest, higher growth in prices occurred in the period until the first half of 2009. Prices of housing as a whole during this period grew slightly more than the prices for a square meter of housing. A period of fall in prices followed, in which the price of housing as a whole decreased more than the price per square meter. This suggests that in the period of the reduced number of real estate market transactions, in Maribor – similarly to Ljubljana - slightly smaller housing units in apartment buildings were sold. Slightly larger fluctuations, but similar price movements as in Maribor, also occurred in Kranj.

A smaller decrease in the size of sold housing units in apartment buildings occurred in all analysed municipal areas. A break in the size of sold housing units in apartment buildings in Slovenia can be seen in the last quarter of 2009 (in the quarter characterized by an increase in the real estate market transactions), when the average size of the sold housing unit in apartment buildings decreased by approximately 4 square meters. This change in the size of the apartments was followed by the housing prices quite differently in the analysed urban areas.

Figure 9: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, Koper, arithmetic mean*



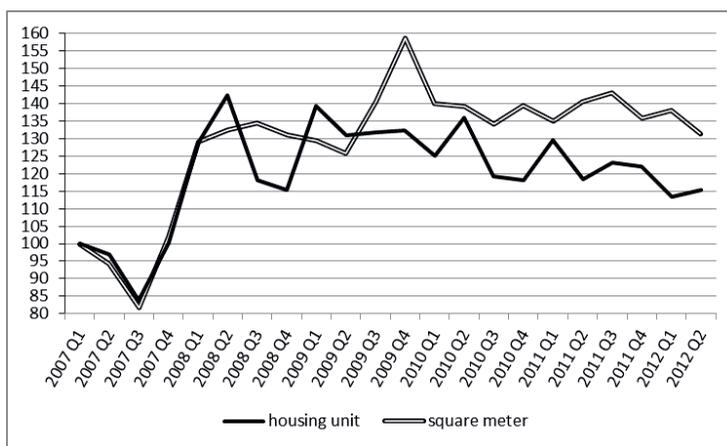
In Koper (see Figure 9), the prices of housing units in apartment buildings were quite stable during the analysed period. Big growth in prices of housing as a whole towards the end of 2008 and particularly in the first half of 2009 was of a short-term nature. The average prices quickly returned to the level before that period. Such a large difference between the price of housing as a whole and the price per square meter occurred due to the specific situation in this city, where the average size of housing units sold during that period (the period of the reduced number of transactions) increased significantly. Since the second half of 2010, the ratio between the growth in prices of housing as a whole and the growth of prices per square meter stabilized and approached the situation in the rest of Slovenia.

Figure 10: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, Celje, arithmetic mean*



In Celje (see Figure 10), the prices of housing in 2007 and 2008 increased significantly. Despite the fall in the first half of 2009, the prices in 2010 and 2011 were from 25 to 30 percentage points above the base level, due to a quick return to growth in the second half of 2009. The decline in the residential real estate property prices is again suggested in 2012. The difference in the movement of price per square meter and the price of housing as a whole in the analysed period was negligible.

Figure 11: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, Velenje, arithmetic mean*



In Velenje (see Figure 11), similarly as in Celje, prices of housing units in apartment buildings grew considerably after the sharp short term fall in the second half of 2007. Then, the prices in this city municipality also stabilised at a level that is 30 to 35 percent above the base quarter. Despite significant fluctuations the prices did not fall back to the baseline level during the analysed period. The comparison between the index for the prices per square meter and the index for the prices of housing shows that in different periods they rather strongly deviate, depending on the size of sold housing units. However, since the second half of 2009, a situation similar to the situation elsewhere in Slovenia was established. Although the prices in general were maintained at a rather high level, the prices per square meter were considerably higher than the prices of housing as a whole. From the second half of 2009 onwards, the average size of sold housing units was reduced, which in Velenje significantly mitigated growth in the prices of residential real estate property.

Figure 12: *The Housing Price Index for apartment buildings, Nova Gorica, arithmetic mean*



Figure 12 shows that similarly to Velenje, also in Nova Gorica, another ‘pure’ post-socialist city municipality, the differences in the growth of prices per square meter of housing and growth in prices of housing as a whole, from the second half of 2009 onwards resulted from the considerable reduction in the size of the sold housing units. However, unlike in Velenje, the average prices in Nova Gorica during this period did not stabilise, but soon began to decline significantly. By 2012 the prices per square meter have fallen to the level of 7 percent over the baseline and the prices of housing as a whole to the level well below the baseline period.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Most of the transactions carried out on the Slovenian real estate market pertain to housing units in apartment buildings in major city municipalities. This suggests that larger urban areas in Slovenia have a rather intensively active real estate market, which under the established market conditions supplies the future owners with housing effectively. Since the transactions in the real estate market are directly related to the dynamics of the population regeneration and economic as well as social development, we could conclude that the development of major Slovenian urban municipalities is guaranteed. Unfortunately, this optimism is not supported by the broader context in which the analysed real estate market transactions took place. The collapse of the Slovenian construction industry and the general economic crisis mostly affected housing construction for the urban market. Renewal of urban housing stock has a cyclical nature and is in total at present far too modest. Real estate market transactions are therefore carried out primarily for housing massively constructed during the socialist times.

While in the last post-transition construction cycle in the urban areas some housing units did get completed, the insufficient supply caused the overheating of the real estate prices on

the market, which in turn also affected the used housing prices. However, the subsequent fall in residential housing prices following this overheating is in no way associated with the increased supply of housing. It is a consequence of the reduced purchasing power of the population and related to the search of alternatives by those with the option to reside in single-family houses outside the cities.

We believe that on average, the continually older housing stock will become more and more uninteresting for the potential property buyers with sufficient purchasing power. Erosion of social mix from the socialist times will follow (Altrock, 2008). Further to that, the number of population in urban areas may decrease. For Slovenia this is not insignificant, since the current rate of urbanization is already quite low. In 2008 we had a more than 25 percentage points lower level of urbanization than we could expect based on the development level of the country (Shepotylo, 2012). As shown by data on the movement of the urban housing prices, considering the dynamics of these processes, considerable differences between the individual urban municipalities could be generated.

In Slovenia we are lacking a large number of new housing units (both for sale and for rent), which could normalize the real estate market. The gap between the supply and demand primarily exists in urban areas. Solutions will have to be consistent with the new Slovenian social reality (Mandič, 2007). In the long term that means ensuring appropriate construction and renovation of housing as well as adequate purchasing power of future housing owners in urban areas. Stability and sustainability of loan policy aimed at solving the housing problems can have significant positive effects. Interest-free loan offers which are bound to interest-free savings of the borrowers are one of the alternatives. Such alternative has been successfully practiced by the Swedish bank JAK since 1965 (Kennedy, 2012). Another special feature of this alternative is that after repaying the loan the borrower disposes with a certain saved amount that can be either invested in a new housing unit, used for renovation of the existing housing unit, or be made available for the (sustainable) intergenerational help with the goal of solving the housing problem of the children.

Based on the results of our analysis we can conclude that the Housing Price Index could be a very useful indicator when planning and monitoring urban development, but with some restrictions. The functioning real estate market is a necessary condition for its application, as the growth of the index can also be stimulated by the lack of housing stock renewal. Is the condition fulfilled, the Housing Price Index for an urban area indicating a positive growth - or at least the growth above that recorded in other (non-urban) areas - suggests the potential for development (or at least the ability to maintain the present development level) above the existing housing capabilities.

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NEO-LIBERAL REALITY IN POST-INDUSTRIAL WATERFRONTS OF THE POST-SOCIALIST CITIES: THE POLISH TRI-CITY CASE

MAGDALENA SZMYTKOWSKA¹
KLAUDIA NOWICKA²

ABSTRACT: *A natural problem of post-industrial cities, which results from economic change, is their heritage in the form of degraded and unused post-industrial areas. They are often situated in central districts. Thus, it is obvious that local authorities consider them important, and prioritize them in spatial development. The very special and significant areas of coastal cities are waterfronts that have experienced, and are still experiencing, transformations, which constitute indelible elements of development. This paper is an attempt to evaluate the directions of waterfronts' developments in Poland; taking into account the fact that while on the one hand, Polish cities are struggling with the socialist legacy, on the other hand, they are under pressure from the neoliberal development paradigm.*

Keywords: *waterfront, neoliberal city, post-industrial city, flagship projects, Poland*

JEL Classification: R11

1. POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

Fifty years of development and transformation of urban spaces, taking place during intensified industrialism and modernist urbanism, have left behind dispersed urban structures in defragmented and dismembered cities consisting of many heterogeneous elements, which are meant to create some kind of aesthetic homogeneity. Such an amorphous city seems to be abstract, disordered, complicated and illogical. This abstract space, in a social sense, defragments symbolic and expressive relations among different city users, and inevitably leads to a feeling of loss and longing for a better, if not ideal urban environment (Marshall, 2001). The main reasons for the transformation of cities are radical changes in production systems and no less radical socio-economic restructuring that is combined with the growing importance of environmental protection. These fundamental changes have also been caused by globalization and deindustrialization of the nations, which can also be described as a shift from national to global economy - from fordism to postfordism - based on the society of knowledge and new technologies. The above-mentioned processes have been accompanied by several demographic, social and cultural changes, including the increasing role of global institutions and emergence of the sustained development paradigm. A post-industrial city is mainly characterized by

¹ University of Gdansk, Gdansk, Poland, e-mail: geoms@univ.gda.pl

² University of Gdansk, Gdansk, Poland, e-mail: klaudia.nowicka@ug.edu.pl

multilevel transformation processes, which do not aim to create a new city model - in the traditional meaning - but to trigger the processes of adaptation and restructuring of the already existing urban spaces and establishing new systems of agreement for urban development policies (Billert, 2012).

In this paper, special attention is paid to the analysis of changes taking place in the post-industrial city - in the context of the neoliberal reality - and the roles that local authorities, local urban planners and administrators play. The complexity of socio-economic needs; the pressure exerted by new investment forces; and the inefficiency of the current management instruments show that there is a strong necessity for creating a system of agreements between administration bodies, various social bodies and business entities (Billert, 2012). There are some justified worries about the actions taken up by local authorities, which are clearly focused on implementing new investment projects and on creating an image of open and modern cities. Therefore, local authorities are often too submissive to investors and developers, who are given special rank and opportunity to exert direct influence on urban spaces. It is a situation where a simple economic calculation becomes the driving force behind these actions, and the city, itself, as well as its citizens, are fed the neoliberal doctrine, which usually does not pay enough attention to the many significant social issues, and some important cultural and historical conditions, of a given city. These concerns are also expressed by scientists and researchers who emphasize the importance of seeking the balance between the things “for sale” and the things “for people.”

Gierat-Bieroń (2012) points out that building more skyscrapers, office blocks, business districts or parks does not mean that a given city is modern, in the cultural sense. The author strongly disapproves of devastating old buildings and destroying the cultural landscapes of cities through commercial projects and submissively obeying the rules of “savage capitalism.” Modernity ought to be perceived as a specific way of conceptualizing the culture. It is a constant awareness of owning some precious cultural goods, and a skill of understanding them and deriving their message. It is respect for the history combined with curiosity to explore modernity.

Dominiczak (2013) is concerned with vanishing urban landscapes, which are crucial for properly understanding their uniqueness. These landscapes give people an opportunity to remember the urban history of cities through the authenticity of the places where this history took place. The author criticizes modern urban planning rules based on the dictatorship of road infrastructure development, which destroys old street systems and demolishes old residential and industrial buildings. He summarizes his observations with the conclusion that a consequence of expressing and implementing this type of approach is that some unique cities have become the main promoters of globalization, and they produce the so-called magma of urban “non-places”³ at a dizzying pace. That is why he sees the necessity of changing this urban doctrine that demolishes public space in cities. Creating a modern city is not only about its functional efficiency, but also about a sustained value of a dialogue that takes place in a shared urban space. Nawratek⁴ has also

3 Term defined by Marc Auge (2013).

4 Interview with K. Nawratek, published in Szewrański (2011).

commented on the issue of post-industrial cities which “lose” the driving force of their development – the industry. Moreover, he claims that withdrawing the industry from a city causes major changes, disintegrating it socially and spatially.

The post-industrial development of cities has caused a dilemma in space and created a paradox, as there are two simultaneous processes happening: investing in real estate in the city center and accelerating the urban sprawl (Hackworth, 2005). It seems that local authorities are particularly interested in renovating inner-city districts and certain spaces that are considered vital in urban space. They are motivated by the necessity to open cities to new impulses by creating some incentives and special offers for investors. At the same time, they try to create a city that is an attractive place for tourists and other city users.

2. REVITALIZATION PROCESSES VS. NEW INVESTMENTS IN INNER-CITY DISTRICTS

A natural problem for post-industrial cities, resulting from the economic changes, is their heritage in a form of often degraded and unused post-industrial areas. These are mostly situated in central districts. That is why local authorities consider them perspective, and prioritize them during spatial development. In order to increase their investment and/or residential attractiveness, several actions are usually taken to revitalize them and assign them some new urban functions.

Murzyn (2006) points out that revitalization, as a multidimensional process, should constitute a vast and integral vision. Implementing this vision should lead to a resolution of economic, social, ecological and other problems identified in the area that undergoes transformation. In a spatial dimension, revitalization should contribute to the process of creating some new space and change the city's physiognomy, or it ought to be useful in the process of restoring spatial order by consolidating, exposing and preserving the unique character of old districts and buildings. Belniak (2009) also emphasizes the complexity of this process, as well as the importance of integrated actions taken up in the scope of local policies that are initiated by local authorities in order to implement technical, economic and social schemes, which correspond to the principles of sustainable development and the rules of territorial cohesion, and preservation of the natural environment. These undertakings should be followed by some additional initiatives aimed at preventing the degradation of culture, economy and society, which facilitates a progressing and deepening process of social exclusion in a given region.

Among the many problems of revitalizing post-industrial areas, special attention should be paid to their transport accessibility. The existence of a well-planned transportation network increases the probability of making decisions on revitalizing brownfields, as developers are more willing to revitalize those post-industrial areas that are well-accessible thanks to already existing, and properly designed, transport infrastructure (Amekudzi & Fomunung, 2004).

Kaczmarek (2001) states that a given post-industrial area can be opened through many different and specific functions that begin to fill up the area in urban space and organize this space in a way that allows it to become an integrated part of a city. Marshall (2001) emphasizes an important meaning of revitalizing post-industrial and degraded urban areas. These transformations are usually evaluated positively, as they offer two kinds of advantages:

- in the context of urban space development – the reconstruction of a city’s image and regeneration of economic investments;
- in the context of social life – an increased level of attractiveness, which invites people to a given place that was abandoned in the past.

In inner-city districts, the process of functional and spatial development proceeds in two ways: through completing and modernizing the already existing and well-shaped structures; or through some new, large-scale undertakings that have the power to change their image immediately and give them some new impulses for further development (Lorens, 2004). The so-called flagship projects of architectural and town-planning can trigger some significant space transformations. They can become the driving force behind the implementation of some new urban concepts and visions, which, in some cases, may be perceived as turning points in the process of urban area development. In fact, they actually affect cities as they create or stimulate the growth of new centers and functions through the concentration and intensification of the process of infrastructural development. Apart from their structural influences, the flagship projects can also carry some symbolic values, as they might target great icons, or they can take the form of mega events, referring to the cultural heritage of cities, which is extremely important in the context of preserving local identity (Lecroart, 2011).

3. URBAN WATERFRONT AS A SPECIAL REGION WHERE “NEW” AND “OLD” COEXIST

The renaissance of urban waterfronts took place in the context of deindustrialization in Western Europe and the abandonment of the principles of modernism (Tölle, 2010). Urban waterfronts have experienced, and are still experiencing, transformations that constitute indelible elements of development. Urban transformation – the shift from an industrial city of production to a post-industrial city of consumption – affects waterfronts in an obvious way, as they were parts of harbors or industrial areas. Those areas were usually inaccessible and blocked public access to the shoreline. As a result of economic transformation, some of them have been abandoned, degraded and become non-functional. Currently, those forgotten and unused parts of urban space have a chance to turn into attractive inner-city areas. This is possible under the condition that some specific actions are taken in order to increase the quality of these areas, and to fit them into the frames of a new socio-economic reality.

That is why, since the 1970s, urban waterfronts have become crucial development areas often mentioned in the revitalization strategies of many cities around the world.

Waterfronts are former port and industrial structures connected with maritime transport. In many post-industrial cities, they have undergone deep transformations and their space has been absorbed and dominated by trade- and service-based city centers, which satisfy the needs of a new middle class (Lorens, 2006). Increasing interest in restructuring and revitalizing urban waterfronts has shortly become an impulse to their transformation (Kocaj, 2010). Transformations of harbors has mainly resulted from technological changes - changes in the character and ways of transporting goods (development of container transport especially) - which have triggered the metamorphosis of urban waterfronts (Kaczmarek, 2001; Lorens, 2001, 2010).

Furthertmore, the crisis in the shipbuilding industry has also led to the emergence of vastly degraded and unused port areas situated in central districts (Kocaj, 2010:107). Therefore, an important direction of spatial transformation in seaports is the revitalization of old port structures, combined with the diversification of their functions. This process is mainly about reactivating those port areas that have been liberated from the typical port functions during the phase of rapid industrialization of sea ports, and the technological development of maritime transport based on introducing large ships in fleets. The areas that have been recaptured this way are usually situated in central districts of cities, and have access to shallow port basins. They are often old urban waterfronts with intense, but depreciated land structures. Very often, large-scale projects are introduced in the process of their revitalization (Szwankowski, 2004). Thanks to technological and economic changes, and taking the important shift of industrial areas in the spatial structure of the city into consideration, such urban waterfronts have become of high importance for the process of creating urban environments where the many ideas of modern cities, societies and cultures can be brought to life (Marshall, 2001).

The era of postmodernism and global economy encourages, or even forces, countries, regions and cities to take part in constant competition for investors, consumers and resources (Iwata & del Rio, 2004). Waterfronts are also under this pressure, as they are often situated in very attractive districts of high rent land. Many revitalization projects implemented in waterfronts (in Western Europe and North America) are characterized by their large financial scale. It is also typical that local authorities, investors, groups of urban planners and architects are highly involved in these projects. As a result, some new inner-city areas emerge, sometimes even whole new residential districts that meet the requirements of the so-called post-Fordist ways of living, working and consuming. After their implementation they become distinctive landmarks and symbols of successful socio-economic restructuring of a given city (Tolle, 2009). Tolle (2010) further cites Venhuizen (2000) who underlines that contrary to the industrial era fragmentation of cities - by excluding some of its parts, especially port areas from residential use - nowadays, waterfronts and their land structures are perceived, by architects of residential structures, as inspiring and the sea is no longer "an enemy," but "a friend".

According to Gordon (1996), when planning, designing and managing the process of waterfront development, three important rules concerning the following issues should be obeyed: changing the image and character of the waterfront, improving its accessibility

and preserving its environment. Firstly, urban planners should be aware of what is a public good, and define it during the initial phase of planning. Through social participation, a strong image of a given waterfront can be successfully created, the image that will help people identify with an “old – new” place. Secondly, better accessibility can change the established stereotype that former port areas are isolated and inaccessible to ordinary citizens. The only thing conditioning this change is the choice of a development direction that anticipates the creation of some attractive public spaces.

Regeneration of waterfronts allows the improvement of the economy, and promotes seaside cities. Jones (1998) underlines that some of the most important advantages of revitalizing waterfronts are:

- increased value of real estate (stronger economy);
- increased number of developers investing in degraded areas;
- increased tourist and investment attractiveness;
- better environment quality due to implementation of the principles of sustainable development and the preservation of coastal ecosystems;
- better cultural heritage protection;
- better image of a city, which leads to improved marketing strategies;
- transportation systems and social services of a better quality etc.

The importance of issues connected with the waterfronts’ revitalization was confirmed in July 2000 during the world conference on the future of urban space, URBAN 21 in Berlin, when a document titled “10 Principles for a Sustainable Development of Urban Waterfront” was issued. Bruttomesso (2001) formulated the main factors that guarantee success when creating urban waterfronts, especially in the context of gaining new and attractive residential space, which may resolve the problems connected with the suburbanization processes. Another factor is their attractive localization as waterfronts are mostly located in direct proximity to the city center. It creates the opportunity to reclaim some space in order to reuse it and assign it some new functions. The role of already existing infrastructure is also important, and the heritage that they constitute should be protected as they still create or preserve the specific and symbolic meaning of a given place.

In this context the symbolic and distinct value of waterfronts is also emphasized as they create awareness of the history of a given place, which is often a symbol of prosperity and strength of the whole city. Another factor is reclaiming direct access to the sea, and the possibility to reconstruct a proper waterfront – land reclamation after many years of negligence. Reconstructing the resources hidden in such places and changing their meaning from “dangerous” and “disturbing” into a “friendly” space full of new possibilities for living, working and relaxing should be a positive result of waterfronts’ transformation.

On the basis of some selected revitalization projects, Frenchman (2001) listed a few “soft” factors, which are also significant in the context of creating an expressive and lively waterfront. In the author’s opinion, the aim of transformation cannot be only to attract

more newcomers, but also to create a spirit of unity. When designing a functionally and socially new waterfront the fact that each and every city or region is one of a kind, should be unconditionally respected and that is why we should search for a unique way of changing it based on its own history and heritage, avoiding copying and transferring the ideas and patterns used by the others in the process. As long as they are appropriate for one region or city they may not be suitable for the others as they might be geographically or culturally different. Therefore, the first step undertaken in order to introduce some physical transformations should be understanding the history and making it the basis of these changes.

That is why the process of revitalizing waterfronts is perceived positively as they create new opportunities for urban development. They offer places for living, relaxing, taking up cultural activities and developing trade or services in a very attractive environment. Revitalization has returned waterfronts to the people, and has created places offering lots of possibilities for social interaction, in a truly public space.

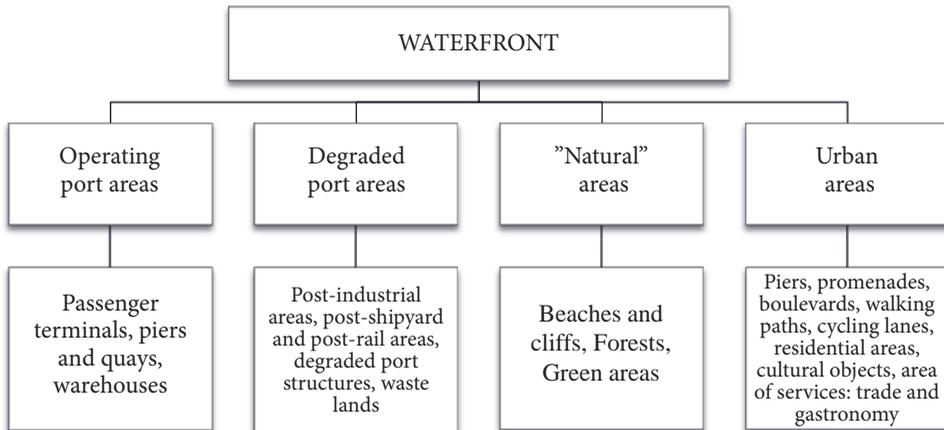
Unfortunately, as many examples show, some waterfronts in Western Europe have lost the battle for their welfare. Breen and Rigby (1996) point out, that the development of waterfronts might not serve all users of their space. People of lower social and economic status are often omitted, ignored and transferred to other parts of cities, usually against their will, because they do not “fit” the new space. In a socio-spatial sense, a typical process of gentrification leads to social exclusion there. The already mentioned projects of waterfront transformation usually reflect the needs of local societies as a starting point for urban planning and decision-making. However, the term “needs of local societies” might be used only as coverage for the temporary game of interests, which glorifies one group of people and marginalizes the others (Dovey, 2005).

When implementing new urban waterfronts, the attention is usually only paid to the scale and prestige of planned buildings; to their potential to attract people; to create special offers and incentives for investors and other potential users; thus, solely to spatial and economic dimensions of transformation. The social dimension is usually forgotten, although, as already mentioned, it is equally important. It concerns the users of residential space (previous and new ones) and the users of public spaces of as well. Carr et al. (1992) explain that public spaces cannot be evaluated only by assessing the quality of their environment and buildings, but also by estimating their capacity to meet public needs and to respect the rights of all their users, for comfort, relaxation, leisure, and/or social participation.

4. FUNCTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF WATERFRONTS IN TRI-CITY

Tri-city is an informal urban structure consisting of three administratively separate cities: Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot. They are situated adjacent to one other, on the coast of the Baltic Sea. Tri-city is the largest conurbation in northern Poland having a population of 745, 000 citizens. Within its administrative boundaries there are approximately 52 kilometers of coastline running along the Gdansk Bay and 44 kilometers of artificial coastline along the Gdansk and Gdynia waterfronts. The structure and morphology of these waterfronts are highly diverse: four major morphological, spatial and functional types can be distinguished. However, until 1989 the waterfronts were performing mainly port functions. Then, they lost them as a result of the socio-economic transformation of the year 1990. Their current functions are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: *Morphological, spatial and functional dimensions of the Tri-city waterfront*



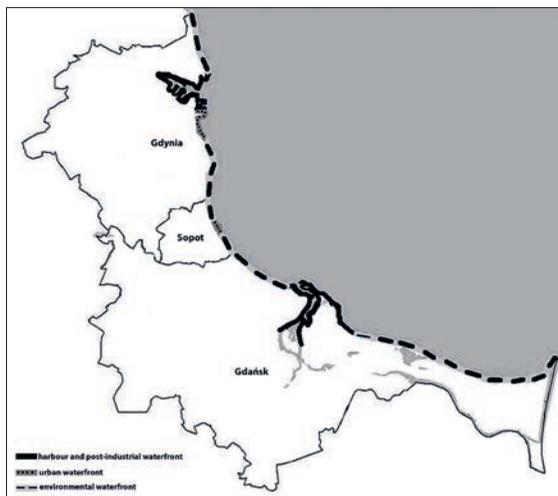
Port and post-shipyard areas constitute 54 kilometers of the total length of the waterfront (56%); natural areas (forests, beaches, cliffs)⁵ constitute 36 kilometers (38%); while typical urban areas constitute only 6% of the whole Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot waterfront. Increasing interest in revitalizing of the post-port and post-shipyard areas and some already planned or even implemented projects may significantly increase the amount of the urban areas and change the structure of the waterfront. An estimated potential of the post-industrial areas is about 25 – 27 kilometers. Figure 2 shows spatial and functional diversity of the Tri-city waterfront.

There are two sea ports located in the waterfront which are still in operation – in Gdansk and Gdynia. As a result of transport technologies' development and changes in the

⁵ Areas without any buildings, relatively untouched by humans. There is only some not burdensome tourist infrastructure.

structure of transported goods those two ports have slightly changed their location in order to be able to provide services to much larger container ships.

Figure 2: *Spatial range and major functions of Tri-city waterfront*



In the case of the port in Gdansk (Figure 3) two areas can be distinguished: the inner port along the Dead Vistula River and the port canal as well as the outer port on the coast of the Gdansk Bay. The total length of the waterfront is 23,7 km and the total area of the port is 652 hectares.

Figure 3: *Port in Gdansk*



Source: <http://www.portgdansk.pl>

The port in Gdynia (Figure 4) is a universal harbor, situated on the coastline of the Baltic Bay with a large artificial waterfront. The total length of the waterfront is 17,7 km and total area of the port is 508 hectares.

Figure 4: *Port in Gdynia*

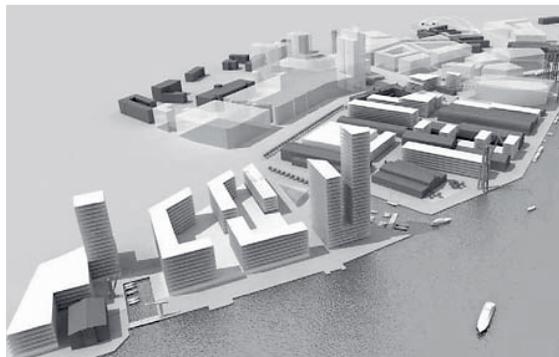


Source: <http://www.port.gdynia.pl/>

As a result of restructuring processes, both ports have started to operate in areas situated further from the centers of Gdynia and Gdansk. Therefore, the cities have a chance to reclaim some attractive lands which, after their revitalization, can gain new functions. The functions are important to the citizens and other visitors to the both cities. The necessity of reclaiming such areas is undisputable but their character, accessibility and the functions which have already been planned for them are quite moot.

The post-shipyard areas are the spaces which are of special interest. They lost their functions at the beginning of the 1990's and later when Gdansk Shipyards went under bankruptcy. Nowadays, a revitalization project named "Young City" is being implemented there (Figure 5).

Figure 5: *A visualization of the „Young City” project*



Source: YoungCity. New Waterfront Destination in Gdansk (www.gdansk.pl_26067.pdf)

This project has already aroused emotions because it is being implemented in a place which is both special and symbolic for Gdansk and Poland – the Gdansk Shipyard, which is the cradle of the Solidarity movement. The “Young City” is a new and commercial district with many skyscrapers, office blocks and shopping malls designed by a private investor. That is why the citizens of Gdansk are concerned about the future of the shipyard’s building, which is perceived as a symbolic element of the historical and cultural heritage of the city and Poland (Figure 6). The residents of Gdansk, architects and local social activists were especially concerned about the action to sell or/and destroy the shipyard cranes, as they are considered to be the authentic symbols of the place (Figure 7).

Figure 6: *A degraded post-shipyard building in Gdansk*



Fot. Michał Szlaga

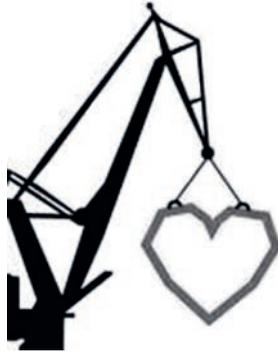
Figure 7: *Destroying the cranes in the former Gdansk Shipyard*



Fot. Michał Szlaga

A strong reaction of the local society and a media campaign influenced the local authorities to cease action and redeem the cranes in order to preserve them (Figure 8). It was also decided to make the first complex register of the shipyard monuments, structures and objects (buildings, production halls, railway tracks, fences, street lamps, inspection chambers) in order to create an urban cultural park in the future.

Figure 8: *The logo of a social initiative for protection of the historical heritage of the Gdansk Shipyard*



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/StoczniaAlive?fref=ts>

Gdynia also includes several attractively located post-port areas, which are of main interest to the local authorities and investors. They are situated in the city center. Nowadays, there are two post-industrial areas in the Gdynia waterfront which are crucial as the works on their revitalization are highly advanced. The first area was used and owned by the Nauta Shipyard⁶ until 2012. It is situated only a few hundred meters from the strict center of Gdynia (Figure 9, Figure 10), covers the area of 8,5 hectares and is a significant part of a developer project called “Gdynia Waterfront” along with the President’s Basin (Figure 11 and Figure 13) as well as some other post-industrial areas of the Fishermen Pier (Figure 11 and Figure 12). The long-term spatial policy of Gdynia assumes intense development and modernization of post-industrial and post-port areas. Ultimately they are to be converted into modern and prestigious urban districts.

In the case of Gdynia, which is a very young city (only 90 years old), it is much easier to introduce procedures connected with urban and investment planning, as there are not many conditions that a given project has to meet in order to gain a planning permit⁷. That is why we can anticipate that the revitalization of this part of the waterfront will run smoothly and efficiently. Urban planners have already prepared the area development plan and have resolved all ownership issues. In addition, a larger part of these areas (the President’s Basin and the areas of the Nauta Shipyard) is already at the investors’ disposal and work in the President’s Basin has also already started.

⁶ Nauta Shipyard has been moved to areas owned by Gdynia Shipyard which went into liquidation in 2009. Therefore, the city reclaimed some really attractive areas. The areas of former Gdynia Shipyard are also starting to regenerate and they may become a new and dynamic area connecting two different functions: production and urban ones.

⁷ The major problem of Gdynia in the context of new projects is a complicated ownership structure of many properties located in the city center. However, this problem does not apply to the areas described in this paper.

Figure 9: *The former areas of the Nauta Shipyard in Gdynia*



Fot. Tomasz Bolt

Figure 10: *Visualization of a revitalization project designed for the areas of the former Nauta Shipyard areas*



Source: www.gospodarkamorska.pl

The revitalization processes which have been already planned and partly implemented in Tri-city will contribute to reclaiming some particularly attractive areas which will gain typically urban functions. However, a vital problem is mitigating the pressure exerted by the investors and developers which results from the neoliberal thinking about space and the neoliberal ambition to maximize profits.

Figure 11: *The President's Basin and the Fishermen Pier in Gdynia*



Fot. M. Szmytkowska

Figure 12: *Visualization of a revitalization project designed for the Fishermen Pier in Gdynia (in the background)*



Source: www.gdynia.pl

Figure 13: *Visualization of a revitalization project designed for the President's Basin in Gdynia (under implementation)*



Source: www.swedecenter.pl

The local authorities are expected to play a significant role in these processes. The newly created areas should not be dominated by commercial buildings. They cannot emerge as gated and inaccessible places and it is the local authorities' obligation to take care about the necessary balance. In this context it is very important to preserve a proper amount and quality of public spaces as these new urban areas should be integrated with the urban tissue of Gdynia not only in a spatial way, but also in a social way.

5. FLAGSHIP PROJECTS AS SPECIAL ELEMENTS OF THE TRI-CITY WATERFRONT

Urban flagship projects are meant to change the morphology of a given area where they are implemented and they significantly affect the image of a given place. The main aim of such projects mentioned by urban (and regional) politicians is to create a cultural offering and public spaces of high quality. However, their real objective is to establish a desired image of a city and compete successfully for investors and tourists. Usually, they are located in symbolic places or in degraded inner-city areas of low quality and a disadvantageous image. It must be mentioned that flagship projects often result in very high social costs. They frequently worry the residents of areas where they are implemented, as they trigger the previously-mentioned processes of gentrification.

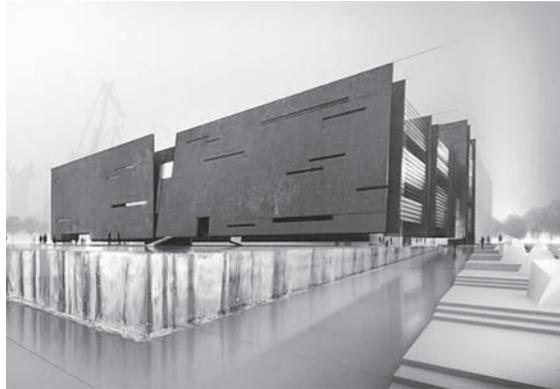
In the case of Tri-city the situation is less complicated, as the flagship projects are or are to be situated in uninhabited, usually degraded post-industrial or post-port areas, so the issue of social costs is less relevant. Table 1 shows the major flagship projects which are to contribute to reviving the areas of their implementation.

Table 1: *The major flagship projects of Tri-city waterfront (planned and under implementation)*

Project	Function	Type	Rank	Status
The Polish Baltic Philharmonic, Gdansk	cultural	revitalization	regional	implemented
The Museum of the Second World War, Gdansk	cultural	new	domestic	under implementation
European Solidarity Centre, Gdansk	cultural	new	domestic	under implementation
The Culture Forum, Gdynia	cultural	new	regional	project
The Emigration Museum, Gdynia	cultural	revitalization	domestic	under implementation
Artificial Island, Sopot	recreational	new	domestic	project

As Table 1 shows, the cultural function of the projects dominates. It is also worth mentioning that three out of all implemented projects are of particular local character, referring directly to the historical and cultural heritage of the cities. As this heritage is also of national meaning, those projects are supported and co-financed by the state. They are: *European Solidarity Centre* (Figure 14), *The Museum of the Second World War* (Figure 15) and *The Emigration Museum in Gdynia* situated in the building of the former Marine Station which was the starting point for all emigrants setting off to the USA during the interwar period. Another flagship project which will be a continuation of the idea from the interwar period is *The Culture Forum in Gdynia* (Figure 16), which is an attempt to recreate the strategic meaning of the place, assign it a cultural function, and create attractive public area at the edge of the sea.

Figure 14: *The project of European Solidarity in Gdansk*



Source: www.architektura.info

Figure 15: *The project of The Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk*



Source: www.culture.pl

Figure 16: *The project of The Culture Forum in Gdynia*



Source: www.forumkultury.gdynia.pl

CONCLUSION

The overview of the Tri-city flagship projects has shown that they can be compared to the examples of flagship projects described in the literature. Domination of cultural projects is clearly noticeable. They are situated in symbolic places. Their primary objective is developing new functions and creating new images of the cities which are to affect their attractiveness and competitiveness.

Although these assumptions seem obvious and advantageous for the cities, they also create controversy because they require large financial investments. Another problem is their maintenance. Some of the citizens and opposition politicians claim that such a large amount of money could be spent on projects which are more necessary and may improve the citizens' living conditions and their quality of life.

However, there is also a positive aspect of such an urban policy. Instead of choosing a simple way of selling these important and symbolic areas to private investors, the local authorities have decided to implement the above-mentioned projects and preserve their public and symbolic character. Obviously, the authorities assume that their attractiveness and popularity will be a factor increasing the number of tourists and other city users (for example businessmen, scientists, students) interested in the cities and triggering the well-known "Bilbao effect" connected with implementation of the Guggenheim museum project. Regardless of the motives, it seems that this way of the waterfront transformation is a positive example of development as it creates accessible public spaces and improves their attractiveness in a long run.

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SMALL-SCALE PROJECTS AND THEIR POTENTIAL FOR URBAN REGENERATION: EXPERIENCES FROM EASTERN GERMANY

CHRISTINA GÖTZ¹

IAN COOPER²

KRASSIMIRA PASKALEVA-SHAPIRA³

ABSTRACT: *The notion that urban living is composed of multiple, interacting aspects instead of only depending on the condition of buildings is widely known. However, once urban renewal is considered, talk automatically turns to large-scale rebuilding projects. To date, there has been little knowledge exchange about projects that take place on the local level, tackling the socio-cultural dimension of urban life. While not destroying, but transforming, what already exists into something socially valuable, such projects open up a set of opportunities for the urban community. This paper draws upon German case studies to propose a definition for such projects and to investigate their potential for urban regeneration.*

Keywords: *urban regeneration, urban renewal, small-scale projects, regeneration projects, neighbourhood, post-socialist city*

JEL Classification: R11

1. INTRODUCTION

Discussing urban regeneration and urban development in Germany after the reunification in 1989-90 usually immediately leads to a discussion about large-scale regeneration projects. This is not without reason, as by the end of the 1980s, and after 1989, both parts of the country were confronted with a high demand for housing. In West Germany, this demand was caused by high immigration rates from Eastern European countries (Harlander, 1998), while in Eastern Germany, people sought a better quality of housing in the unified country, after having lived in homes affected by technical deficiencies (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1992) for years.

Although the situation in the former GDR Laender was very serious, the German state responded promptly to the challenges in urban development and regeneration. In

1 Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis, Karlsruhe, Germany, e-mail: christina.goetz@kit.edu

2 Eclipse Research Consultants, Cambridge, United Kingdom, e-mail: icooper@eclipseresearch.co.uk

3 University of Manchester, Manchester, United Kingdom, e-mail: k.paskaleva@mbs.ac.uk and Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis, Karlsruhe, Germany, e-mail: krassimira.paskaleva@kit.edu

1991, the former GDR Laender were incorporated in the *National Urban Development and Regeneration Programme* [*Städtebauförderung des Bundes und der Länder*] in order to adjust the living conditions in both parts of the reunified country to a similar level (Göddecke-Stellmann & Wagener, 2010). Nevertheless, East-West migration and high vacancy rates, especially regarding the large prefabricated housing areas, could not have been prevented, and the 21st century began with many open questions about how to deal with this situation. Therefore, in 2000, the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development initiated the foundation of a committee for *Structural Changes in the Housing Sector in the States of the Former East Germany* [*Wohnungswirtschaftlicher Strukturwandel in den neuen Bundesländern*] in order to investigate the extent of housing vacancy in Eastern Germany, and to explore suitable solutions. The commission asserted that 13% of the housing stocks (approximately one million apartments) were affected by a loss of residents, and recommended – among other measures - to establish a demolition programme in order to stabilise the housing market (Pfeiffer, Simons, & Porsch, 2000). This was the start of Germany's largest urban regeneration funding programme *Urban Renewal East* [*Stadtumbau Ost*], which was officially launched in 2002, and drew many pictures of massive large-scale, urban regeneration measures. While the impact of these measures are well-known – 300,000 residential apartments being demolished (BMVBS, 2012) – there is little knowledge about urban regeneration activities on the local or neighbourhood scale; despite the fact that another German funding program, *The Socially Integrative City* [*Soziale Stadt*], supported projects of this type. This article addresses such projects that focus on the micro-level of cities, or in other words, projects that focus on the small-scale level.

Although there is no consistent definition about what a 'small-scale project' is, or has to be, this paper draws its results from the research carried out within the European project called *ReNewTown – New Post-Socialist City: Competitive and Attractive* (ReNewTown, 2011). Within this project, it became apparent that urban regeneration in Germany, as well as in other Central European countries, is manifold. The definition employed is experientially based - grounded in the research conducted within the *ReNewTown* project (see also Götz, Paskaleva, & Cooper, 2012).

The term 'small-scale projects' is used here for projects having the following characteristics: projects that are enacted on the local level of a city district or a neighbourhood and are often aimed at enhancing the social and cultural life of local residents. Small-scale projects are carried out by a variety of local actors such as local institutions, social workers or other engaged individuals and residents. Small-scale projects often result from small-scale investments, but this is not invariably so. Indeed, the costs of small-scale projects can differ in many ways - for instance depending on country-specific financial differences or the amount of work carried out by volunteers. Often, the total amount of money is difficult to assess, as many small-scale projects are implemented in several stages. Some projects are under constant development and improvement. Therefore, the objectives of small-scale projects can be implemented locally, in one way or another, with a higher or a lower amount of money. This is, for example, the case in Germany regarding projects that aim to enhance the quality of places between blocks of flats to create attractive meeting

points for local residents. The costs for such project initiatives may differ widely, but the idea of enhancing a place between blocks of flats in order to bring local people together remains the same [see, for instance, many of the projects listed in the website databases called *Werkstatt-Stadt* (BBSR, 2013a) and *Soziale Stadt* (BVBS, 2006)]. In contrast, large housing regeneration projects (for instance demolition projects) cannot be carried out for small amounts of money. Such projects always require high investments.

Being clear about the lack of a general definition, this paper will nevertheless focus on small-scale projects. It will be argued that during the EU project *ReNewTown* it became apparent that such projects have an impact on urban regeneration, especially when respecting the locality and neighbourhood as a specific area for regeneration activities. Talking about this, the paper is structured as follows: The theoretical part in section 2 describes the socio-cultural dimension of urban living, a dimension where most small-scale projects are focused; section 2.2 then describes the *Socially Integrative City* [*Soziale Stadt*] programme in order to show that, in Germany, urban regeneration focuses on both small and large scale projects. Unfortunately, the funding for this program was cut immensely in 2011 – not because of the lack of impact of small-scale projects, but rather in the course of the national budgetary procedures. In section 2.3, the European transnational cooperation project *ReNewTown. New post-socialist city: Competitive and attractive* is outlined as the baseline for the present research on small-scale projects in Eastern Germany, and the carrying out of case studies. Section 3.1 describes the methodology that was used to identify case study examples of small-scale urban regeneration projects in Germany. Section 3.2 then follows with a discussion of the case study and section 3.3 closes with lessons learnt about small-scale urban regeneration projects, their potential and limitations. In the end, section 4 offers overall conclusions about the potential of small-scale urban regeneration projects, whether stand-alone or as part of large scale regeneration measures.

2. SMALL-SCALE PROJECTS IN URBAN REGENERATION: REINFORCING THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSION OF URBAN LIVING

2.1. The Socio-Cultural Dimension in Urban Living and Regeneration

Urban living does not only depend on the physical form of houses or city structures. However, discussion of urban regeneration programs often turns to large-scale projects that renovate the physical infrastructure of an urban settlement. However, as the German sociologist Hartmut Häußermann (2001) pointed out, there are a lot of “[...] urban problems and conflicts that cannot be explained by referring to the bad condition of houses and apartments [...]” (p. 147). Instead, many problems arise, because individuals or groups become segregated and separated from the rest of the urban society. Segregation, here, refers to the unequal distribution of living places among different social groups (Häußermann & Siebel, 2001). Consequently, it is often associated with social exclusion, which means that some people become excluded from the rest of the wider society and the average living standards (Häußermann, 2001). With this negative connotation, segregation

became a key concept in urban sociology, and was highly discussed by the end of the 20th century. However, as the roots of urban sociology show, segregation is not a revolutionary new concept. On the contrary, Robert Ezra Park, a member of the famous Chicago School of Sociology at the beginning of 1900, regarded segregation as a characteristic of the city that does not necessarily have to be a negative attribute (see for instance Park, 1968). He defined the city as a “[...] mosaic of little worlds which touch but not interpenetrate” (Park, Burgess, & MacKenzie, 1925, p. 40). To him, segregation constitutes the natural structure of the city as “[t]he city is, in fact, a constellation of natural areas, each with its own characteristic milieu, and each performing its specific function in the urban economy as a whole” (Park, 1968, p. 79). So segregation - or the ‘natural areas’ (Park, 1968) in *which* the city is segregated - has an integrative function as it bundles people who have the same moral order. These areas provide – somehow – the framework in which we live. In the mid-1920s, the Chicago School developed baseline theories for urban sociology using this approach. Later, researchers also emphasised the fact that segregation also has positive functions. According to Boal (1987), for example, segregation contributes to “[...] the preservation of particular ways of life and bases for action in the wider society [...]” (p. 103). It offers “[...] environments supportive of ethnic entrepreneurship” (Boal, 1998, p. 95).

Segregation can thus be seen as a two-sided coin - segregated areas can provide room, space and a sense of belonging to the people living there, while, at the same time, pose the risk of social exclusion and marginalising people. The ambivalence inherent in the concept can, of course, only be resolved in particular cases where the area under scrutiny is deeply analysed. However, in general, sudden events, such as the unification of the two German states in 1989-90, can devitalise city districts and weaken their integrative functions. In such cases, immediate reaction is required in order to stop the increasing risk for segregation and social exclusion. From an integrated point of view, segregated and socially excluded areas are not just ‘poor.’ Instead, segregation and social exclusion may also occur, leading to processes - the destabilisation of the labour market, the exclusion from political or welfare institutions or the stigmatization parts of the population because of cultural differences (see also Häußermann, 2001).

Similar to (urban) living in general, Häußermann (2001) suggested considering social exclusion as being composed of more than just one dimension. Instead, there are four dimensions: economic, institutional, cultural and social. When considering measures to reduce exclusion, these four dimensions are particularly relevant. However, this paper will primarily focus on the last two of these dimensions, the social and the cultural ones, subsumed under a single descriptor - the socio-cultural dimension. This is done for a reason - when analyzing small-scale urban regeneration projects according to the definition in section 1, it soon becomes clear that this project type predominantly focuses on the socio-cultural dimension of urban living. Within this project type, urban regeneration is often understood as stopping the on-going processes of segregation and social exclusion by providing certain benefits to the local community, which focus on the social and cultural site of urban life. Thereby, the socio-cultural dimension of urban living cannot be seen as a static condition, nor can it, therefore, be reinforced solely through physical changes. Just as social isolation cannot be solved by building a bridge from an

excluded urban district to the wider society, tolerance and cultural acceptance cannot be inculcated by ‘just’ putting people with different backgrounds together. Instead, several social processes have to be brought into play for these characteristics to evolve. The socio-cultural dimension of urban living is dynamic, an interplay between a wide range of factors such as having a feeling of identity, knowing about and being accepted for one’s own culture and heritage, having access to leisure, arts and sports, and being included in a specific community, without this leading to exclusion from other ones or from the greater society. Accordingly, constructing a program for re-integrating an excluded (or as it is often called ‘deprived’) district can only be developed together with the local people; as they are the carriers of culture, heritage and identity. The reinforcement of the socio-cultural dimension of district living is also dependant on their own actions (Häußermann, 2000). However, this does not mean that local people should be left alone with their problems. As Holt-Jensen (2000) points out, referring to the closing conference of the European *ELSES - Evaluation of Local Socio-Economic Strategies in Disadvantaged Urban Areas* project, inhabitants living in districts affected by social exclusion often feel disempowered as they “[...] are increasingly treated as clients and not as participants and stakeholders in local decision making” (p. 282). Therefore, “[...] empowerment and transfer of responsibility to the residents seems to be of importance” (Holt-Jensen, 2000, p. 288).

Reactivating the socio-cultural dimension does not mean simply reconstituting former relationships, practices and formally established everyday routines. It is, rather, about dealing with the found situation in a new way by giving new meanings to what already exists. Sperber, Moritz, & Hetze, (2007), referencing the *Phenomenology of the Social World* by Alfred Schütz (Schütz, 1972), suggested that structural changes in urban regions have made former meanings inconsistent and less reliable. Therefore, the creation and implementation of new meanings can be regarded as an innovation (Sperber et al., 2007). Reinforcement of the socio-cultural dimension of urban living is about creating possibilities for local people - the carriers of the socio-cultural capital - to be a part of the development process to bring back a feeling of identity, acceptance and social inclusion, for them.

These points are often considered by small-scale projects. They do not only focus on the social and cultural measures in the sense of providing social or cultural services at the end of a project implementation. They often involve local people from the beginning in order to let the project develop as a ‘peoples’ project’ - a project from and for local people.

2.2. The *Socially Integrative City* Programme in Germany: A Funding Programme for Small-Scale Projects

In 1999, the German state started a funding programme called *Socially Integrative City* [*Soziale Stadt*] to stop on-going processes of social-spatial segregation and the fragmentation of the city. In many cases – sometimes earlier, sometimes later – the programme accompanied physical urban regeneration activities carried out within the funding programme *Urban Renewal East* [*Stadtumbau Ost*]. However, in comparison to

the latter, the *Socially Integrative City* [Soziale Stadt] programme's strategy was aimed at addressing urban challenges on the local level through the participation of local actors and governance procedures. Hence, the program tackled not only the stabilisation of the housing market and the physical living conditions, but acted on a much broader scale of supporting and enhancing various fields of urban living, ranging from education and employment to health care, social integration, district culture, and overall district image (BVBS, 2008b). Overall, most of the programme's action fields can be linked to the socio-cultural dimension of urban living and many small-scale projects were carried out under its umbrella.

The program utilised two instruments: a funding scheme to support projects in previously selected city districts named as *districts with special development needs* [Stadtteile mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf] and a nation-wide competition in order to award single projects which fulfilled the following criteria – bundling of various resources mainly regarding the actors involved, participation of persons concerned, long-term sustainability, and amount of financial effort and social benefit (Geschäftsstelle des Wettbewerbs “Preis Soziale Stadt”, n.d.). By 2012, hundreds of projects had been realised in over 600 municipalities (BMVBS, 2013) and more than 60 initiatives received the award (Geschäftsstelle des Wettbewerbs “Preis Soziale Stadt”, n.d.).

As already mentioned in section 1, the programme's budget was cut severely due to general savings in the federal budget in 2011. The budget cut was all the more surprising since it was mainly directed at non-construction projects, thus excluding predominantly small-scale projects intended to enhance the social and cultural life in the city district from programme funding. The cut was done despite a wide range of various actors - from politics, civil society, the economy, or from other public or private institutions (foundations, NGOs, educational institutions etc.) – who argued that socio-spatial integration continued to be very important field of urban regeneration (Franke, 2011). Furthermore, the budget cut happened only three years after a status report, produced in 2008, confirmed the programme to have produced positive impacts. The report contained an evaluation of the already fulfilled objectives and existing challenges for projects targeting the socio-cultural dimension. In detail, the socio-cultural infrastructure, the quality of living together, the district image and the possibilities for local people to participate and interact with each other, and other stakeholders, could have been improved (BMVBS, 2008b). Therewith, many small-scale projects were also rated as successful. The results were again reflected in a 2011 published study on the expected consequences of the programme's budget cut (Franke, 2011). In this study, the quality of living together, a positive change in the attitude towards life and an increased pro-activeness of local residents were named as effects of projects acting on the socio-cultural level within the *Socially Integrative City*.

Thus, many small-scale projects within the *Socially Integrative City* programme have emerged as playing an important role in enhancing the social and cultural dimension and an important field of action for urban regeneration.

2.3. The *ReNewTown* Study Framework: An EU Project for Reinforcing Feelings of Identity, Culture and Social Cohesion

Small-scale projects turned out to be an important field of urban regeneration during research carried out within the European project *ReNewTown*. This project was implemented through the CENTRAL EUROPE Programme and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Its aim was to start a cross-border knowledge exchange project searching for solutions on urban regeneration in post-socialist cities. The project was running between 2011 and 2014 (*ReNewTown*, 2011).

The *ReNewTown* partnership consisted of eight project partners from Germany, Poland, Slovenia, Czech Republic and Slovakia. It offered a platform not only for research, but for exchange between various actors such as municipalities, cultural institutions, regional development agencies and scientific institutions. Moreover, *ReNewTown* intended not only to exchange, but to directly implement, knowledge into pilot actions during its project lifetime. The pilot actions in the project pursued to transform:

- a post-industrial building into a centre for cultural activities in Nowa Huta, Poland;
- a public space to a new purpose by offering a meeting place for local residents in the City of Velenje, Slovenia;
- district life by attracting and provoking entrepreneurship and a local business culture in Prague, Czech Republic;
- an old building from the socialist era into a museum for socialist curiosities and a place for cultural and social exchange in Hnusta, Slovakia.

All of the pilot projects can be categorised as small-scale projects although this was not explicitly expressed at the beginning of the project. However, during the project lifetime it became apparent that all pilot actions showed similar characteristics. All were subject to financial restrictions, intended to act within a neighbourhood or locality, wanted to involve local residents from the beginning, and were carried out by engaged individuals having various professional backgrounds. Furthermore, in those pilot projects that aimed to reuse an already existing building structure, it was not intended to completely reconstruct the buildings, but to transform them and lead them to a new purpose.

All pilot action sites were embedded in surrounding blocks of flats residential areas. There, the socialist past is still tangibly present in the bricks and stones, while, on the other hand, intangibles, such as the feeling of identity or a common sense of shared history, which gave rise to the blocks, are in danger of being lost. In *ReNewTown*, the objective was to create more balanced urban districts, and to reduce disparities among local residents, thus avoiding segregation and social exclusion. But this focus on the future does not need to lead to a denial of history – on the contrary, the *ReNewTown* project dealt with both future and past in the form of already existing tangibles and intangibles. The aim was to transform the cultural, social and urban heritage into something new (or with redefined meaning) that could lead to more social cohesion and a stronger common sense of identity. The *ReNewTown* project often focused on the socio-cultural dimension of urban living taking

into account the carriers of this dimension, the local people, in order to not only provide them with improvements in housing quality – whose importance should not be denied – but to give them a new sense of belonging.

3. SMALL-SCALE PROJECTS AND THEIR IMPACT FOR URBAN REGENERATION

3.1. Methodology of the Case Study Research

With its focus on international exchange of knowledge and experience in order to enhance post-socialist urban districts, the *ReNewTown* project started with research on good practice initiatives. In five countries, good examples of urban regeneration in post-socialist cities were identified and analysed. In Germany, the Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis (ITAS), part of the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT) reviewed projects mainly undertaken in Eastern Germany. Information about good practice in Germany was gained from:

- the database of the national urban renewal funding programme *Urban Renewal East* (Leibniz-Institut, 2004-2013);
- the database of the Federal and States funding programme *Socially Integrative City* for cities with indicated urban and social development needs (BMVBS, 2006);
- a database called *Workshop City [Werkstatt Stadt]* provided by the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development (BBSR, 2013a);
- a database for urban renewal projects in Berlin that were part of the programme *Urban Renewal East* (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung).

In addition, information was also taken from interviews with neighbourhood management offices, urban planners and project managers in Berlin, Cottbus and Leipzig who had been involved in projects funded by *Urban Renewal East* or the *Socially Integrative City* programme.

In order to be appropriate for consideration by the *ReNewTown* project, examples had to meet at least one of its stated objectives (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: *ReNewTown* Project Objectives

Provision of new local cultural and social programmes and events
Improving conditions and quality of public spaces to improve quality of life of local residents and the community
Support for the development of small business operators in the locality
Improving the attractiveness of the architecture of the socialist buildings
Involvement of the local community in events organised in its quarter
New functions for structures from the era of socialism (in 1945 – 1989) that serve improving the well being of the community

However, because a very large number of renewal projects have been conducted in Germany since 1989, a second set of criteria was employed by KIT to filter those surveyed and reported (see Table 2 below).

Table 2: *KIT selection criteria*

Transferability to other countries with regard to the level of the financial effort which was needed for the project implementation (approximately 200.000 € or less),
Exhibition of good governance through a high level of stakeholder involvement beyond urban planners and politicians to include local groups and residents in decision-making
Innovation by adding a new value to the quality of life of local residents or sustainability (social, ecological or economic)

Employment of this second set of criteria led to selection of projects that were feasible on a smaller scale, with lower costs and high stakeholder involvement (Götz, Paskaleva-Shapira, & Cooper, in press). In total, ten projects had been selected in Germany. They were later included in a publicly available database of the *ReNewTown* project (ReNewTown, 2011). Today, the database includes 148 cases from 13 Central European countries and 69 cities targeted at improving the quality of life in urban areas built during a socialist period (ReNewTown, 2013). Not all projects within this database are small-scale projects, but they became of great interest during the project's lifetime, as a lack of international research within this field was uncovered. Therefore, the following section will give insights into three of the ten selected German case studies on small-scale projects. Later on, in section 3.3, lessons learnt on small-scale projects will be presented. The lessons learnt were thereby drawn from the good practice research in Germany and from a public workshop that was carried out in 2012 in Karlsruhe, Germany. This workshop was held with representatives from municipal departments, urban planners, architects, representatives of social institutions and researchers in order to gain more insights into their experience with this type of regeneration projects (Götz, Cooper, & Paskaleva, 2013).

In the following section, three selected case study examples are presented with regard to their location, actors, processes and outcomes. This provides insight into the characteristics of small-scale projects, and sets the basis for the analysis of the potentials of small-scale projects in urban regeneration.

3.2. Examples of Small-Scale Urban Regeneration Projects in Germany:

The Cases of A Place for the Marie, Kunstplatte and the Tower Block of Culture

3.2.1. *A Place for the Marie: A Project in Berlin, District Prenzlauer Berg*

The *A Place for the Marie* (*Ein Platz für die Marie*), today the neighbourhood square, lies within the district Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, part of the wider district Berlin Pankow. From an architectural point of view, Prenzlauer Berg is characterised by *Gruenderzeit* [*Gründerzeit*] buildings. Due to the lack of interest in this construction method during the GDR regime, the reunification revealed a massive need for the structural

refurbishment of these buildings in many Eastern German cities. Furthermore, by the time of the reunification, the district Prenzlauer Berg suffered from a high level of traffic volume, damaged streets and pathways, and a lack of public spaces (Bezirksamt Pankow von Berlin, 2011). Therefore, it was in 1994 when the district was officially marked as a redevelopment area – an initiative that lasted for 16 years aiming to make living in the area more attractive to residents, especially to families with children (Bezirksamt Pankow von Berlin, 2011). In the scope of this, many urban renewal actions were carried out, often with support of local residents and citizens' associations. The starting point for this engagement happened already in the 1980s, when citizens tried to gain more influence within the district Prenzlauer Berg, and to receive a voice in regard to the GDR state-regulated urban development strategies (Häußermann, Holm, & Zunzer, 2002). With the end of the division in Germany, and the possibility for citizens to become engaged in urban development, many people took the opportunity to get involved in citizens' associations (Häußermann et al., 2002). One of these associations played a crucial role in the following described project about the transformation of a brownfield site into an attractive place for spending leisure time.

Prenzlauer Berg is composed of several neighbourhood areas. It was in 1997, when a brownfield site in the area around Winsstraße - a street, home of around 9.000 people - was converted into a vivid place for people of different ages and backgrounds living there. In detail, this spot was developed as an adventure playground with an open-air lawn and several elements such as a swing, a watercourse, a biotope and a community garden (Wend, 2004). The *A Place for the Marie* project exemplifies the conversion of an area as a community project, where a great diversity of actors was involved. In the beginning, a district office, a citizens association and a regional company, which was delegated to implement urban regeneration measures within in the district, advocated for the conversion of the brownfield site and conducted initial negotiations in order to carry out conversion processes together with local residents (BBSR, 2013b). Afterwards, the conversion concept was elaborated within a multi-stage procedure that started with public relations work and the invitation of residents to a workshop and citizens' jury (S.T.E.R.N Gesellschaft, 2011). At the workshop, lay people and experts, supported by two moderators, exchanged ideas about how to design the area and voted for their preferred conception which was, in the end, accepted by the district authority (Wend, 2004). Later on, the conversion process was implemented with the help of many local residents, school children, local artists and the cooperation of public authorities (BBSR, 2013b). On this occasion, it was, for example, the Federal Employment Office who financed long-term unemployed people (BBSR, 2013b) and their work within the project. Thus, in the end, the project had been realised by bundling together various financial resources with workforce, both provided by public authorities as well as by local residents, initiatives and other interested parties. Still today, there are interested people who aim to keep the idea of this particular conversion strategy alive. So, in 2009, residents founded an association in order to maintain the place in the spirit of the participation process (Freundeskreis Marie e.V., n.d.). Furthermore, at present, sixteen years after the original implementation, the district administration applies for funding in order to enlarge the project with further attractive offers for families and children.

This project was selected as a model for small-scale projects, though it exemplifies the character of this project type. The *Place for the Marie* project fulfills the criteria of acting on the local level. It was carried out with a variety of engaged actors and involved residents from the beginning. Furthermore, the financial costs are not the predominant factor – a similar project could have been carried out with a higher or lower amount of money. What made this project the choice for an example of good practice is its characteristic of making urban regeneration a common matter, a matter that needs the involvement of residents who live nearby. It shows that urban regeneration can tackle the socio-cultural dimension of living, while improving a physical space. Today, the place is even used in wintertime, when it is already dark outside, and serves as a space for various events. In this sense, the *Place for the Marie* added new value to the life of residents who live nearby, as it provides space for the extension of urban living to the outside area.

3.2.2. *The Association Kunstplatte e.V.: An Example from the City of Stendal, District Stadtsee*

Stendal was a prosperous, medium-sized city with around 50.000 inhabitants in 1989, but soon lost its industries after the reunification in 1989-90 (*Nachhaltiger Umbau*, 2005). Like in many other German *Laender*, this caused several consequences ranging from economic decline to outward migration and vacant residents' apartments and building blocks. This has also significantly affected the large residential areas, which were built in the 1970s to meet the need of housing for workers working in the industries nearby (*Nachhaltiger Umbau*, 2005). Stendal's district, Stadtsee, can be regarded as typical; it originally provided living space in approximately 10.000 apartments in prefabricated housing blocks (*Nachhaltiger Umbau*, 2005). After losing many residents, the City of Stendal decided to be one of the first in Germany to demolish entire housing blocks (BMVBS, 2012) and to give the district of Stadtsee a new makeover. However, as already described in section 2.1, strategies dedicated to the physical infrastructure of housing blocks cannot solely solve the challenges that arose from the massive transformation processes caused by the reunification. Thus, the aim of the project *Kunstplatte* (Kunstplatte, 2010), which resulted in the foundation of an association for social and cultural offers, was to transform the socio-cultural life within the Stadtsee district over a long-term perspective (GdW, n.d.). The project has aimed to reduce the physical distance between the residential area Stadtsee, in the periphery, and the inner city of Stendal by developing offers for residents from both parts of the city (BMVBS, 2001). Originally, the initiative started as a short-term-project of only week when, in 1998, a local housing association and a local gallery owner carried out an arts-and-culture-week (BMVBS, 2001). Because of the success of this short-term project, and the request of many citizens, the association *Kunstplatte e.V.* was founded on the basis of sponsoring and voluntary work (BMVBS, 2001). The local housing association provided a 400 m² large vacant salesroom for the association to settle down in (GdW, n.d.). Since then, *Kunstplatte* has offered social and cultural events of different kinds, for example: dancing courses, theatre programmes, (senior) sports programmes, sewing courses etc. – first with the help of a part-time employee supported by a national job creation programme [*Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahme*], but, since 2003, on the basis of voluntary work and donations (Kunstplatte, 2010). The main aim of the

project *Kunstplatte* is to enhance social integration by delivering skills in regard to arts and culture. Thus, the project is not about passively consuming cultural events, it is about delivering a positive learning experience in order to provoke the development of the self-consciousness of local residents.

Similar to the *Place for the Marie* project, *Kunstplatte* qualifies as a small-scale good practice as it started on the very local level and according to the demand of local residents. Its objective is to enhance the socio-cultural dimension of urban living by actively involving local residents in activities. As already noted in section 2.1, enhancing the socio-cultural dimension of urban living is not only about reconstituting former relationships and conditions. It is also about giving new meanings to the residents' lives. In this sense, the premise of *Kunstplatte e.V.* was transformed from a salesroom, into a place for residents - a place where residents are encouraged to discover personal skills they have perhaps not been aware of before.

3.2.3. The 'Tower Block of Culture': An Example from Berlin, District Marzahn

Today, the area of Berlin Marzahn is part of the district Marzahn-Hellersdorf. Marzahn can be described as a large housing area that provides living space for more than 100.000 people. The Northern part of Marzahn is relatively new, its building process was not completed until the end of the 1980s (Cremer, 2005). This part of the district is predominantly composed by 11-storey high-rise buildings and here, the vacancy rate reached between 17% and 40% percent per building after the reunification (Cremer, 2005). In 1999 the area was appointed to be a city district with a special need of assistance in future development, and was included into the funding programme *Socially Integrative City*. In addition to this, an urban regeneration concept was developed and submitted to a national competition, in the course of the urban regeneration programme *Urban Renewal East*, in order to get start-up financing for improving the physical structure of the building complexes and the housing environment (Schulz, 2004).

The *Tower Block of Culture* project [*Kulturhochhaus Marzahn*], a social and cultural project implemented in 1993, accompanied these massive changes that took place between the end of the 1990s and today. However, the project started before those extensive public funding programmes supported the urban regeneration process, as a response to a survey carried out by the Berlin senate that revealed a lack of space for young people to spend their leisure time.

The resulting *Tower Block of Culture* consists of three single projects. All of them are carried out under the umbrella of an association that was founded in 1990 by children, youths, parents, and social and child care workers. The 'Tower Block of Culture' is led by two social workers with a total amount of 150 percent working time for the project. Until 2014, the project's funding is mainly secured by the *Socially Integrative City* (see also 2.2) In addition, the *Tower Block of Culture* project has a strong cooperative relationship with the local housing association that provides the space needed for the project free of rent. In reverse, the housing company benefits from the project because its aim is to improve the

well being of the inhabitants and to change the image of the district. Besides the positive effects for the inhabitants, it is expected that a change of the district's image could also lead to attracting new residents.

In the basement of the high-rise building, a place for children was created where they are able to play together, to do their homework and take part in organised events. The first floor of the *Tower Block of Culture* accommodates a café that is predominantly run by residents working there voluntarily. It either serves as a meeting place for local people or is used as a space for exhibitions and other events to enhance and improve the cultural life in Berlin Marzahn North-West. The most publicly visible subprojects, guesthouses designed by children, are located in the 10th and 11th floor of the high-rise building within two apartments. These formally vacant apartments were renovated and designed for foreigners to experience an unusual Berlin city trip and to overcome prejudices about living in a prefabricated housing complex. The idea was to create guest rooms developed within a short-time project in 2004. Local artists were invited to live and work in some of the vacant apartments of the housing block for two weeks. During this project, more and more inhabitants became interested, so that, when it ended, children voiced the idea of transforming a living apartment into guest rooms decorated with self-made artwork. Supported by the two social workers, funds were raised, and brainstorming workshops were held, together with artists and children. At these, a design concept for the apartment rooms was proposed which was later implemented by volunteers, together with the artists. Due to its success and the increase in requests to stay overnight in the *Tower Block of Culture*, a second apartment was designed and opened in 2006. In general, the implementation and operation of the *Tower Block of Culture* and its sub-projects 'children's basement,' 'café' and 'guest apartments' are very much based on voluntary work. The project aims to empower residents and to motivate them to introduce their knowledge into the project. It has served as a place for learning not only hard but also soft skills such as communication and teamwork (BMVBS, 2008a).

Accompanying the massive changes in the district Marzahn that were caused by structural changes and regeneration measures, the *Tower Block of Culture* intended to add a different perspective on urban regeneration. The prefabricated housing block where the *Tower Block of Culture* project is located in was transformed into a creative space without denying its history. Today, the project does not only provide a space for residents to meet, it can be regarded as a real residents-driven project that gives room to residents to fulfill their ideas. Similar to *Kunstplatte e.V.* the project intends to encourage and empower residents to become actively involved in the process of changing the district's negative image into a positive one – both within the residents' community but also with regard to the regional and national scope.

3.3. Lessons Learnt

On the basis of the analysis of ten selected small-scale projects in Germany, and results from a workshop on the impact of small-scale projects that was held in June 2012 with experts such as urban planners, architects, municipal representatives and social workers (see also 3.1), two forms of lessons learnt can be distinguished. First of all, those regarding the question of what can be achieved with small-scale projects. Second, there are lessons to be learnt regarding what should be used as success factors for small-scale projects.

On the general level, the lessons learnt can be described as follows: when comparing the ten selected German cases, of which three are exemplified in section 3.2, the main resource has been the inhabitants themselves. Indeed, small-scale projects often begin as small initiatives with little assured resources, whether long-term financing or human inputs. However, it is the participation, motivation and engagement of residents that keep these projects alive. In exchange the projects offer new possibilities for members of the local community to interact with each other and to strengthen ties. Often, small-scale projects aim to convey to members a feeling of being able and welcomed to take part in the development, decision-making and implementation of projects within the own city – a feeling that can somehow be described as the possibility to be valued as a co-designer of the urban environment and one's own neighbourhood.

In this sense, small-scale projects make their contribution against social exclusion and towards the empowerment of the local community. Often they are open for all kinds of residents not only within the neighbourhood but also for outsiders living in other parts of the city or even in a different country, like in the case of the guesthouses within the *Tower Block of Culture* (see section 3.2). In general, these projects extend the residents' living space through creating an inclusive creative space where people are welcomed regardless of their background. In addition, some projects are intended not only to provide room and space for community building and social inclusion, but have as a future focal point an aim to provide skills to inhabitants which they might use in their future private or even professional lives. Hence single skills are not of major importance: instead, such projects are more about giving residents a positive 'learning experience' and a feeling of 'self-confidence' (BMVBS, 2001).

On the implementation level, the success of small-scale projects starts right at the beginning of the project formulation. At the experts' workshop, it became apparent that small-scale projects can be of benefit for the local community if they respond to a local demand that is formulated by people who are connected with the locality. This implies two characteristics: The involvement of local people and the willingness to open the project's design for the 'real' needs of the local community. This focus on the locality can be regarded as strength of small-scale projects as the local level is easily forgotten in times dominated by concerns for globalisation and digitalisation. Still, a major part of our life remains embedded in a particular neighbourhood and "[t]he fact that the effect of spatial distance differs from one person to another, and that distance could mean nothing for one person and everything for another, does not contradict the hypothesis

that spatial distance systematically influences the production and reproduction of social networks” (Andersson, 2001, p. 157). The effect of the neighbourhood or locality can thus be regarded as twofold: small-scale projects offer possibilities for strengthening the local community, while at the same time the local community is able to strengthen the potential of the small-scale projects. As illustrated with the cases described in section 3.2 all three projects started with a basic idea, for example establishing a playground, and ended up with a broader community-driven contextualisation of what needs to be done to meet a greater local interest.

However, whatever the positive effects of small-scale projects on the urban community regarding the socio-cultural dimension of urban living, it should not be denied that they have their limitations. In the course of the *Socially Integrative City* programme, for example, it was intended to build up new governance structures for urban regeneration by carrying out projects that act on the local level and smaller scale. In retrospect, it became clear that this objective was only fulfilled to a limited extent as the establishment of sustaining governance structures takes more time than it was expected at the beginning of the programme (Zimmermann, 2011). Furthermore, small-scale projects are not able to solve the big challenges of our times in regard to societal problems such as poverty or unemployment. Nor are they able to fully encompass all four dimensions of urban regeneration (described in section 2.1) at the same time. However, the community effect of small-scale projects is not to be underestimated, although it has again to be noted that these projects rely very much on the participation of the residents. Participation in urban regeneration is able to encourage both local potential and to support engagement and local democratic processes (Cremer, 2005). However, the line between citizens’ active participation and participation overload is thin. Especially in times when the call for participation in urban development is widespread, the risk of ‘particainment’ (Selle, 2011) exists. Here participation is only used as a catchword in order to receive more attention for the implementation of projects. In both literature and practice, a long list of criteria has been set out for participation in order to provide ‘how-to’ guidance (see also Selle, 2010). However, this cannot replace the high level of reflection that should be shared by the actors involved in the planning and implementation processes of both small- and large-scale urban regeneration projects.

4. CONCLUSION

The discussion in this paper focused on small-scale projects, a type of project that is often forgotten about when talking about urban regeneration. To shed light on this project type, within this paper, a definition was proposed, selection criteria were outlined and insights into the impacts of small-scale projects were presented.

We argued that urban living depends not only on the condition of physical structures, but is also composed of social and cultural factors - such as being included in a community and having the feeling of acceptance for one’s own culture and identity. Ideally, urban regeneration programmes need to respond to this. Small-scale projects are required to act

on the socio-cultural level by being embedded in integrated urban strategies. However, there is a danger in putting too much pressure on small-scale projects by requiring them to be integrated in large urban regeneration policies focusing on new urban governance strategies (however desirable). Small-scale projects have their own intrinsic potential. What might, in the beginning, start with a small idea or a local initiative, could in the end lead to more social inclusion sometimes 'only' on the local level or sometimes also on a greater scale. What is important is to take over a realistic position and to accept that small-scale projects are not suitable for changing the overall future of our cities. Small-scale projects often do not intend to bring about innovations in the sense of our information society. People living in an area that is affected by (socio-) spatial problems are often concerned with very basic problems and challenges, such as a depressed economic situation. The innovation lies within the added value that the small-scale project provides for local inhabitants. In the first instance, small-scale projects do provide 'space,' space in which a feeling of well-being, acceptance and self-worth can be developed starting within the immediate locality. Within this space, there is room for exchanging problems, but also new ideas, so that, in the end, a small-scale project can serve as an 'initial spark' for inhabitants to gain a positive 'inclusion experience.' In this sense, small-scale projects deal with social exclusion in a very traditional way within the particular localities. Indeed, they have impact on the neighbourhood level and on the level of physical closeness when attempting to improve the social and cultural dimension of the everyday urban life.

This discussion should lead to an understanding that urban regeneration is more than renovating building structures or changing city shapes. Small-scale projects do play a role – and in many cases a positive one – in urban regeneration. With the results illustrated in this paper, an impulse should be given to further research activities. What needs to be done, in the future, is to give this type of regeneration projects more attention. Further, future research needs to evaluate the outcomes of small-scale projects in regard to their contribution to the quality of urban living. This will not be an easy task. Friedrichs and Hommerich (2005), for instance, have already discussed the difficulties in assessing the success of social measures in the urban context. Many of their findings can also be transferred to the study of small-scale projects. However, small-scale projects – especially when they are integrated in urban regeneration programmes like, for instance, the *Socially Integrative City* – promise a positive impact on the quality of living for local residents. Research in this direction is overdue.

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YOUTH: THE MOTOR OF REDEVELOPMENT IN MID-SIZED POST-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS

NAJA MAROT¹

ABSTRACT: *This article builds on the results of a transnational project to reveal the importance of the youth in the redevelopment process of a post-industrial region. The introduction to the region and to collaborative planning is elaborated on the basis of two surveys performed in the Zasavje region and its central town of Trbovlje, in which the youth evaluated the state of the region and gave proposals for future development. The discussion focuses on the challenges and added value of the collaborative process for the development of the region and is then generalised to similar areas across Central Europe.*

Keywords: *youth, regional development, collaborative planning, middle-size towns, post-industrial regions, transnational projects*

JEL Classification: R11

1. INTRODUCTION

As seen from the URBACT program (Connecting cities, Building success), the prevailing form of settlement in Europe is the mid-sized town (ERDF 2014). More than half of the 732 European settlements that suit a city definition are categorised as medium-sized, and have populations of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. This type of settlement is especially sensitive to recent economic changes, including the transformation from a socialist- to a market-oriented economy, as argued by different authors (Lintz, Müller & Finka, 2005; Parysek 2005; Zuzanska-Zyško, 2005; Sucháček & Petersen, 2010; Lux, 2013). When the competing market is no longer regional or national, but global, the entities that built their booming economic activity on local sources, like coal, are forced to look for alternatives, since thinking in terms of economies of scale is not an easy task. The transnational project called ReSource (Harfst, Bieberstein, & Wirth, 2010a; Harfst, Wirth, Lintz & Bieberstein, 2010b), which was financed through the Central Europe program of territorial cooperation, addressed this challenge and elaborated on the potential of the post-industrial areas. Project partners tried to suggest new uses and ideas for a smoother transformation process (e.g., in Vaishar, Lipovská & Štátná, 2012 or in Harst & Marot, 2013). This strategy making, which was among one of the project outputs, was based on participative effort to integrate as many relevant actors as possible and make the process remarkably more legitimate (Osebik, Harfst & Marot, 2011).

¹ University of Ljubljana, Biotechnical Faculty, Department of Landscape Architecture, Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: najja.marot@bf.uni-lj.si

The regions in question were the selected post-mining regions of Central Europe. Hereby, the focus will be on the Slovenian Zasavje region of approximately 43.000 inhabitants (SORS, 2014) and its centre municipality, a town called Trbovlje. The three municipalities of the region (the smallest of the twelve Slovenian regions) are considered a so-called conurbation. Both the region and the town have faced population decline in the last five years - the whole of the region by 4% (1.767 people) and the town by 5% (917 people, making the current population 16.628 inhabitants). The region is now recognised as the most-aged region of Slovenia (the regional ageing index² of 139,5 was above the national figure of 116,8 in 2011). Another problem has been negative demographics, such as a high level of unemployment, problems with housing provisions and a lack of cooperation among the actors in regional development. These issues directly affect the youth. Last year, in addition to the regional transformation process in the frame of the ReSource project, strategy making also took place in the central town of the region (Obcina Trbovlje, 2014); this process can serve as a policy-making example on the micro and local level.

This strategy making seems to happen without taking into consideration the needs of the youth, who are often seen as a marginal group in society and, according to Fischer (2011) and Kurth-Schai (1998), represent unused potential in regional development planning. Several researchers have tried to clarify the problem of why the youth are not recognised as more important, despite the promotion of their participation in planning over the past three decades (Checkoway, Pothukuchi, & Finn, 1995; Adams & Ingham 1998; Knowles-Yánez, 2005; Jentsch, 2006). Lynch (1977) was the first to acknowledge young people as important actors in development by stressing how youth comprehend and are affected by the territories in which they live. Furthermore, political documents, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989), the Rio Declaration (UN, 1992b) and Agenda 21 (UN, 1992a), all argue that youth should participate actively in all relevant levels of decision making, because such decision making affects their current lives, and has clear implications for their futures. Later, The Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) helped to set the ground for the branch of spatial planning called collaborative planning (Healey, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999), which should also have implications for policy making. Although relatively established in the Western countries, in Slovenia, the policy making process has only recently included more public and more creative techniques, such as focus groups. Similarly, round tables are used in addition to official public hearings, which correspond to only the informative or consultative level of the public participation measurement scale (International Association of Public Participation; Marot, 2010).

According to current practice, the regional strategy prepared on the basis of the Promotion of Balanced Regional Development Act (1999), which consists of strategic guidelines and objectives and an implementation plan with project proposals, is the result of a consultation involving a broad range of regional actors. Though this is true in practice, the group of stakeholders (representatives of companies, municipalities, NGOs, etc.) does

2 The ageing index is the ratio between the old population (aged 65 years or older) and the young population (aged 0 to 14 years), multiplied by 100 (SORS, 2012).

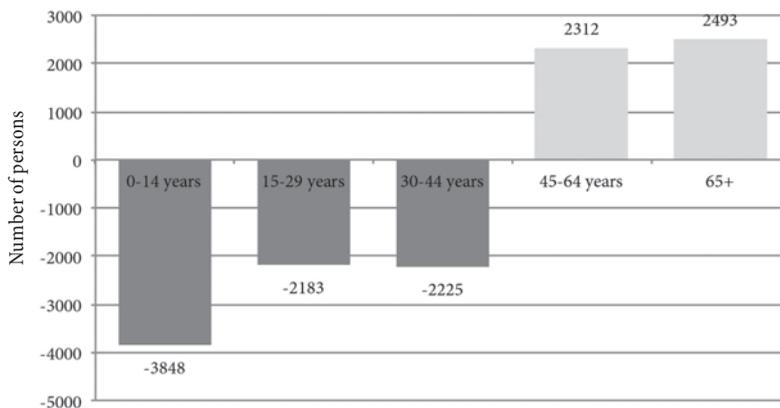
not include representatives of the youth. To overcome this problem, the ReSource project established the alternate participative process (Osebik et al., 2011), in which one output was based solely on the youth's view of the region. This experience was then taken into account during the local strategy preparation, during which the youth gained a role equal to that of the other actors, and had their own representative in the director of the local youth centre.

This article is aimed at presenting both cases of strategy making and at revealing both the role the youth can play in the policy making process and the added value of their integration. The introduction is followed by the methodology section. The results are organised thematically - first, the presentation of the regional identity of the youth; second, the motivation for participation and the types of engagement; and third, the knowledge created by the process. The article concludes by illuminating the value of youth participation and the youth's knowledge regarding the redevelopment of mid-sized towns.

2. METHODS

The first step in defining the method was deciding on the meaning of the “youth category”—that is, what the category of “youth” means to us. The very broad definition accepted by the National Statistical Office (14 to 29 years; SORS 2011) and the EU Youth in Action Programme (13 to 30 years; European Commission, 2012) was adopted and modified, and the resulting definition encompassed the population aged 15 to 30 years. This covers both adolescents and active job seekers between 26 and 30 who might want to take part in local and regional development. When the survey was conducted, youth represented one-fifth of the Slovenian population (406.910 youth; 2011). The figure for the region Zasavje (19%, 8.463 youth) is comparable to the national and EU averages (20% for the age group of 15 to 29 years, 2007), but is considerably lower than averages in the “youngest” EU nations - such as Slovakia and Poland - which have the highest proportions (24%) of young people (European Commission, 2009). What could be worrisome is that, in the decade from 2001 to 2011, the number of young people in Slovenia declined by 12%. The change in the ten years prior to year 2011 (see Figure 1) clearly indicates that the population is ageing, and that the number of youth is in decline.

Figure 1: Demographic change by age groups in period 1991-2011



The major inquiry method for both studies was a survey. The first one was performed on the regional level, and the second was performed on the local level. Since the first survey was targeted only towards the youth, a web survey was selected as the appropriate method. Using the on-line questionnaire, individuals who would otherwise be difficult to contact or locate could be reached (Frippiat & Marquis, 2010; Wright, 2006). This difficulty in reaching the target population was exacerbated because the survey was conducted in June 2011, a holiday period during the academic year. Furthermore, the age range of the sample did not allow a unified collection of data, because it included high school students, university students and people already at work. The questionnaire was structured in three parts and with a total of 22 questions. It was distributed in several ways: through Zasavje youth organization member mailing lists, by publication on the Regional Development Centre web site, through personal contacts, and through two existing high schools (although the last channel was very limited due to the holiday period).

Each of the questionnaire's parts was thematically focused: the seven questions of the first part were dedicated to the regional identity and recognition of the region; the second and most extensive (11 questions) part inquired about current and future regional development; and the third (4 questions) sought basic information about the participants. Altogether, 92 people participated (1% of the total age population in the region), of whom 73 (with an average age of 25) answered all questions. The territorial dispersion of respondents corresponds to the population size in each of three Zasavje municipalities. The low response rate might have resulted from the length and difficulty of the research, the time period of the survey and the predicted share of this age group's population that could be reached by this method—53 to 73% (Frippiat & Marquis 2010). More specifically, Funkl (2010) argues, it is difficult to pose questions that appeal to both 15-year-olds and 30-year-olds.

The largest group was students (37%); employed persons followed with 36%; 17% were high school pupils; and 10% were unemployed (the regional figure for unemployment

was 19% in March 2014; SORS, 2014). With regard to education, 44% of the respondents had finished high school, 24% university, and 14% grammar school. In addition, 14% had graduated from a two- to three-year college program, and 10% had a master's degree or PhD. With regard to the daily commuting phenomenon typical for the region, of the 26 employed respondents, approximately half (48%) had a job outside the region (mainly in the capital city Ljubljana). The most common sector of employment was services (37%), followed by industry and administration (10%). The sectors of information technology, education, research and art each employed 7%, while construction, environmental science, and catering followed, employing 4% each.

The second survey was part of the local strategy preparation process. The municipality of Trbovlje decided on two different techniques for integrating the youth (Občina Trbovlje, 2014). The first one included the formation of a consultancy board of local experts, who were organised into four thematic groups (economy, environment and planning, society and human resources) and then went through a multi-step process. In this process, the board elaborated on the analysis; proposed guidelines and measures for the future; and, finally, evaluated these guidelines and measures by priority. In parallel, a survey was carried out, the purpose of which was to gather the opinions of the general public regarding the current state of the infrastructure, services, public transport, quality of environment and future development of Trbovlje. Since the survey was targeted towards the whole population of Trbovlje, it was available as both an on-line form and a printed-out version, which was distributed at public service locations (health centre, youth centre, library, retirement home and the municipality). Moreover, it was also sent out with one of the municipal magazine issues to all the households in the municipality. What makes this survey relevant for this article is the average age of the respondent (34 years) and the fact that more than half of the respondents (239 out of 554) belonged to the category of youth. The youth also prevailed in the short survey, which accompanied this one and was only sent out to non-residents who came to the municipality for services. Non-residents were asked to reveal their needs and how they perceived the town of Trbovlje.

What was of interest to us, in these two attempts to examine the role of the youth in development, were the following elements: the regional identity of the youth, their forms of participation (existing and proposed), the institutional framework with activities and the created knowledge.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Regional Identity

Blotevogel (1996) argued that regional identity is a prerequisite to successful development. Schielewenz (2010) exposed the issues of the regional identities of mining regions in particular by stating that fixation on the past can hinder such regions from exploring new development paths. Regional identity in the Zasavje region has been investigated in

previous research studies (Marot, 2005; Murn & Skrinar, 2009), in which it was shown that young people had positive attitudes towards the region, but were more negative regarding the economic future and regional development. These are areas where the youth could step in, since they were born at a time when mining was coming to an end and, thus, failed to closely adopt the regional identity, or to focus exclusively on mining (Marot, 2005).

In the newer survey, attachment to the region was confirmed by a majority: 34% considered themselves significantly attached to the region, 44% attached, 9% undecided and 12% did not express any attachment to Zasavje. Since mining has been present in the region since 1755, the follow-up question asked about the meaning of mining and its tradition for respondents. For the highest percentage of respondents (40%), the mining tradition was neither very important nor unimportant. For 33%, mining meant a lot; for 19%, a little; and for 8%, very little.

Besides directly evaluating the attachment of young people to the region, the survey asked respondents to name characteristics of the region as reported by people from outside. A negative image of the region was confirmed, with the highest scores for categories like pollution (51), cement industry (24), “heavy” dialect³ (21), old basic industry (5), and backwardness (2), which all imply an industrial past. Neutral categories followed: dialect, narrow valley and unfavourable relief, artists, physical features and politicians. Mining was mentioned 52 times, which confirms that mining remains the dominant characteristic of the region. In addition, respondents evaluated a pre-set list of attributes to describe the region. The only positive connotation was that of adjacent green areas; otherwise, the region was considered undeveloped (66%), lagging behind (63%), without perspectives (54%) and averse to immigration.

A similar exercise was performed on the local level, where the most common associations for the town of Trbovlje were pollution and related connotations (polluted air, poor maintenance and prevention measures). Then, visual characteristics of the municipality followed, such as beautiful, green and little, which can be recognised as positive associations and which represent a deviation from the prevailing image of the region. What is of interest for this article is that, while the mining and the mine did appear; they did not appear as frequently as in the regional data. More common were the appearances of words and word formations representing the consequences of the closure of the mine, like degradation, unemployment, lagging behind, lack of jobs, stagnation and others.

Some connotations can be also derived from the exercise (a survey question) in which participants made up their own slogans for the town’s promotion. The most common response was to create a slogan that included words like “future” or “going forward,” but some also based their versions on tradition or on the combining of past and future. In comparison to the regional situation, mining played an important role here and was

3 People from Zasavje have a nationwide reputation of speaking a very “heavy” dialect, something they perhaps have in common with other European industrial regions.

mentioned in associations such as “From black, back to green!” “From the mining past, to the green future!” and “From the dark shafts, to the green every day!” Respondents also very commonly integrated the word for “Good luck,” which is a typical greeting for miners before they go to the mine. The opinions of the visitors (who were prevalingly students) differ in comparison to the opinions of the inhabitants. To the visitors, pollution was still in first place; however, mining came in second, which brings forward the typical picture people outside of the town have of Trbovlje. The other opinions were similar to those of previous groups of respondents.

3.2 Motivation for Participation and Types of the Engagement

In the section of the questionnaire on regional identity, one question investigated differences between youths and adults as future and present decision makers. The attributes describing personal character were evaluated separately for youth and adults. Overall, young people saw themselves more positively than they did the “older generation,” meaning that they considered themselves more educated, active, connected, successful and progressive—and thus, one could possibly conclude, capable of the decision making. This is a one-sided evaluation, since adults did not participate in the survey.

The types of engagement represent an important element regarding whether, and how, the youth has participated, or would participate, and, moreover, which techniques of participation would yield the most results and should be facilitated by the decision makers. Firstly, we tailored a multiple-choice question concerning how young people best communicate and realise their ideas⁴. The easiest channel was the local youth centre (mentioned in 58% cases), followed by educational institutions (48%) and student clubs (47%). In only 17% of cases could youth be successful in delivering their ideas through active political engagement (e.g., organization of protests scored lowest (13%)).

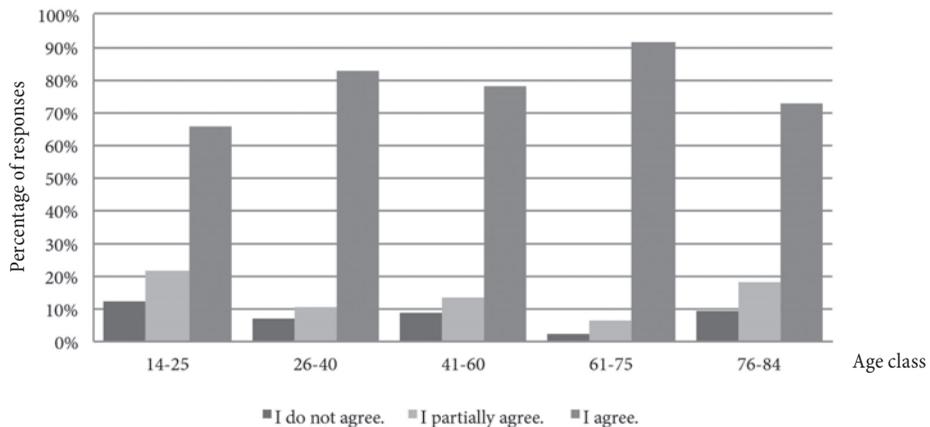
The vast majority (92%) of respondents believed that there were opportunities for youth to participate in the development and implementation of different projects. However, despite this high score, only 51% of young people had actually utilised these opportunities, mostly through youth clubs or through the youth divisions of political parties. In their free time, most young people took part in projects like sporting events, concerts, and workshops, and were not overly concerned with political life. The youth also participated in heritage preservation projects. With regard to potential participation, a majority of respondents (84%) were interested in cooperating in regional development. The most favoured form of participation was the workshop or working group (68%) in which regional strategies are drafted. Half of participants would ambitiously take over leadership of the project, 48% would like a vote on final decisions regarding development, and 47% would engage in project development and implementation with friends. The least popular option for participation was responding to calls for innovative ideas in the region (35%) or becoming involved with public hearings on development policy (30%).

4 Multiple choices were possible.

The latter is currently the most common form of participation, which is usually ignored by the public, except in cases of the “not-in-my-backyard” effect.

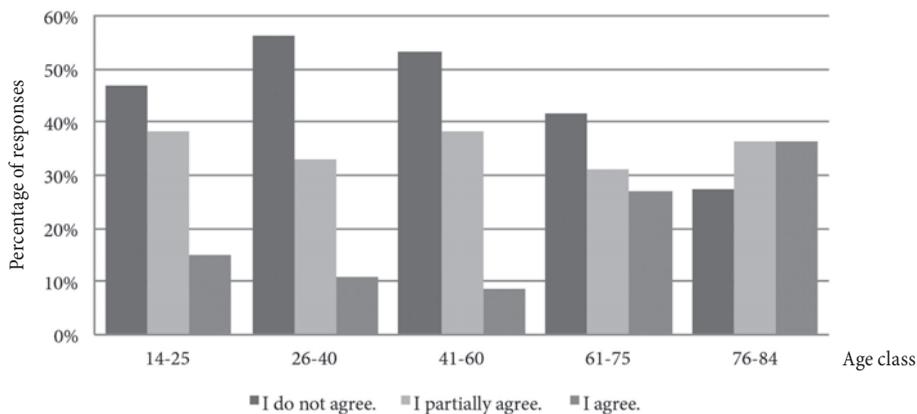
The analysis on the local level also looked at the social and political climate in which the public participation takes place, and examined the difference in the comprehension of this environment between the youth and the elderly. As the results show, the attachment to the locality is of similar levels for respondents in different age groups, with a slight distinction between the youth and the elderly. Altogether, 75% of participants claimed to be attached to the locality (see Figure 2). However, the elderly were more likely to agree with the statement (“I am attached to the town of Trbovlje”). Among the youth, the attachment was valid for only two-thirds of respondents, which might be due to social changes and, in part, to the fact that youth between 14 and 25 years old are still developing their identity and, consequently, becoming attached to their region.

Figure 2: *Level of agreement with the statement: “I am attached to the town of Trbovlje”*



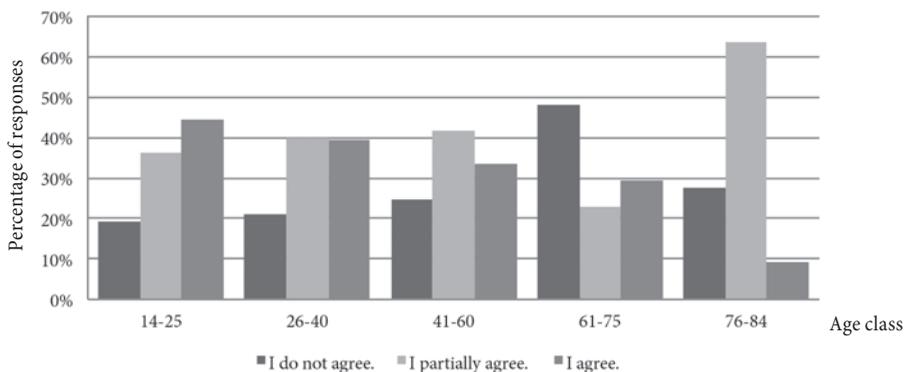
The age differential also holds true for the statements about the community’s interconnectivity (see Figure 3). Half of the respondents agreed that the local community was not connected at all, and only 14% of respondents were positive about it. The most negative feeling about the community’s connectedness came from the active population (people between 26 and 60 years old), which should be the most engaged in their community. The elderly were more positive, which may be because the elderly were more dependent on one another and on other members of community; therefore, they are required to be more linked. On the other hand, the phenomenon of individualization was more obvious in the group of youth respondents. The elderly were also more positive about links to neighbours and the sentiment that the community’s social life is varied and fulfilling.

Figure 3: *Level of agreement with the statement: “The local community of Trbovlje is well integrated.”*



n terms of political will, most of the respondents were not prepared to let the development be led only by political parties; instead, they would open the process to the general public. Surprisingly, the most positive group regarding the role of the politics was the youth, who still had expectations for decision makers. The desire for citizen control of decision making—or at least decision making done in partnership—was expressed by three quarters of respondents; only five per cent of participants were strictly against such a change. The most eager was the working population aged 26 to 40, and the least eager was the youth population aged 14 to 25. People were very positive about the statement that the future is in the hands of the local population (80% confirmation), but the youth were the most sceptical. Further, though respondents were very positive about participation, only two-thirds would really want to be more actively engaged. Of these, the youth had the most negative inclinations towards active engagement. This was proven at the follow-up event, which gathered relevant stakeholders to reveal that, in practice, only a small percentage of youth actually takes part in the process. The problem has been attracting the rest of the youth population, since events are usually visited by the same group of people.

Figure 4: Agreement with the statement: “The older population does not consider the opinions and needs of the youth.”



The opinions regarding the relations between different groups of residents were contradictory. While the youth thought that the future of the municipality is hindered by conflicts between social groups, and that the elderly do not consider the youth's opinions; the elderly stated just the opposite.

No generalizations could be made regarding the statement that “*future development is hindered by the conflicts between the social groups*” - one-quarter disagreed, one-third was undecided, and two-fifths agreed. Again, the youth were more affirmative than the older population. Moreover, more than half of the respondents also said that the elderly do not consider the opinions and needs of the youth population, which clearly shows the intergenerational gaps (see Figure 4). Agreement with the statement “*The older population does not consider the opinions and needs of the youth*” is age-dependent and decreases with the age.

What is positive about these results is that the youth are interested in more active forms of participation, and are no longer content with merely being informed. This shows a move away from the current average practice in Slovenia, which acknowledges the prevalence of passive forms of participation.

3.3 Existing Institutions Supporting the Youth Participation

Current projects initiated by youth organizations - such as the construction of a youth centre and hostel in Trbovlje, international student exchanges and a summer school developing tourist routes of mining attractions organised by the ReSource project - have shown that young people can be creative and are an inexhaustible source of ideas. There are four types of organisations⁵ for young people in Zasavje who engage youth in different kinds of activities:

- **Two youth centres:** Youth centers involve young people in projects about specific topics (e.g., European Week of Mobility, Let's Clean Slovenia, etc.), international exchanges, the organization of cultural events and daily activities (e.g., sports, study

⁵ The organizations' activities have been derived from their web sites and annual reports.

support, consultations for youth and young families, etc.). The centres in Trbovlje and Zagorje focus mainly on high school students.

- **Three student clubs:** Each municipality has a student club, which provides cultural events (e.g., an annual cultural festival, concerts, a New Year's concert, a celebration of Midsummer Eve, thematic events, travelogues), language and skills courses, excursions, sport activities, concerts and evening classes for adults.
- **Three high school educational institutions:** In addition to their regular programmes, Zasavje high schools organise supplementary afternoon activities for pupils, such as sport activities, interest clubs (e.g., for maths, logic, physics, etc.), bands, international exchanges, projects to reduce the drop-out rate or promote business, events to attract the local community (e.g., farmers markets, charity benefits, poetry evenings) and others.
- **Other organisations:** Youth can also participate in organisations established by various interest groups or with specific purposes.

Last year, the youth centre in Trbovlje also established an initiative, with the real estate management company for public housing in Trbovlje, to engage the youth in an *ad hoc* action for the re-use of dilapidated housing. Youth were given such properties for low rent and, in return, they were to invest in the renovations.

Besides youth institutions, youth also evaluated other stakeholders who they believed should engage in local and regional development. They recognised municipalities as the most important organizations (82%), followed by larger companies (72%) and small firms (67%). Also significant were various associations (66%). Around two-thirds of participants recognised government (61%) and educational institutions (60%) as important, and nearly the same level of importance (58%) was assigned to the regional development agency. Surprisingly, financial institutions were considered the least important organizations for regional development, with an average score of moderate importance (45%).

3.4 Overview of Produced Knowledge

The knowledge that was generated by the survey has multiple dimensions. Firstly, it is important for the validation of the analysis of the current situation, and secondly and more importantly, it presents ideas about future development, both overall and on an individual project basis. In the framework of regional analysis, the following topics were covered:

- analysis of the current offering of services and the general quality of life;
- analysis of the development problems (structured into five topics: politics and development, economy, environment and territory, labour market and education and regional mentality);
- evaluation of the development scenario options;
- analysis of the current daily commuting figures;
- development of a list of the major development goals;
- development of a list and descriptions of ideas for projects and investments;
- prediction of future demographic trends (e.g., tensions and push factors for migration).

Some of the major results are worth presenting to better illustrate the economic and political conditions that influence youth. Also important are the ideas generated for future development.

With regard to the evaluation of the current situation, the youth listed numerous development issues in Zasavje. For easier comprehension, these were grouped into five headings: mentality, environment, labour market, education, economy, and policy and development. Among the most frequently mentioned problems was pollution, followed by the narrowness of peoples' views hampering regional and local development. These findings might be seen as a confirmation of the distance between the youth and the elderly. Development was also seen as limited by poor transport links with other parts of Slovenia (e.g., the distance to the nearest highway junction). In particular, the lack of jobs requiring qualified staff and professional knowledge was shown as a crucial problem (Table 1).

Table 1: *Major problems of regional development in Zasavje, clustered by topic*

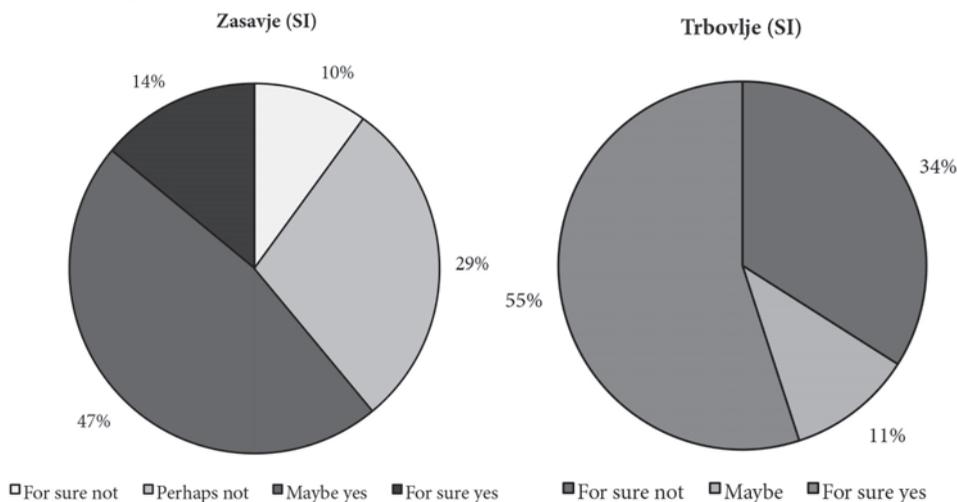
Politics and development	Economy
Centralised decision making in cases of energy and regional policy	Too-slow transformation from an old industrial into a post-industrial region
Lack of a sound plan for project implementation	Decline of mining activity and closure of industry and other larger companies
Proximity to Ljubljana limiting options for regional development	Lack of new investment
Polarity of interests: industry vs. tourism	Non-utilised cultural heritage
Inefficient youth and student organizations	
Lack of funds	
Lack of fresh ideas	
Environment and territory	Labour market and education
Unfavorable physical conditions (location of settlements, further construction of infrastructure)	Lack of jobs
Pollution and degraded environment	Brain drain and emigration of youth
Poor transport connections with the rest of the country	Ageing of the population
Dilapidation of old industrial and housing buildings	Poor working conditions
Lack of attraction for youth to live in the region	Unskilled work force
	Mixed ethnic structure as a consequence of former work immigration from Southern parts of Yugoslavia
	Lack of motivation to prevent brain drain
	No university education opportunities in the region
Regional mentality	
Narrow-mindedness	
Lack of will to cooperate in decision making	
Reluctance to change	
Apathy and pessimism	

The quality of life in the region was evaluated in greater detail on the basis of eleven

elements. Opportunities for sport and recreation scored highest (3.5 on a scale of 5; very satisfied), while the quality of the environment had the lowest score of 2.6 (moderately satisfied). Regarding satisfaction with living conditions, an average score was given for the availability of green areas (3.3), health services (3.3), childcare (3.3; note: only 70% of participants had experience with the service), educational opportunities (3.2) and shopping (3.2). Young people were less enthusiastic about the state of the transport network, public transport, entertainment and shopping. Additional statements referred to individual local environments, such as better health care provisions in Trbovlje or a cycle path in Zagorje, but in general, more shopping opportunities and more entertainment, such as concerts for all age groups, were wanted.

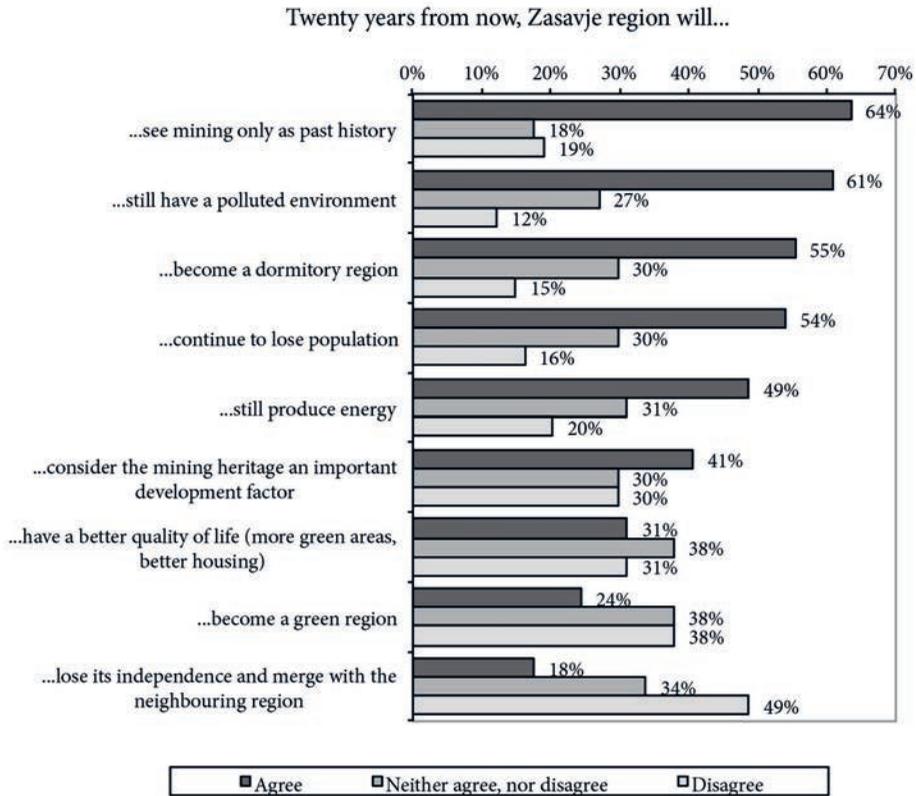
Important knowledge that the survey created regarded the tendency of youth to migrate away from the region (see Figures 5a and 5b). This information is important because regional development relies on human resources, including the youth. The probability of young people leaving the region was examined: 39% answered that there was a chance of their leaving, 34% were most likely to stay, 16% would certainly be leaving, and 4% would be staying in the region. 7% had not yet considered the idea.

Figures 5a in 5b: *Tendency to leave the Zasavje region / town of Trbovlje.*



Regarding future development, the youth first commented on the scenarios (see Figure 6), prioritised the goals and developed/listed project ideas. The scenario for the development of Zasavje was formulated on the basis of ten statements and evaluated on a five-point scale showing the level of agreement of respondents regarding each statement. As Figure 4 shows, more than half of the respondents agreed that mining would remain an economic activity of the past that the environment would remain polluted, and that population would decrease, making Zasavje a dormitory region.

Figure 6: Evaluation of the regional development scenarios



The mining heritage was recognised as an important element in the future development of the region by 40% of respondents. They were uncertain about whether the quality of living would improve and whether Zasavje would become a “green” region. There was the least agreement with the statement that the Zasavje region would lose its independence and be incorporated into the Ljubljana urban region (49%). Even though negative statements dominated, more than half of respondents agreed with the statement that “Zasavje has a future.”

On the local level, respondents from the survey were of opinion that some of the competitive elements of the town included its events for the youth (and also the elderly), its swimming pool, its catering and its schools. For the future, the prospects were different and varied; from seeing the town as a better place with more jobs, green areas and more environmentally friendly industry, to seeing a worsened situation with higher unemployment and a more polluted environment. Very pessimistic respondents even stated that the town would become an abandoned city. Regarding the most important pull-in factor, jobs or a favourable real estate market offer were mentioned. The type of town Trbovlje will be restructured into depends on how future politics work, how the

attitudes of the local people towards the town develop, whether the road infrastructure is improved (which would bring faster connections to Ljubljana and Celje) and whether the emigration trend stops.

After providing their opinions on the regional development scenario, each respondent was asked to state three major goals the region should adopt. The ten most frequently mentioned were:

1. Decrease environmental pollution and provide a healthy and clean environment.
2. Create new jobs.
3. Develop tourism (including hiking, tourist farms, centres of education, leisure activities and the utilization of mining heritage).
4. Provide green and recreational areas to support sport activities.
5. Establish support for existing and emerging businesses.
6. Improve transport links with other parts of Slovenia (highway junction).
7. Green the industry and close production facilities classified as major polluters.
8. Create jobs for the young, educated workforce, reduce unemployment and improve social and living conditions.
9. Re-launch industrial activities in the region.
10. Educate young people and establish colleges and universities.

Other specific objectives directly related to mining were mentioned and expanded the goal under point three (which covered the tourism sector). These included improving the stereotypic image of the region as highly polluted and, thus, unattractive; changing local mentalities; transitioning economically to the tertiary sector; preserving and renewing the mining heritage; and increasing the region's role in national energy production through the construction of a hydropower plant chain on the river Sava.

The creativity of young people was explored through a question on how they would spend €500.000 if they could use it for the regional project of their choice. The resulting project ideas could be categorised under the headings of business, tourism, infrastructure and housing, services, and others. The most frequent proposal was to support small businesses through subsidies and, thus, provide new jobs, with a focus on companies that would employ young people. Tourism was one of the sectors for which development ideas were described in the greatest detail. Money would be invested in better promotion and an appealing trademark, the renewal of mountain huts, the establishment of cycle paths and a centre for educational and sporting activities, the development of tourist farms, the implementation of rafting and related activities, the re-establishment of the closed and dilapidated spa centre of Medijske Toplice, and events that would utilise the mining heritage and preserve the region's mining tradition.

The next cluster of projects worth investing €500.000 in could be classified into the groups of landscape design and infrastructure and housing. Respondents felt that more investments should be made in environment quality and that public and green spaces should be renovated or newly established to provide recreation facilities and playgrounds

for children. The infrastructure should be improved, together with public transport. In the field of housing, substantial efforts should be devoted to renewing former miners' housing. In direct connection with mining, the closure of the mine was also considered a suitable project.

4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article shows two examples of how youth can participate in strategy making and the outputs that can be expected from such processes. This is especially true in the town of Trbovlje, where the youth population has a responsible spokeswoman in the form of the vice-mayor (who can be classified as a representative of the youth population) and a source of action in the now well-established youth centre. In comparison to the established actors, who have attempted to find solutions in the existing energy and basic industry economy sectors, the youth present an unburdened, refreshing view that can contribute new ideas and a will to do more for less. While older decision makers are often entrenched in existing decision-making practices (Maier, 2012), youth are capable of seeing the other side of the coin and stepping away from traditional tracks. In economies like this one - where the factories, who employed a vast number of people were closed almost overnight and the mine, which served as a carrier of the town's identity and economy for 200 years, stopped - unorthodox solutions are necessary.

One example of such a solution is the youth centre that now serves Trbovlje as a motor of social and cultural activities, and as a "bridge to the world". The international exchanges attract students from all around Europe, and serve as a platform to exchange knowledge. Their projects integrate mining as a long-standing tradition, but they also dare to propose new concepts. The youth are especially active in converting degraded areas and promoting public spaces; however, this is limited by ownership rights and several legal issues.

The participation of the youth is also valuable for enlarging administrative and knowledge capacity, since this has proven generally low in previous studies. In comparison to the older generation, the youth possess knowledge of foreign languages and can, thus, exchange information worldwide. They are also more open to innovative ideas, to which established politicians might be resistant (in favour of long-established practices). The youth, as is the case of the mayor, also open up the processes to the rest of the public, since they understand what it feels like to be eliminated from policy-making. This type of elimination is especially typical of the traditional mono-structural entities, which have been working in the same way for a long time (Kirk, Contrepois, & Jefferys, 2012; Pallagst, 2006). However positive, the power of youth's impact on actual decision making remains limited and is conditioned by several factors: the actual openness of the planning or policy making process (with regard to existing legislation and practices), the flexibility of local politicians, available financial sources, and the time available for the whole process. One of the weaknesses, as expressed by a local facilitator, was that only a certain (low) percentage of the youth population is actually willing to participate and express its ideas. Therefore, the opinions gathered by this survey are not necessarily

representative of those of the whole population. Moreover, while the collected ideas might be varied, they are only partially deliverable; thus, some reluctance by the policy makers is noticeable.

All in all, the youth should certainly be present as important stakeholders in defining and carrying out the future development of post-industrial, mid-sized towns, especially if we want to limit emigration and prepare localities for a period of joint development that is supported and delivered by different age groups. If adequate financial and human resources are provided (including political support), youth involvement can contribute significantly to regional development and the attractiveness of localities.

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JIŽNÍ MĚSTO AS A PLACE TO LIVE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TWO GENERATIONS OF ITS FIRST INHABITANTS

JANA BARVÍKOVÁ¹

ABSTRACT: *The paper introduces the results of a qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with respondents in their thirties (who as children at the age of 2-3 moved with their parents into the Prague housing estate Jižní Město in 1977-1978 and spent their childhood and adolescence there) and with their parents. The dataset allows for the identification and analysis of phenomena and processes that are typical of housing estates and life in housing estates during the last thirty years in the context of society changes and maturing of the estates.*

Keywords: *housing estate, identity, image, residential perceptions*

JEL Classification: R11

1. INTRODUCTION

Findings from both national and foreign studies, mostly of a quantitative nature (Boška, 2001; Praha 11, 1997; Praha 11, 2002; Musterd & van Kempen, 2005; SÚRM, 2001) indicate that, contrary to the bad image or bad reputation the housing estates might have externally, their residents often display quite a high level of residential satisfaction. It is the reputation of a particular housing estate, or the image of housing estates in general, that is considered to be among the key factors contributing to the acceptance of a housing estate as an adequate place to live; while stigmatization of the housing estates, on the other hand, accelerates their social and subsequent physical decline.

In this paper qualitative research is applied to find out whether the image of the housing estate Jižní Město in Prague (Czech Republic) as perceived by its residents varies significantly from the image presented in the media and adopted by people who neither live in nor know much about housing estates in general, and Jižní Město in particular, apart from the visual impressions the housing estates make, and the feelings and ideas they invoke.

The research discussed in this paper is based on in-depth interviews with today's thirty-somethings and their parents who started to inhabit the then-under-construction Jižní Město in 1978. It explores residential satisfaction with regard to the respondents' changing needs in the course of their lifecycle and in the context of the development and

¹ Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, Prague, Czech Republic, e-mail: jana.barvikova@vupsv.cz

maturing of the housing estate. Based on the literature and on the public opinion polls previously carried out in Jižní Město (Musil et al., 1985 Praha 11, 1997; Praha 11, 2002) several areas were identified as the most important for everyday life and satisfaction of inhabitants of housing estates: satisfaction with their own flat and building, availability and quality of basic shops and services, opportunities for leisure activities, quality of public spaces and natural surroundings with enough spots for (active) relaxation, quality of social relations, feelings of safety, etc. The attention is also given the respondents' residential stability, their overall satisfaction with the place of residence and their ideas about the future development of Jižní Město and of housing estates overall. Moreover, special personal determining factors of residential satisfaction are searched for in the respondents' narratives and descriptions of their lifestyle; specifically the way of living of individuals and families as well as the manner of coping with their physical and social environment on a day-to-day basis. Questions of territoriality, identification and identity are also dealt with: whether or not the respondents perceive a specific part of Jižní Město as their personal territory in the sense of self-identification and satisfaction of personal needs.

The paper first briefly introduces basic facts about the past and present of Jižní Město, the Czech largest and best known housing estate. The methodology is discussed next. The main section summarizes empirical results concerning selected research topics such as residential satisfaction; lifestyle; territoriality and identity; patriotism and alienation; current perceptions of the housing estate environment; as well as current assessment of Jižní Město and respondent expectations concerning its future development.

2. JIŽNÍ MĚSTO: PAST AND PRESENT

For many Czech people, both experts and the public, "Jižní Město" (in English the "Southern Town"), one of Prague's prefabricated housing estates built in the 1970s and 1980s, has become a symbol of grey, socialist, prefabricated housing projects lacking any human dimension whatsoever. The housing estate has become the scene of a number of Czech films, music videos and advertisements taking place, even vaguely, in the environment of a prefabricated housing estate. The housing estate is referred to in numerous poems and song lyrics. Czech artists, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, described "Jižní Město," and other prefabricated housing estates in general, as "anonymous places lacking any sense of rootedness" (Lukavec, 2009) that make any observer feel depressed.

The construction of Jižní Město (JM) commenced in 1971 on the South-Eastern edge of Prague (see illustrative snapshots from this period in Figure 1). In the course of the construction, the original design changed significantly in order to accommodate more flats at the cost of investments in civic amenities and job opportunities – a typical course of action in housing projects of former Czechoslovakia.

Figure 1: *Looking forward to a new flat in Jižní Město (1977)*

Source: Author's family photo archive

In 1976, the first dwellers moved into flats in the new housing estate, which was still far from completion. In the 1980s, Jižní Město, consisting of two units, Jižní Město I and Jižní Město II, became the largest housing estate in the Czech Republic; the number of its inhabitants² was comparable to that of any Czech regional town, but without the appropriate facilities and civic amenities. Particularly, in the first decades of its existence, the housing estate was, in addition to the high level of monofunctionality, marked for demographic anomalies due to the fact that the inhabitants were predominantly young families at the beginning of their family cycle. The capacity of civic amenities and facilities was not adequate to the demographic structure of the inhabitants: e.g. elementary schools had difficulties coping with the high number of children (lessons were held in shifts while the number of children per class neared 40). Since the 1990s, in order to avoid the fate of many Western European housing estates [loss of attractiveness, change in the structure of inhabitants, increased social pathology, depopulation and deterioration faced by many such housing estates in the 1970s and 1980s (Murie, Knorr-Siedow, & van Kempen, 2003; Dekker & van Kempen 2009; van Kempen, Dekker, & Hall, 2005)], the revival and regeneration of Jižní Město became one of the proclaimed priorities of the local politicians, whose aim was to establish suitable conditions for diverse activities of the estate's inhabitants, add the missing functions and, in general, create a well-functioning municipal unit. In addition to the mixed social structure of its inhabitants, the current advantages of this particular housing estate include an attractive natural environment, i.e. municipal forest parks and a water dam, suitable for recreational activities; along with the convenient location on the very edge of Prague, but still within easy reach of the city centre.

Since the 1990s Jižní Město has been part of the municipal district Prague 11³. As of 2014, it has 77.047 inhabitants, which represents 6.1 % of the Prague population (First Hand Figures 2014 Prague).

2 Compared to the original number of 4.527 inhabitants as per 1967 (Braun et al., 2000), the number of inhabitants as of March 1st, 1991 was 86.425 within a comparable cadastral area (SLBD, 1991).

3 Data on population are available only for Prague 11, not for Jižní Město. However, population of Prague 11 consists mostly of the inhabitants of Jižní Město, because the area of the housing estate covers almost the whole cadastral area of the municipal district Prague 11.

Table 1: *Population Prague 11 by age, education and unemployment rate*

	Prague 11	Prague
Total population*	77,047	1,259,079
Population by age (%)**:		
0-14	11,5	12,1
15-64	72,6	71,6
65+	15,6	15,8
Average age**	42,7	41,2
Population by education (%)**:		
without education	0,2	0,2
primary (including not completed)	9,3	8,9
secondary	50,1	44,2
higher professional and follow-up courses	4,9	4,7
higher education	18,7	20,7
Unemployment rate (%)***	4,9	4,99

Source:

*) First Hand Figures 2014 Prague.

***) Data result from the 2011 Population and Housing Census (CSO, 2013).

***) Statistical Bulletin - Prague – 1st Quarter 2015.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study Topic Selection: Personal Background and Motivation

When I was working on my thesis, which focuses on the current conditions and future prospects of prefabricated housing estates in the Czech Republic (Barvíková, 2011), I happened to co-organise our annual elementary school class reunion; the elementary school I had attended was located in Jižní Město (specifically, Jižní Město I), the place in which I used to live with my parents. When, after many years, I met my former classmates, I realized that we were all approaching a certain age (“the age of Christ”) – and so was Jižní Město. In 1978, when we had all moved to the “castles in the desert” (as one of my respondents later described his first impression of the housing estate with no lawns or pedestrian walkways) with our parents and siblings, we were only three years old. Afterwards, we all joined the same elementary school and we grew up together on asphalt grounds squeezed between the prefabricated blocks of flats as children with “keys strung around their necks.”

The change of the social regime, in 1989 caught us just after entering secondary school. Although I have used the first-person plural, i.e. “we”, throughout this section, each of us took a different path after the last school bell at the elementary school; so much so that I did not have a chance to talk to most of my former schoolmates until the reunion

mentioned above. At that time, they were already living their adult lives. Some of them still live in Jižní Město now, some of them – including me – left Jižní Město when they grew up, and some others have returned after being gone for some time. Most of them are now in the same phase in life as their parents when they first moved to Jižní Město in the 1970s. They have started their own families and have, more or less, settled down. Their parents now fall into the category often referred to as “young pensioners” or are approaching retirement age.

Some of my former classmates, as well as their parents, have made the most out of the opportunities offered by the new era, after 1989, and have started their own businesses or acquired well-paid jobs. They are now members of what we call the higher-middle class of the housing estate’s inhabitants, or have moved to their own family houses in or close to Prague. When I listened to my classmates’ and their relatives’ life stories, memories and opinions on Jižní Město, I realized that a sociologist might be able to trace their stories and subsequently analyze processes typical for Czech housing estates in the last thirty years - relating to both the development and aging of housing estates and the changes in the Czech society. I felt that I might have found a topic for an interesting qualitative study that would be based on a comparative study of the views of two generations, if I could get to interview my former classmates’ parents as well.

3.2 Research Objectives

At the beginning of the 1980s, the lives of more than thirty young families living in an anonymous, monofunctional housing estate regularly converged at the local elementary school that was one of the few local civic facilities available at that time. The aim of my research was to identify their current connection to Jižní Město, and their opinions on the housing estate as a place to live for families that, due to the housing situation in the Czech Republic in the middle of the 1970s, had little choice in selecting their homes. How to live life in a place that is a “symbol of all negative aspects of a prefabricated housing estate” (Zadražilová, 2009, p. 49)? What are the current housing estate perceptions of those who grew up in the place and their opinion on the place’s future? These were the main research questions that informed the process of interview questions development.

The interview questions mirrored certain negative stereotypes and ideas of life in a housing estate. In addition, they were linked to the knowledge gathered from the relevant literature including, among other Czech sources, the findings of Musil et al. (1985) and public opinion polls from Praha 11 (1997; 2002). They covered topics such as residential satisfaction concerning the flat, the building, and the environment; social interaction and relationships (neighborhood); integration, identity and territoriality; lifestyle and leisure time; satisfaction of shopping and service needs; criminality and feelings of safety; residential stability and mobility - reasons for moving out and moving back; main advantages of and problems with living in Jižní Město and in housing estates in general; etc. All topics were followed in the respondents’ development of experiences from the past to the present and in relation to the relevant stages of their lifecycle.

3.3 Respondent Selection

When selecting the respondents, I tried to get a sample as diversified as possible in terms of respondents' bonds to Jižní Město (residential stability vs. mobility, their relationship with Jižní Město, etc.), lifestyle and social position. I aimed to include pairs: the "child" (former schoolmate) and one of his/her parents; however, each of them was interviewed separately, at a different place and time. I held a total of nine interviews with the representatives of the "children," i.e. the second generation, and seven interviews with the first generation, i.e. the "parents." I selected the grounded theory method (Strauss & Corbin, 1999; Hendl, 1999) to process and analyze the acquired data.

3.4 Limitations of the Study

The fact that I was familiar with the respondents as well as the Jižní Město neighbourhood was an advantage in certain respects, and a disadvantage or a risk in others. It certainly made the recruitment of two generations of respondents easier, and contributed to the respondents' helpfulness and openness in interviews. My knowledge of the neighbourhood also contributed to my greater theoretical sensitiveness in my researcher role and enabled me to comprehend the context of the respondents' narratives. Of course, the researcher's insider knowledge of the studied reality has a downside to it as well, in that it contains a certain risk of explaining parts of the narrative using one's own pre-understanding and pre-knowledge. I tried to avoid this risk already at the time of conducting the interviews and, later on, especially by analysing the individual narratives thoroughly and patiently.

As for other possible limitations of this study, it is necessary to note that all first-generation respondents already had an experience with living in urban flat houses at the time of their arrival to Jižní Město, most often in overcrowded flats in the period of a general housing shortage. In contrast, the second-generation respondents adapted to the local environment since their early childhood, did not have any memories of the previous place of residence, and thus no basis for comparison. Experiences and attitudes of those who came to Jižní Město from the countryside, from higher quality housing, or of lone-living individuals can be different. I nevertheless hope that even though it is not possible to generalize from the results of my qualitative study, they can be perceived as typical in terms of experiences made by the first inhabitants of many Czech and Eastern European housing estates of this type – especially housing estates with a mixed social structure and a good location in large cities with high housing price levels.

4. OVERVIEW OF EMPIRICAL RESULTS

4.1 Residential Satisfaction and Lifestyle from the Lifecycle Perspective

Both the literature (Musil et al., 1985; Murie et al., 2003, among others) and the narratives of the respondents participating in my research show that for young families which suffered the housing shortage of the 1970s in Czechoslovakia, living in housing estates was not a reason for desperate depressions and a pointless yearning for salvation, as popular portraits of the miserable TV hero might make us think [see, for example, the character of Otík from the iconic Czech comedy *Vesničko má středisková* (1985) who had to be rescued from the clutches of the housing estate (Havlín, 2009)]. Instead, most often it was their dream come true to have a flat of their own, considering the housing conditions they had come from - typically tight multigenerational households - and the years they had waited for the allocation of a new flat. Even those who moved to Jižní Město involuntarily, from redeveloped Prague quarters, very quickly accepted their new flats for their own. For them, too, moving meant a marked step upwards in their housing careers - central heating, hot water, bathroom and a private toilet was something that rarely anyone had in their flats in the old (inner-)city quarters (Říha, 2007). Results of the research projects conducted by Musil et al. (1985) in the 1970s and 80s also speak of higher housing satisfaction levels among the inhabitants of the new housing estates as compared to those living in the old city quarters.

In the recollections of my classmates - then three-year-olds - the period of the first years, after moving to Jižní Město, most often resonates with memories of a very pleasant family atmosphere, which reflected the happiness of their parents with their new housing situation and the newly gained privacy. The eyes of many of my classmates shine with amazement, even after all those years, when they speak of the excitement they felt as small children - watching the work of construction machines and the activity at the construction site; playing with the muddy clay; sliding down the heaps of dirt on clattering bicycles; and squelching in the puddles with their wellingtons. Comparatively, the joy from the new dwelling and from one's own adaptability to the conditions (such as carrying a damp clout in the handbag, etc.) both helped the parents' generation overcome the practical complications that living in the new housing complexes brought with it. Despite all the reservations they might hold against their flats and the housing estates as such, they have maintained a certain feeling of gratitude until today. This feeling is rooted in the conviction that they would hardly be able to obtain better housing through different means, in the conditions of the political regime that prevailed at that time. The housing estates provided a solution to the housing distress of an enormous number of people, which is something that both respondent generations see as their main benefit (similarly as found in e.g. Musil et al. [1985]; Murie et al. [2003]; van Kempen et al., [2005]). They accepted the initial difficulties associated with the malfunctioning of the housing estate complexes in the first months after moving in, with an understanding that in the case of such a massive construction there was no other option to go about it.

My qualitative research indicates that the personal perception and evaluation of the environment of a housing estate depends on the respondent's age or lifecycle phase, as related to changes in personal radius of action, personal ties to the place of residence, and demands concerning one's flat and its environment. An important finding is that the relationship to one's place of residence is, apart from the place's physical qualities, affected by the level of personal satisfaction and fulfillment of one's needs connected with a particular life phase: in childhood, success or failure at school as well as the quality of peer relationships and family environment may play an important part; while in adulthood, the "empty nest syndrome" after grown-up children leave home, or partner crisis may be of importance⁴.

For the second-generation respondents, Jižní Město (for the most part) was a scene of a happy childhood (*cf.* Salák, 2007). The way of life in Jižní Město changed as the children grew. As children, these respondents did not feel the negative aspects or limitations of the environment (the design, lack of teenage leisure time activities, etc.) until the end of their playtime period and the end of elementary school attendance. (Similarly to these respondents, their parents considered Jižní Město more satisfying for pre-school and school children; compare also to Čajánková & Musil [1984]; Musil et al., [1985])⁵. The transition to secondary school was a radical change. Jižní Město was no longer a place of concentration that could satisfy all their needs. As a result of daily commuting to schools located in different parts of Prague, friendships established at the place of residence got interrupted; for many, this was a challenge. Social life and satisfaction of personal needs, other than those directly linked to a flat, were taking place elsewhere. In adolescence and maturity (except for childcare periods), this tendency continued, and was no longer perceived as negative for its impact on the quality of life.

The lifestyle of the first generation, i.e. the parents, has particularly depended on the phase of family life and the burden connected with work (working time, shifts) and commuting to work (time). The respondents' answers imply that the idea of a "night shelter," - the impression that rather than actually "living" in their flats, the housing estate residents only spend the nights there - may result from the general modern lifestyle characterized by the fact that economically active persons spend most of the day outside their homes, irrespective of where they live, and have no time or energy left to enjoy cultural or sports opportunities under the burden of everyday routines. Consequently, the concept of "night shelters" is a product of the current lifestyle rather than a feature of prefabricated housing estates. While there is certain criticism, particularly concerning the lack of civic amenities (especially after moving in), this generation does not feel that, on its own, life in Jižní Město has a negative impact on the manner in which they spend their free time. Many respondents believe that, thanks to the surrounding nature, the opposite is true. Apart from

4 See Lux (2002) concerning the limitations of residential satisfaction research and inability to cover all determining factors.

5 These research findings also show that parents appreciated their new housing complexes particularly due to the opportunity to have small children move freely and play outside. Compared to other types of residential locations in towns, children from prefab housing estates spent most of their free time outdoors, but there were insufficient outdoor activities available for children aged 10+.

the above, the specific content of leisure time activities of a particular family depends on individual preferences; needs and opportunities given by the financial position; availability of a family recreational facility;⁶ level of mobility (car ownership), etc.⁷ The respondents' leisure time preferences correspond to general trends typical for city dwellers, i.e. to leave the city for extended periods of time off in order to run away from the city environment and spend time in nature or at a cottage or allotment garden (Musil et al., 1985). Thanks to its location on the very edge of the city, close to the nature, and thanks to the character of the nearby countryside, Jižní Město offers the highest recreational potential - people can spend time in nature even on weekdays, engaging in sports (cycling, bathing, ski running, sledding, skating); this is considered one of the main values of the local environment. Although not a "town" in the typical sense of the word, Jižní Město may be a comfortable residential quarter that, despite its design, offers a certain quality of life that may include the rare opportunity to put on your running skis right in front of your building and set off for the forest.

Surprisingly, most respondents' departures⁸ from Jižní Město were not driven by their dissatisfaction with the environment of the housing estate or the flat. This was the motif of only one couple of the parents' generation and, in addition, was the result of a long-term illness and personal crisis. Other departures related to events in the normal course of life – the separation of an adult child from its parents, divorce, etc. Although the results of this qualitative research cannot be considered adequate and fully representative, and cannot be relied upon to draw general conclusions, I am of the opinion that we must be careful in interpreting statistical data (e.g. those derived from population censuses), not to routinely attribute changes in housing estate inhabitants to loss of attractiveness and social degradation of these neighbourhoods.

4.2 Territoriality and Identity

Another surprising finding that is key to understanding the context of the respondents' answers is the fact that, within Jižní Město, the area which the respondents perceive as their territory, identify with and evaluate in their answers, is not the entire Jižní Město as delimited by the cadastral territory boundaries. For the most part, their "Jižňák" (which is the common name for Jižní Město, widely and spontaneously used in the interviews) does not cover Jižní Město II, often not even the entire Jižní Město I (being the place of their residence). For each resident, the personal perception of boundaries of the territory – their personal Jižní Město ("Jižňák"), irrespective of the official cadastral territory – varies. The respondents identify places around which they are (were) used to move, places

6 The ownership of a family recreational facility in the countryside (known as the "second home") and its regular use in periods of time off work is a common feature in the Czech Republic.

7 Musil et al., (1985) and Janto (2007) are also sceptical about the application of deterministic cultural theories to the environment of a housing estate.

8 Of all the families that were connected with my class at the end of our compulsory school attendance and lived in Jižní Město at that time, about three quarters are living in Jižní Město now (at least some of the family members).

that constitute (constituted) “their world,” and places that provide (provided) resources to satisfy their needs. Behind the borders of this assumed “Jižňák” starts the territory which, even though within the same housing estate, appears “strange” to the respondents; there, they do not orientate themselves⁹, do not know their way around and do not like it there, although to a regular observer the visual impression (“inside” and “outside” “Jižňák”) might seem nearly identical. (For two of female respondents of the second generation, when searching for a flat in Jižní Město at adult age, the location of the flat in their “Jižňák” was one of the main requirements.)

Nearly all the respondents had their favourite places in their Jižňák; places in which they used to play as children or places to which they go (used to go) for a walk, particularly the forest park. They could however not identify a place in the housing estate for which they would have really strong personal feelings, apart from their own flat. In this respect, and also in connection with the different perception of housing estates by “outsiders” (visitors) and “insiders” (local residents), Relph’s concept of identity of and with place appears quite inspiring. While for an outsider, the identity of the place is difficult to discover in the seemingly uniform housing estate environment, an insider may find his/her identity with the place due to strong social experiences (Seamon & Sowers, 2008).

Despite certain original, ambitious, theoretical concepts of housing estate development projects, whose aim was to create in these housing estates the residential environment that would satisfy all recreational needs of local inhabitants without a need to saturate them elsewhere through the ownership of “second homes”, the respondents’ answers show that “second homes” very well complement their real homes in housing estates and the life in a city in general; and may even contribute to higher residential satisfaction, loyalty and residential stability. The availability of a “second home” allows people to combine the advantages of city life with the advantages of living in a countryside, and use both to the fullest. On the other hand, people who regularly spend their free time, or any extended periods of time over the year in their “second homes,” tend to spend less time at their first place of residence. As a result, the identification with one’s own neighbourhood may be weakened, and the personal perception of the place as nothing but a “night shelter” may be strengthened. A major group of these “cottagers” are people whose cottages are located at places of their childhood, so the trips to their cottage bring them back to their roots; as a result, the social life in their “second homes” may become much more intensive and personally important than life in their “first homes.”

4.3 Patriotism vs. Alienation

Those respondents who no longer live in Jižní Město - whose lives have been taking place elsewhere for many years - gradually start feeling like strangers in the environment they once considered their home; not only have the places of their childhood, teenage

⁹ “If one is to feel at home in a place, one needs an opportunity to identify with the place and orient oneself in it”, (Norberg-Schulz [1994: 18]; cited by Zdražilová [2003]).

years and life in general changed or disappeared, but they can no longer orientate themselves in the transformed environment, and lose their ability to “read” it. They feel insecure about it, and take critical distance from the unknown environment, similarly to accidental visitors who have no personal experience of living in this environment, and only form their opinion on the basis of their own perception of the place’s physical features. Local old timers, on the other hand, as patriots, have a tendency to defend the housing estate; nevertheless, as already mentioned above, if they go beyond the boundaries of their “own” “Jižňák,” they themselves become unsatisfied strangers in the middle of Jižní Město.

4.4 Current Perceptions of the Housing Estate Environment

From the perspective of its design and layout, Jižní Město is definitely not accepted by the respondents without criticism. The main objections include the contradiction between the project’s original construction plan and the actual implementation. Jižní Město was supposed to be a self-sustaining unit; yet, it has never become one (in the words of one of the respondents, it is a “town” only by its name). While at least the offer of basic shops and services has gradually grown, many plans have not been implemented up to this day. Regarding the architectural appearance and urban design of prefabricated housing estates, which was revolutionary in its time (Musil et al., 1985, Murie et al., 2003), those who have lived in the housing estate for an extended period of time have more or less adopted the concept, and accepted the advantages. Contrary to the opinion of certain architects, these people do not miss the traditional system of streets; what is important for them is that the necessary shops and services be within a reasonable walking distance. While large free spaces between buildings are perceived as a positive feature by the respondents – helping them avoid feeling restricted and constrained by the height of the buildings and the population density, the plans to use the space for new constructions, as proposed by some experts and the local council, appear scary to local residents, and they put up their resistance. The reason for the resistance is that even the current density of population and the number of high-rise buildings in Jižní Město are higher than comfortable for the respondents (the respondents repeatedly mentioned that the part of the estate housing consisting of four-floor buildings seemed like an “ideal” place); they are of the opinion that the current configuration of the housing estate already tests the limits of physical tolerance and the prospect of an even larger concentration of buildings (especially high-rise buildings) with an increased number of inhabitants and increased traffic would definitely exceed those limits. The respondents acknowledge the need to build new flats but, in their opinion, these should be erected outside the area of the current blocks of flats (whose capacity is considered fully used), at a suitable location, and only to a reasonable extent. Apart from the fear of overpopulation, the idea of massive flat development increases anxiety about restricted access to local sources that are already limited (parking spaces, nursery school capacity, GP’s offices, etc.).

The respondents consider the local greenery the highest aesthetic value of the housing estate environment. Any development projects should not take place at the cost of lawns

and plants; the construction should be “for people,” i.e. such that will make the life of the local population more comfortable (bring elements of civic amenities that these people miss, e.g. a natural cultural and administrative centre, such as a “square” with shops and cafés, along with job opportunities) and that will be in harmony with the surrounding buildings. The current development projects presented in the media are perceived with hesitation: “Who is going to benefit? This is not for us!” Local residents particularly disagree with the idea that the built-up area should expand up to the forest park borderline; in addition to the disappearance of meadows that are much safer than forest parks - at times when there are fewer people outside - this would mean that people would have to spend more time, and overcome a longer distance, to travel away “from the overcrowded housing estate into the nature.”

The quality of the view from the window is one of the key factors of the respondents' satisfaction and identification with the flat and the flat's location; a view of greenery, countryside or old Prague (Petřín, the Prague Castle) is a key value that may help overcome certain defects of the flat and the environment. If people have an opportunity to see treetops from their windows and watch them changing over the year; or to see the countryside, even if through a gap between the surrounding buildings; or to see the horizon and ignore close surroundings, prefabricated blocks of flats tend to become a practical solution to the housing situation, irrespective of their aesthetic and visual value. The buildings located on the outskirts of the housing estate are most popular among the respondents as the view from their windows, particularly on higher floors, is of the best quality; on the other hand, the lower the floor and the higher the density of the buildings, the higher the chance of an unattractive view of “the windows of the opposite building.”¹⁰ The new high-rise development projects that are to take away the current much-loved views are perceived as a major loss of value.

4.5 Current Assessment of Jižní Město and Ideas about Its Future

Although the impulse for the second-generation respondents to move out of Jižní Město did not come from their dissatisfaction with the flat or the environment of the housing estate, there are differences in the assessment of the housing estate's current status and future prospects between the patriots - those who have lived here or who again live here or who spend considerable time here - and those who have already become estranged from Jižní Město and now, similarly to outsiders, maintain a critical distance and feel a lack of security in the unknown environment. While the former do not worry about the future of Jižní Město, considering it an ideal place for a comfortable city life for those who can appreciate a quiet comfortable life close to nature and within easy reach of the city centre, the latter can observe certain signs of social degradation and admit uncertainty or

¹⁰ This preference of higher floors seems to be in direct contradiction with the experience from e.g. the USA; Bauer (1954) states that in high-rise developments, local families prefer lower floors (as cited in Dekker & van Kempen, 2009). Nevertheless, the source of motivation for this preference among my respondents were the windows with countryside view; in more central parts of the housing estate this preference might not apply, as the window view, even from higher floors, does not offer this advantage.

even worries about the future development of Jižní Město, which they consider a sort of a starting place for young families. In many respects, the first-generation respondents' view of the present and future of Jižní Město is similar; although they consider the composition of population one of the major factors determining the development of Jižní Město, they rarely harbor worries about its social development with respect to the housing market prices in Prague, and the large share of population living in housing estates. What makes them feel major uncertainty, however, is the limited life span along with technical conditions of the prefabricated blocks of flats (they very well remember the original designated life span of a prefabricated building and harbor even more doubts concerning the quality of initially performed work). From this perspective, the future of housing estates depends on the availability of funding that can be invested into first class maintenance and repairs. As most buildings in the studied quarter have already been regenerated, worries relate to a more distant future, when all buildings are presumed to need repair and renovation at the same time.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND CHALLENGES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Prefabricated housing estates in the Czech Republic represent an issue on which most of the general as well as professional public (across the relevant fields) has a clear (negative) opinion about; the opinion which is frequently quite firm, even though individuals may have no - or only minimal - personal or professional experience with the environment. The results of qualitative research presented and discussed in this paper, however, indicate that the real image of a housing estate, specifically the image perceived by the “insiders”, may vary significantly from the external image as depicted in the media and adopted by the “outsiders” who do not live in housing estates and do not actually know that much about them, except how the housing estates came across physically and what feelings and notions they evoke in them. The outcomes of my study are consistent with quantitative studies (Boška, 2001; Praha 11, 1997; Praha 11, 2002; SÚRM, 2001) in displaying quite a high level of residential satisfaction among the inhabitants of Jižní Město despite its bad external image and reputation.

Concerning the future prospects of Jižní Město, particular differences are perceived between those respondents who still live there and those who have moved out (and do not have any particular feelings about Jižní Město today). While “local people” are rarely concerned about the future of Jižní Město and hardly admit its potential social degradation, the approach of the current “outsiders” is more under the influence of the information on the risks involved in housing estate changes and development as presented in the media.

Despite the fact that living in housing estates concerns almost one third of the Czech population, the topic had been rather neglected by the research community since the middle 1980s until very recently. Many false myths on the functioning of housing estates are still widespread and there are a lot of blank spots that should yet be made the subject of research and analysis. This is one of the main starting points of the up to date most

extensive multidisciplinary Czech research project called “Paneláci”¹¹ focused on housing estates, which is currently underway. The purpose of the five year project (2013-2017) is to research and document the prefabricated housing estates in the Czech Republic; to capture their historical, cultural and social aspects; to critically evaluate their housing and living potential; and to refute the unfounded myths. This project, led by The Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague and involving experts from various research institutions, also includes work with the media and the general public using exhibitions in all regions of the Czech Republic, lectures, educational programs, internet communication via the project’s webpage and Facebook, etc. Because of the active communication with the general and professional public a promising byproduct of the project is the coming together and networking of professionals, researchers, students, as well as laymen who are highly interested in the topic of housing estates, and of their activities¹². The future will show if these emerging synergies bring any real impact on the image and development of housing estates.

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11 “Paneláci” is a plural of the colloquial term “panelák” in Czech and Slovak, literally meaning “panel house”. The official title of the project funded by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic is “Prefabricated Housing Estates in the Czech Republic as Part of the Urban Environment: An Evaluation and Presentation of Their Housing and Living Potential”. For more information see <http://www.panelaci.cz/> or <https://www.facebook.com/panelaci>.

12 For example the current research project, “Housing Estates in V4, What’s Next?” at the Faculty of Architecture CTU in Prague (2014-15), which aims to define the basic possibilities and recommendations on how to proceed with the complex regeneration of housing estates and ensure their long-term stability. For details see <http://www.sidlistejakdal.cz>.

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E / B / R

**POVZETKI V
SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU**

PLANNING AND MONITORING OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF THE HOUSING PRICE INDEX

NAČRTOVANJE IN SPREMLJANJE URBANEGA RAZVOJA: VLOGA INDEKSA CEN STANOVANJSKIH NEPREMIČNIN

TOMI DEUTSCH

POVZETEK: Da bi ugotovili, ali je indeks cen stanovanjskih nepremičnin mogoče uporabiti kot kazalnik urbanega razvoja, analiziramo v prispevku slovenski nepremičninski trg kot celoto ter posamične nepremičninske trge v izbranih slovenskih mestnih občinah. Podatki kažejo, da se na nepremičninskih trgih v slovenskih mestnih občinah že zadnjih nekaj desetletjih dogajajo številne spremembe z dolgotrajnimi učinki. Hkrati pa je na osnovi analize mogoče oblikovati tudi sklep, da bi indeks cen stanovanjskih nepremičnin odločevalcem pod določenimi pogoji lahko služil kot eden od kazalnikov v procesih načrtovanja in spremljanja urbanega razvoja.

Ključne besede: mestne občine, indeks cen stanovanjskih nepremičnin, post-socializem, trg nepremičnin, Slovenija, urbani razvoj

NEO-LIBERAL REALITY IN POST-INDUSTRIAL WATERFRONTS OF THE POST-SOCIALIST CITIES: THE POLISH TRI-CITY CASE

NEOLIBERALNA REALNOST V POSTINDUSTRIJSKIH PRISTANIŠKIH OBMOČJIH POSTSOCIALISTIČNIH MEST: PRIMER TREH POVEZANIH MEST NA POLJSKEM

MAGDALENA SZMYTKOWSKA, KLAUDIA NOWICKA

POVZETEK: Zapuščina bivšega (socialističnega) ekonomskega sistema, s katero se (pogosto neposredno v svojih središčih) soočajo postindustrijska mesta, so degradirana in neizkoriščena postindustrijska območja. Zaradi njihove centralne lege so lokalne oblasti

prisiljene prepoznati poseben pomen, ki ga imajo, in jim posledično omogočiti prednostno obravnavo v načrtih prostorskega razvoja. Še posebej pomembna in posebna so v obalnih mestih pristanišča z zaledjem (skladišči), ki so bila od nekdaj (in so še vedno) predmet neizbrisnih razvojnih transformacij. V prispevku poskušamo ovrednotiti smeri razvoja mestnih pristaniških območij na Poljskem, pri čemer upoštevamo dejstvo, da se poljska mesta po eni strani soočajo s svojo socialistično dediščino, po drugi strani pa s pritiski neoliberalne razvojne paradigme.

Ključne besede: pristaniška območja, neoliberalno mesto, postindustrijsko mesto, vodilni projekti, Poljska

SMALL-SCALE PROJECTS AND THEIR POTENTIAL FOR URBAN REGENERATION: EXPERIENCES FROM EASTERN GERMANY

MALI PROJEKTI IN NJIHOV POTENCIAL V PROCESIH URBANE REGENERACIJE: IZKUŠNJE IZ VZHODNE NEMČIJE

CHRISTINA GÖTZ, IAN COOPER, KRASSIMIRA PASKALEVA-SHAPIRA

POVZETEK: *Urbanega življenja ne določajo samo stavbe oziroma stanje njihove ohranjenosti, določa ga celovit kompleks med sabo povezanih določljivk. Kljub temu dejstvu je večina projektov urbane regeneracije namenjenih velikopoteznim gradbenim investicijam. Zelo malo pa je znanega o projektih na temo socio-kulturne razsežnosti urbanega življenja na lokalni ravni. To so projekti, ki obstoječe substance ne uničujejo, ampak jo preoblikujejo v nekaj družbeno koristnega, in na ta način mestnim skupnostim odpirajo niz priložnosti. V prispevku na osnovi spoznanj iz nemških študij primerov predlagamo definicijo takšnih projektov in raziščemo njihov potencial v procesih urbane regeneracije.*

Ključne besede: *urbana regeneracija, urbana prenova, mali projekti, projekti regeneracije, mestne skupnosti, postsocialistična mesta*

YOUTH: THE MOTOR OF REDEVELOPMENT IN MID-SIZED POST-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS

MLADI: GONILNA SILA OŽIVITVE SREDNJE VELIKIH POSTINDUSTRIJSKIH MEST

NAJA MAROT

POVZETEK: V prispevku izhajamo iz rezultatov mednarodnega projekta, ki razkrivajo pomen mladih v procesih oživitve postindustrijskih regij. Predstavitev regije in procesa sodelovalnega (kolaborativnega) načrtovanja temeljita na rezultatih dveh anket, izvedenih v zasavski regiji in njenem osrednjem mestnem središču, Trbovljah. V okviru anket so mladi ocenjevali stanje v regiji in podajali predloge za njen prihodnji razvoj. V razpravi se osredotočamo na predstavitev izzivov ter dodane vrednosti procesa sodelovalnega (kolaborativnega) načrtovanja za razvoj regije s ciljem posplošiti veljavnost raziskovalnih spoznanj za vsa podobna območja v srednji Evropi.

Ključne besede: mladi, regionalni razvoj, sodelovalno (kolaborativno) načrtovanje, srednje velika mesta, postindustrijske regije, transnacionalni projekti

JIŽNÍ MĚSTO AS A PLACE TO LIVE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TWO GENERATIONS OF ITS FIRST INHABITANTS

JIŽNÍ MĚSTO KOT KRAJ BIVANJA Z VIDIKA DVEH GENERACIJ NJEGOVIH PRVIH PREBIVALCEV

JANA BARVÍKOVÁ

POVZETEK: V prispevku predstavljamo rezultate kvalitativne analize poglobljenih intervjujev s sogovorniki v njihovih tridesetih (ki so se kot otroci v letih 1977-1978 v starosti od dveh do treh let s starši priselili v Prago, v tamkajšnjo stanovanjsko sosesko Jižní Město,

in v njej preživljali svoje otroštvo in adolescenco) ter z njihovimi starši. Nabor podatkov omogoča identifikacijo ter analizo pojavov in procesov, ki so značilni za blokvske stanovanjske soseske in življenje v njih v zadnjih tridesetih letih, v kontekstu družbenih sprememb in staranja soseske.

Ključne besede: *blokvske stanovanjske soseske, identiteta, podoba, stališča stanovalcev*
