



# NEW SOCIO-SPATIAL FORMATIONS: PLACES OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND SEPARATION IN CZECHIA

LUDĚK SÝKORA

Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Science, Department of Social Geography and Regional Development. Czech Republic. E-mail: sykora@natur.cuni.cz

Date received: November 2008, accepted January 2009

---

## ABSTRACT

The paper investigates places of residential segregation and separation in Czech cities and discusses them in the context of new socio-spatial divisions that are emerging in the context of post-socialist transformations in the Czech Republic. It is argued that in post-socialist countries, where patterns shaped in previous decades still apply and new patterns conditioned by the mechanisms of capitalist society are emerging, the current pattern of segregation can be better understood by referring to specific socio-spatial formations. Localities with concentrations of particular social groups (high and low social status populations, Roma and foreigners) are identified using a press survey, a survey of local government and analysis of census data. The concluding discussion is devoted to socio-spatial formations that represent the most distinct forms of segregation and separation in the contemporary Czechia.

**Key words:** Segregation, separation, socio-spatial formations, post-socialist city, the Czech Republic, Czechia

---

## INTRODUCTION: POST-SOCIALIST SEGREGATION

Segregation reshapes residential landscapes in post-socialist countries. It is conditioned by the growth of income inequalities, a differentiated housing supply and housing system transformations shaped by a liberal approach to public policy and in particular housing policies (Sýkora 1999; Kährlik 2002; Ruoppila 2005). The outcomes of segregation are especially apparent in particular urban locations. These include gentrifying neighbourhoods (Standl & Krupickaité 2004; Badyina & Golubchikov 2005; Sýkora 2005; Chelcea 2006), new up-market residential complexes and gated communities (Blinnikov *et al.* 2006; Stoyanov & Frantz 2006; Brabec 2007; Medvedkov &

Medvedkov 2007) or suburban areas (Timár & Váradí 2001; Kontuly & Tammaru 2006; Hirt 2007; Matlovič & Sedláková 2007; Kährlik & Tammaru 2008) where the most wealthy, socially and spatially mobile concentrate. Socially deprived communities and ghettos of the excluded emerge both in cities and in the countryside (Ladányi 1997; Ladányi & Szelényi 1998; Hurrle 2006; Musil & Müller 2008) and some groups of foreign immigrants have begun to cluster in ethnic enclaves (Drbohlav & Džúrová 2007). The post-socialist city is characterised by simultaneous pauperisation and ghettoisation on the one hand and gentrification and suburbanisation on the other (Kovács 1998; Ladányi 2002; Kowalski & Śleszyński 2006) with the increasing presence of new elite enclaves next to deteriorating neighbourhoods

(Węclawowicz 2005) and the formation of both ghettos of poverty and ghettos of affluence (Szczepanski & Slezak-Tazbir 2008).

Despite numerous publications addressing segregation in post-socialist cities, systematic empirically based studies are missing. Ruoppila and Kährrik (2003) in their so far rather unique study of socio-economic residential differentiation in post-socialist Tallinn pointed out that studies published in the 1990s presented only general statements about increasing socio-spatial inequalities (Musil 1993; Szelényi 1996; Enyedi 1998; Sailer-Fliege 1999). Researchers expected that residential segregation would increase in post-socialist cities reflecting the general assumptions about spatial segregation under capitalism as an outcome of interactions between income inequalities and differentiated housing supply mediated by state intervention (Van Weesep & Van Kempen 1992; Friedrichs 1998; Musterd & Ostendorf 1998).

Growing social and in particular income inequalities were expected to be mirrored in increasing socio-spatial disparities (Korcelli 1996; Węclawowicz 1998a; Sýkora 1999; Tsenkova 2006). Węclawowicz (1998b, p. 170) argued that 'the increase in social stratification, particularly the formation of elite and poverty groups, has its spatial representation in the increase of spatial segregation through the housing market mechanism'. Węclawowicz (1997, 2002, 2005) and Wiessner (1997) referred directly to growing socio-spatial polarisation. Ladányi (2002) argued that 'socio-economic residential segregation has increased in Budapest since the post-communist transition' (Ladányi 2002, p. 170) providing empirical evidence from the very beginning of the 1990s accompanied by remarks concerning recent trends in suburbanisation and Roma concentration. General arguments about increasing socio-spatial differentiation are supported with ad hoc references to the most visible examples of wealth and poverty in selected neighbourhoods. No systematic study of the level of socio-spatial inequalities or localities of segregation has been published. Of special note is the negligible attention paid to segregation in recent works on post-socialist cities (Hamilton *et al.* 2005; Tsenkova & Nedović-Budić 2006; Stanilov 2007).

There is general agreement that the principles of capitalist society lead to significantly different processes and patterns of residential socio-spatial segregation than those that formed the socialist city (Szelényi 1983). However, the expected increase in socio-spatial inequalities in post-socialist cities as the key aspect of transformation of relatively even spatial distribution of social groups inherited from socialism (Smith 1996) has not been documented. Contrary to widespread statements about socio-spatial polarisation, Ruoppila and Kährrik (2003, p. 68) documented for Tallinn that 'despite the rapidly expanded income disparities and the liberalisation of the housing market, the characteristic feature of the city was still a generally low socio-economic differentiation between eight city districts'. Similarly, spatial unevenness in the distribution of population groups according to their socio-economic status measured by indices of segregation did not increase in the Prague metropolitan area between 1991 and 2001 and remains below 20 per cent for most variables (Sýkora 2007).

How can we explain this discrepancy between the growing evidence for various places of segregation and the modest unevenness in the spatial distribution of social groups? Even more importantly, how shall we approach the study of residential socio-spatial segregation under post-socialist conditions? Can we detect new socio-spatial divisions and their reflection in emerging places of segregation and separation? Can we map segregation in a systematic way to obtain a more coherent picture against which we could position the individual case-based evidence of segregation? This paper points to the specificities of segregation during the transition from socialism to capitalism and argues that a focused approach is required to grasp the nature of segregation in a post-socialist context. As the socio-spatial patterns are not stable under post-socialist conditions, but are reshaped to qualitatively distinctive new forms, the application of standard methods and approaches must be reappraised. The paper presents methods and results of a research project 'Segregation in the Czech Republic: situation and development, causes and consequences, prevention and rectification' (Sýkora *et al.* 2007) and outlines

general types of socio-spatial formations that represent the most distinct forms of segregation and separation in contemporary Czechia.

#### **RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION: SOCIO-SPATIAL INEQUALITY AND SOCIO-SPATIAL FORMATIONS**

Residential socio-spatial segregation is usually defined as 'the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of the urban environment' (Massey & Denton 1988, p. 282) and is approached as the study of uneven spatial distribution of population groups measured by the index of dissimilarity and isolation (Duncan & Duncan 1955; Massey & Denton 1993). This approach assumes that social groups are distributed in space according to relatively stable societal rules. The problem with the use of this approach arises where there are major societal transformations with radical changes in the basic principles that affect the spatial distribution of social groups.

In an earlier work I have pointed to a specific paradox of post-socialist transition (Sýkora 2007) when segregation processes (such as suburbanisation or gentrification) temporarily decrease socio-spatial inequality. In the Prague metropolitan area this is caused by residential mobility and the location strategies of a wealthier population which moves from housing areas that currently have above-average social status (such as housing estates) to areas with currently lower social status (typically villages in city hinterlands that are now affected by suburbanisation). The consequence of these processes is to temporarily increase social mix within particular areas. This paradox then disqualifies us from using traditional measures of segregation. Their use would lead us to the conclusion that segregation measured by the level of socio-spatial inequality actually decreases. However, at the same time we can observe polarisation within the whole sample of small territorial units, finding numerous examples of territories where specific populations are concentrated. While many people with high social status live in mixed areas there are an increasing number of those who concentrate in specific socially

homogenous places forming new socio-spatial formations.

Similarly, there is high spatial inequality in the distribution of the population with foreign citizenship (indices of segregation in the Prague metropolitan area between 30–40 per cent; Sýkora 2007). However, their numbers are small and they usually account for the minority population within small territorial units. Consequently, foreigners' exposure to other social groups is usually high and isolation low (indices of isolation in the Prague metropolitan area between 1–4%; Sýkora 2007). This type of evidence can lead to the conclusion that ethnic segregation is so far a marginal phenomenon in post-socialist Prague. At present, foreigners are largely living in areas where other groups are present. Yet we can find more and more places where their presence and share is increasing.

As the conventional segregation indices measure the spatial distribution of whole population groups they cannot grasp the nature of the pattern of segregation and separation<sup>1</sup> in the post-socialist context, which is characterised by the simultaneous presence of a given social group in both socially heterogeneous as well as socially homogeneous places. Besides the emergence of new socially homogeneous places already mentioned in the introduction, many commentators of socio-spatial change in post-socialist cities note the growing presence of a poor population in generally higher social status central city areas and at the same time immigration of a new wealthy population to originally socially-weak suburbs leading to both social mixing as well as social polarisation in places undergoing social change (Molnár *et al.* 2007; Sýkora 2007). Pockets of wealth and poverty are developing in spatial proximity within an otherwise mixed socio-spatial structure (Ruoppila & Kährrik 2003; Gentile 2004; Węclawowicz 2005; Ruoppila 2006). The conventional approach focused on the level of socio-spatial inequality is not able to capture situations in which particular social groups are both concentrated and over-represented in some locations while mixed in other places as an outcome of the temporary recombination of old and new patterns on its way from an old to a new socio-spatial structure. These situations are typical for the post-socialist transition societies.

There is another limitation of the spatial inequality approach. It concentrates on selected territories, usually cities or metropolitan areas and largely omits segregation in rural and peripheral areas. The disproportionately urban focus of the segregation debate thus, excludes areas of rural poverty as well as wealthy ex-urban places. Both of these types of places and especially rural and peripheral ghettos have been documented in transitional countries (Ladányi & Széleányi 1998; Ladányi 2002; Hurrell 2006) and shall be included in the overall picture of residential socio-spatial segregation.

Therefore, if we wish to grasp and understand the nature of segregation under the conditions of post-socialist transformation we have to use an alternative approach that maps places of over and under-representation of social groups within a given territory. The finding of explicit places of concentration can be more fruitful for grasping the nature of urban residential segregation than general measures of spatial unevenness. In the post-socialist context it will allow us to trace the places where new forms of segregation emerge. The question to be addressed is: 'Which areas exhibit concentrations and overrepresentations of particular social groups with uneven access to housing?'

#### **FINDING PLACES OF SEGREGATION AND SEPARATION: A MULTIPLICITY OF APPROACHES**

In order to consider the processes and patterns of residential segregation and separation in a transitional society, where socio-spatial patterns are in flux, this paper presents selected results from a wider study covering the whole of the Czech Republic (Sýkora *et al.* 2007) and reflects segregation in urban and rural, core and peripheral areas.

Three strategies were used to identify spatial concentrations of social groups: a press survey, a survey of local governments and analysis of census data. Each of these approaches separately provides valuable yet partial and somewhat biased information. However, a combination of them provides a more complete picture. The press survey highlights media (and hence public) perception of places of concentration of certain social groups. The survey of

local authorities provides knowledge from officials who should know territories in their own jurisdiction well. Both these approaches can identify social groups which tend to cluster their residences in space, detect places of concentration and provide additional, context-specific, information about social relations in particular places and indicate whether exclusionary practices in housing exist. However, these approaches produce a somewhat uneven picture of the segregation terrain. They tend to reflect and incorporate certain social and cultural biases towards social groups that are perceived more negatively by the majority society. The media usually cover those groups and cases which attract public attention and local government authorities point to cases of concern and are silent about issues where they are not willing to share information and opinion.

The analysis of population census data covers the entire territory of the country and by using standardised criteria provides comparable results between places for the whole country. The results are, however, limited to population groups with characteristics identified in the census. Data from the 2001 census (Czech Statistical Office 2001) are also becoming outdated, especially in places with a quickly changing social composition. There is also questionable reliability of some census data (for example the census captures only a fragment of the Roma ethnic group and only some of the foreigners living and working in the country). Census analysis uses aggregate data for territorial units. Despite the fact that areas are relatively small, the analysis cannot capture small concentrations of specific social groups in larger territorial units and thus, many concentrations are hidden in territorially aggregated datasets.

#### **REPRESENTATION IN DAILY PRESS AND PERCEPTION BY MUNICIPALITIES AND NGOs**

Residential segregation is not a topic which draws wider public attention in the Czech Republic. Yet there are occasional references to cases covered by the local media. These are nearly always associated with the Roma population. Segregation is hardly mentioned in relation to other social groups whether defined by

social status, ethnicity or age. While the public discourse on segregation in Czechia focuses on socially excluded and spatially concentrated groups of Roma population. Other emerging forms of segregation attract only marginal attention from the media, politicians, professionals and the general public. The poorest of the population can be increasingly found trapped on some housing estates from the 1960–1980s that represent a less attractive housing environment. Little is known about housing strategies and the residential concentration of immigrants. Their increasing numbers suggest that there are now large enough populations of foreign-born people that might concentrate in specific localities (Drbohlav & Džúrová 2007; Čermák *et al.* 2008). At the other end of the social spectrum, the wealthiest people move to new housing of which an increasing share takes the form of gated communities.

The aim of the press survey was to map how the media reflects and interprets segregation. The analysis investigated all texts published in two major Czech daily newspapers *Mladá fronta Dnes* and *Lidové noviny* between 1 July 2002 and 30 June 2006. There were 249 articles identified as referring to localities of segregation. The largest group of these referred to socially disadvantaged Roma (146 articles, 59%). A substantially smaller share of articles (55, 22%) discussed socially disadvantaged populations without any explicit reference to Roma. Eighteen articles (7%) paid attention to housing of the wealthier population and especially to new suburban residential areas. The spatial concentration of other social groups, including foreigners and immigrants (10 articles, 4%) and specific social groups such as the handicapped, elderly, students or religious groups (20 articles, 8%) were mentioned less frequently. The press often reflects issues that are controversial and its representation of segregation inclines towards extreme cases. It points out issues and places of social exclusion, segregation and separation but does not, however, provide a complete and comparable picture of localities of segregation in the whole country.

Localities and places associated with segregation of the socially disadvantaged, Roma, socially privileged, and foreigners were located in 54 municipalities (there are over 6,200

municipalities in the country). Roma localities were discussed in 46 municipalities. For 38 municipalities only Roma were mentioned, three municipalities had areas of Roma and the socially disadvantaged, in another three cases Roma and foreigners were identified and in two municipalities Roma as well as localities of the socially privileged were identified. There were an additional five municipalities with only socially disadvantaged localities, two with socially privileged and one with localities of foreigners concentration.

The Roma population is often represented as a problem social group, which is socially disadvantaged and 'non-adaptable' to the life style of the majority. Newspapers often quote complaints by the non-Roma population about the behaviour of Roma, especially mess, noise and criminality. One of the key themes discussed in newspapers is the existence or formation of a Roma ghetto (nearly two-thirds of the newspaper articles on Roma referred to the ghetto and an additional 20% were linked to ghetto emergence). Articles usually point to large Roma families living in small dwellings in dilapidated houses with poor sanitary conditions. In contrast 10 per cent of articles explicitly deny the existence of a Roma ghetto in particular localities. Another frequently discussed theme is the removal of Roma from inner-cities to peripheral places on the edge of the city or even to remote rural places. Such removal is justified with the comment that they do not meet their rent payment obligations. However, social intolerance is often hidden behind references to Roma social non-adaptability. The spatial concentration of Roma through the allocation practices of local governments is usually criticised for being short sighted as the spatial concentration of Roma can only increase future problems. Issues of Roma social integration and social work in localities with socially excluded Roma are less frequently referred to.

The spatial concentration of a socially privileged population is discussed especially in association with the so-called 'satellite towns' that are now mushrooming in suburban areas especially around the capital city Prague. They are often perceived in contrast to traditional elite neighbourhoods and are criticised for the poor quality of their architecture and urban design.

Another important debate concerns the relations between the existing population and newcomers as there are cases of deep rifts between the old and new populations in some growing suburban locations. The traditional population often objects to new housing construction and complains about the loss of the village's original character. The social consequences of suburbanisation and its relation to segregation are not discussed at all.

The second strategy for the identification of places of segregation and separation was a questionnaire survey of municipal governments. Due to the large number of municipalities in the Czech Republic not all of them were approached. However, within cities that are governed by one municipality, a higher presence of socio-spatial concentrations can be expected and hence territorial detail is needed. The questionnaire was therefore distributed to the mayors of municipal boroughs within the three largest cities of Prague, Brno and Ostrava (109), municipalities in their city regions (443)<sup>2</sup> and mayors of municipalities with extended powers (206)<sup>3</sup> outside of these regions. Furthermore, it was also sent to NGOs that operate in the fields of social exclusion with field-work in places of segregation (59). The survey was carried out from November 2005 to March 2006 with a response rate of 68 per cent (85% for municipalities with extended powers, 74%, 49%, 69% for municipalities and city boroughs in Prague, Brno and Ostrava city regions and 48% for NGOs).

The questionnaire survey of local governments provided a fuller overview, yet despite a high response rate it does not cover the entire territory of the country. Results are somewhat distorted by the different subjective and locally specific sensitivities of respondents (different local circumstances and locally shared values in public administration) who identify in particular concentrations of population subgroups that are seen as problematic by local governments. They do not reflect concentrations that have emerged as separation of relatively unproblematic population of wealthy people or foreign immigrants. Not surprisingly, areas with a concentration of Roma population, often associated with high unemployment, allocation of social benefits and conflicts with non-Roma population receive major attention. The major advantage of this approach is that it

helps to identify even small concentrations perceived as segregated or separated and provides valuable additional information about these localities.

The questionnaire first asked whether there is a locality in the municipal territory (including a single house) with a significant concentration of a social group, such as the socially disadvantaged, wealthy, immigrant, ethnic or religious minority, or age group, (the term segregation was avoided in the questions, despite the fact that it was in the heading of the questionnaire). The respondents identified 243 localities of concentration. Although it does not capture all places of segregation and separation in Czechia the sample provides information about the relative extent and types of concentrations perceived by local governments. Four social groups accounted for 95% of the concentrations that were identified: Roma, the socially disadvantaged, the socially privileged (usually identified as the wealthy population) and foreigners. Three localities were places where homeless people gather with the largest concentration being at the main railway station in Prague. The city of Kladno identified two places with elderly concentrations and one of citizens with disabilities (under socialism special housing was built there for handicapped persons from the whole country). In six cases a social group was not specified. In 49 per cent of cases the place of segregation was represented by a single house and in 27 per cent by a group of houses. On the other hand, 57 localities were whole neighbourhoods or housing estates (24%).

Over half (55%) were concentrations of Roma, of which most were at the same time characterised as socially vulnerable or socially disadvantaged. Thirty per cent of identified localities were concentrations of a socially disadvantaged population. However, in the vast majority of cases questionnaires contained further references indicating the presence of Roma. Roma are usually socially disadvantaged and among the socially disadvantaged there is a large proportion of Roma. Therefore there is large overlap between the concentrations identified as Roma and the socially disadvantaged population. It seems that it is often the question of the use of politically correct language whether these concentrations are identified

primarily as Roma or socially disadvantaged. Localities of socially disadvantaged and Roma dominate in the sample because local authorities primarily identify concentrations of social groups that are seen as problematic and places where social problems occur.

Respondents identified 20 concentrations of wealthy populations (8%) and all of these were areas of newly built (and in some cases also reconstructed) villas and single family homes. This is only a fragment of newly built areas of exclusive housing and even of gated places of which the majority were not reported. Most local governments did not see concentrations of wealthy population, even in cases of distinct physical separation, as problem areas and did not report them. Only three concentrations of foreigners were identified: a wealthy Russian community in a cluster of new condominiums in Prague, Ukrainian manual workers in rooming houses in a small town and asylum seekers from Romania who were provided housing in an extremely peripheral settlement. We can therefore conclude that foreigners are only exceptionally perceived by local governments as social groups that spatially concentrate in specific localities.

#### LOCALITIES OF OVERREPRESENTATION: CENSUS DATA ANALYSIS

The 2001 census data analysis (Czech Statistical Office 2001) was designed to select territorial units within the whole country with an overrepresentation of specific groups whose spatial concentration indicates segregation or separation. The spatial data refers to 22,699 basic settlement units<sup>4</sup> (BSU) and this allows us to identify concentrations within cities as well as in small rural settlements. The social groups referred to here were those suggested by the previous analysis of the daily press and the perceptions of local government and NGOs. These indicated that the most important social groups that concentrate spatially are:

- high social status population (socio-economic separation);
- low social status population (socio-economic segregation);
- Roma population (ethnic and socio-economic segregation);

- foreigners (ethnic and socio-economic segregation).

These groups are not mutually exclusive. There is usually a strong relationship between ethnic and socio-economic segregation. For instance, the segregation of Roma is often conditioned by a combination of racial discrimination, voluntary ethnic separation and socio-economic segregation. In Czechia some Western foreigners concentrate in the most prestigious areas including gated communities where there is a high association between nationality (for instance citizenship of one of the 15 EU member states or the United States) and high social status. In contrast Ukrainians tend to live in areas with lower social status (Čermák *et al.* 2008).

Indicators representing these social groups were selected from census data (Table 1) and used to identify territorial units where they were overrepresented. The indicators represent the share of the population with selected characteristics in the overall population of a territorial unit. To achieve a certain minimum level of concentration, the minimum number of people with given characteristics in a territorial unit was specified for some indicators. The overrepresentation was calculated using location quotients (the ratio between the indicator in a given territorial unit and the country average).

As data on income are not available from the census and other sources provide information about income and wages only on a regional (NUTS 3) level, high social status population was identified through educational attainment (university and full secondary) and household equipment (PC and Internet). Despite the fact that education is not a guarantee of high income at the individual level, at the aggregate level there is high correlation between the level of education and income. Furthermore, the socio-economic status can be understood more broadly. People with a high education level generally have a higher level of individual economic, cultural and social capital and thus wider options and choices in the pursuit of their daily life preferences. However, education itself is not sufficient. The dynamic development of society limits opportunities for those who do not keep up with the pace of change. In

Table 1. *Indicators and criteria for selection of basic settlement units with overrepresentation of populations groups.*

	Number of persons	Location quotient LQ	Value of indicator
<b>High social status</b>			
University education	≥25	≥2	≥18.02 %
Full secondary education		≥1.5	≥56.61 %
PC in household		≥2	≥38.49 %
Internet in household		≥2	≥15.97 %
<b>Unemployed</b>			
Basic education	<10	<1	<7.89 %
		<1	<23.79 %
<b>Low social status</b>			
Unemployed	≥25	≥2	≥15.79 %
Basic education		≥2	≥47.58 %
No toilet inside dwelling		≥2	≥7.05 %
<b>Nationality and citizenship</b>			
Roma nationality	≥25	≥10	≥1.15 %
Vietnamese nationality	≥25	≥10	≥1.71 %
Ukrainian nationality	≥25	≥10	≥2.16 %
Russian nationality	≥25	≥10	≥1.15 %
EU15 citizenship	≥25	≥10	≥0.96 %
Other than Czech and Slovak citizenship	≥25	≥10	≥10.06 %

Source: Czech Statistical Office (2001).

the contemporary information and knowledge society, people without a PC and active use of the Internet are losing their social position and economic possibilities. Consequently, households equipped in 2001 with their own PC and with access to the Internet were used as additional indicators of a high social status population. The low social status settlement units were identified as those with a high concentration of the unemployed, of persons with at best primary education and in substandard housing (using dwellings without sole use of their own flush toilet).

Concentrations of Roma population in basic settlement units were identified using a ten-fold level of Roma overrepresentation. The census refers to households which identified themselves as having Roma nationality (32,903 in the 1991 census and 11,716 in the 2001 census; Czech Statistical Office 1991, 2001). It appears that most Roma populations chose to identify themselves as Czech, Moravian or Slovak and the census data show only a fragment of the actual Roma population. The evidence for this is that the last comprehensive survey of Roma by local governments (from 1989) recorded their population as 146,000 and more recent

estimates of the total population with Roma ethnicity were about 250,000 with around 30,000 living in socially excluded Roma communities/localities (Úřad vlády 2005). For the identification of overrepresentation of foreigners, people with Vietnamese, Ukrainian and Russian nationality and citizens of member states of the European Union (at the date of the 2001 census, i.e. EU15) were selected. In addition concentrations of citizens with other than Czech and Slovak citizenship were identified.

Units with concentrations of the above-defined social groups were selected from the total of 22,699 basic settlement units (BSUs) in the country. There were 65 BSUs with high social status and a total population slightly over 80,000 which account for less than one per cent of the population (Table 2). Most of them are urban, located in Prague, a few in Brno and usually single places in other cities. The population of 44 BSUs with low status is much smaller and accounts for barely 0.16% of the country's population. Interestingly, 20 of these BSUs with a population of 3,643 had virtually no Roma population and nine BSUs with a population of 4,452 shown high overrepresentation of Roma ( $LQ \geq 10$ ). There is a large



Table 2. *BSUs with overrepresentation of high and low social status population.*

	Number of BSUs	Total population in BSUs	Share of country population (%)
High social status	65	83,669	0.82
Low social status	44	17,041	0.16

Source: Czech Statistical Office (2001).

variety in the geographical settings of these low social status places including dilapidated inner-city zones, peripheral housing estates and peripheral rural settlements.

The population with other than Czech nationality and citizenship was not highly spatially concentrated. There are only 5 BSUs where the share of Vietnamese exceeds 20 per cent and a further 11 with over 10 per cent of Vietnamese with the largest concentration not exceeding a total number of 300 Vietnamese. Nevertheless, if we take into account all the BSUs with ten-fold overrepresentation of Vietnamese, 28.75 per cent of them live in these areas of high overrepresentation (Table 3). The Vietnamese are thus the most spatially concentrated and least dispersed ethnic group. Their share of the total population in these areas is below 5 per cent. There were six BSUs with over 20 per cent of Ukrainians and only two per cent additional BSUs where their share exceeds 10% with the total number of Ukrainians living in a single BSU not exceeding 100. Russians as well as citizens of EU15 exceeded 10% share only in two BSUs. Due to problems with Roma nationality these shares are not reliable. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration the population with other than Czech and Slovak citizenship, there are 39 BSUs with a share exceeding 20 per cent and a further 39 BSUs with a share over 10 per cent. It indicates that foreigners tend to cluster in similar places.

#### **SOCIAL DIVISIONS AND PLACES OF SEGREGATION**

There are four social groups in Czechia, whose overrepresentation and concentration in par-

ticular territories indicates the existence and formation of segregation and separation. These are the socially disadvantaged, the wealthy, Roma and foreigners (Figures 1–4). Only some of these social groups live in localities where they are significantly overrepresented and they dominate in only a small number of areas. This section uses the evidence from the previously discussed analyses and surveys to provide an overview of the basic types of such locales.

The high social status localities include neighbourhoods that have traditionally had this role, including villa quarters from the 1920s and 1930s in inner-cities and some early high-status suburbs in the urban hinterland. The residential exclusivity of these places is associated with the very limited availability and affordability of housing and this has been confirmed and strengthened since the beginning of the transformation from communism to capitalism. The other major group of localities with high social status is represented by new post-1989 residential areas that include districts of inner-city condominiums with apartments for sale and areas of suburban single-family housing. The majority of high social status localities are located in Prague and its hinterland, which is the country's wealthiest region. There are some localities of high social status population in Brno and usually single places in some other mid-sized towns. Some of these localities of the wealthy are examples of explicit separation where distinguishing social characteristics of the population are enforced by the existence of gates, surveillance or simply by signs advising that the street is in private ownership (Brabec 2007, identified 41 gated communities in Prague).

There are two basic types of low social status localities. The first are urban, usually inner-city, areas with tenement housing dating back to the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century as well as housing estates built in the communist era. The urban places reflect urban socio-spatial inequalities. The second are small settlements in rural and peripheral areas (similarly Ladányi 2002, and Ladányi and Szelényi 1998, refer to rural slums and rural ghettos of the poor in Roma villages in Hungary). Socially disadvantaged peripheral rural locations emerge as a consequence of urbanisation

Table 3. BSUs with overrepresentation of population with EU and Czech and Slovak citizenship, Russian, Ukrainian, Vietnamese and Roma nationality.

	Number of BSUs with LQ $\geq 10$ and group population $\geq 25$	Total population in BSUs	Share of subgroup on total population of BSUs (%)	Share of subgroup in BSUs with LQ $\geq 10$ on total subgroup population in country (%)
Roma	42	64,427	3.2	17.73
Vietnamese	66	114,836	4.4	28.75
Ukrainians	25	25,715	4.8	5.60
Russians	16	42,090	2.7	9.14
EU15 citizens	24	73,495	1.7	12.75
Other than Czech and Slovak citizenship	78	40,290	17.91	7.01

Source: Czech Statistical Office (2001).

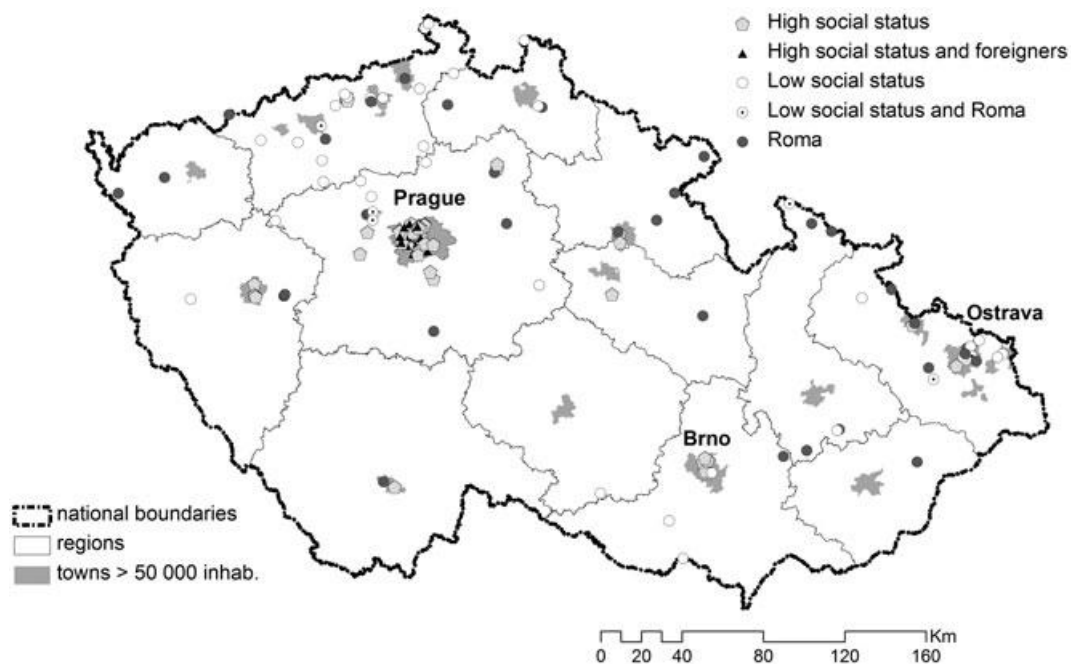


Figure 1. Localities of overrepresentation of social groups – 2001.

(migration to cities and rural depopulation) and its effects are now further strengthened by regional labour market inequalities. Musil and Müller (2008) stress that inner peripheries in the Czech Republic work as a mechanism of social exclusion since being caught in these places largely determines life chances.

Localities with a population of lower socio-economic status often coincide with areas with over-representation of the Roma population. Many new localities with concentrations of low social status population were established after 1990. Their formation was often initiated by municipalities which started to establish

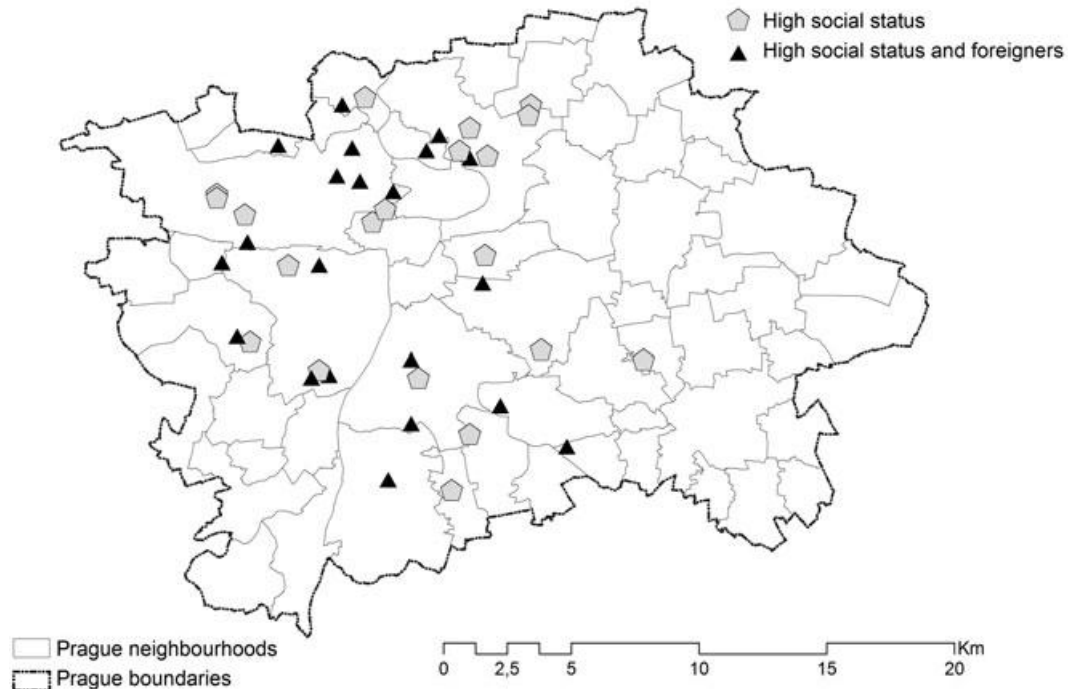


Figure 2. Localities of overrepresentation of social groups in Prague – 2001.

sheltered housing for people who did not meet their obligations in municipal rental housing (Lux 2004). Such places were frequently established in peripheral areas physically separated by a natural barrier, railway or other obstacle. These localities are physically separated and their population socially excluded from majority society. In the very extreme form of poverty, homeless people occupy abandoned buildings or places found in the technical infrastructure.

The Roma population is the social group most threatened by social exclusion and spatial segregation. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs commissioned research on socially excluded Roma localities, which revealed 310 localities of excluded Roma in 167 municipalities (Gabal Analysis & Consulting 2006) from over 6,200 municipalities in the Czech Republic. These 'localities' range from single houses to neighbourhoods with populations in a range from 20 to 5,000. The total population in these localities (which does not include only Roma) is estimated at between 60–80,000 (Gabal Analysis & Consulting 2006). The localities are

in large cities as well as in countryside villages. In cities, localities with a high share of Roma population can be found in inner-city neighbourhoods with old tenement housing dating back often to the nineteenth century and in some socialist housing estates. A concentration of Roma households developed in many of these places during communist times. During the post-communist transformation Roma households have been more affected by social exclusion than the non-Roma population; their concentration in these areas continued and this has added to their deprivation. New places of Roma concentration were also formed, often through the active segregation practices of local governments and in a similar way to that reported in Slovakia (Hurrle 2006).

In 2007 there were 394,124 foreigners with permanent residence, long term residence permits and asylum seekers in the Czech Republic, compared with 77,668 in 1993 (Čermák *et al.* 2008). They accounted for 3.78 per cent of the country's population and 5.57 per cent of the labour force (Horáková 2008).

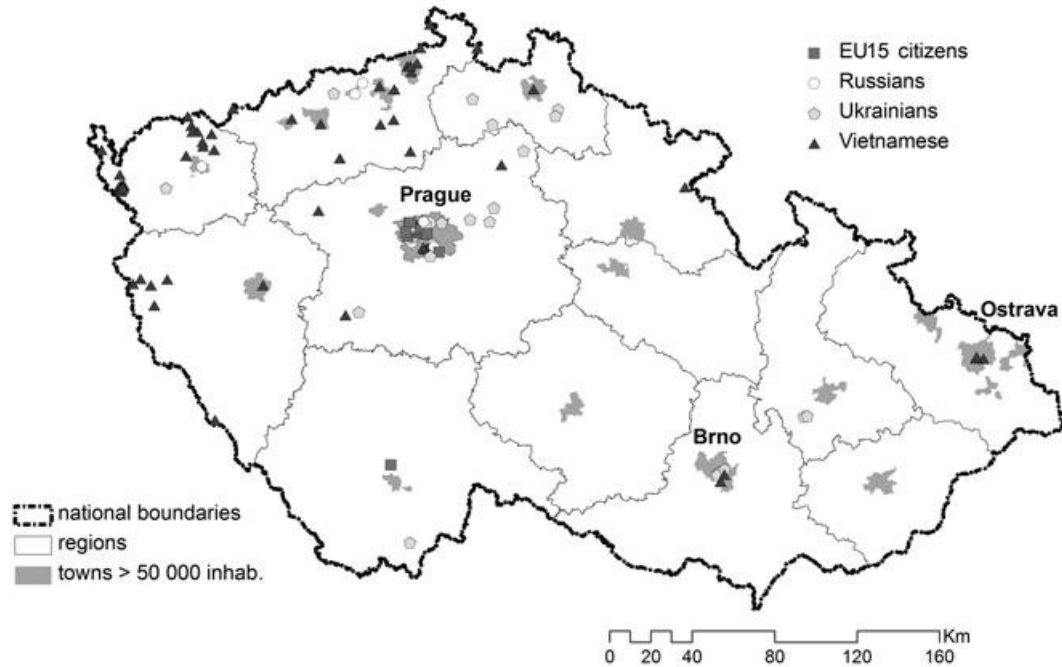


Figure 3. *Localities of overrepresentation of foreigners – 2001.*

The most important nationalities, whose proportion grew during the 1990s are Ukrainians, Russians, Vietnamese and citizens of EU15. Prague has the major (however not exclusive) concentration of foreigners. From 1,258,062 inhabitants of Prague in 2007, foreigners represented 10.2 per cent (127,846 persons; Čermák *et al.* 2008). If we consider citizens of EU15 they are almost exclusively in Prague and its close vicinity – the only exception is a wealthy district in Hluboká nad Vltavou in South Bohemia. EU15 citizens live in high social status areas of central Prague and in the traditionally high social status northwest sector of the city. Russians concentrate in Prague and some other towns including Karlovy Vary, their traditional Czech destination. In Prague, they live especially in housing estates, often purchasing newly built apartments in condominiums. Their spatial location often coincides with areas of higher social status. Ukrainians are more evenly dispersed throughout the country reflecting their main economic activity as manual workers. In Prague, their higher concentrations are in areas with cheaper rental

housing in inner-city areas and some housing estates. The Vietnamese concentrate in cities and especially in small towns along the German border. Their geographic location reflects their dominant economic activity as vendors supplying cheap Asian products to their customers from Germany (it is easier to establish a small business in the Czech Republic, as costs are lower and, until recently, there has also been less effort by the authorities to tackle the sale of counterfeit products). In Prague, the Vietnamese live in housing estates in proximity to a major marketplace dominated by Vietnamese vendors. In general, the Vietnamese do not tend to cluster their residences. Their increased concentration in some areas is given by the availability and affordability of housing rather than by their desire to live in ethnic enclaves.

### SOCIO-SPATIAL FORMATIONS

We can summarise that the main types of localities of segregation and separation in contemporary Czechia are:

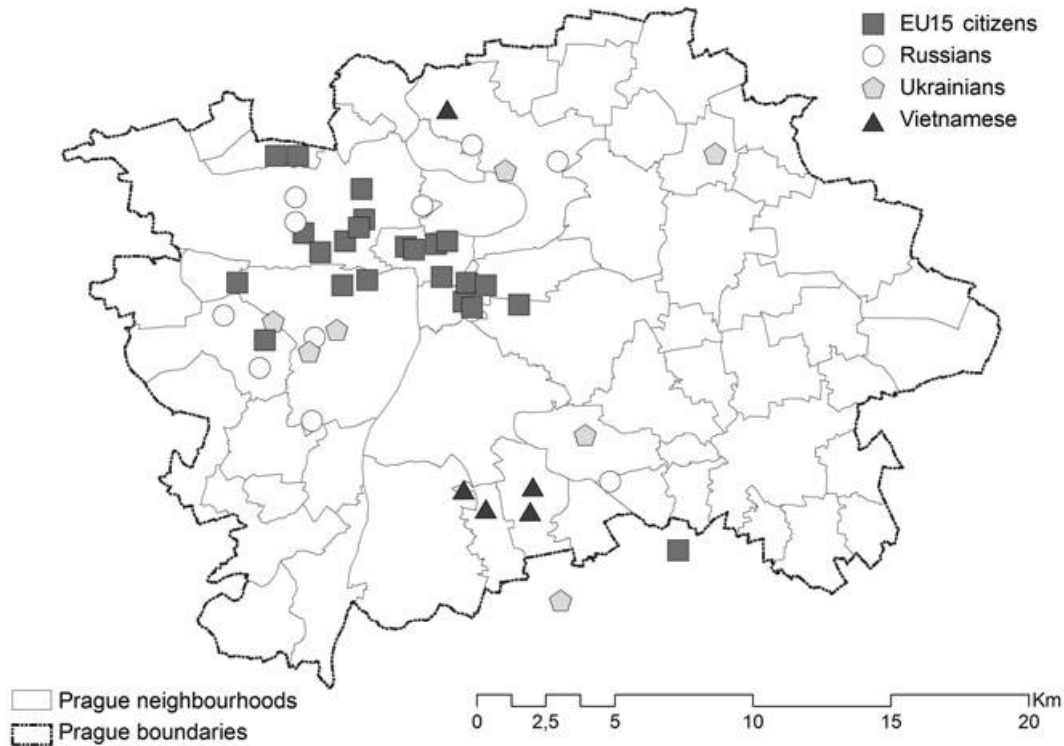


Figure 4. *Localities of overrepresentation of foreigners in Prague – 2001.*

- traditional villa neighbourhoods of social elites;
- places of new housing construction for the wealthy population including extreme examples of 'gated communities' and small islands of gentrification;
- selected dilapidated housing estates dating from socialist times with rapidly declining social status;
- declining zones in inner-city neighbourhoods with a mix of municipal and private rental housing and concentrations of socially disadvantaged inhabitants;
- newly constructed or reconstructed shelter housing in municipal ownership for so-called socially non-adaptable people and non-payers of rents;
- localities of socially excluded Roma concentrations often initiated or strengthened by municipal housing allocation practices of local governments;
- various concentrations of foreigners, that can be associated with gated communities of rich, loose ethnic enclaves as well as with rooming houses for immigrant manual workers.

The existence and current status of these localities of segregation partly reflect historic development. Yet many localities represent new socio-spatial formations that emerged as new types of socio-spatial formations or developed through restructuring of original neighbourhoods. The new formations correspond quite well to types outlined by Marcuse (1993, 1997) and Marcuse and Van Kempen (2000) for globalising Western cities. The established principles of capitalist society have already made a distinct imprint in cities and regions of this former socialist country.

Citadels include both traditional and new places of the elites. Some urban citadels and new suburban places take the form of gated

communities whose exclusivity is controlled by physical obstacles and/or surveillance systems. There are examples of neighbourhoods being gentrified (Sýkora 2005). However, as they are in the process of social change and not in the final stage of completed transformation, they are at present socially mixed and so were not included in the selection of areas with an over-representation of the wealthiest population. Nevertheless as the process continues, some of them may, in coming decades, evolve to be the exclusive enclaves of elites. A somewhat hidden separation of the wealthier part of the population is now developing through suburbanisation. Some rural areas of generally lower social status are now being transformed into suburban zones for the upper middle class. At present, the process is still in its early stages (Ouředníček 2007; Sýkora & Ouředníček 2007; Novák & Sýkora 2007). However, examples of radically reshaped suburban settlements suggest that in a few decades a major macro-segregation pattern can emerge between the wealthy suburbs and the socially deprived and a physically declining belt of housing estates constructed under socialism.

Some localities of socially excluded Roma have evolved into spatially excluded ghettos. Although their size is not comparable with the ethnic concentrations in the United States and Western Europe, their existence is a result of exclusionary closure (Wacquant 2008) based on ethnic/racial biases between the majority population and Roma and institutionalised in discriminatory practices in housing markets. These practices often directly involve local governments. While the number of such places and the population spatially segregated in these localities is considerable, the majority of ethnic Roma live outside these places. Nevertheless, the concentration of some segments of Roma population in ghettos of the excluded continues. These developments are reflected in government, NGO and some local government effort to fight discrimination and help to provide more decent living conditions (Lux 2004).

If we abstract from localities of socially excluded Roma, and do not consider municipal shelter houses for the population which does not meet its rent obligations there are no major concentrations of socially deprived

population. However, there are large areas with the prospect of relative social decline. At present, their formation is conditioned especially by the regional differentiation of economic growth and decline (cf. argument of Haase and Steinführer 2005, and Weclawowicz 2004 for Poland). While in booming Prague hardly any larger area of deprivation can be found, there are whole urban districts characterised by high unemployment and low income in cities of North Bohemia and North Moravia, regions affected by structural economic problems. As a large share of housing has been privatised and the value of housing in those regions with structural problems is very low in comparison with booming places, the population is trapped in these territories. Kostelecký (2000) documents striking regional differences in housing prices: in Prague 85 per cent of housing for sale is in the upper price quintile price per sqm nationally while in the North Bohemian region Ústí nad Labem 89 per cent are in the bottom quintile. Socially disadvantaged populations can be also found in peripheral rural places (Musil & Müller 2008), which have low if any prospect of economic growth. These small places are excluded by the economic geography of investments and wealth that is concentrated in metropolitan growth poles, leaving out remote peripheral areas.

An important open question is the development of housing estates built under socialism. Their social status at the beginning of transition was usually above the country average and now they exhibit moderate social decline. They account for a large share of the country's population, which as a whole cannot become impoverished. However, there are estates with worse conditions where the downward trend is steep (Maier 2005). The current differentiation between housing estates reflects different trajectories. These include the stabilisation of some estates; slow social transformation through outmigration of the wealthier population which is replaced by immigrants and less wealthy first-home buyers in housing markets; and a consequent decline in the least desirable estates associated with the growing concentration in them of socially disadvantaged households. While some estates may become segregated, many are more likely to become large areas of lower social status population.

## CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this paper was to consider whether there are places of residential segregation and separation in Czech cities, which forms they take and what is their extent. Segregation was defined as the constitution and existence of socio-spatial formations characterised by significant overrepresentation of a social group in specific localities. It was argued that the study of segregation in post-socialist countries, where old patterns shaped in past decades still pertain while new patterns conditioned by newly implemented mechanisms of capitalist society are emerging, requires a specific approach. Old and new socio-spatial patterns are not compatible and traditional measures of the overall socio-spatial inequality do not distinguish between new and old and thus, can rather obscure new socio-spatial divisions. Therefore in the context of transitional societies where spatial-distribution of the population is significantly reshaped, new patterns of segregation can be better understood through identification of specific socio-spatial formations in particular places characterised by high internal social homogeneity and social difference from surrounding areas.

In the present-day Czechia, the housing market is more stratified with exclusive localities through to excluded areas. The vast majority of the population does not live in places of segregation and separation. However, the share made up by segregated populations is growing. Most localities of segregation and separation were constituted recently during the transition from socialism to capitalism. Their formation reflects trends in societal restructuring conditioned by the institutional transformations aimed at the establishment of markets, such as privatisation of housing, and spontaneous socio-economic transformations influenced by the insertion of Czech society into the global economy, such as economic restructuring and social differentiation and their uneven territorial impact. Residential-socio spatial segregation has been conditioned by growing social inequalities within the population and increasing territorial differentiation of the housing supply in terms of its availability and affordability. Social inequalities were generated especially in terms of income with a contribution

from other factors such as discriminatory practices in labour and housing markets and an uneven disposition with human, cultural and social capital and its utilisation in the orientation within society and housing markets in particular. The passive role of local government and in many cases their active segregation practices has strengthened rather than mitigated the impact of the market forces on urban and regional socio-spatial changes.

Large and populous areas with the concentration of specific social groups do not exist in the contemporary Czech Republic. However, there are places which exhibit distinct characteristics of segregation and separation and localities where segregation is being constituted. The extreme cases of segregation and separation include localities of socially excluded Roma on the one hand and gated communities of the wealthy on the other hand. These places are socially and spatially (often even physically) separated from the rest of territory and its population. At the same time, many of them are small and exist within the wider socio-spatial environment. The population living in these places is thus segregated or separated, yet still in their daily life exposed to a population living outside places of segregation and separation. The geography in the sense of the small size of such areas and their relative fragmentation within cities and regions matters. However, existing localities of segregation and separation are nuclei from which larger internally socially homogenous areas can develop in future. The contemporary highly fragmented mosaic of localities can evolve to a patchwork consisting of larger monotonous yet mutually different areas.

## Acknowledgements

The support provided by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic, project no. MSM0021620831 'Geographic Systems and Risk Processes in the Context of Global Change and European Integration' and the Ministry for Regional Development of the Czech Republic, project no. WA-014-05-Z01 'Segregation in the Czech Republic: situation and trends, causes and consequences, prevention and regulation' is acknowledged. The press survey was carried out by Darina Posová, the questionnaire survey of local authorities and NGO

organised by Jana Temelová with the help of Dita Čermáková and Jan Ilík. Jakub Novák and Martin Ouředníček helped technically with the extraction of selected data from the 2001 census and Ondřej Mulíček with figures. Gabal Analysis & Consulting provided the dataset of socially excluded Roma localities. The use of data and its interpretation is the sole responsibility of the author.

#### Notes

1. The term segregation is used for involuntary concentration of a social group in particular area due to their disadvantaged position within society and separation for intended conscious socio-spatial distancing of a social group from other population groups through concentration in particular places and utilising a better position within society.
2. The city regions of Prague, Brno and Ostrava were defined using a 30 per cent threshold in the intensity of commuting to work from a municipality to the central city. Territorial integrity was maintained through inclusion of several municipalities below the limit yet with strong commuting.
3. There are 206 municipalities with extended power in the Czech Republic, which perform delegated state administration in its own territory as well as in the territory of smaller municipalities which belong to their administrative district.
4. Basic settlement units (BSUs) are small usually functionally and morphologically homogeneous areas within cities with population ranging from zero up to maximum of 10,000 and individual small settlements in countryside.

#### REFERENCES

- BADYINA, A. & O. GOLUBCHIKOV (2005), Gentrification in Central Moscow – a Market Process or a Deliberate Policy? Money, Power and People in Housing Regeneration in Ostozhenka. *Geografiska Annaler B* 87, pp. 113–129.
- BLINNIKOV, M., A. SHANIN, N. SOBOLEV & L. VOLKOVA (2006), Gated Communities of the Moscow Green Belt: Newly Segregated Landscapes and the Suburban Russian Environment. *Geographical Journal* 66, pp. 65–81.
- BRABEC, T. (2007), *Gated Communities v Praze (Gated Communities in Prague)* (BSc thesis, Charles University).
- CHELCEA, L. (2006), Marginal Groups in Central Places: Gentrification, Property Rights and Post-socialist Primitive Accumulation (Bucharest, Romania). In: G. ENYEDI & Z. KOVÁCS, eds., *Social Changes and Social Sustainability in Historical Urban Centres: The Case of Central Europe*, pp. 107–126. Pécs: Centre for Regional Studies of Hungarian Academy of Science.
- ČERMÁK, Z., D. ČERMÁKOVÁ, D. DRBOHLAV, D. DZÚROVÁ, E. JANSKÁ & L. LACHMANOVÁ (2008), *IDEA – Country Report – the Czech Republic*. Prague: Charles University.
- CZECH STATISTICAL OFFICE (1991), *Český Statistický Úřad, Sčítání Lidu, Domů a Bytů 1991 (Population and Housing Census 1991)*. Prague: Czech Statistical Office.
- CZECH STATISTICAL OFFICE (2001), *Český Statistický Úřad, Sčítání Lidu, Domů a Bytů 2001 (Population and Housing Census 2001)*. Prague: Czech Statistical Office.
- DRBOHLAV, D. & D. DZÚROVÁ (2007), 'Where Are They Going?': Immigrant Inclusion in the Czech Republic (A case study on Ukrainians, Vietnamese and Armenians in Prague). *International Migration* 45, pp. 69–95.
- DUNCAN, O.D. & B. DUNCAN (1955), Occupational Distribution and Residential Distribution. *American Journal of Sociology* 50, pp. 493–503.
- ENYEDI, G. (1998), Transformation in Central European Postsocialist Cities. In: G. ENYEDI, ed., *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe*, pp. 109–136. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- FRIEDRICHS, J. (1998), Social Inequality, Segregation and Urban Conflict. In: S. MUSTERD & W. OSTENDORF, eds., *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State. Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*, pp. 168–190. London: Routledge.
- GABAL ANALYSIS & CONSULTING (2006), *Analýza Sociálně Vyloučených Romských Lokalit a Absorpční Kapacity Subjektů Působících v Tato Oblasti (Analysis of Socially Excluded Roma Localities and Absorption Capacity of Subjects in this Field)*. Project report. Prague: Gabal Analysis & Consulting.
- GENTILE, M. (2004), Divided Post-Soviet Small Cities? Residential Segregation in Leninogorsk and Zyryanovsk, Kazakhstan. *Geografiska Annaler B* 86, pp. 117–136.
- HAASE, A. & A. STEINFÜHRER (2005), Cities in East-Central Europe in the Aftermath of Post-socialist Transition: Some Conceptual Considerations about Future Challenges. In: T. KOMORNICKI & K.L. CZAPIEWSKI, eds., *New Spatial Relations in New Europe*, Europa XXI 13, pp. 97–110. Warsaw: Polish



- Academy of Sciences, Institute for Geography and Spatial Organisation.
- HAMILTON, F.E.I., K. DIMITROVSKA ANDREWS & N. PICHLER-MILANOVIĆ, eds. (2005), *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalisation*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- HIRT, S. (2007), Suburbanising Sofia: Characteristics of Post-socialist Peri-urban Change. *Urban Geography* 28, pp. 755–780.
- HORÁKOVÁ, M. (2008), *Mezinárodní Pracovní Migrace v ČR* (International Labour Migration in the Czech Republic). Bulletin VÚPSV 20, Praha: VÚPSV.
- HURRE, J. (2006), The Third World in the First World: Development and Renewal Strategies for Rural Roma Ghettos in Slovakia. In: U. ALTROCK, S. GÜNTER, S. HUNING & D. PETERS, eds., *Spatial Planning and Urban Development in the New EU Member States: From Adjustment to Reinvention*, pp. 141–162. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- KÄHRIK, A. (2002), Changing Social Divisions in the Housing Market of Tallin, Estonia. *Housing, Theory and Society* 19, pp. 48–56.
- KÄHRIK, A. & T. TAMMARU (2008), Population Composition in New Suburban Settlements of the Tallinn Metropolitan Area. *Urban Studies* 45, pp. 1055–1078.
- KONTULY, T. & T. TAMMARU (2006), Population Subgroups Responsible for New Urbanisation and Suburbanisation in Estonia. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 13, pp. 319–336.
- KORCELLI, P. (1996), Perspectives on Cities and Urban Systems in East-Central Europe: Changing Structures, Changing Functions. In: R. DOMAŃSKI, ed., *Towards the Explanation and Modelling of the Spatial and Regional Dimensions of the Transformation Process*, pp. 61–70. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo naukowe PWN.
- KOSTELECKÝ, T. (2000), Housing and its Influence on the Development of Social Inequalities in the Post-communist Czech Republic. *Czech Sociological Review* VIII, pp. 177–193.
- KOVÁCS, Z. (1998), Ghettoisation or Gentrification? Post-socialist Scenarios for Budapest. *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 13, pp. 63–81.
- KOWALSKI, M. & P. ŚLESZYŃSKI (2006), Problems of Socio-spatial Development in Central Districts of Warsaw. In: G. ENYEDI & Z. KOVÁCS, eds., *Social Changes and Social Sustainability in Historical Urban Centres: The Case of Central Europe*, pp. 107–126. Pécs: Centre for Regional Studies of Hungarian Academy of Science.
- LADÁNYI, J. (1997), Social and Ethnic Residential Segregation in Budapest. In: Z. KOVÁCS & R. WIESSNER, eds., *Processe und Perspektiven der Stadtentwicklung in Ostmitteleuropa*, pp. 83–96. Passau: L.I.S. Verlag.
- LADÁNYI, J. (2002), Residential Segregation among Social and Ethnic Groups in Budapest during the Post-communist Transition. In: P. MARCUSE & R. VAN KEMPEN, eds., *Of States and Cities. The Partitioning of Urban Space*, pp. 170–182. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- LADÁNYI, J. & I. SZELÉNYI (1998), Class, Ethnicity and Urban Restructuring in Postcommunist Hungary. In: G. ENYEDI, ed., *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe*, pp. 109–136. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- LUX, M. (2004), Housing the Poor in the Czech Republic: Prague, Brno and Ostrava. In: J. FEARN, ed., *Too Poor to Move, Too Poor to Stay: A Report on Housing in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Serbia*, pp. 23–66. Budapest: Open Society Institute – Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative.
- MAIER, K. (2005), Czech Housing Estates: Recent Changes and New Challenges. *Geographia Polonica* 78, pp. 39–51.
- MARCUSE, P. (1993), What's so New About Divided Cities? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 17, pp. 355–365.
- MARCUSE, P. (1997), The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto. What has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City. *Urban Affairs Review* 33, pp. 228–264.
- MARCUSE, P. & R. VAN KEMPEN (2000), Conclusion: A Changed Spatial Order. In: P. MARCUSE & R. VAN KEMPEN, eds., *Globalising Cities: A New Spatial Order?*, pp. 249–275. Oxford: Blackwell.
- MASSEY, D.S. & N.A. DENTON (1988), The Dimensions of Residential Segregation, *Social Forces* 67, pp. 281–315.
- MASSEY, D.S. & N.A. DENTON (1993), *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- MATLOVIČ, R. & A. SEDLÁKOVÁ (2007), The Impact of Suburbanisation in the Hinterland of Prešov (Slovakia). *Moravian Geographical Reports* 15, pp. 22–31.
- MEDVEDKOV, Y. & O. MEDVEDKOV (2007), Upscale Housing in Post-Soviet Moscow and its Environs. In: K. STANILOV, ed., *The Post-Socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*, pp. 245–265. Dordrecht: Springer.

- MOLNÁR, B., Á. SZÉPVÖLGYI & V. SZIRMAI (2007), The Social Structure of Hungarian Urban Areas: Key Factors and Characteristic Features. In: V. SZIRMAI, ed., *Social Inequalities in Urban Areas and Globalisation: The Case of Central Europe*, pp. 18–51. Pécs: Centre for Regional Studies of Hungarian Academy of Science.
- MUSIL, J. (1993), Changing Urban Systems in Post-communist Societies in Central Europe: Analysis and prediction. *Urban Studies* 30, pp. 899–905.
- MUSIL, J. & J. MÜLLER (2008), Vnitřní Periferie v České Republice Jako Mechanismus Sociální Exkluze (Inner Peripheries of the Czech Republic as a Mechanism of Social Exclusion). *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review* 44, pp. 321–348.
- MUSTERD, S. & W. OSTENDORF, eds. (1998), *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State. Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*. London: Routledge.
- NOVÁK, J. & L. SYKORA (2007), A City in Motion: Time-space Activity and Mobility Patterns of Suburban Inhabitants and Structuration of Spatial Organisation of the Prague Metropolitan Area. *Geografiska Annaler B: Human Geography* 89, pp. 147–167.
- OUŘEDNÍČEK, M. (2007), New Suburban Development in the Post-socialist City: The Case of Prague. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 89, pp. 111–126.
- RUOPPILA, S. (2005), Housing Policy and Residential Differentiation in Post-socialist Tallinn. *European Journal of Housing Policy* 5, pp. 279–300.
- RUOPPILA, S. (2006), The Increase of Urban Inequalities in Tallinn – Does EU Accession Change Anything? In: U. ALTROCK, S. GÜNTER, S. HUNING & D. PETERS, eds., *Spatial Planning and Urban Development in the New EU Member States: From Adjustment to Reinvention*, pp. 201–223. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- RUOPPILA, S. & A. KÄHRİK (2003), Socio-economic Residential Differentiation in Post-socialist Tallinn. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 18, pp. 49–73.
- SAILER-FLIEGE, U. (1999), Characteristics of Post-socialist Urban Transformation in East Central Europe. *Geojournal* 49, pp. 7–16.
- SMITH, D.M. (1996), The Socialist City. In: G. ANDRUSZ, M. HARLOE & I. SZELÉNYI, eds., *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*, pp. 70–99. Oxford: Blackwell.
- STANDL, H. & D. KRUPICKAITĚ (2004), Gentrification in Vilnius (Lithuania): The Example of Užupis. *Europa Regional* 12, pp. 42–51.
- STANILOV, K., ed. (2007), *The Post-socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- STOYANOV, P. & K. FRANTZ (2006), Gated Communities in Bulgaria: Interpreting a New Trend in Post-communist Urban Development. *Geojournal* 66, pp. 57–63.
- SYKORA, L. (1999), Processes of Socio-spatial Differentiation in Post-communist Prague. *Housing Studies* 14, pp. 679–701.
- SYKORA, L. (2005), Gentrification in Postcommunist Cities. In: R. ATKINSON & G. BRIDGE, eds., *The New Urban Colonialism: Gentrification in a Global Context*, pp. 90–105. London: Routledge.
- SYKORA, L. (2007), The Czech Case Study – Social Inequalities in Urban Areas and Their Relationships with Competitiveness in the Czech Republic. In: V. SZIRMAI, ed., *Social Inequalities in Urban Areas and Globalisation: The Case of Central Europe*, pp. 77–104. Pécs: Centre for Regional Studies of Hungarian Academy of Science.
- SYKORA, L., K. MAIER, D. DRBOHLAV, M. OUŘEDNÍČEK, J. TEMELOVÁ, E. JANSKÁ et al. (2007), *Segregace v České Republice: Stav a Vývoj, Příčiny a Důsledky, Prevence a Náprava (Segregation in the Czech Republic: Situation and Development, Causes and Consequences, Prevention and Rectification)*. Závěrečná editovaná zpráva projektu WA-014-05-Z01. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze. Also available at: <<http://www.natur.cuni.cz/segregace/>>.
- SYKORA, L. & M. OUŘEDNÍČEK (2007), Sprawling Post-communist Metropolis: Commercial and Residential Suburbanisation in Prague and Brno, the Czech Republic. In: E. RAZIN, M. DIJST & C. VAZQUEZ, eds., *Employment Deconcentration in European Metropolitan Areas*, pp. 209–233. Dordrecht: Springer.
- SZELÉNYI, I. (1983), *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SZELÉNYI, I. (1996), Cities under Socialism – and After. In: G. ANDRUSZ, M. HARLOE & I. SZELÉNYI, eds., *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*, pp. 286–317. Oxford: Blackwell.
- SZCZEPANSKI, M.S. & W. SLEZAK-TAZBIR (2008), Between Fear and Admiration. Social and Spatial Ghettos in an Old Industrial Region. In: W. STRUBELT & G. GORZELAK, eds., *City and Region. Papers in Honour of Jiří Musil*, pp. 297–327. Leverkusen Opladen: Budrich UniPress.
- TIMÁR, J. & M.M. VÁRADY (2001), The Uneven Development of Suburbanisation during Transition in

- Hungary. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 8, pp. 349–360.
- TSENKOVA, S. (2006), Beyond Transitions: Understanding Urban Change in Post-socialist Cities. In: S. TSENKOVA & Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ, eds., *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy*, pp. 21–50. Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag.
- TSENKOVA, S. & Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ, eds. (2006), *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy*. Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag.
- ÚŘAD VLÁDY (2005), *Zpráva o Stavů Romských Komunit v ČR (State-of-the-art Report about Roma Communities in the Czech Republic)*. Praha: Úřad vlády (Government Office).
- VAN WESEPE, J. & R. VAN KEMPEN (1992), Economic Change, Income Differentiation and Housing: Urban Response in the Netherlands. *Urban Studies* 29, pp. 979–990.
- WACQUANT, L. (2008), *Urban Outcast: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- WĘCŁAWOWICZ, G. (1997), The Changing Socio-spatial Patterns in Polish Cities. In: Z. KOVÁCS & R. WIESSNER, eds., *Prozesse und Perspektiven der Stadtentwicklung in Ostmitteleuropa*, pp. 75–81. Passau, München: L.I.S. Verlag.
- WĘCŁAWOWICZ, G. (1998a), Some Aspects of Income and Social Disparities in Poland, Regional and Intra Urban Scale. In: A. BESANA, ed., *Urban and Regional Development in Italy and Poland*, pp. 315–334. Trento: Edizioni Colibri.
- WĘCŁAWOWICZ, G. (1998b), What to Do with the Post-socialist Cities? Towards a New Policy. In: R. DOMAŃSKI, ed., *Emerging Spatial and Regional Structures of an Economy in Transition*, pp. 163–182. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- WĘCŁAWOWICZ, G. (2002), From Egalitarian Cities in Theory to Non-egalitarian Cities in Practice: The Changing Social and Spatial Patterns in Polish Cities. In: P. MARCUSE & R. VAN KEMPEN, eds., *Of States and Cities. The Partitioning of Urban Space*, pp. 183–199. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WĘCŁAWOWICZ, G. (2004), Where the Grass is Greener in Poland: Regional and Intra-urban Inequalities. In: R. LEE & D.M. SMITH, eds., *Geographies and Moralities: International Perspectives on Development, Justice and Place*, pp. 62–77. Oxford: Blackwell.
- WĘCŁAWOWICZ, G. (2005), The Warsaw Metropolitan Area on the Eve of Poland's Integration into the European Union. In: F.E.I. HAMILTON, K. DIMITROWSKA ANDREWS & N. PICHLER-MILANOVIĆ, eds., *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalisation*, pp. 223–247. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- WIESSNER, R. (1997), Socialräumliche Polarisierung der inneren Stadt in Budapest. In: Z. KOVÁCS & R. WIESSNER, eds., *Prozesse und Perspektiven der Stadtentwicklung in Ostmitteleuropa*, pp. 189–201. Passau, München: L.I.S. Verlag.