

TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES OF THE URBAN SPACE IN POST-COMMUNIST CITIES

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Abstract: *The study of transformation processes of intra-urban structures has a crucial importance when analysing such a changeable phenomenon as the post-communist city. Simple registration and description of the current state of spatial intra-urban structure of town appear to be insufficient; it is needful to lay emphasis on identification and analysis of the processes that change the spatial structure of town and its partial intra-urban structures. Thus the given contribution brings a survey of significant transformation processes of post-communist cities as well as identifies them in relation to their appearance in the urban zones. The second part of the article outlines the case study on suburbanisation in the hinterland of Prešov, which is the third largest town in Slovakia.*

Key words: *transformation process, post-communist city, suburbanisation, commercialisation, gentrification, revitalisation, recession and urban fallow, deindustrialisation, demilitarisation, sacralisation, functional fragmentation, separation*

Transformation processes of intra-urban structures are distinguished by the differential level of complexity of their effect. When studying the changes of intra-urban structures of town, it is therefore needful to study the effects of certain transformation processes within the partial intra-urban structures – physical (morphological), functional and social-demographical. Though the above partial structures as well as their changes are interconnected, their evolution and temporality is different. As Matlovič points out in another work (Matlovič, R., 2002), the social-demographical intra-urban structure shows the highest dynamics. On the other hand, the strongest resistance is typical for the morphological intra-urban structure. The changes of social-demographical structure are subsequently projected into the changes of functional and morphological intra-urban structure. We distinguish *complex* transformation processes (changing all three partial intra-urban structures), *partly complex* transformation processes (changing two partial intra-urban structures), and *elementary* transformation processes (changing one intra-urban structure). These processes (especially elementary and partly complex) might be mutually conditioned. (Matlovič, R., 2001)

Differential behaviour in certain parts of town is another significant feature of transformation processes. Hence there arises the need for the allocation of smaller observation

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zones within a town in order to study the effects of transformation. With respect to spatial and morphological development of towns it is possible to specify five basic zones: A Historical core (old city), B Inner city, C Villa neighbourhoods, D Housing estates, E Outer city. The historical centre is represented by the medieval core of city organism with its close surroundings. The inner city is formed by the dense build-up area usually enclosing the historical core; the zone relates to the industrial phase of urbanisation around the turn of 19th and 20th century. The villa neighbourhoods represent the residential areas predominantly consisting of family houses established during the 20th century. Housing estates are rather spacious complexes of the apartment blocks constructed during the socialist urbanisation (in the 1950s – 1980s). The outer city is represented by marginal parts of town with less compact build-up area. This zone is mainly formed by the areas of agglomerated rural settlements and functionally heterogeneous areas (industry, stores, technical infrastructure, agriculture, recreation). Present works concerning transformation of spatial structure of post-communist cities offer quite a solid classification of certain transformation processes. As L. Sýkora (2001) points out, the concepts and definitions of certain processes rather differ. It depends to the subject of the research and its epistemological and methodological context. This causes considerable terminological disunity that complicates the whole scientific discursus concerning this theme. In our survey we will attempt to specify the definition of basic terms, characterize some observed processes, and suggest their mutual links, links to partial intra-urban structures, as well as the links to the certain city zones.

Fig. 1: Model of the spatial differentiation of the transformational processes of the spatial structure of postcommunist cities

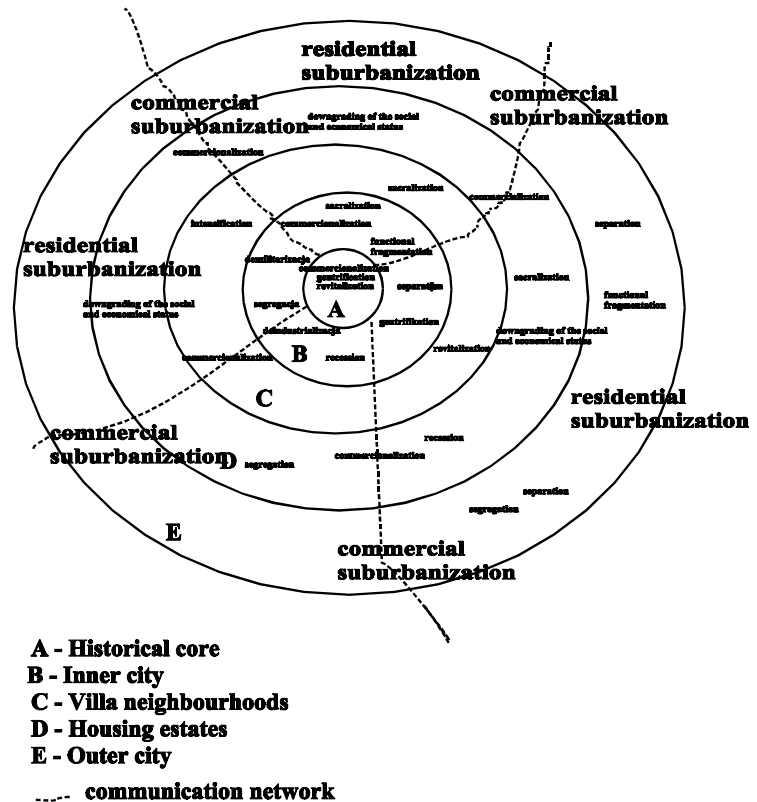


Table 1: The main transformational processes, their reflection in particular intra-urban structures and their appearance in the urban zones

partial intra-urban structure	physical (morphological)	functional	social-demographical
transformation process	suburbanisation (E) gentrification (B, A) revitalisation (A,B,C,D,E) recession and urban fallow (B,D,E)	suburbanisation (E) commercialisation (A,E,B,D,C) deindustrialisation (B) demilitarisation (B) sacralisation (A,B,C,D,E) functional fragmentation (A,B,E)	suburbanisation (E) gentrification (B,A) segregation (B,D,E) separation (A,B,E) downgrading of social-economic status (D)

Zones: A - Historical core, B - Inner city, C - Villa neighbourhoods, D - Housing estates, E - Outer city

Suburbanisation is the process that occurs in all partial intra-urban structures of a town. Hence it belongs to complex transformation processes. The key space for suburbanisation is so called suburban zone (E). Suburbanisation is connected with the development of new settlement structures in suburban zone of a town. New developing areas might be concentrated around the compact town, but also individually scattered in many small localities and rural settlements in wide surroundings of a town. In the second case we speak of so-called *urban sprawl*. From the functional point of view we distinguish residential and commercial suburbanisation. Thus it is a development of residential and commercial areas at the expense of agriculture or unused land (*greenfields*). An important stimulating factor for suburban development is the lower costs of land and, from the developers' point of view,

rather undemanding way of project approval by the local self-government authorities. (Sýkora, L., 2001b). Other important factors that condition the process of suburbanisation are the change of value orientation concerning the residence of upper middle classes, as well as the development of individual motorization. Residential suburbanisation results in new residential zones which might lie in contact with a compact city or compact areas of rural settlements situated in suburban zone. Very often there are residential suburbs amid the agriculture country. From the morphological point of view, suburbanisation is connected with the process of selective or even so-called leap-frog addition (*leap-frog* development). Seldom is the residential suburbanisation connected with revitalisation. In that case there is the renovation of older rural settlement structures – reconstruction of the primary settlements or the construction on free parcels. Residential suburbanisation brings significant changes of social-demographical intra-urban structure. The social-economic status and the way of life of citylike inhabitants are in the conspicuous contrast with the autochthonous inhabitants of the country. Commercial suburbanisation outcomes in the formation of commercial areas consisting of hypermarkets, big shopping centres and galleries, industrial zones with production halls, stores, and distribution centres. Unlike residential suburbanisation, commercial suburbanisation is strongly concentrated and bound to morphological process of continuous horizontal addition (*ribbon development*). Commercial areas develop along highways and speedways near the main intersections (mostly near the points of intersection of radial and concentric edge communications, near the airports, or near the final stations of subway or near other public transport lines). Suburbanisation depends on the size and significance of a town. Most significant manifestation of suburbanisation could be found around big cities and metropolises. Less significant signs of suburbanisation are also found near medium-sized towns.

Gentrification similarly as suburbanisation, is the process bound to concrete area within the town. Younger inhabitants with higher social-economic status migrate into the older parts of the inner city what results in the replacement of old primary inhabitants with low social status, the change of real property ownership, the revitalization and modernisation of neglected housing stock. (Sýkora, L., 2001a) Gentrification has therefore the direct bond to social-demographical and secondly morphological intra-urban structure. The impact on functional intra-urban structure is of less significance, because the prevailing residential function remains. In term of space, gentrification is closely related to the inner city (B), in some case to the historical core (A). Gentrification occurs mainly in post-communist metropolises (Budapest, Prague-Vinohrady).

Commercialisation is the process manifesting mostly within the functional intra-urban structure. L. Sýkora (1999) characterises it as the increase of commercial areas (business, services, commercial offices, etc.) at the expense of other, non-commercial activities (housing, culture, education, etc.). Commercialisation consequently activates changes in morphological intra-urban structure (revitalisation, intensification, addition). Very often it occurs together with functional fragmentation. The direct outcome of commercialisation is the withdrawal of residential function. We distinguish residential, service, and industrial commercialisation. The main effects of residential commercialisation include the construction of new condominiums; service commercialisation includes new shopping centres, hypermarkets, shopping galleries, amusement and catering establishments. Industrial commercialisation involves new industrial zones, especially industrial parks. Commercialisation occurs mainly in zone A, B, and E. the intensity of this process is conditioned by the size and hierarchical significance of a town. The process is occurring at all size and hierarchical scales of towns. The manifestation of commercialisation in zone E is more significant in big cities and metropolises.

Revitalisation is the process found in morphological intra-urban structure. Revitalisation belongs to the elementary transformation processes. It is the continuous adaptation, reconstruction and expansion (horizontal and vertical addition) of already existing objects, or the substitution of old buildings by the new. Revitalisation also includes the reconstruction of transport communications, construction of pedestrian zones, adjustment and construction of fine architecture mainly in the historical core of towns. Revitalisation is conditioned by the processes that occur at the level of social-demographical (gentrification) and functional intra-urban structure (commercialisation, functional fragmentation). Generally it is initiated by the ownership changes. Revitalisation might occur in all city zones, though the most markedly in the historical core (A).

Recession and urban fallow occur at the level of morphological intra-urban structure. The process is characterised by degradation of existing build-up area, continuous deterioration of technical and aesthetic state of building objects and streets. Extremely, there might be a total abandonment of building objects and their spontaneous or directed liquidation (fallow process). Recession might be conditioned by various processes at the level of functional (deindustrialisation, demilitarisation) or social-demographical (segregation, ghettoisation) intra-urban structure. Recession may be also conditioned by the irresolution of ownership together with legal disputes. In case the recession is regulated, it might be understood as a

temporal continuous stage of morphological processes preceding the development phase. Recession occurs in all city zones, especially in B, D and E.

Functional fragmentation is the process occurring at the level of functional intra-urban structure. It relates to the postmodernist trend preferring polyfunctionality and functional interfusion of city areas to the strict spatial separation of functions. The process is characterised by the continuous segmentation of formerly monofunctional objects and areas into smaller units which further, as a result of different organisation, exploitation, or ownership, profile to fill different functions. Functional fragmentation is mostly evident in zone A and B (it is the fragmentation of office areas – distinctively typical for small and middle-sized cities) and in zone E (fragmentation of industrial areas, storage facilities and permanent facilities of agriculture production). Functional fragmentation is conditioned by commercialisation.

Deindustrialisation is the process related to functional intra-urban structure characterised by reduction of industrial areas, storage facilities and technical infrastructure (f. e. functionless ports) at the expense of other functions or unused areas. The process is conditioned by the transformation of industrial production, its transition into the post-fordian model and by the changes of localisation factors of industry. Deindustrialisation might be also conditioned by the environmental factor that is to eliminate the negative impact of improperly situated industry on the quality of environment. Deindustrialisation influences the industrial areas in the inner city (B).

Demilitarisation occurs at the level of functional intra-urban structure. It is characterised by reduction of areas used for military purpose. Demilitarisation is to a certain extent related to the changes of military-political situation and military doctrine after the end of Cold War and to the withdrawal of Soviet occupation army from several European post-communist countries. Demilitarisation affected mostly the military areas in the inner city (zone B).

Sacralisation is the process operating at the level of functional intra-urban structure. In the truest sense of the word it is the extension of sacral space at the expense of secular area, where the sacral means the space exclusively reserved for the sacral and cultish purposes. In the broad sense of the word sacralisation is understood as the expansion of the space reserved for fulfilment of religious functions. In that case we include here churches, chapels, monasteries, convents, administrative church buildings, church schools, shops with religious materials, and other church facilities. Sacralisation has been influenced by the restoration of freedom of religion in post-communist countries. The process is influenced by the religiosity rate of population (f. e. sacralisation is more intensive in Polish and Slovak cities than in

Czech and German). Sacralisation impacts the morphological intra-urban structure (revitalisation, horizontal addition) in all city zones.

Separation is the process occurring at the level of social-demographical intra-urban structure. It is the spatial separating of a certain group of people on the basis of social-economic features. It is an active and free separation on the basis of own preferences. People, who participate in the process, are usually of higher social-economic status. As the result of separation, there appear closed, isolated and often guarded residential areas, sometimes combined with commercial facilities. In literature we can find a term for the areas – *citadels*. (Marcuse, P. - van Kempen, R., 2000) Process of separation is connected with formation of so-called *dual city* that appears as a result of social-spatial polarisation, even dualisation. There is increase in rich and poor inhabitants and decrease in middle classes. Dualisation brings close spatial concentration of the two extreme social groups within the city area (processes of separation and segregation). New citadels appear both in the zone A as well as the zone B (gentrified complexes and new residential complexes of condominiums) and also in the outer zone E, where grow up closed residential suburbia (*gated communities*). (Sýkora, L., 2000c) Thus the separation has a direct link to the processes of suburbanisation, gentrification, revitalisation, and addition.

Segregation is the process operating at the level of social-demographical intra-urban structure. The process has resembling reasons as separation and is connected with social polarisation and dualisation. It is the spatial separation of population on the basis of his low social-economic status or ethnic, racial, and religious features. Segregation, however, does not follow from the realisation of own preferences of population, but from his open or latent discrimination by the major population. Hence it is the enforced spatial separation. An extreme case of segregation is so-called ghettoisation. Ghettoes arise mostly in devastated and neglected parts of towns. Thus it is possible to discern a strong link of segregation to the processes of recession at the level of morphological intra-urban structure. Segregation is evident in the zone B, D and E.

Downgrading/regression of social-economic status is the process operating at the level of social-demographical intra-urban structure. It is a gradual decrease in social-economic status of population without spatial movement of this population within the city organism. The process is connected with the particularities concerning formation of social-demographical intra-urban structure of towns in post-communist era with attempt to establish an egalitarian city. Housing policy led to the formation of spacious residential units with similar housing conditions, populated by various social-professional groups, what contributed to elimination

of disparities in social-economic status among the residential units. Some studies (e.g. Bezák, A., 1987) proved that the post-communist cities had been therefore internally differentiated, especially from the perspective of family status that is from the demographical indicators. Factor ecology studies of Polish cities have besides the social-spatial status dimensions identified the dimensions of family status. (Węclawowicz, G., 1988) This development resulted in the existence of residential areas in various phase of life cycle (concerning families and houses). Hence, we consider it a key factor for regression process of social-economic status. Regression arises mainly in residential areas with population who got into the advanced phase of life cycle. Traverse into the old-age pension is closely connected with the decrease in incomes, power share, and social prestige, and thus the general pauperisation of population and whole city parts. The status regression might be also identified in members of other life-cycle phase (with relation to increasing unemployment); however, it rarely gains such reflection in city space as the regression conditioned by the transition into the advanced phase of life-cycle. Status regression in city space is connected with older housing estates from the 1950s and 1960s (zone D).

Process of suburbanisation – a case study in the hinterland of Prešov

In the following part of the contribution we will describe some significant features and indicators of suburbanisation using the case study in the hinterland of Prešov, the third largest town in Slovakia. The article is especially aimed at the aspect of selective migration, spatial differentiation of housing conditions in suburban zone, social and economic segregation, the collapse of social and geographical hierarchies, and commercial activities and their distribution.

Migrations from central town to suburban zones realized by households with higher social status is generally a typical feature of suburbanisation. The town is distinguished by the fall of migration increase, gradually changing into migration decrease of its population. On the contrary, the hinterland of a town and the surrounding villages notice the inflow of citylike immigrants who participate in residential suburbanisation in that area. However, the intensity of migration within the suburban zone is distributed unequally. There is a qualitative and quantitative selection, namely the number of immigrants, their education, origin, and the target area they have selected. These tendencies have been accordingly observed in the town of Prešov.

Table 1: *Population movement balance in Prešov in 1991 - 2003*

YEAR	Number of	Migration increase/	Natural increase/	Total increase/
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	population	decrease		decrease		decrease	
		Abs.	‰	abs.	‰	abs.	‰
1991	87 475	656	7,5	823	9,4	1479	16,9
1992	88 954	292	3,3	812	9,1	1104	12,4
1993	90 058	100	1,1	805	8,9	905	10
1994	90 963	484	5,3	566	6,2	1050	11,5
1995	92 013	168	1,8	506	5,5	674	7,3
1996	92 687	-12	-0,1	472	5,1	460	5
1997	93 147	-70	-0,8	384	4,1	314	3,4
1998	93 461	-24	-0,3	353	3,8	329	3,5
1999	93 790	-111	-1,2	298	3,2	187	2
2000	93 977	-127	-1,4	208	2,2	81	0,9
2001	92 774	-207	-2,2	122	1,3	-85	-0,9
2002	92 584	-366	-3,9	132	1,4	-234	-2,5
2003	92 375	-471	-5,1	132	1,4	-339	-3,7
total:		312		5613		5925	

Source: The Statistical Office of SR

Table 2: Migration balance of Prešov and its hinterland communities in 1996-2003

COMMUNITY	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1996 - 2003
	Migration increase/ decrease (‰)								
Bzenov	8,70	7,03	5,55	-1,39	-18,23	-2,74	9,67	0,00	1,07
Dulová Ves	0,00	17,95	10,70	1,76	-3,51	15,25	6,71	10,10	7,37
Fintice	-5,47	-2,04	10,82	16,58	6,47	11,10	3,06	16,36	7,11
Haniska	7,68	-1,90	15,04	-15,30	7,60	5,33	29,31	-10,34	4,68
Janov	0,00	-3,94	11,90	0,00	-15,75	3,61	-7,09	14,55	0,41
Kapušany	13,51	6,20	2,04	-0,50	7,55	11,24	-2,44	3,41	5,13
Kendice	8,20	-4,79	11,52	8,60	12,31	6,16	1,23	0,61	5,48
Ľubotice	19,08	3,52	1,74	18,08	8,04	-6,29	46,15	33,17	15,44
Malý Šariš	1,81	5,27	1,68	-6,60	-1,59	-12,42	4,56	8,72	0,18
Petrovany	4,86	19,21	16,61	-6,48	0,00	14,70	21,75	15,25	10,74
Podhradník	-6,08	6,02	3,05	9,26	-8,93	45,32	5,88	29,07	10,45
Radatice	-8,96	-13,00	-14,27	11,78	1,30	-5,26	-3,96	0,00	-4,05
Rokycany	4,59	3,01	-2,97	-1,45	2,84	0,00	4,03	-3,97	0,76
Ruská Nová Ves	9,07	-3,38	-10,20	4,41	12,04	6,51	-6,38	6,30	2,29
Teriakovce	5,17	-23,75	-13,30	0,00	12,95	23,02	2,53	10,23	2,11
Veľký Šariš	19,87	0,00	-30,00	10,17	9,77	6,62	-19,87	0,00	-0,43
Vyšná Šebastová	8,20	10,09	0,00	0,00	3,00	5,23	19,65	23,14	8,66
Záborské	4,68	2,34	6,94	-2,34	47,40	53,53	26,48	12,20	18,90
Župčany	0,00	16,55	7,78	-3,39	11,07	7,43	12,37	8,84	7,58
Prešov	-0,13	-0,75	-0,26	-1,18	-1,35	-2,23	-3,95	-5,10	-1,87

Source: The Statistical Office of SR

Recent analysis has shown (table 2, map 1) that the suburban zone of Prešov was in 1996 – 2003 spatially differentiated in terms of migration increase of population. Villages that noticed the highest average annual migration increase (over 10 ‰) include Ľubotice, Záborské, Veľký Šariš, and Petrovany. Rather high migration increase (5-10 ‰) was also identified in Dulová Ves, Haniska, Fintice, Kapušany, Kendice, Podhradník, Vyšná Šebastová, and Župčany. Other villages noticed either the less significant migration increase (Bzenov, Malý Šariš, Rokycany, Ruská

Nová Ves, and Teriakovce) or even migration decrease (Janov, Radatice). In terms of absolute number, the most people immigrated into **Velký Šariš, Lubotice, Petrovany, Kapušany, Kendice, Záborské, Fintice, and Župčany** (table 2).

An important factor, when identifying suburbanisation, and evaluating the selective migration and suburbanisation impact in the hinterland, is the origin of immigrants moving towards the suburban zone. By the origin of immigrants we mean the place from which the immigrants moved (their former residence). An important and peculiar feature to suburbanisation is in that case rather high percentage of immigrants coming from the town of Prešov. The greatest share of immigrants from Prešov (over 70 %) shows the community of **Kanaš** and the village of **Vyšná Šebastová**. The other villages with high share of immigrants of Prešov origin (60 % - 70 %) include **Lubotice, Velký Šariš, Podhradík, and Haniska**. The immigrants of Prešov origin predominate also in the village of **Záborské, Malý Šariš, and Fintice** (50 % - 60 %). Immigrant coming from other, mostly neighbouring communities and towns dominate in the rest of our observed areas.

Map 1

MIGRATION BALANCE OF COMMUNITIES IN THE PREŠOV DISTRICT IN 1996 - 2002

Author: Alena Sedláková



Average annual migration increase/ decrease (‰)



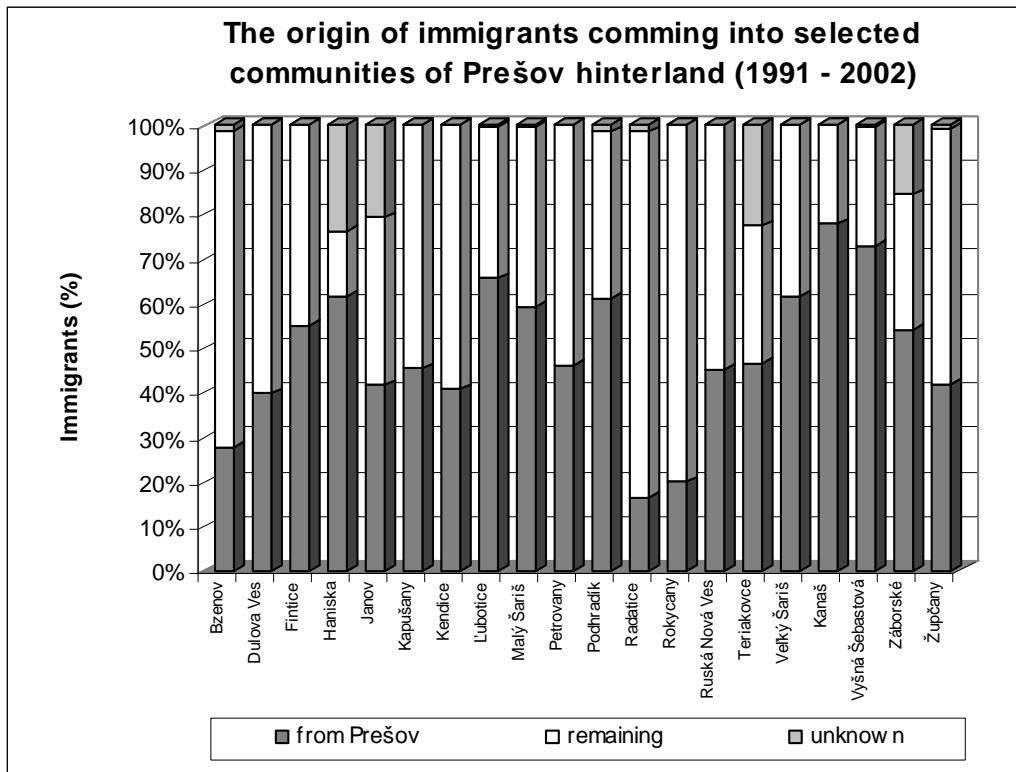
-20 -10 -5 0 5 10 15 30

— district line
— cadastral line



0 2.6 5.2 km

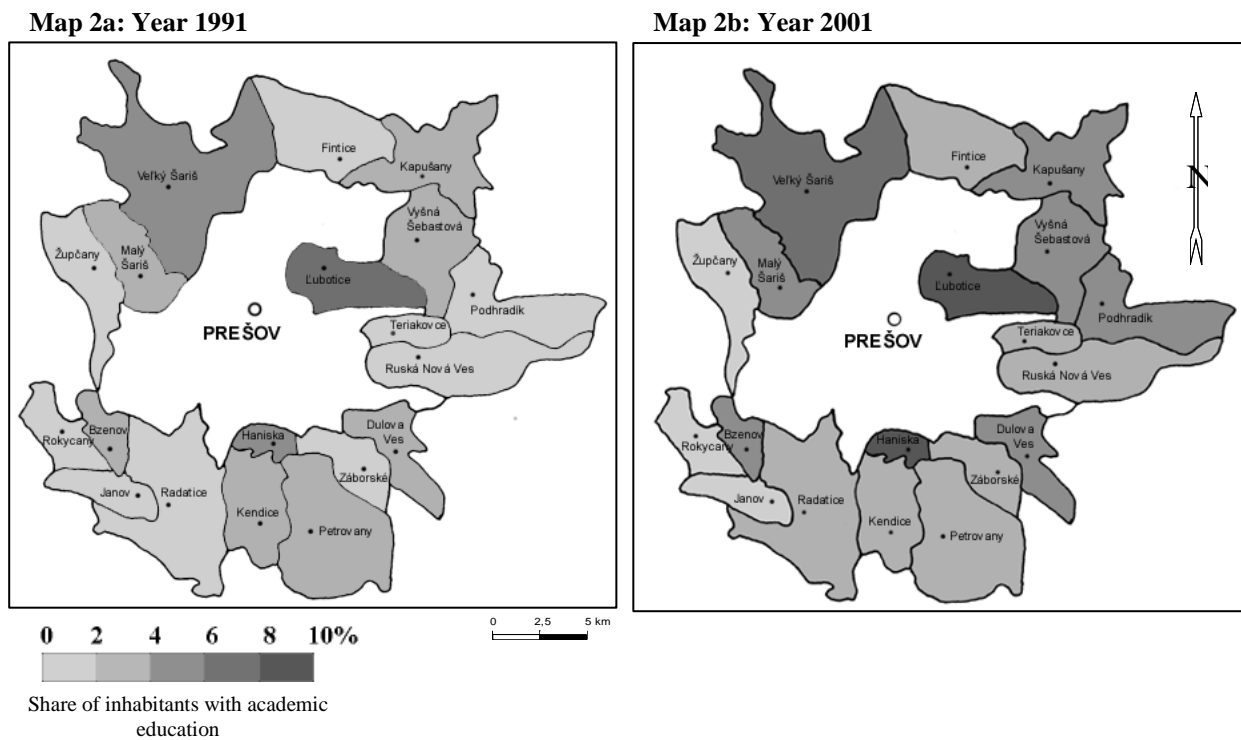
Graph 1



Education of immigrants is another factor that contributes to social disparities among people in suburban zone. People moving from the inner town towards peripheries are usually of higher social status, their education is mostly academic. Gradually, there might grow a significant contrast between people from inner town and its periphery. Within our research area that encircles the town of Prešov we have identified the communities which recorded a significant increase of inhabitants with academic education emigrating from Prešov in last years. Suburbanisation is quite well developed in these communities.

In 1991 the highest share of highly educated inhabitants were recorded in Ľubotice (6, 7 %), Haniska (5, 2 %) and Veľký Šariš (4, 2 %). Rather low share of people with academic education was found in Janov, Podhradík, Rokycany, Radatice, Teriakovce, and Záborské (map 2a). In the end of 1990s the situation is changing. Several communities come to the fore, the number of people with academic education is growing there rather markedly (map 2b). Significant changes in education structure, especially the growth of highly educated people, were identified in Ľubotice, Podhradík, Haniska, Vyšná Šebastová, Záborské and Veľký Šariš with its community of Kanaš.

Fig. 2: The development of the share of inhabitants with academic education in the hinterland of Prešov in 1991- 2001.



The process of residential suburbanisation brings a certain differentiation of living and housing in the hinterland of a town. The process does not develop evenly in all directions, but there is a qualitative selection. People coming from the town prefer the quiet, peaceful and healthy environment with easy accessibility to the city and with a quality infrastructure. New residential housing construction is characterised by a specific architectural style - mostly family houses, villas, houses for order and above-standard houses. We have identified such



Fig.3: Residential suburbanisation in the hinterland of Prešov



Fig.4: Residential suburbanisation in the hinterland of Prešov

constructions and areas in the community of Veľký Šariš, Kanaš, Záborské, Ľubotice, and Teriakovce. In the near future it is possible to identify suburbanisation processes (with regard to the number of building permits and structure of builders) also in Vyšná Šebastová, Teriakovce, Malý Šariš, Kapušany, and Fintice.

Commercial suburbanisation and its impact in the hinterland of Prešov

As we have already mentioned, residential suburbanisation is followed by the move of job openings and commercial activities from the centre and inner city into its suburban zone. This is accompanied by the rise of new activities and their permanencies, i.e. commercial suburbanisation, what can in its advanced phase lead into existence of rival marginal towns competing with the original agglomeration. Eventually, the suburbanisation process may end in the change from a mono-centric urban structure into a polycentric one. Commercial areas - shopping centres, hypermarkets, supermarkets, department stores, warehouses, industrial objects, car services and car stores, and services of various character nowadays follow the trend of suburban development. They concentrate along important transport communications, slip roads and railways leaving the central city. Commercial areas are distributed unevenly and sporadically on



greenfields. They take and fill the areas formerly exploited by agriculture. The model of such suburban development is slowly proving in the hinterland of Prešov as well. There are several areas with the concentration of commercial objects in this town. They show the highest density along the main roads leaving the city: the international communications E 50, 1/68, the highway D1 Prešov – Budimír, and the first class road nr. 18. We can find there the following streets: the Bardejovská Street, Duklianska Street, Košická Street, Levočská Street, and the Petrovanská Street (see photos).

However, the processes of commercial suburbanisation in the town of Prešov are of less significance, therefore their impact is rather low as well. Still there might be observed some problems such as unregulated development, fragmentation of land, high heavy trafficked roads, impersonalization, and many others. In the Prešov area there are many commercial objects

situated not exclusively along the important communications, but they can be also found in housing estates and near the centre (e.g. Kaufland in the housing estate of Sídliisko III., Billa in the housing estate of Sekčov). On that account we state the opinion that the commercial suburbanisation in the hinterland of Prešov is now in its initial phase of development.

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