



The Second Round of Transition: Fighting Pitfalls of Neoliberal Urban Development



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1989

REFUSAL OF COMMUNISM

1990s



2000-2008



**URBAN RESTRUCTURING
UNDER MARKET FORCES
AND EU ENLARGEMENT**

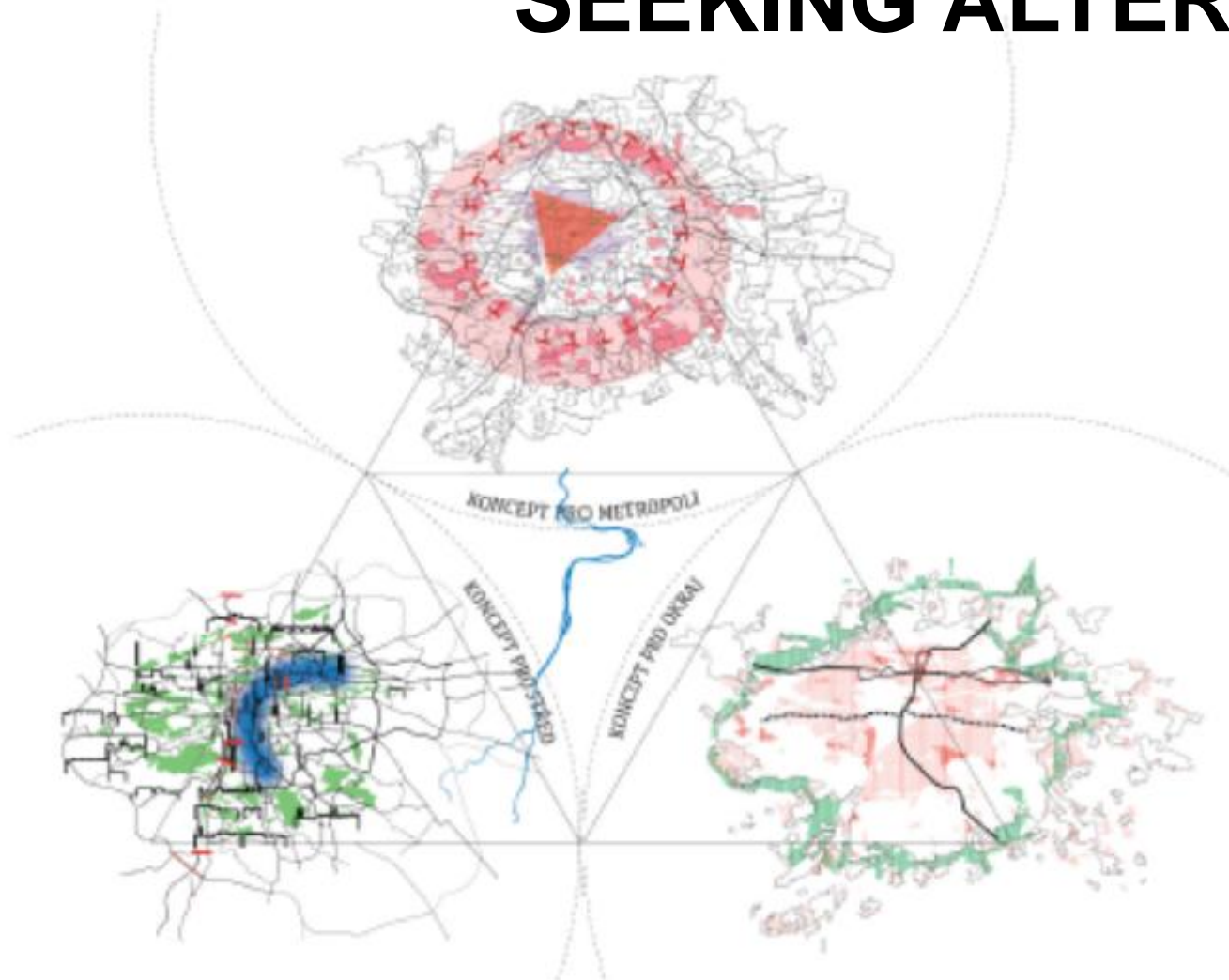
2009-2013

**DISAPPOINTMENT, FRUSTRATION,
UNCERTAINTY, LACK OF VISION**



2014+

SEEKING ALTERNATIVES



2017

WHERE WE ARE NOW ?

Socialist city

Socialist city – socialist society

- The goal: socially just society
- Common ownership of means of production
- Allocation to everybody according to needs
- Central planning
 - Hierarchically organized political control and economic co-ordination
 - Socially just and economically efficient distribution of scarce resources

investment flows

Szelenyi, I

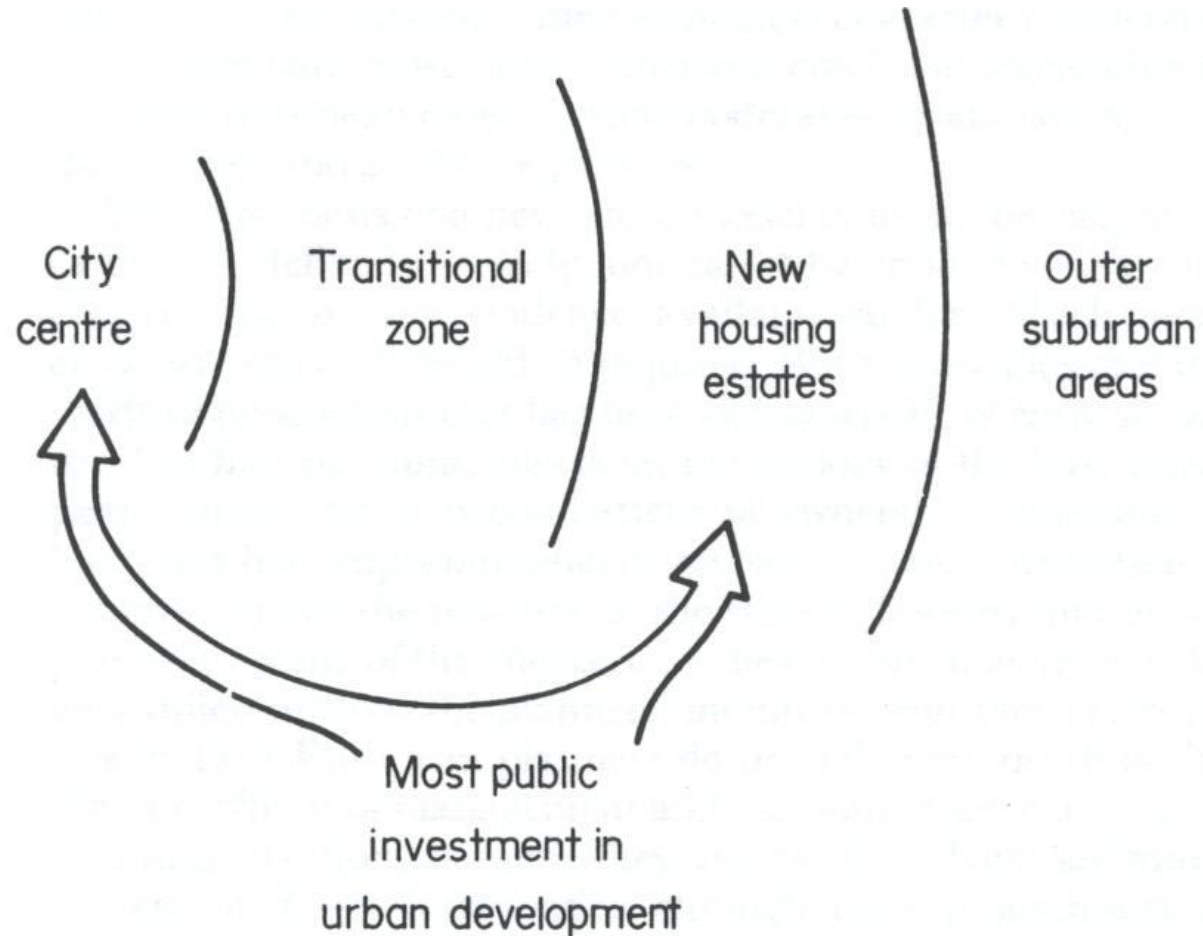


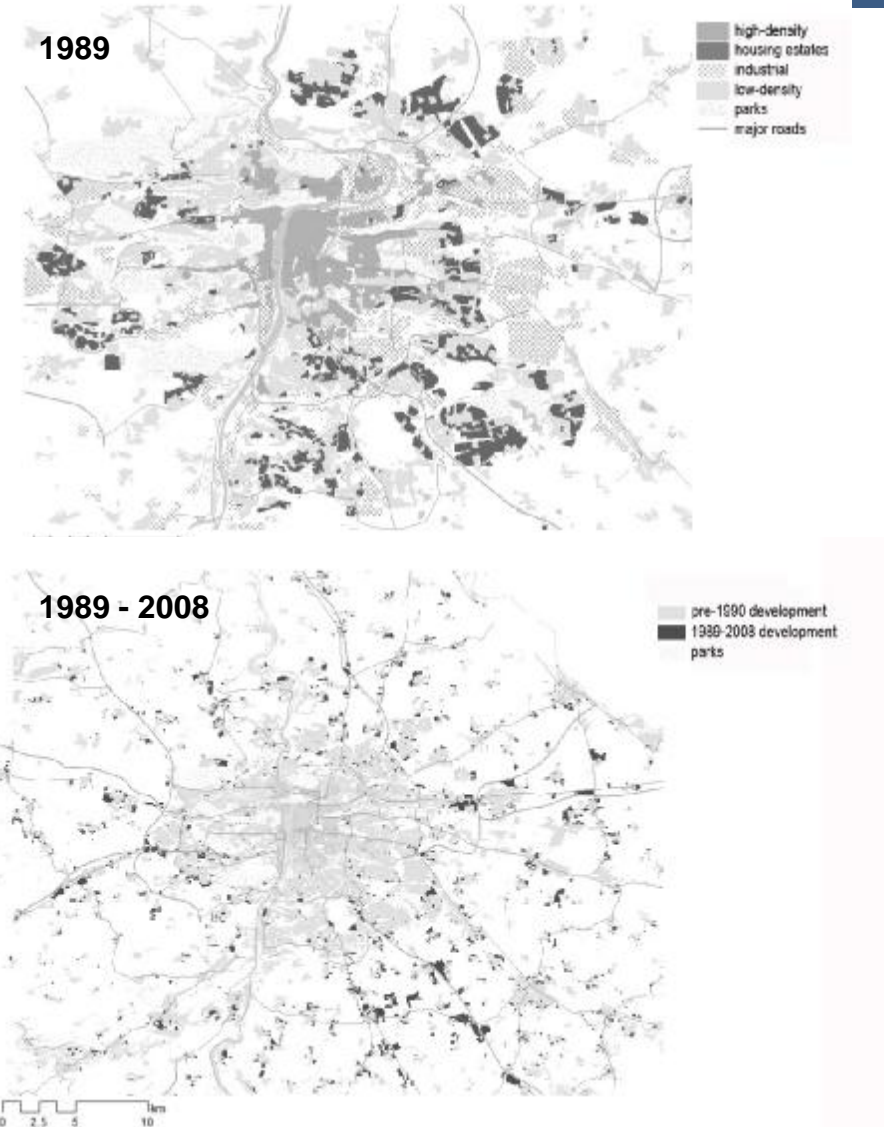
FIG. 7.1 Zones and their shares of public investment

physical spatial structure

compact / dispersed morphology of new housing construction

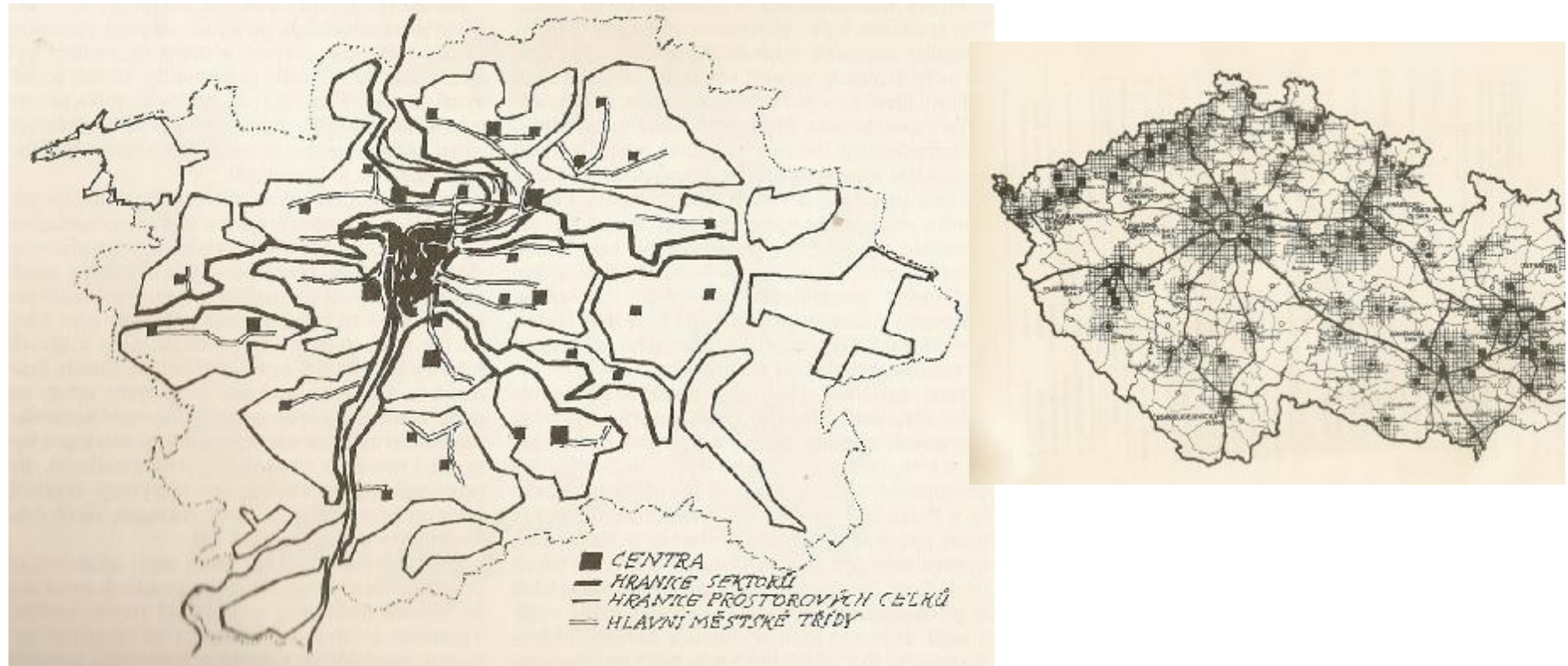


- What are the main differences in the spatial distribution of new housing construction in socialist and capitalist city?



functional spatial structure

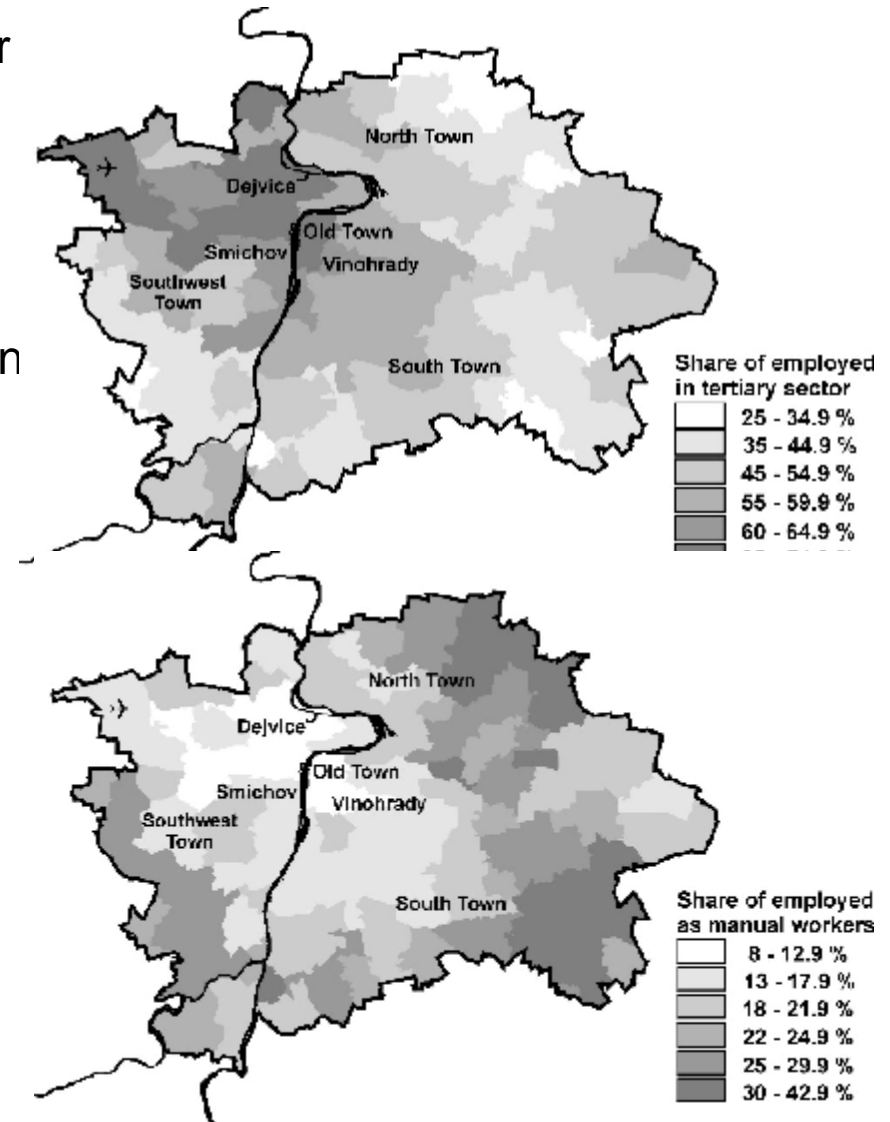
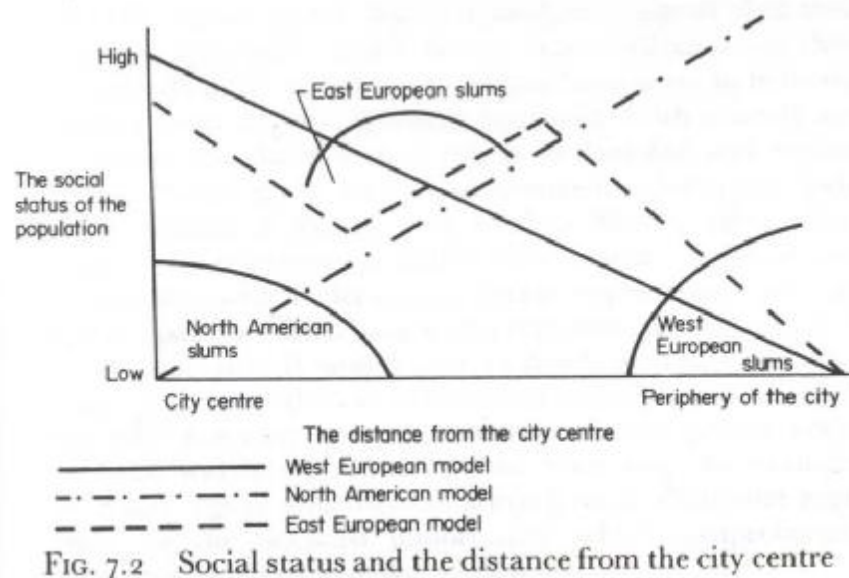
hierarchy of urban centers (W.Christaller theory of central places)



- What is the difference between the structure and system of centers in socialist and capitalist city?

social spatial structure segregation

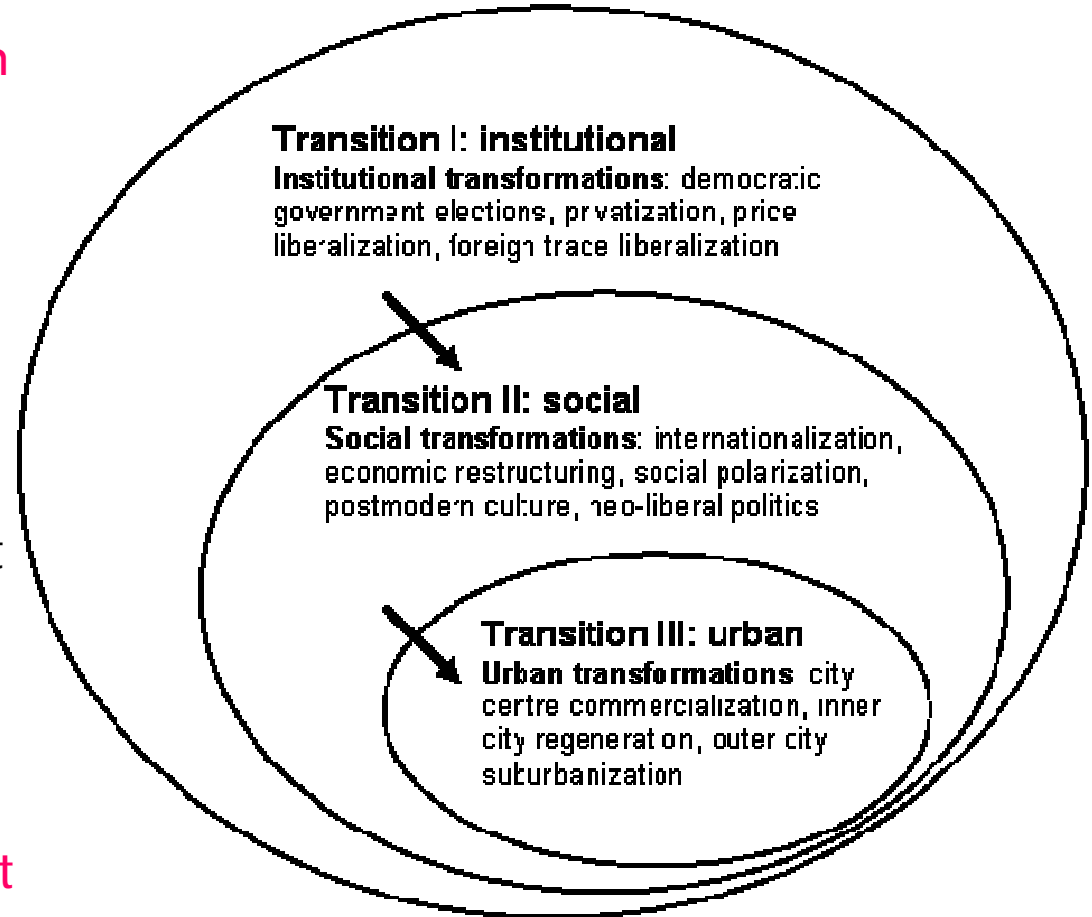
- **Socio-economic status less important** for spatial differences in comparison with demographic status
- **Lower level of segregation** in comparison with western cities; elite most segregated; lower status population less segregated than elite; no ghettos (exception of Roma concentrations)



Postsocialist city

multiple transformations

- the principles of **market allocation** of resources and regulations based in **democratic policy-making** replaced central planning and totalitarian power
- mechanisms developed through **actions** and **practices** of actors reflecting newly established market principles (social **processes** and **structures**)
- **urban spatial** change through **adaptation of urban environment** to new conditions: **new developments** and **transformations**



Sýkora, L., Bouzarovski, S. (2012): Multiple transformations: conceptualising post-communist urban transition. *Urban Studies*, 49 (1), 41 – 58.

government-directed transformations

Washington consensus and neoliberal guidance

- **Democratic** elections
- **Liberalization** of foreign trade
- **Liberalization** of internal markets
 - Liberalization of prices and rents
 - **Privatization** of state assets
- Government-directed transformation created internal environment compatible with capitalist society and **linked local to global capitalism**

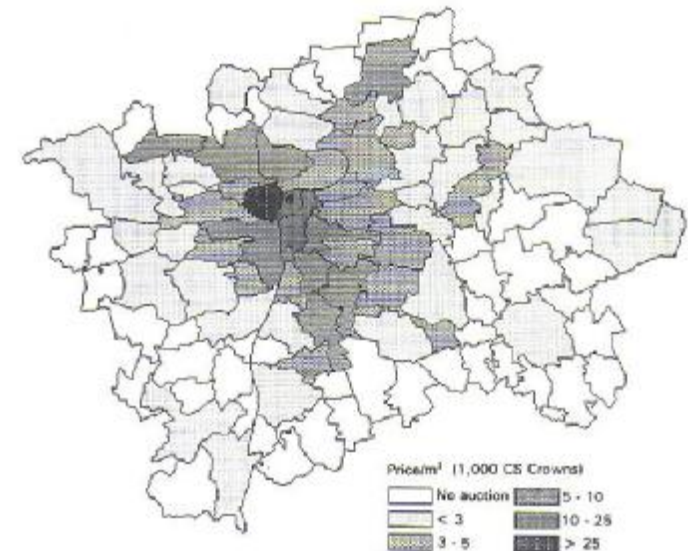


Fig. 3. Average prices paid at small privatization auctions for 100^m² of non-residential premises during 1991-1992 (in Prague's 116 cadastral units).

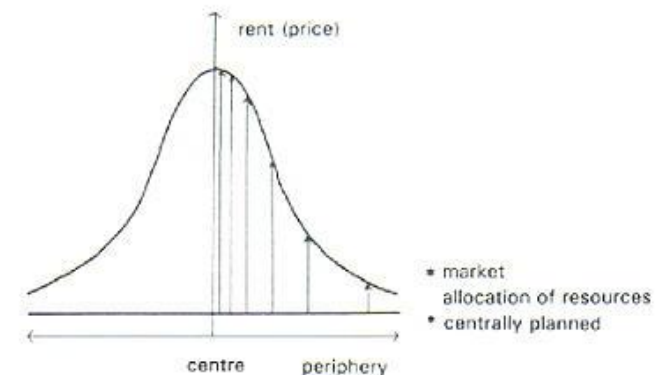


Fig. 4. A schematic comparison of rent curves under two different economic systems indicating dynamic change in restructuring urban space.

social transformations

globalization and local social urban restructuring

- **internationalization**: sectors of economy, labour market, property market, international migration
- **economic restructuring**: deindustrialization, growth in producer services, reindustrialization
- **social differentiation (polarisation)**: socio-economic / income inequality, socio-cultural inequality, legal inequality, discrimination, xenophobia, material and symbolic exclusion
- **postmodern culture**: individualism, consumerism, second demographic transition, fordist / elitist consumption
- **neoliberal politics**: deregulation and decentralization, local economic development, individual projects x long-term planning



city in transition

socio-spatial transformations

- political and economic principles have been changed quickly
- urban spatial structures have high inertia
- the adaptation of urban environment to new societal conditions
- the city of capitalist rules
- the city of socialist legacies



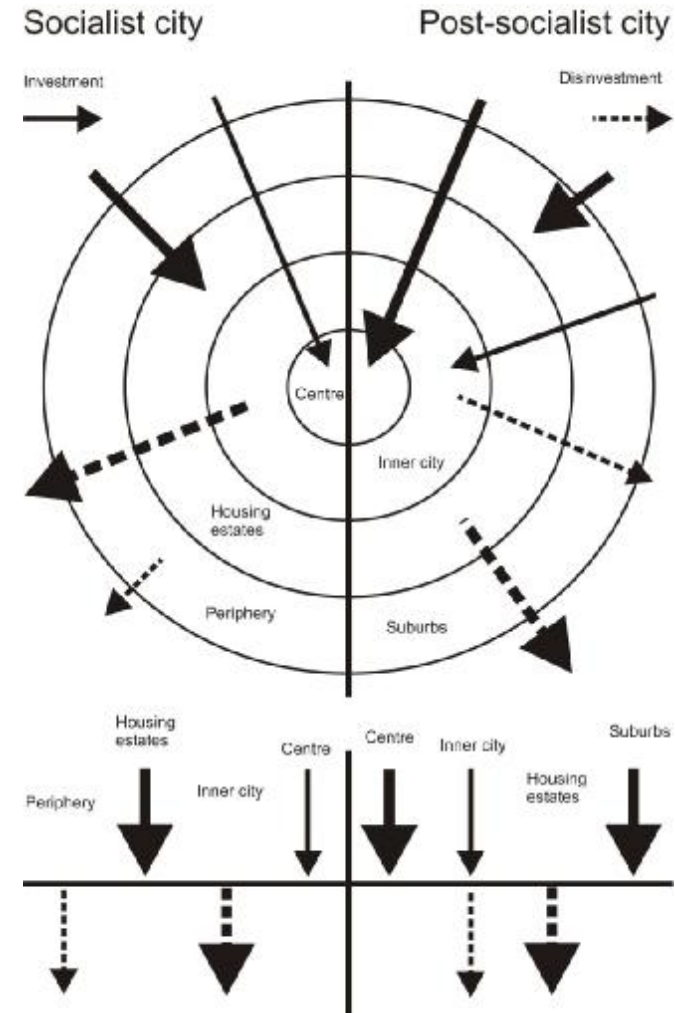
city in transition

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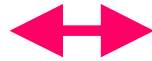
postsocialist city
revolutionary changes



Sýkora, L. (2009) Post-Socialist Cities. In: Kitchin, R., Thrift, N, eds, International Encyclopedia of Human Geography, Volume 8, 387-395. Oxford, Elsevier.

dynamics of urban change

- city and urban structure



- principles and mechanisms of urban change

- population preferences
- firms, capital, profit
- governments, public interest
- discourse and representation
- institutions

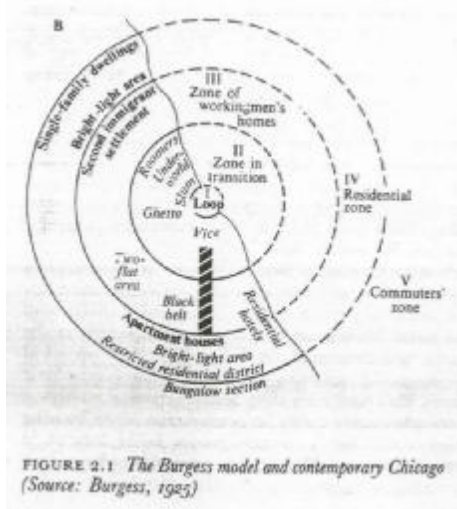
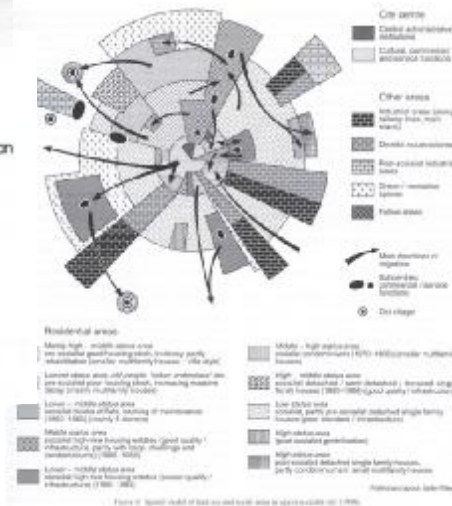


FIGURE 2.1 The Burgess model and contemporary Chicago (Source: Burgess, 1925)



FIG. 7.1 Zones and their shares of public investment



evolutionary x revolutionary change

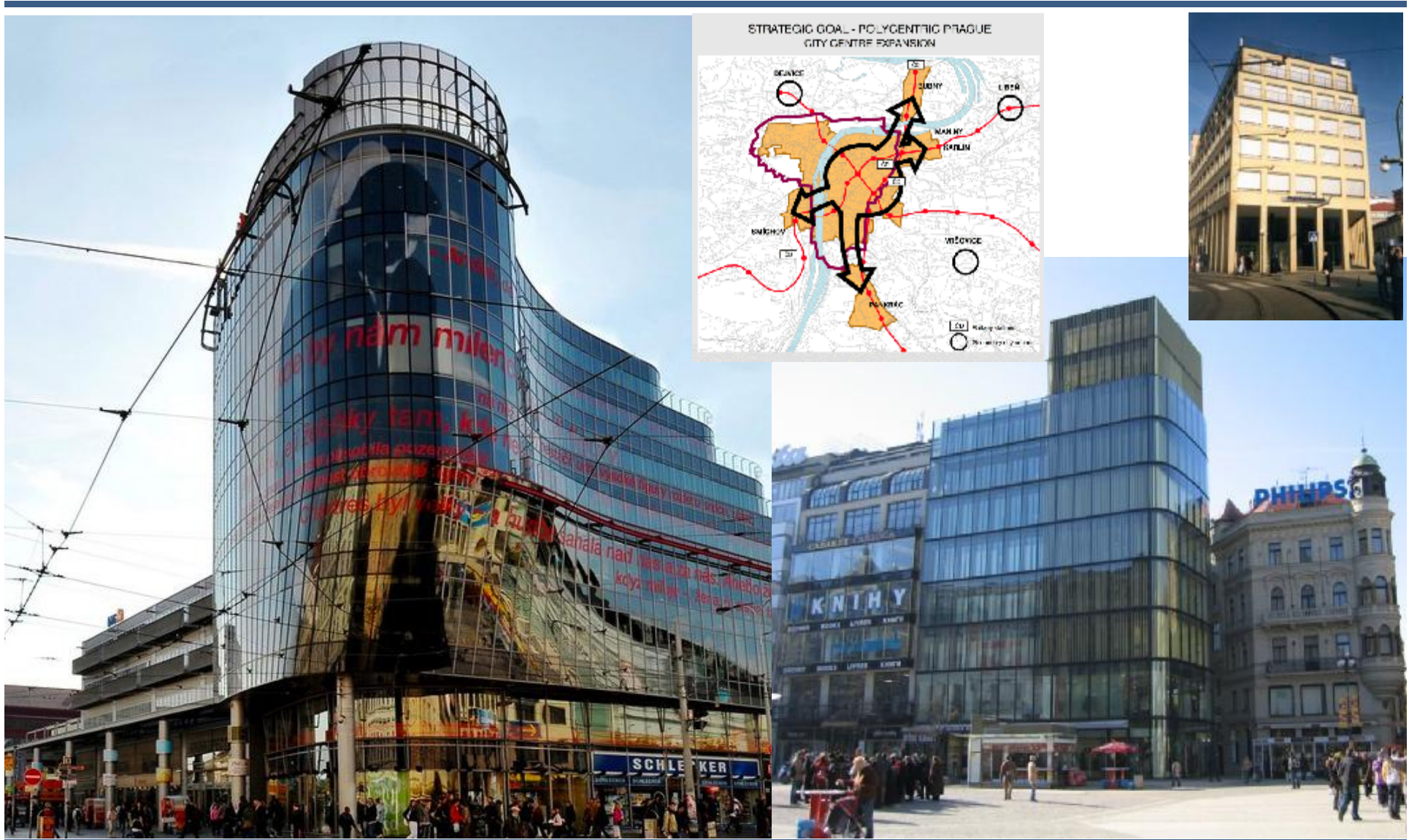
communism – capitalism

Prague: urban spatial transformations

transformations in urban spatial structure

- focus on **processes** and transforming **localities**
- focus on the most **radical changes** and new landscapes formed under new conditions
- the reinvention, **commercialization** and spatial expansion of city centers
- the dynamic **revitalization** of some areas within the overall stagnation in inner cities
- the radical transformation of outer cities and urban hinterland through **commercial and residential suburbanization**

commercialization of city centre



commercialization of the city centre

- Property restitution
- Demand for commercial premises associated with the growth in no. of firm headquarters, producer services, retail and tourism
- Supply of premises by western investors
- Office, retail, hotels
- Refurbished and new



commercialization / revitalization

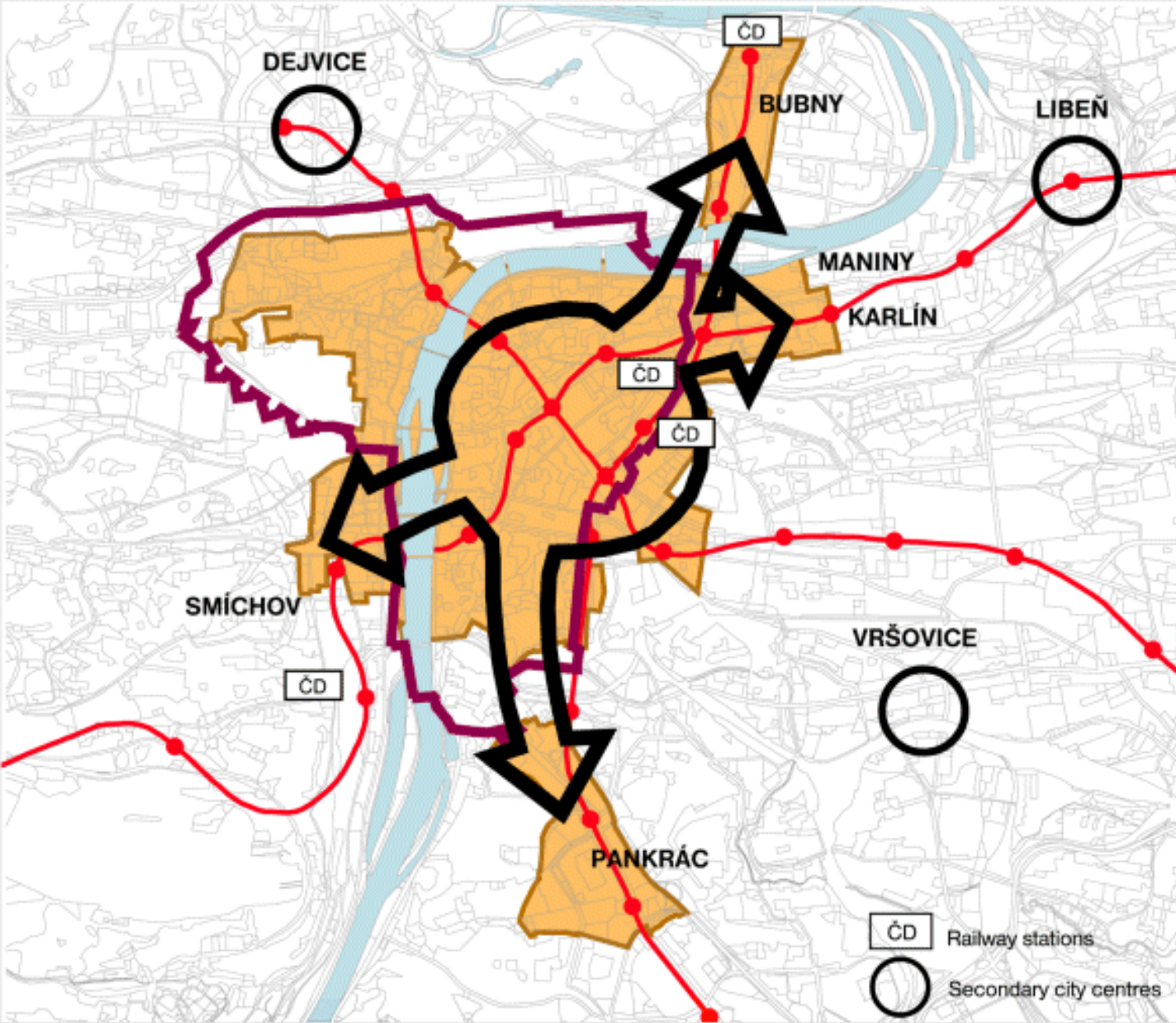


impacts of commercialization

- More economically efficient land-use
- Physical revitalization
- Densification
- Depopulation
- Increased traffic
- Conflicts with historical heritage



CITY CENTRE EXPANSION



revitalization in inner city

- New business nodes and small residential districts in inner city
- Gentrification (residential)
- Condominiums
- Gated communities
- Brownfield redevelopment
- Waterfront (re)development
- New retail and entertainment
- Out-of-centre office clusters



gentrification



gentrification

- spatially selective
- foreigners-led business
- specific niche of Prague's property market
- no pioneer stage
- no social conflict



condominium districts

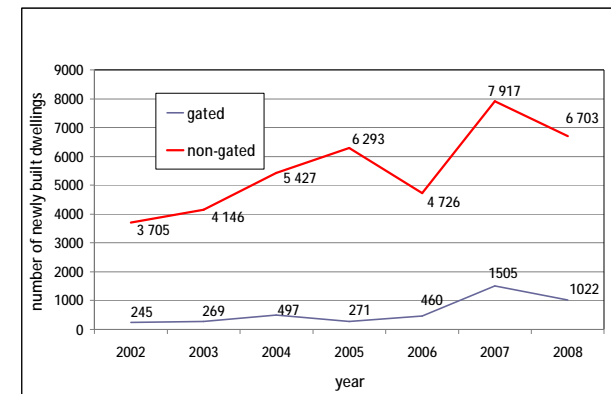
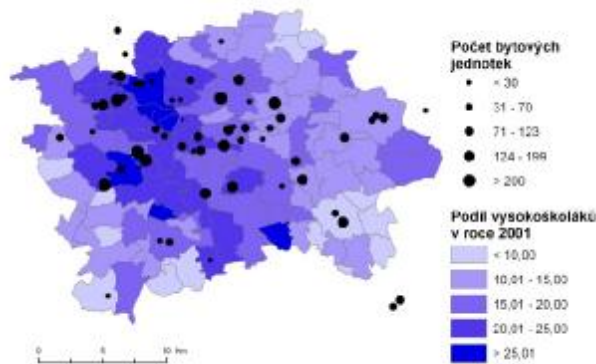


condominium districts

- Various locations
- In-fills of individual buildings to existing structure
- New residential districts
- Domestic yuppies and returned emigrants

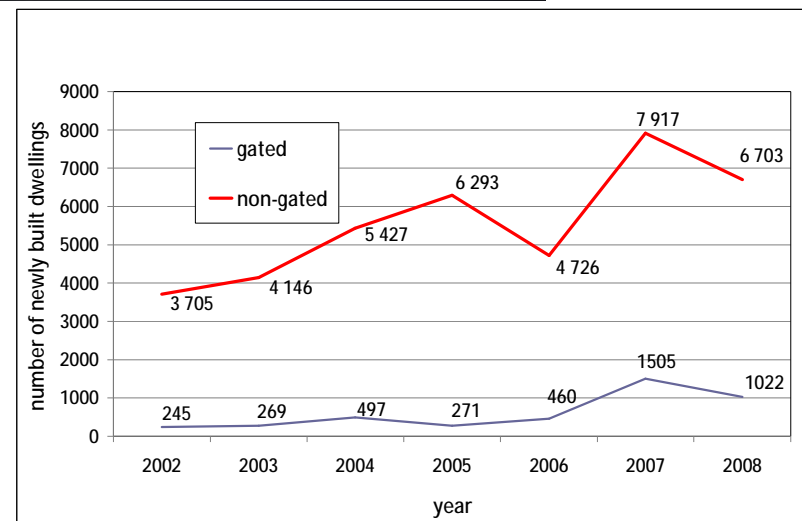
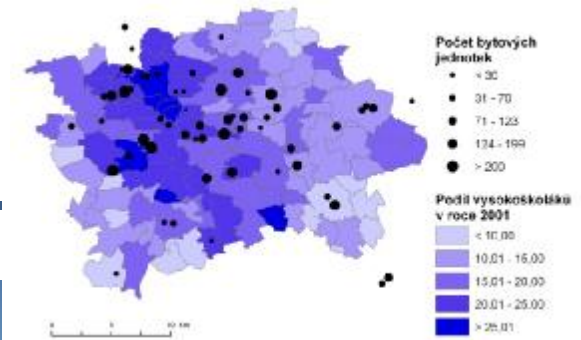


gated communities

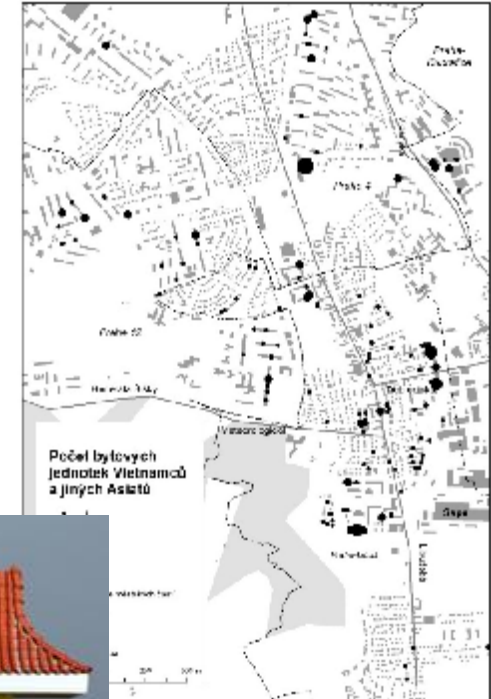
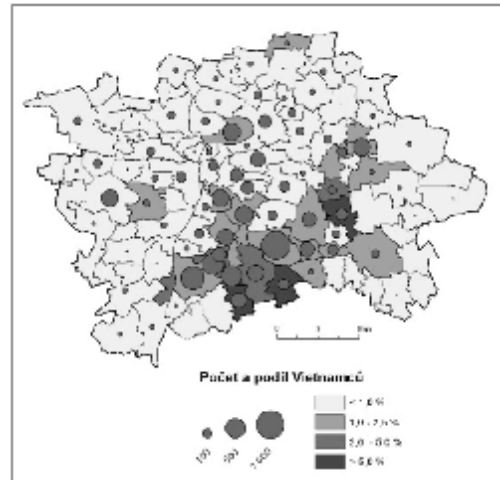


gated communities

- growth from 2002
- until 2004 only luxury housing
- from 2004 middle class population
- from 2007-2008 – explosion of gated communities in Prague (15 % of the total dwellings construction)
- investors and developers provide product for specific segment in the market – a niche of gated communities represented as a perfect place for living
- residents were willing to pay premium for living in an exclusive and secure environment

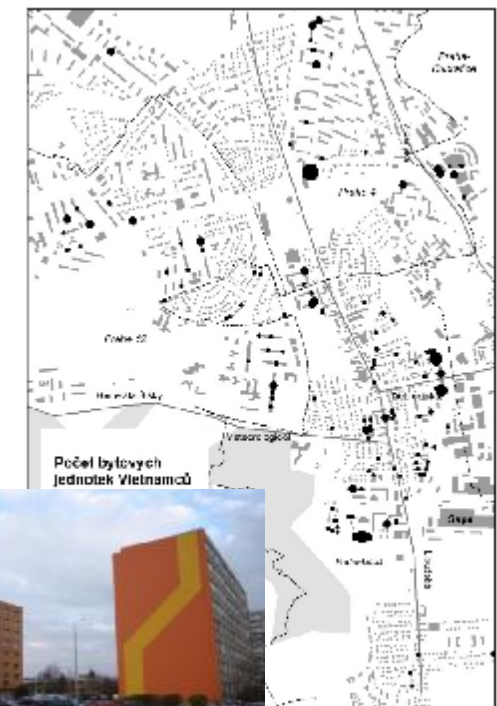
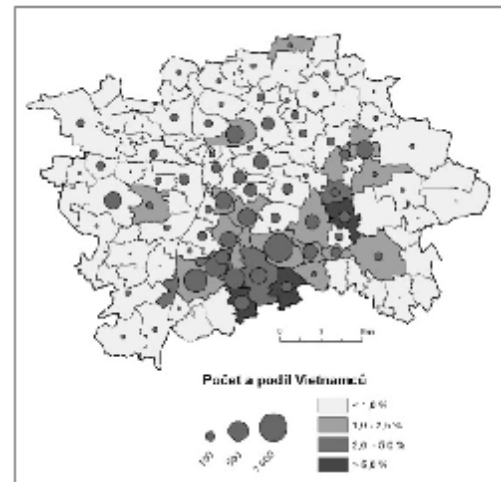


immigrant neighborhoods



new immigrant neighborhoods

- from ethnically homogenous city to encountering cultural difference
- 15% foreign born population, socio-economically highly differentiated from managerial and professional class to guest workers in industries and services
- issue of segregation x inclusion
- everyday embodied convivial encounter x racism in symbolic representations and public discourses
- learning living in multicultural city and neighborhoods



brownfield redevelopment



brownfield redevelopment

- Unused or partial use: 11,7 % of built up area
- Commercial property driven regeneration: office and retail
- Spatially selective: close to the centre areas first
- Availability of land x ownership problems
- Public-private partnership and EU Structural Funds



waterfront (re)development



waterfront (re)development

- New developments in 2000+ (office, housing)
- River-port redevelopment
- Post-industrial waterfront brownfield redevelopment



new retail and entertainment nodes



new retail and entertainment nodes

- Complexes containing shopping mall with hypermarket, multiplex cinema and other entertainment facilities

- Inner city
- Housing estates
- New nodes

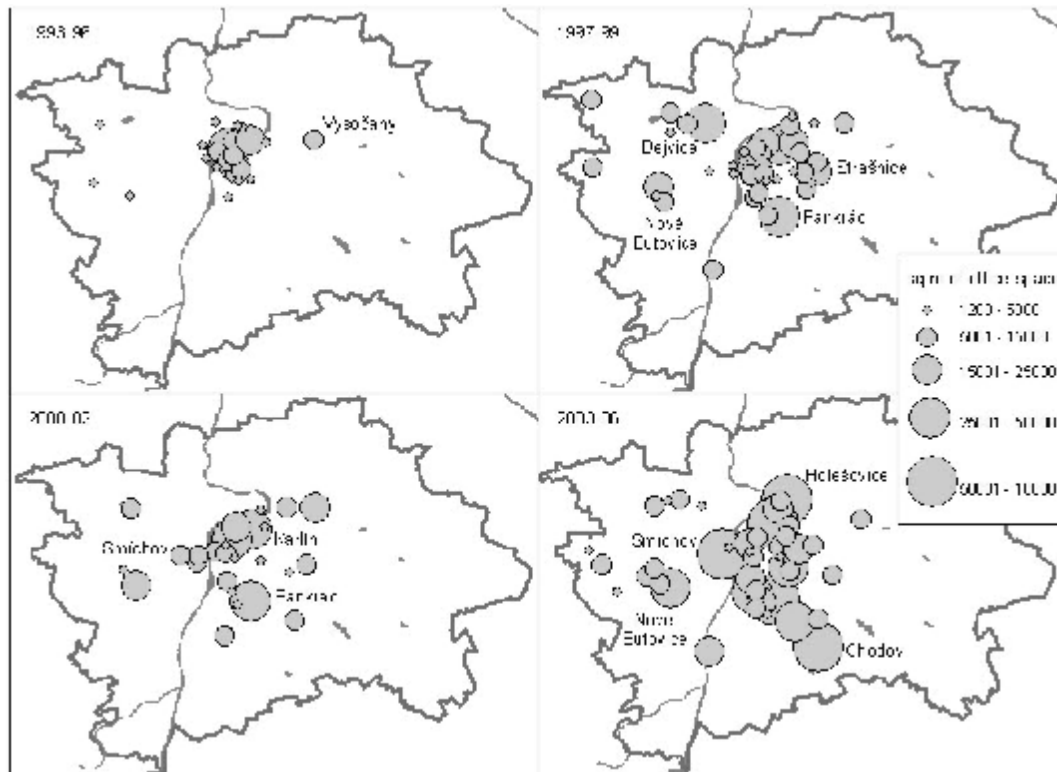


out-of-centre office clusters

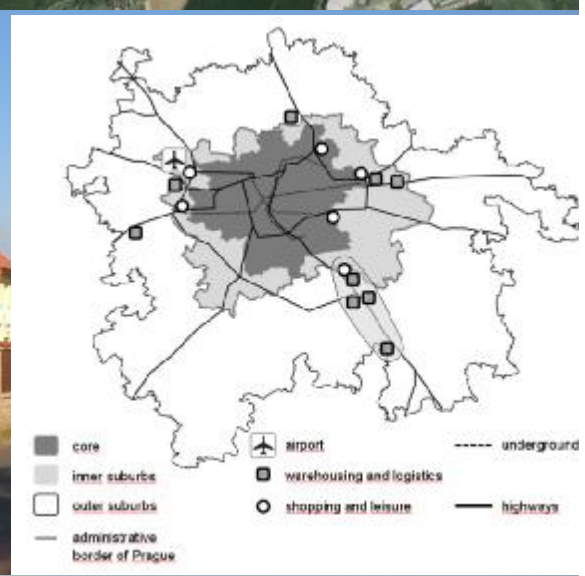


out-of-centre office clusters

- Decentralization since 1997
- Locations close to highways and airport
- Cheap, modern and flexible office spaces for expanding firms that do not need to be present in centre
- BB Centrum, Park Chodov



suburbanization



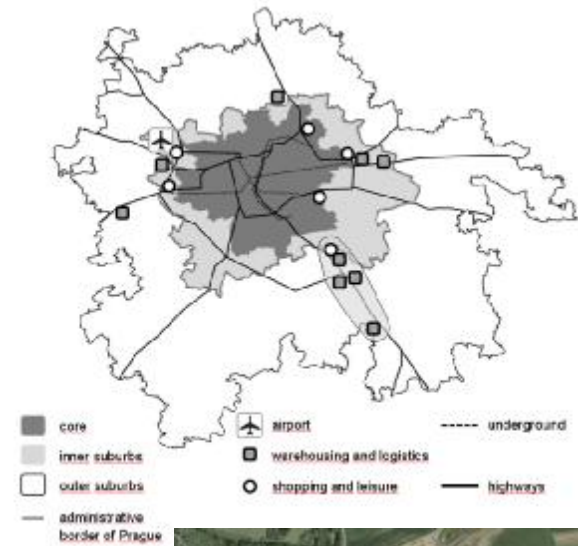
residential suburbanization

- Individual homebuilders as well as whole districts made by one developer
- High incomes in Prague / state supported mortgages
- Changing socio-spatial pattern in metropolitan area
- Social polarization in suburban localities



non-residential suburbanization in city regions

- international firms expanding on Czech markets
- **retail:** regional shopping power centres on the edge of compact city – new central place between the city and expanding suburbs
- **logistic parks:** Prague: central location for western part of Czechia, Prague and Central Bohemia as major market in country
- **new industrial zones:** in regional cities while the capital city strengthens its role as command and control centre



localities of dynamic change

- A historical core
- B inner city
- C garden towns and villa neighbourhoods
- D communist housing estates
- E small towns and villages



2017

WHERE WE ARE NOW ?

Post-socialist cities, global capitalism and planetary urbanization



- we are part of planetary urbanization and global urbanism
- because we are part of global capitalism



postsocialist urbanization

global capitalist urbanization

- similar forms of market-led urban development around the world
- the spread of gated communities, suburbs, etc. is linked with the expansion of capitalism as a dominant socioeconomic order
- similarity in spatial outcomes: the social practices of firms, households, and governments under the conditions of neoliberal global capitalism
- in postsocialist CEE, the neoliberal free market capitalism has guided economic reforms and shaped social practices - created optimal conditions for suburbanization, gentrification, segregation, ...
- interplay between global neoliberal capitalism and local legacies



2017

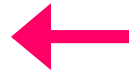
WHERE WE ARE NOW ?

TRANSFORMATION IS **UNFINISHED** PROJECT

urban organization

urban change and its dynamics

- city and urban structure



- principles and mechanisms of urban change

- population preferences
- firms, capital, profit
- governments, public interest
- discourse and representation

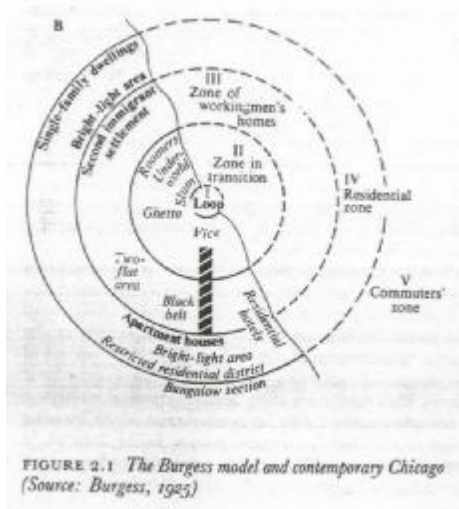
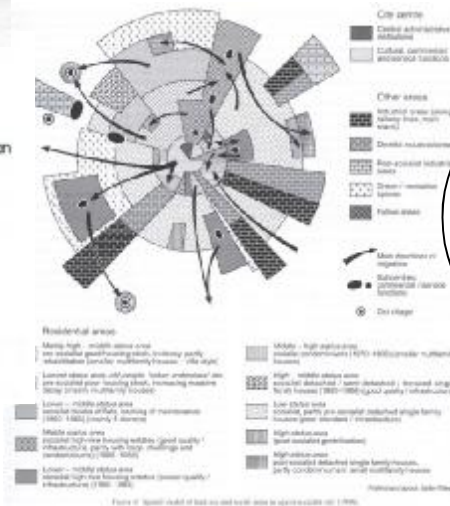


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FIG. 7.1 Zones and their shares of public investment




revolutionary change

communism – capitalism

urban organization

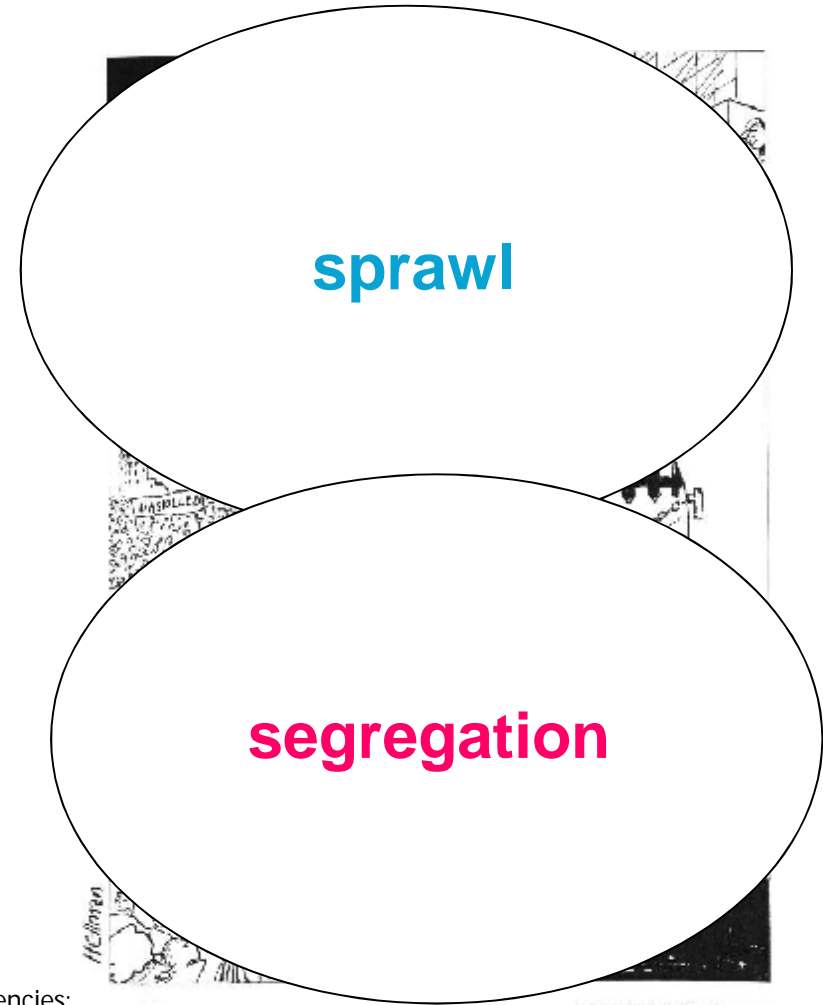
urban change and its societal effects

- 
- principles and mechanisms of urban change
 - population preferences
 - firms, capital, profit
 - governments, public interest
 - discourse and representation
- societal development
 - social inequalities, inclusion and exclusion, social justice
 - sustainability
 - competitiveness and smart development
 - participation in governance (right to the city)

revolutionary changes and new path dependencies

forward look of critical urban studies and practice

- new developments may lead to the formation of new path-dependent lock-ins
- the problematic developments may be avoided if alternative development paths are taken sooner rather than later
- anticipate, critically evaluate and provide normative suggestions about the development paths
- multiplicity of critical junctures: choices that will impact the urban development for years
- **fostering possible alternative paths:**
 - **compact and less sprawling city**
 - **more socially mixed and cohesive and less segregated city**

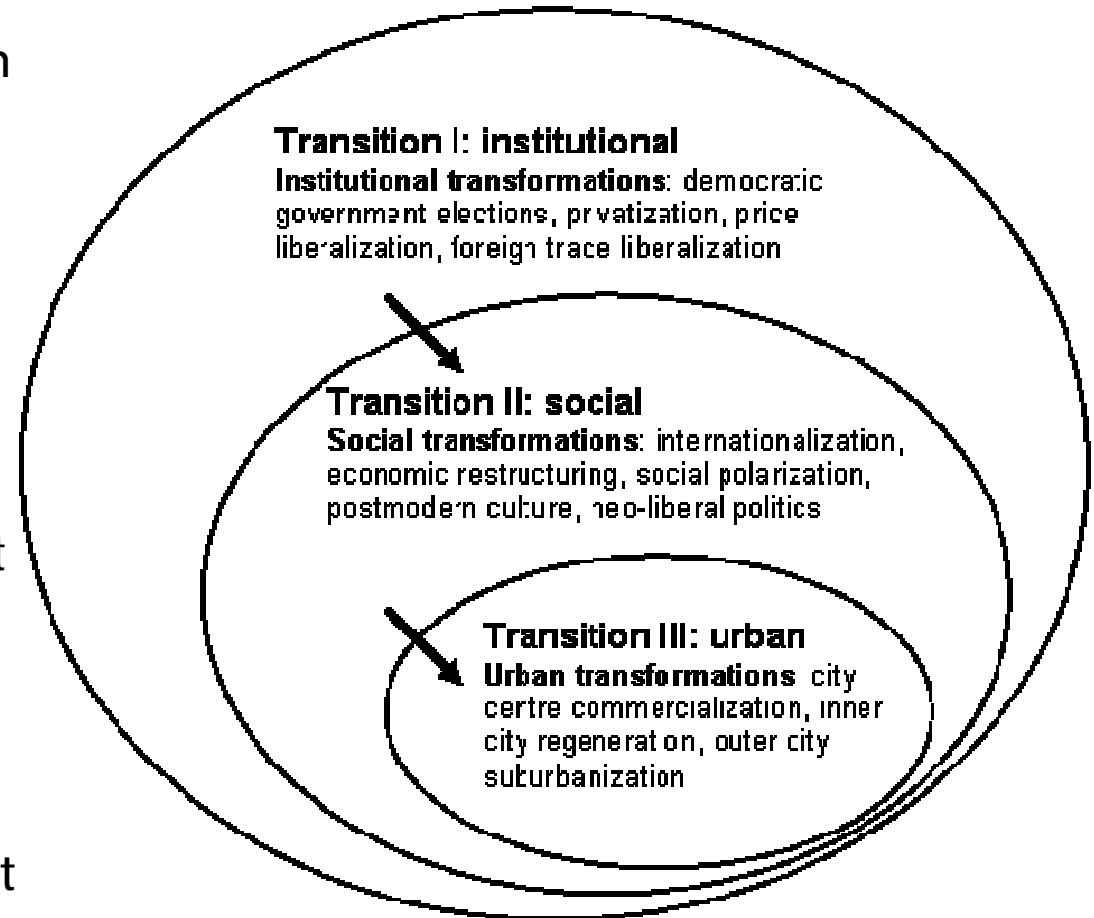


Sýkora, L. (2008) Revolutionary change, evolutionary adaptation and new path dependencies: socialism, capitalism and transformations in urban spatial organizations. In: Strubelt, W., Gorzelak, G., eds, City and Region, 283-295. Budrich UniPress, Leverkusen Opladen

transition and multiple transformations

sequence of transformations

- the principles of market allocation of resources and regulations based in democratic policy-making replaced central planning and totalitarian power
- mechanisms developed through actions and practices of actors reflecting newly established market principles (social processes and structures)
- urban spatial change through adaptation of urban environment to new conditions: new developments and transformations



Sýkora, L., Bouzarovski, S. (2012): Multiple transformations: conceptualising post-communist urban transition. *Urban Studies*, 49 (1), 41 – 58.

transition and multiple transformations

sequence of transformations

- the principles of market allocation of resources and regulations based in democratic policies replaced central planning and totalitarianism

Transition I: institutional

Transformations: democratic
market price

STRUGGLE FOR URBAN TRANSFORMATION

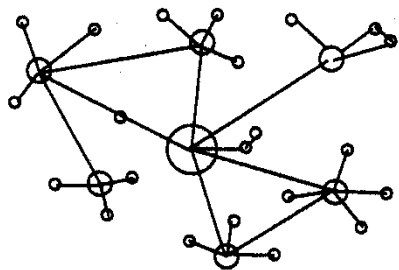
- urban adaptation to new conditions: new developments and transformations

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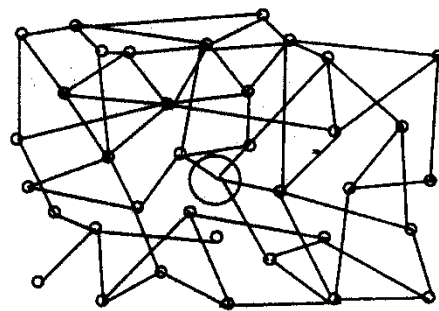
SUBURBANIZATION AND SPRAWL

compact city, decentralized concentration or **sprawl**?

- **good starting conditions:**
compact urban morphology
after socialism
- can we **lean** from the
experience elsewhere ?
- do not we lose our **chance** ?



Dezentrale Konzentration



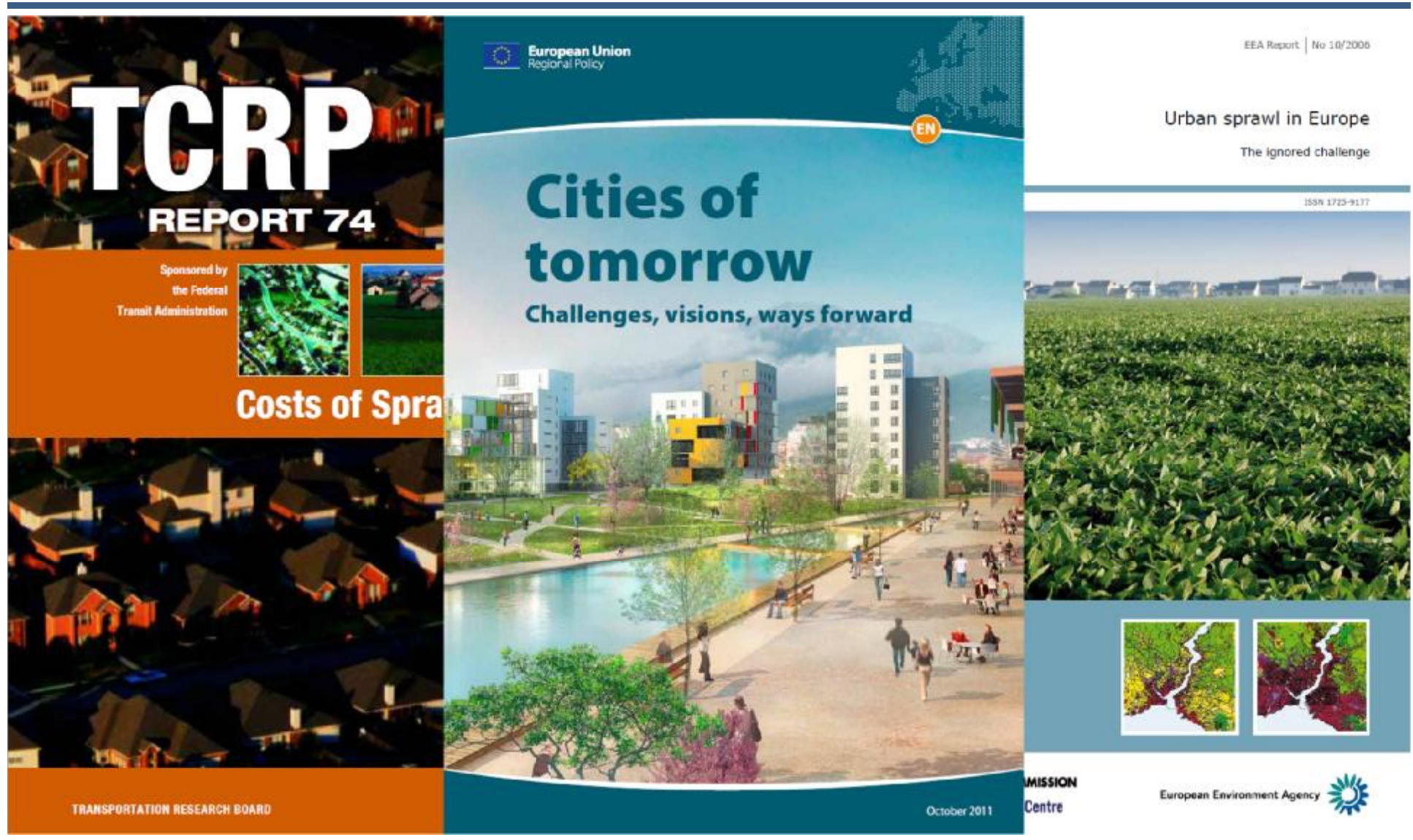
Dispersion

Quelle: Arnd Motzkus: Dezentrale Konzentration – Leitbild für eine Region der kurzen Wege? Bonner Geografische Abhandlungen 107. St. Augustin 2002, S. 149.



SPRAWL

economic, social and environmental consequences



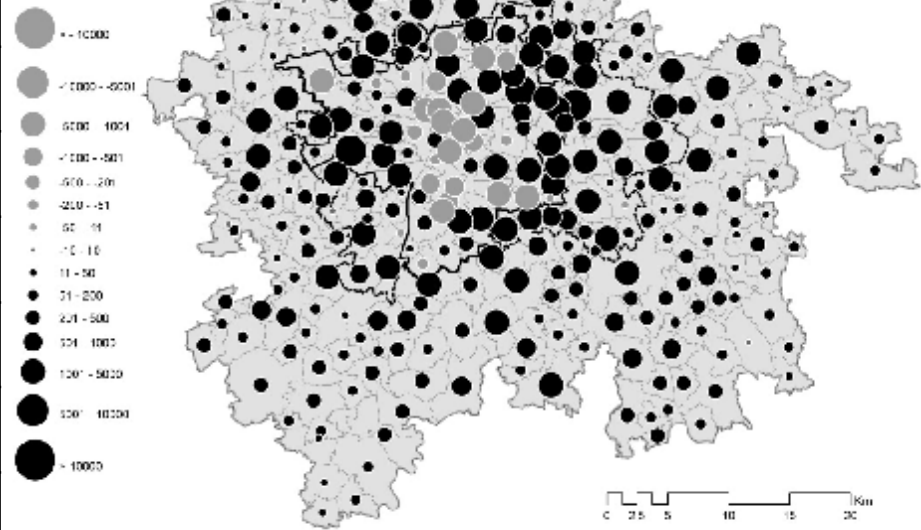
Challenges of Contemporary Urban Development: The Second Round of Transition

	population change		
	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Prague	-45 068	103 584	58 516
core	-52 251	58 840	6 589
inner suburbs	7 183	44 744	51 927
outer suburbs	12 076	84 312	96 388
suburbs	19 259	129 056	148 315
Prague region	-32 992	187 896	154 904

	population change (%)		
	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Prague	-3,71%	8,86%	4,82%
core	-4,70%	5,56%	0,59%
inner suburbs	6,96%	40,55%	50,33%
outer suburbs	7,15%	46,58%	57,06%
suburbs	7,08%	44,30%	54,51%
Prague region	-2,39%	13,92%	11,20%

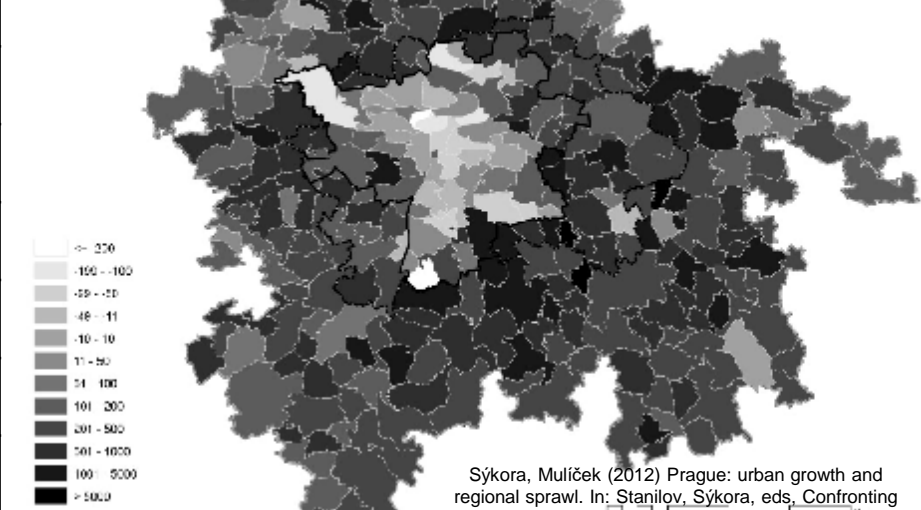
Populační růst 2001-2011

ABS



Populační růst 2001-2011

REL



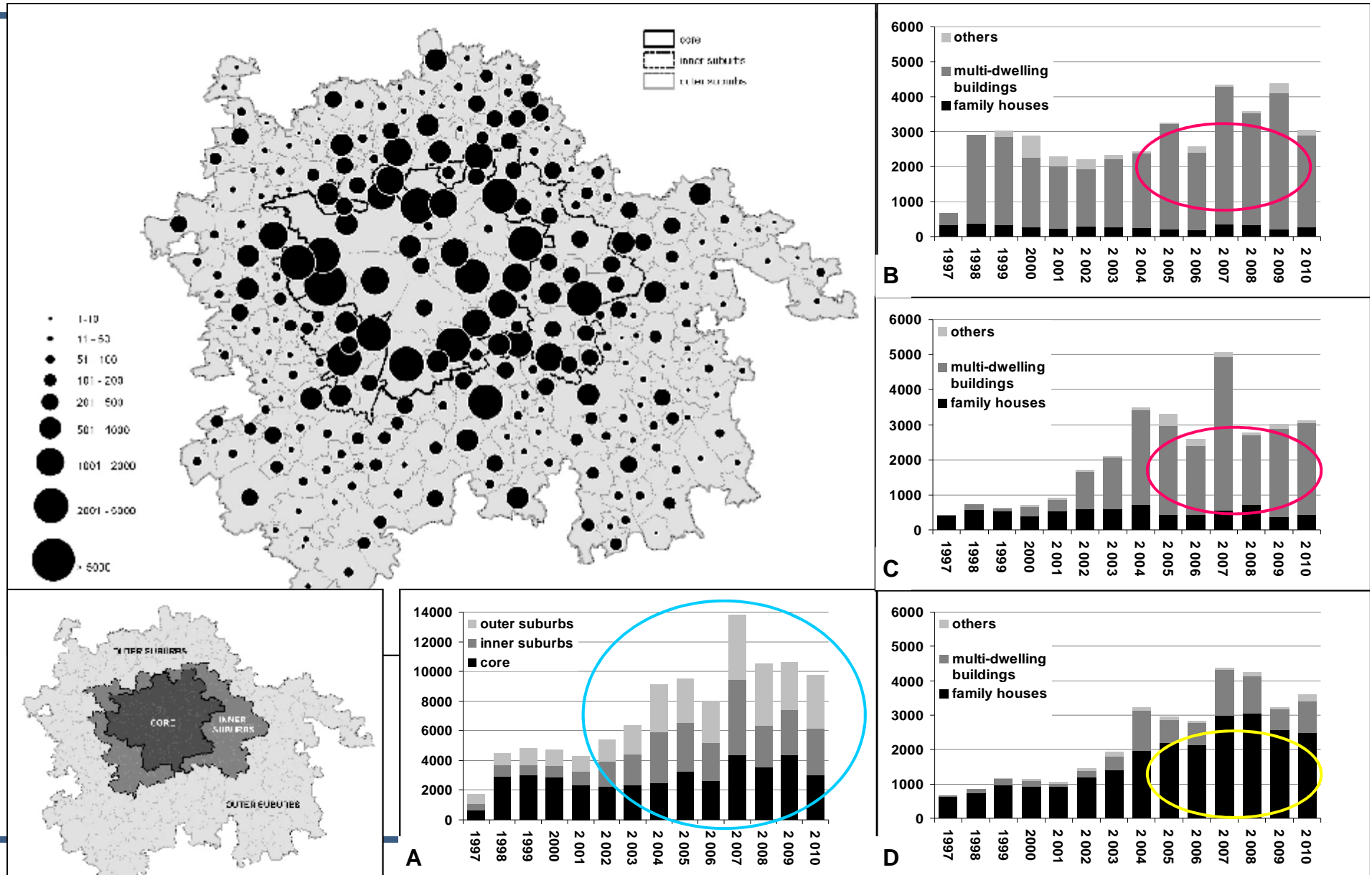
Sýkora, Muliček (2012) Prague: urban growth and regional sprawl. In: Stanilov, Sýkora, eds, Confronting Suburbanization. Blackwell, p. 25

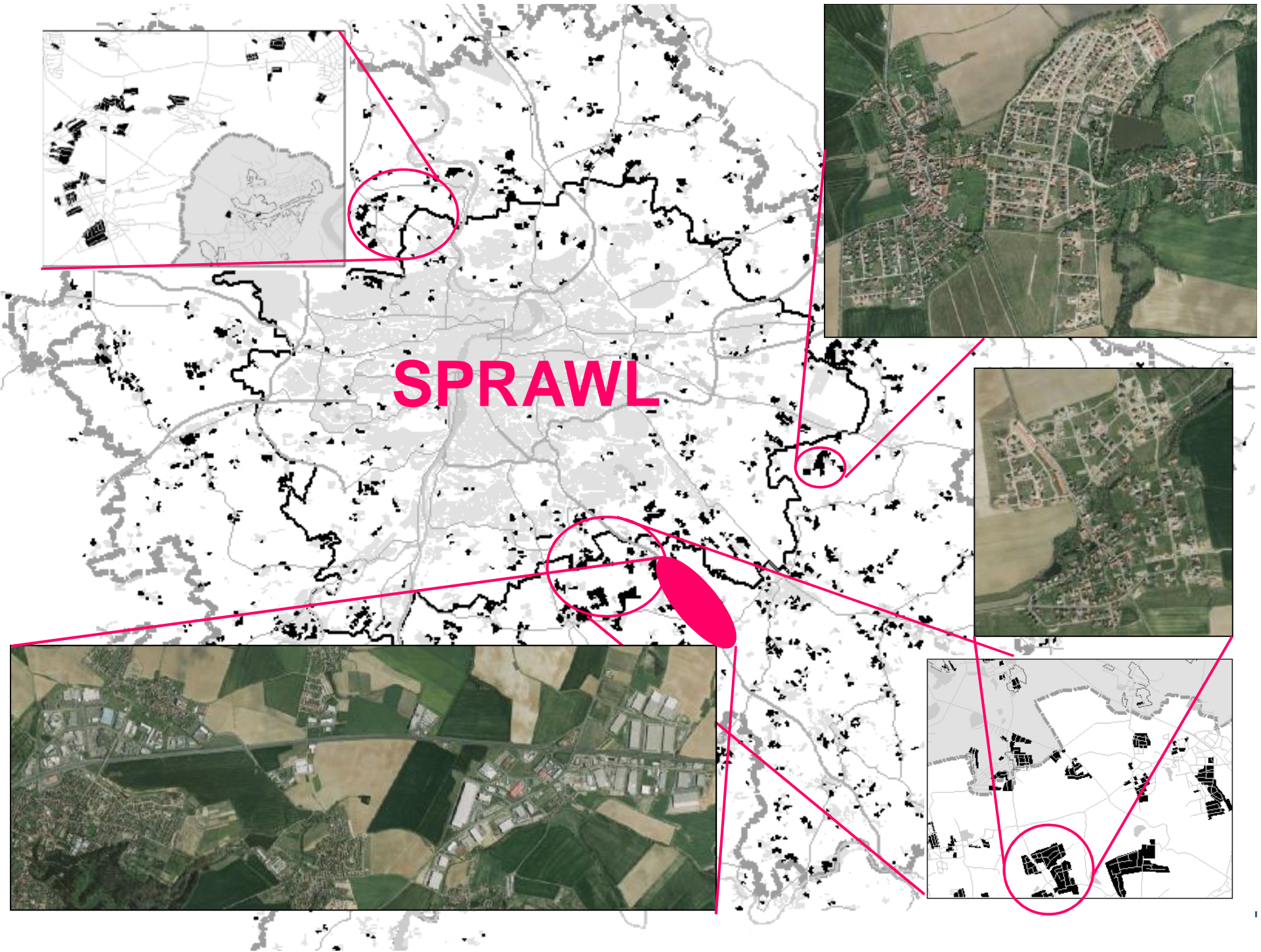
Housing construction

completed dwellings 1997–2010

Sýkora, Mulíček (2012) Prague: urban growth and regional sprawl. In: Stanilov, Sýkora, eds, Confronting Suburbanization. Blackwell.

A city region
 B core
 C inner suburbs
 D outer suburbs





SPRAWL

postsocialist sprawl – socialist housing estates

1989 - 2008

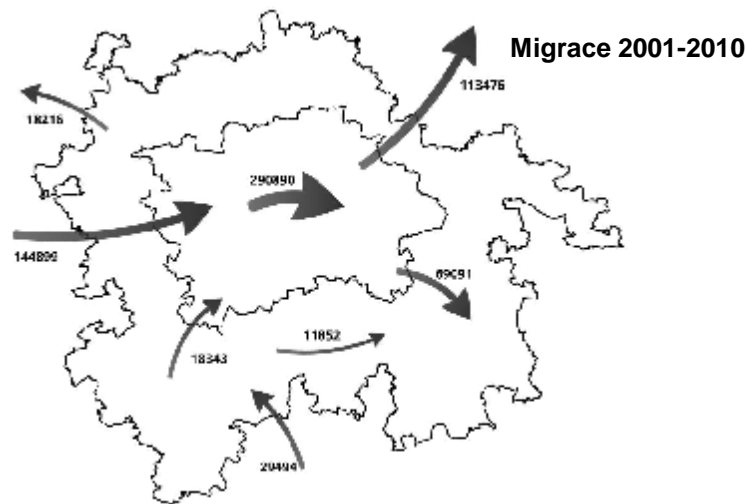


1989



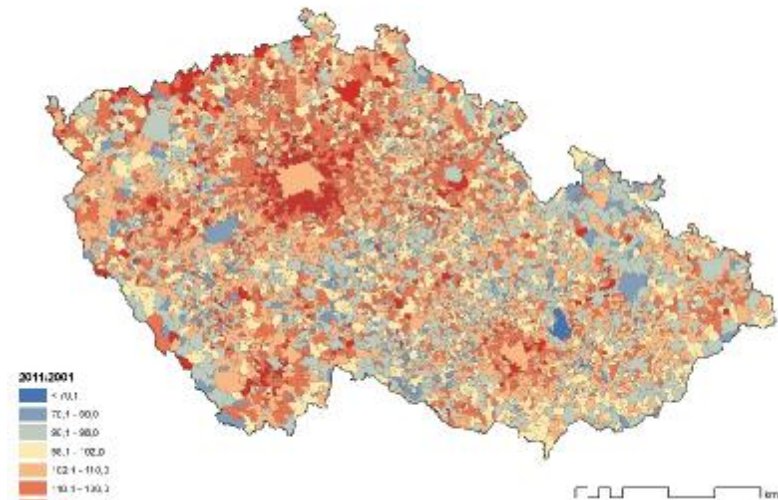
conditions are not causes of sprawl

- economic development and immigration - purchasing power of **large population**
- **strukturní imbalance** at housing market - preference for single-family homes
- **expansion** of international firms
- **economies of scale, scope and agglomeration** – need for large and accessible plots for development

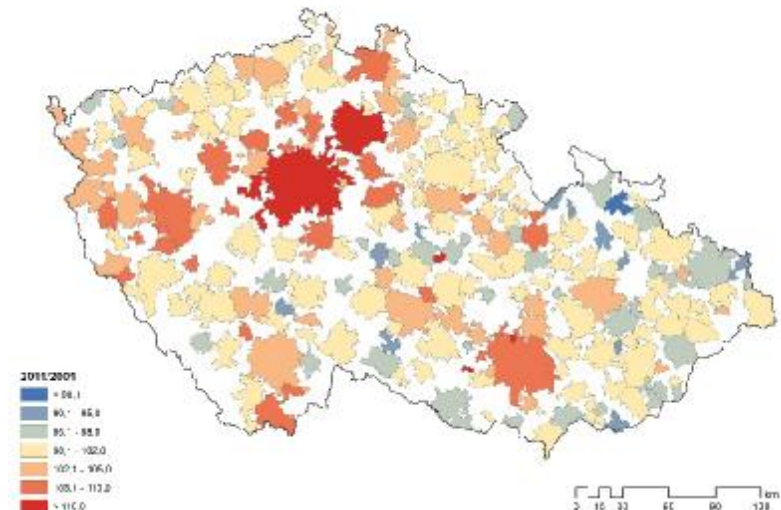


Sýkora, L., Muliček, O. (2012) Urbanizace a suburbanizace na počátku 21. století. Urbanismus a územní rozvoj 15 (5), s. 27-38 .

VÝVOJ POČTU OBYVATEL V OBCÍCH ČESKÉ REPUBLIKY MEZI ROKY 2001 A 2011



VÝVOJ POČTU OBYVATEL VE FUNKČNÍCH MĚSTSKÝCH REGIONECH MEZI ROKY 2001 A 2011



market and territorial governance

individual and public interests

demand and supply

- **cheaper land** with growing distance
- nicer physical **environment**
- Interests of **land owners** to sell restituted properties
- **interest of municipalities** attract investors and population
- **easier** and faster construction

- **investor chooses** from supply of construction plots on the territories of **hundreds of municipalities**

territorial governance

- suburbanization and sprawl are **regional processes**
- development is controlled by **municipalities**: over 200 in city region – competition between municipalities and with Prague
- development is not controlled at **regional** or **national** levels

- **decision-making does not conform to geographical organization** (of labor and housing markets)

market and territorial governance

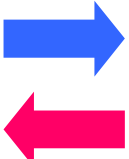
individual and public interests

demand and supply

territorial governance

- cheaper land, shorter distances
 - nice environment
 - Incentives for firms
 - ...
 - ...
 - ...
 - investor confidence, construction projects, labor and housing of hundreds of municipalities
- localization preferences of households and firms and freedom of market choice**
- fragmented governance of territorial development, missing coordination in metropolitan region**

path dependency and territorial „lock in“

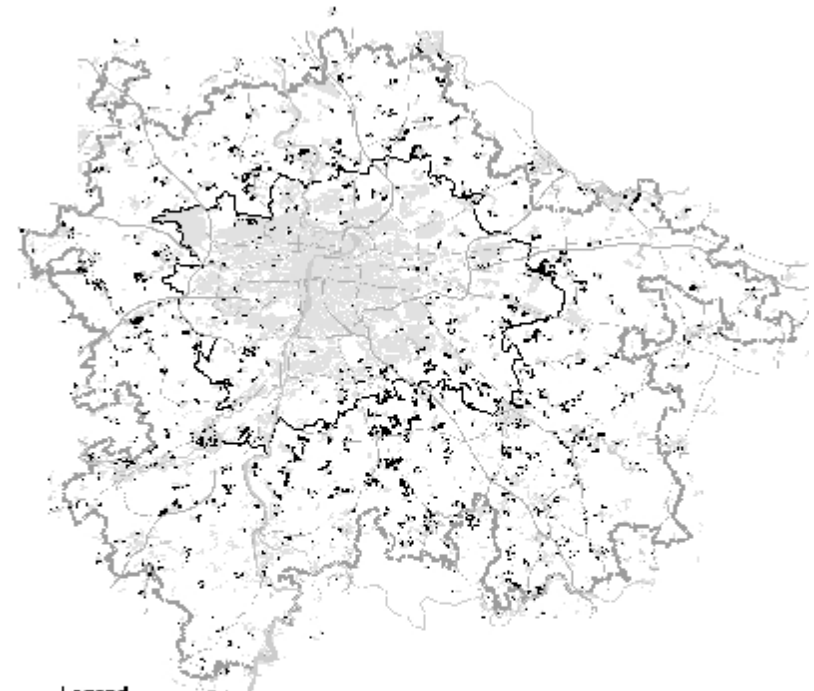
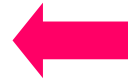
- **neoliberal capitalism**
 - **fragmented local government**
 - historic settlement structure
 - decentralization to municipalities
 - interests of local politicians
 - **passive national and regional governments**
-
- path dependency:
institutions of territorial development
- 
- path dependency:
structure of urban and regional system

path dependency and territorial „lock in“



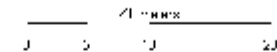
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Legend

- single family - 1998-2000
- and Developed by 1998
- regional boundary
- T.A. boundaries

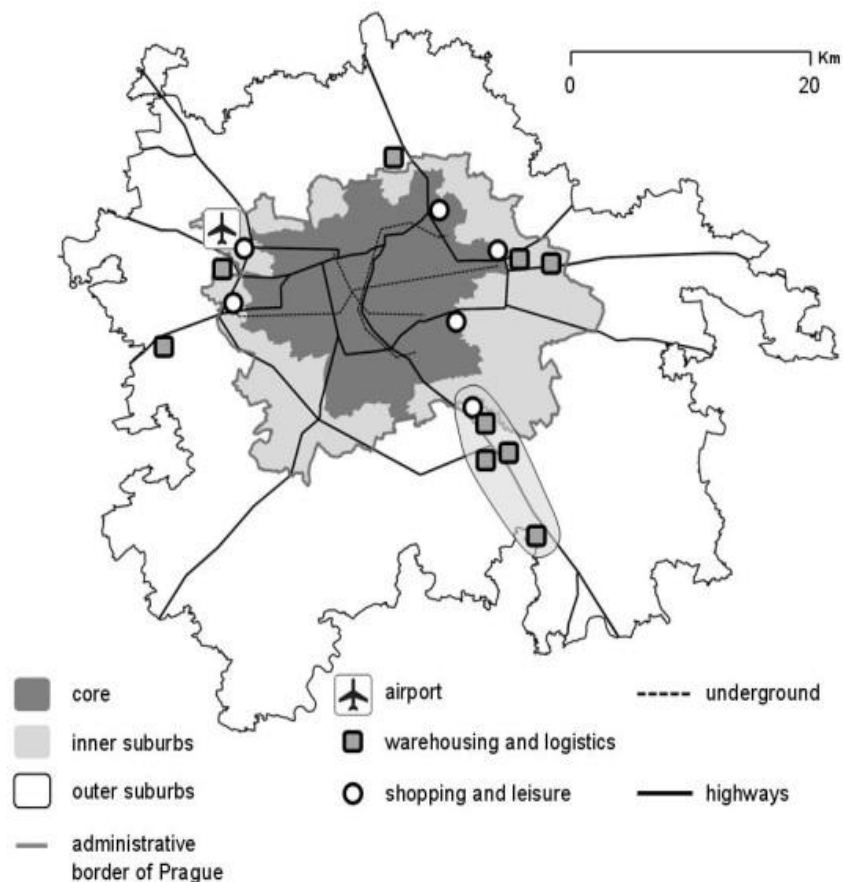


territorial „lock-in“

POLYCENTRICITY OR MONOCENTRIC CENTRALIZATION

suburbanization and job deconcentration formation of **polycentric metropolis** (?)

- establishment and growth of new suburban **employment** centers (shopping parks, warehousing districts and industrial premises)
- **job decentralization** and transformation from **mono-centric cities** with dependent rural hinterlands to **poly-centric** city regions
- **plurality** of hierarchical and **reciprocal** relations between the core city, new suburban job centers and commuting settlements in urban hinterlands



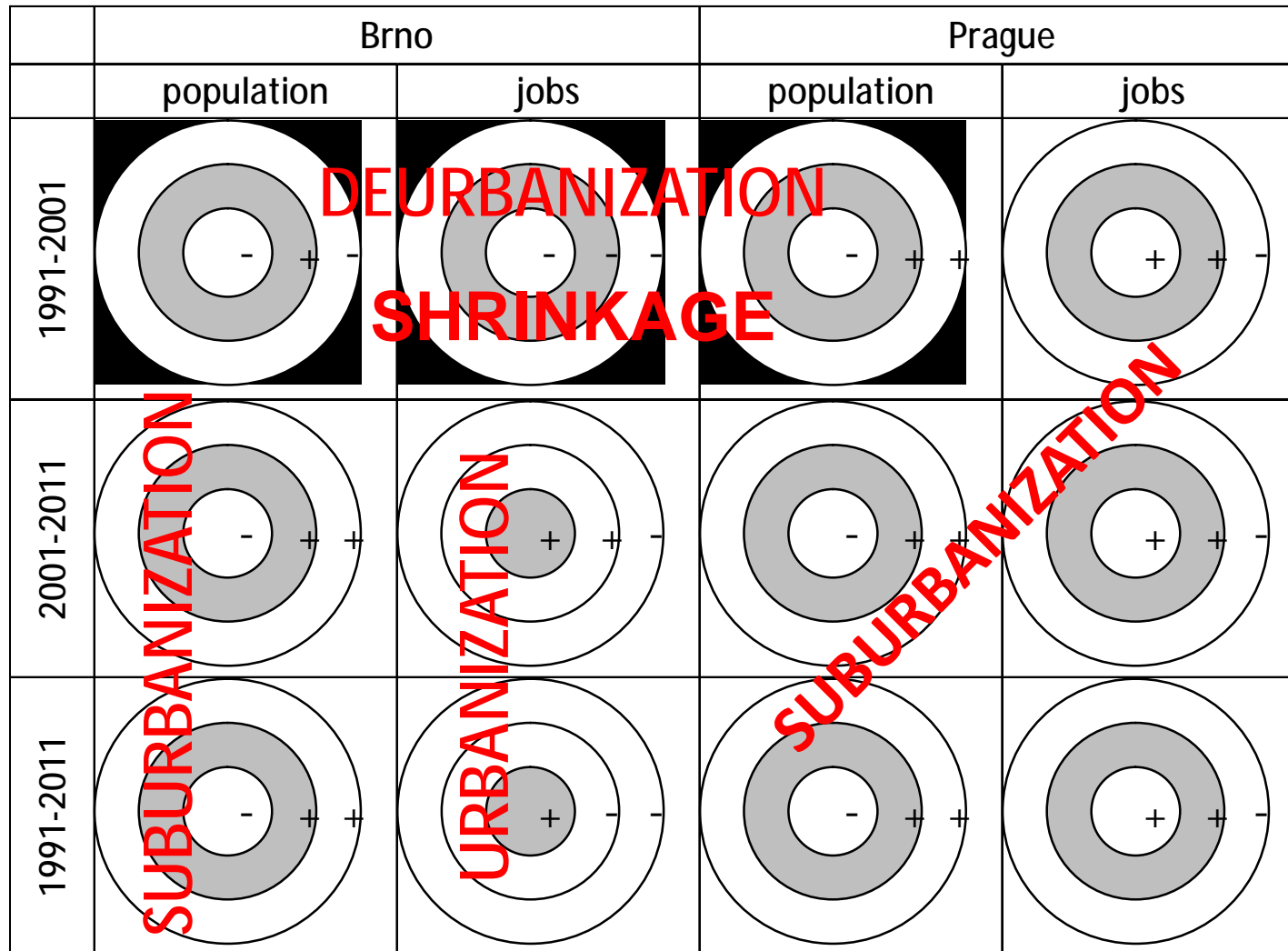
cores lose population and gain jobs

1991-2011



Prague and Brno

forms of urban development



Notes:

+/- growth/decline in the respective zone: core, suburbs, periphery

grey in zone: zone with the highest relative growth / gain in its proportion on the region

black in background: decline of the whole region

centralization of job markets

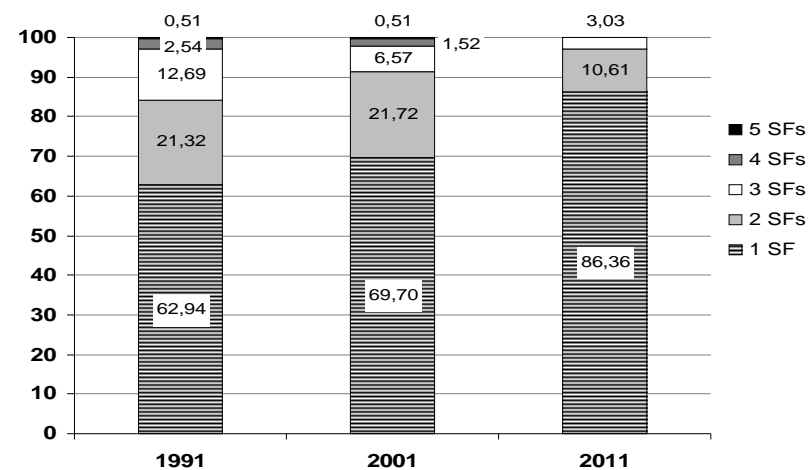
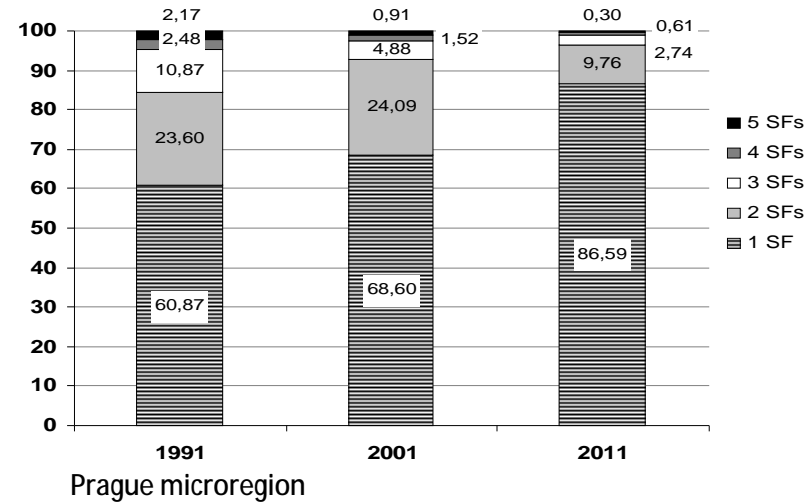
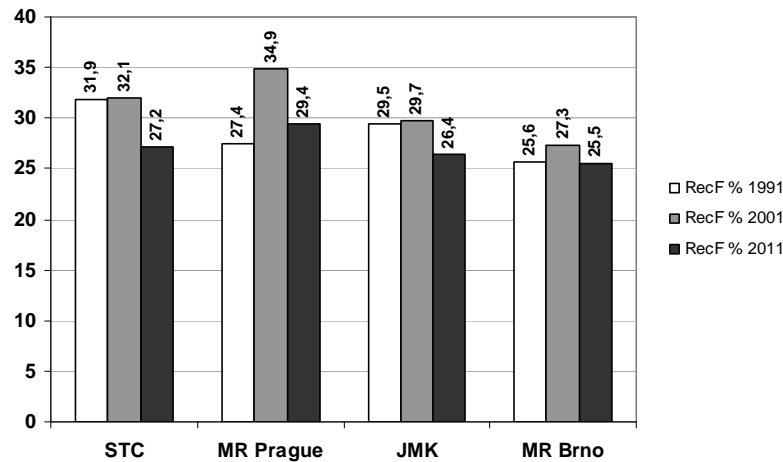
increasing proportion of Praha / Brno on commuting flows

	1991	2001	2011
Praha MR all	60,88%	68,66%	72,46%
Brno MR all	56,24%	59,02%	64,03%
Praha MR destination	70,90%	77,06%	79,15%
Brno MR destination	64,68%	68,63%	71,66%
Praha FUA all	70,39%	74,64%	76,98%
Brno FUA all	65,15%	66,44%	70,41%
Praha FUA destination	77,49%	81,23%	82,08%
Brno FUA destination	71,94%	74,69%	77,03%



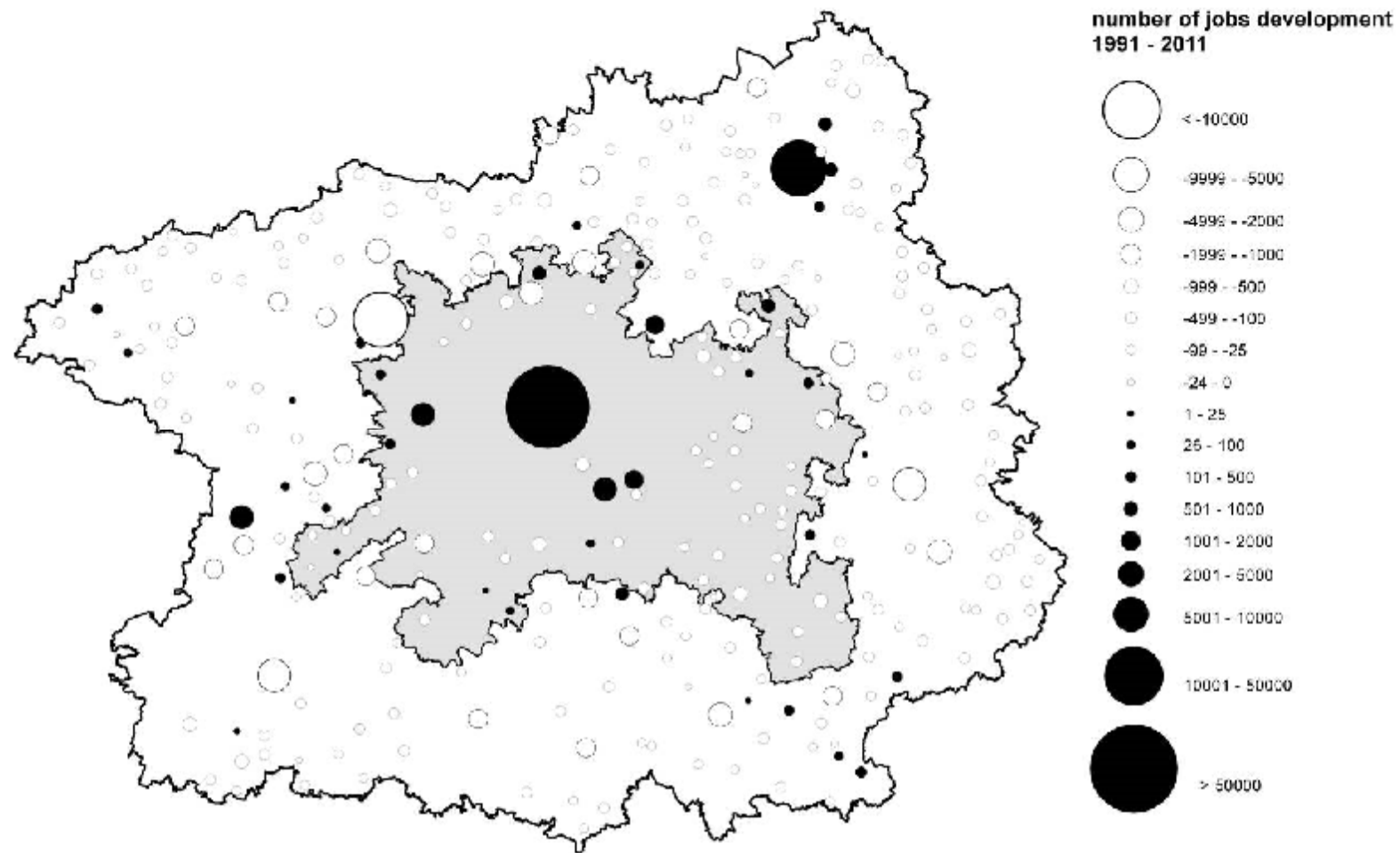
decreasing level of reciprocity and multidirectionality

- proportion of municipalities with larger number of outgoing significant flows is decreasing
- decline in the no. of centers, which are destinations of significant flows
- the share of reciprocal flows on total flows increased in 1991-2001, while decreased in 2001-2011



Prague 1991-2011

the geography of job growth and decline



two forces, two patterns, one outcome

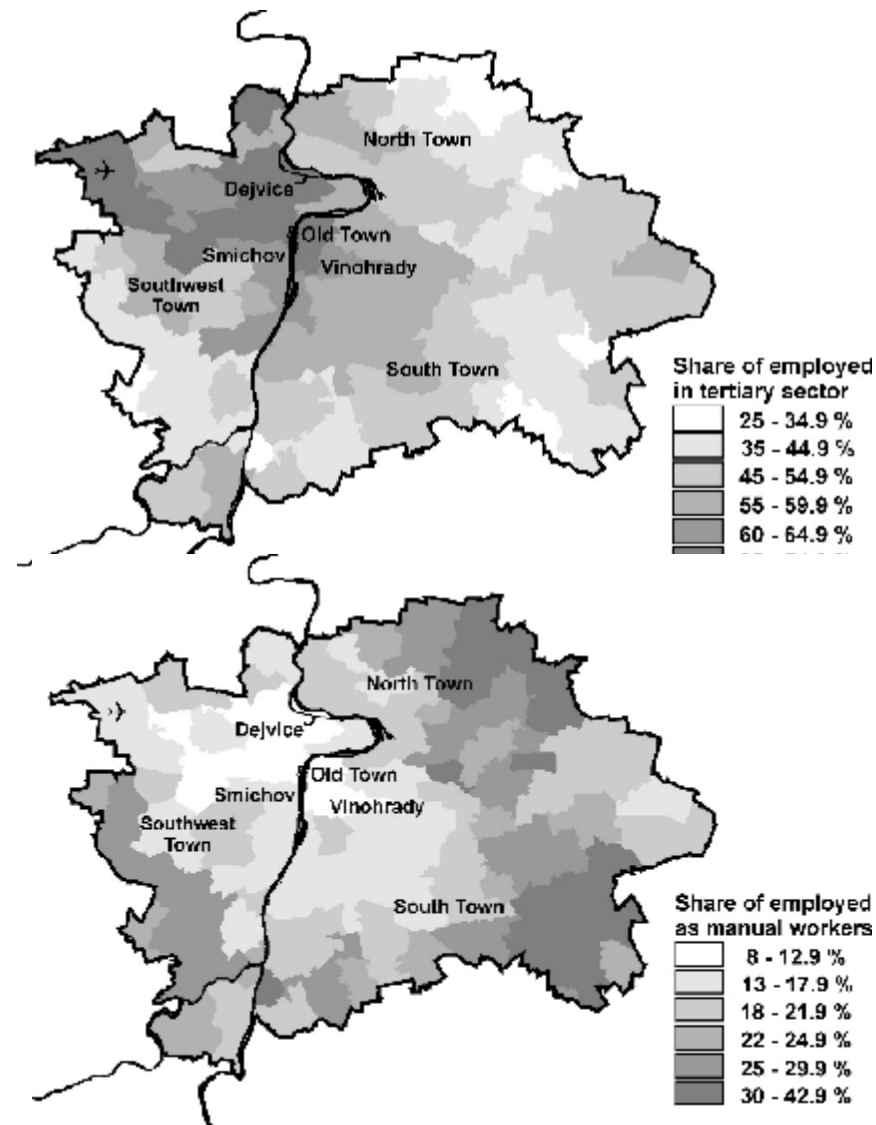
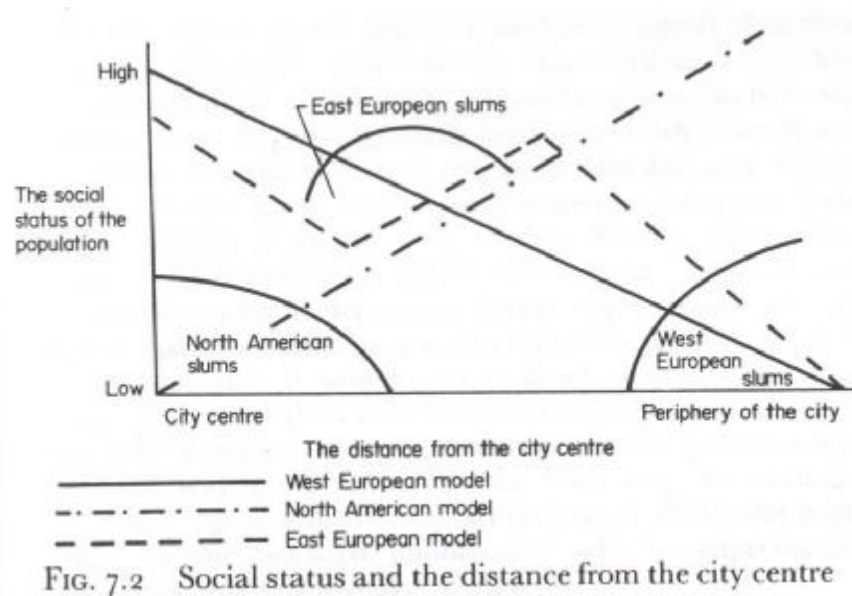
- (A) **few** instances of new suburban job centers – **new capitalist suburban economy**
- (B) **many** instances of **job decline** in former job centers – **socialist legacy confronted by capitalist economy**
- **large** centers **strengthen** position - **small disappear** from the map
- **spatial selectivity** of market processes under capitalism

SEGREGATION AND CONVIVIALITY

socialist city

homogenous social spatial structure

- **socio-economic status less important** for spatial differences in comparison with **demographic status**
- **lower level of segregation** in comparison with western cities



post-socialist city and segregation

expected changes in socio-spatial structure

- **conditions** for segregation
 - social **inequality**
 - **differentiated** housing supply
 - **liberal approach** to urban and housing development
 - **social polarization**
 - **segregation**
- **localities** of segregation
 - gated communities
 - socially excluded localities
 - segregation **processes**
 - gentrification
 - ghettoization
 - suburbanization



segregation

new socio-spatial formations



consequences of segregation

- reproduction of inequalities, deprivation, poverty, concentrations of wealth – formation of **closed** worlds
- reproduction of socio-spatial disparities and segregation – formation of **parallel** worlds



emerging immigrant and multiethnic places

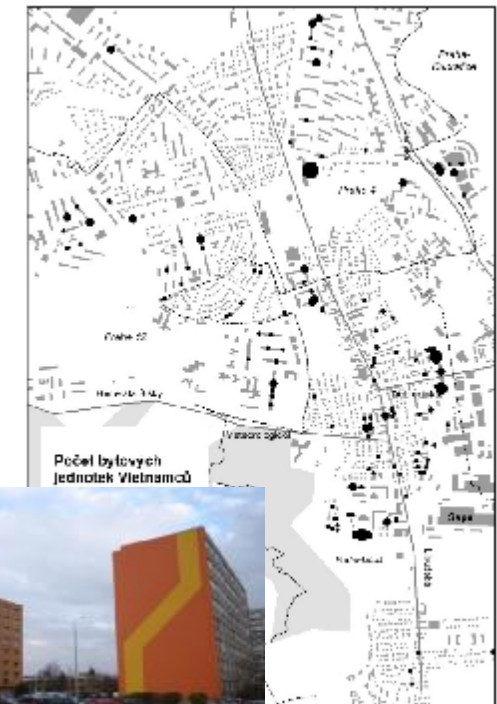
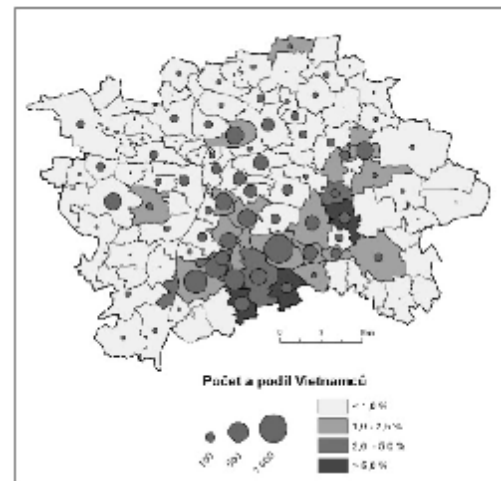
- diverse situations in immigrant concentrations
 - places of ethnic economy with ethnic networks and institutions (Vietnamese entrepreneurs and residents in Praha-Libuš)
 - tourism and business oriented places with diverse groups of lifestyle and economic immigrants (Russian speaking investors, entrepreneurs, laborers and consumers in Karlovy Vary)
 - foreign labor residential concentrations in the vicinity of manufacturing plants (East European guest workers in Pardubice)



new **immigrant** neighborhoods

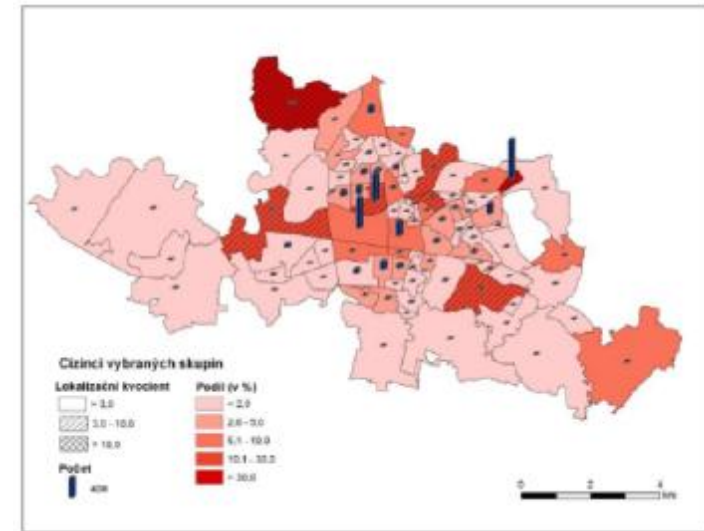
Vietnamese in Praha-Libuš

- from ethnically homogenous city to **encountering cultural difference**
- 15% foreign born population, **socio-economically highly differentiated** from managerial and professional class to self-employed and low wage workers
- no residential **segregation**
- **everyday embodied convivial encounter x racism** in symbolic representations and public discourses
- learning **living in multicultural city** and neighborhoods
- fighting **xenophobia**



concentrations of **guest workers** Hůrka in Pardubice

- former military **barracks**
- **800** inhabitants, **97 %** foreigners from Central and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Rumania)
- **manual** workers in Foxconn – **precarious labor conditions**
- **poor housing and environment**
- **physically separated** and socially **segregated**
- local **interaction** with majority:
 - **negative perception** of locality and inhabitants
 - **xenophobic and racist discourse**
 - **no open conflicts** in everyday interaction
 - immigrants perceive mutual contact **positively**, and do not experience systematic discrimination
- **fighting poverty, segregation and xenophobia**



summary: diverse situations convivial encounters and racialised discourse

- unique and diverse situations
 - segregation to incorporation
 - opportunities at the local economy
 - varied composition of immigrants
- common issues
 - developing everyday convivial encounters
 - persistence of racialised discourses (negative perception and representations of immigrants by majority)
 - socially and culturally homogenous population is learning everyday encounter with difference

TRANSFORMATION IS **UNFINISHED** PROJECT

2017

WHERE WE ARE NOW ?

**WE LIVE IN CAPITALIST CITY
IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY**

BUT

IT IS NOT MATURE SOCIETY

CHALLENGES SPRAWL

**FRAGMENTED LOCALLY BASED
PLANNING AND LAND DEVELOPMENT**

**(MISSING) INTEGRATED METROPOLITAN
GOVERNANCE, HORIZONTAL AN
VERTICAL COORDINATION**

CHALLENGES SEGREGATION

**XENOFOBIA, STEREOTYPES,
ASSIMILATION POLICIES BASED ON US
KNOWING WHAT THEY SHOULD FULFILL**

**LIVING TOGETHER IN SOCIALLY AND
ETHNICALLY DIVERSIFIED SOCIETY**

PRACTICES AND OBSTACLES

**VESTED INTERESTS OF
POLITICIANS, INVESTORS, OWNERS,
INHABITANTS IN SUSTAINING THE
CURRENT MODE OF SOCIAL AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT**

PRACTICES AND OBSTACLES

**PRACTICES OF DELEGITIMIZATION
OF OTHERS AND OPPONENTS**

MISSING CONSENSUS

PRACTICES AND OBSTACLES

INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS

PUBLIC INTEREST

PRACTICES AND OBSTACLES

**EXCLUSIVE DISCOURSES AND
ACTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS /
PRESSURE GROUPS**

**MISSING LONG-TERM, HOLISTIC
AND INCLUSIVE STRATEGIES**

**URBANIZATION IS NOT SIMPLY A
REFLECTION OF THE PREFERENCES OF
INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS AND FIRMS
OR INDIVIDUAL INTEREST GROUPS**

**IT IS SOCIETAL CHOICE:
MUTUAL RECOGNITION, RESPECT AND
NEGOTIATION**

2017

WHERE WE ARE NOW ?

critical urban **practice and activism**

- critical reflection of current social and urban development practices
- new left and issues of social and socio-spatial justice
- plurality and inclusiveness: ethnic and sexual minorities, right to the city ...
- thinking of and fighting for alternatives of capitalism
- new generation, new values x modernist concept of a single city
- bearing on knowledge and inspiration from the west different from Washington consensus issues
- alternative mechanism to “distributional rationality” of markets
yet it
- contributes to the institutional thickness and institutional reform of “free market” capitalism of 1990s – fostering the stability of capitalist order

city of automobile – city of bicycle

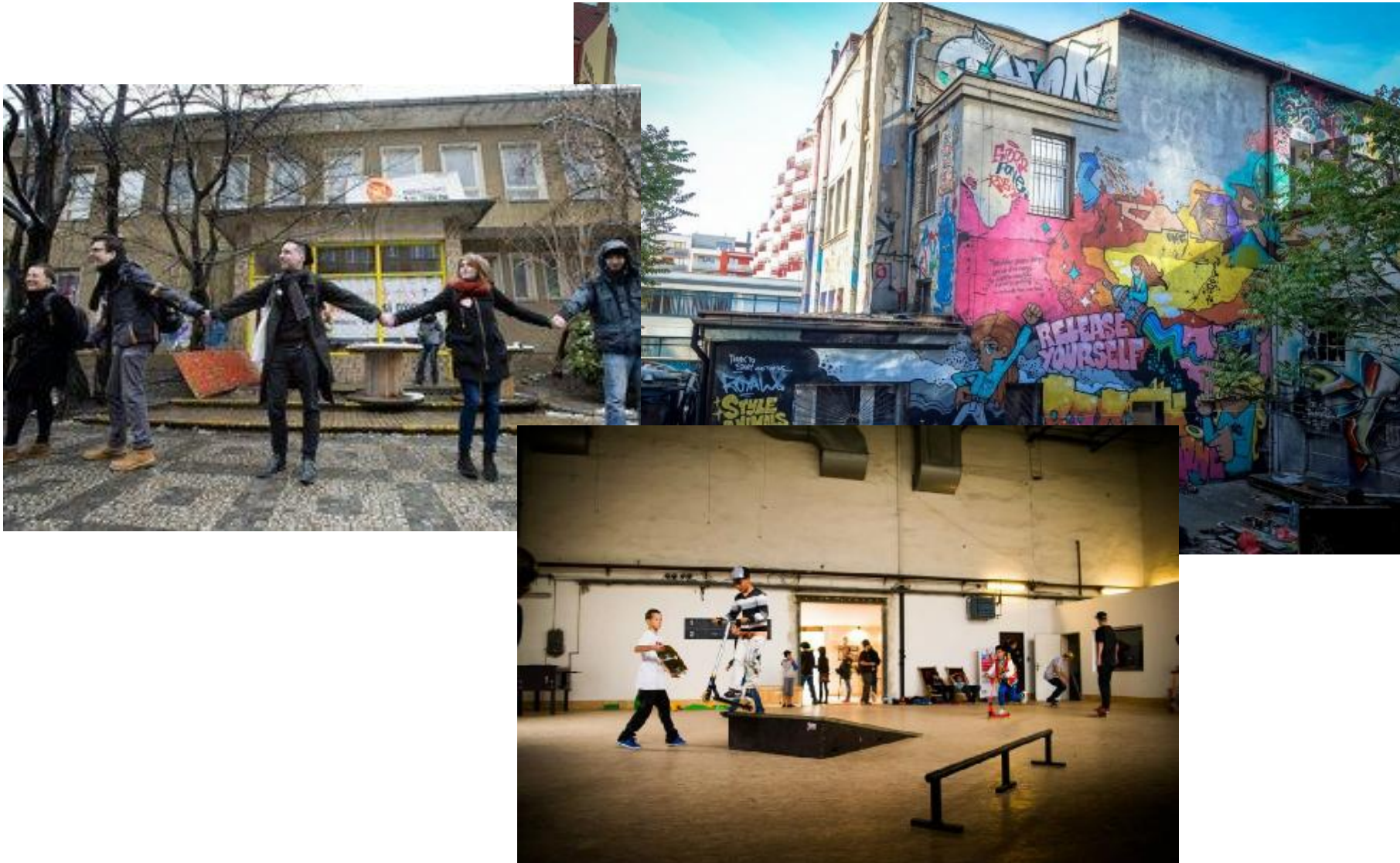
city of developers – city of citizens

city of segregation – multicultural city of convivial encounter

socially excluded localities



places of alternative culture



WHERE ARE WE NOW ?

**THE SECOND ROUND
OF TRANSITION**

FIRST ROUND

**CONDITIONS AND PRINCIPLES
OF CAPITALISM**

SECOND ROUND

WHAT KIND OF CITY ?

WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY ?

seeking and practicing **alternatives** **contestation** - collaboration

- **protest** and resistance (against capitalism, elites, political establishment, ...)
- **alternative** cultural movements and spaces
- neighborhood **associations**
- urban **grassroots** movements and activism (housing, transportation, planning and development)
- **participatory** practices in planning and development
- new **political** movements and parties: growth of populist parties, green and left alternatives, neoliberal and neoconservative right
- involvement in the **local** and national **politics**
- local/national struggles for the power to design **new urbanism** and **urban policies**

'clocks' metaphor

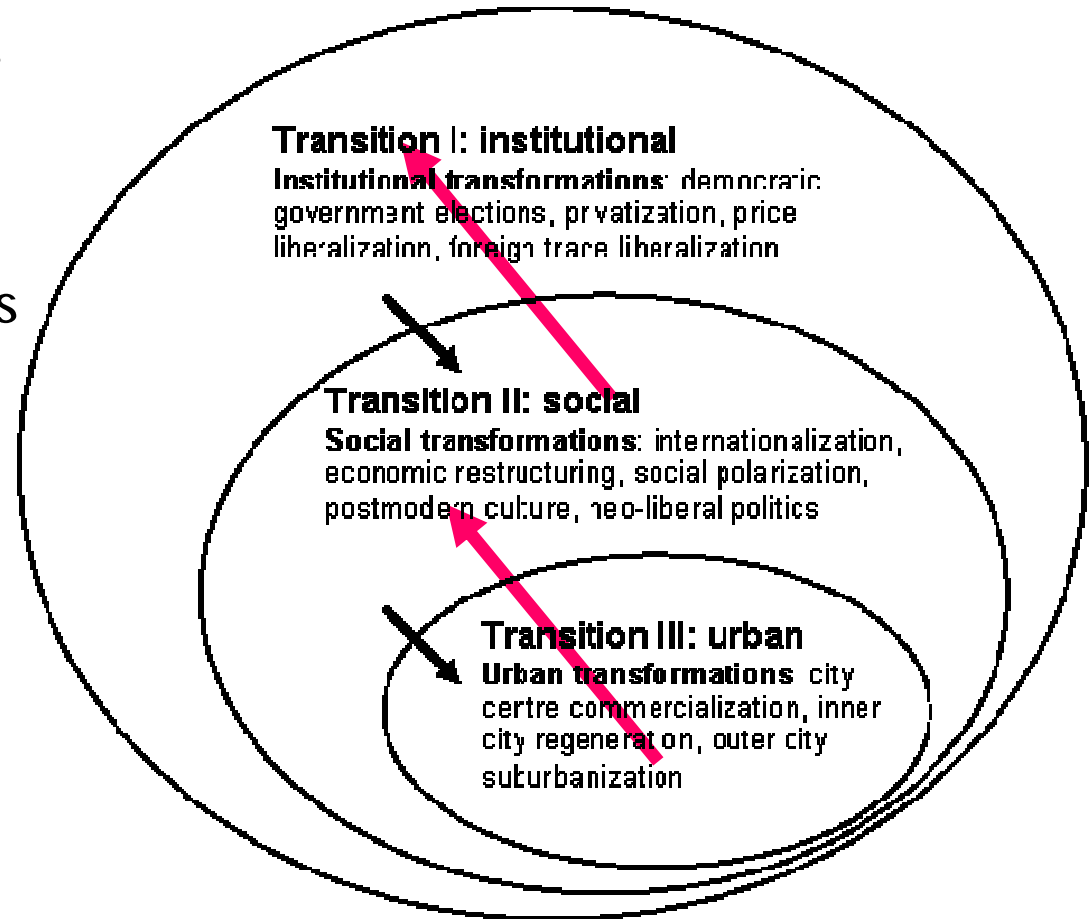
The total process of constitutional reform takes at least **six months**; a general sense that things are moving up as a result of economic reform is unlikely to spread before **six years** have passed; **the third condition of the road to freedom is to provide the social foundations which transform the constitution and the economy from fair-weather into all-weather institutions which can withstand the storms generated within and without, and sixty years are barely enough to lay these foundations. ...** The hour of the lawyer and the hour of the politician mean little without the hour of the citizen.

Dahrendorf, R. (1990) Reflections on the revolution in Europe: in a letter intended to have been sent to a gentleman in Warsaw, 1990. Chatto & Windus, London, p. 92-93.

transition and multiple transformations

the second round

- formal and informal institutions that regulate capitalist society, (market) allocation and (democratic) policy-making: building institutional thickness and fostering reform
- practices of people, firms and organizations reflecting newly emerging capitalist realities: perception and evaluation of urban change
- urban spatial change under capitalist condition and socialist legacies



Sýkora, L., Bouzarovski, S. (2012): Multiple transformations: conceptualising post-communist urban transition. *Urban Studies*, 49 (1), 41 – 58.

transition and multiple transformations

the second round

- formal and informal institutions that regulate capitalist society. (market) allocation (democr build

institutions matter
the second round of transition
this is our project

- urban spatial change under capitalist condition and socialist legacies

Sýkora, L., Bouzarovski, S. (2012): Multiple transformations: conceptualising post-communist urban transition. *Urban Studies*, 49 (1), 41 – 58.