



## Cities Under Postsocialism

Luděk Sýkora, Charles University in Prague, Prague, Czech Republic

© 2015 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

### Abstract

In postsocialist cities, urban environments formed under socialist regimes are being adapted to new conditions shaped by the transition to capitalism. With the establishment of market rules and pluralistic democracy, social practices of individuals, firms, and governments became imprinted in urban landscapes. Urban change has been especially influenced by internationalization, economic restructuring, social differentiation, postmodern culture, and neoliberal political practices. The main transformations in the spatial organization included the commercialization of city centers, the dynamic and spatially selective revitalization in inner cities, and the radical transformation of suburban hinterland affected by sprawl.

### Introduction

This article discusses urban change in postsocialist cities. The term postsocialist refers to societies which had been prior the revolutions of 1989 known as 'socialist' and which have been since 1989 undergoing transformations toward capitalist societies with market-based economy and pluralistic democracy in political decision making. While the former socialist and so called 'second' world (Andrusz, 2001) included countries on most continents, this article mainly builds on the experience and situation in major capital cities of postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe, since these are the cities that have been studied the most. The generalization based on these cities may also be relevant for other postsocialist cities.

The city is understood as complex dynamically evolving sociospatial formation. It is internally differentiated and structured not only in terms of social, economic, or political differences between individuals and social groups, but especially in terms of local sociospatial formations such as residential neighborhood including ethnic enclaves of immigrants, gated communities of better off population, middle-class suburbs, or ghettos of socially excluded, as well as functional zones such as industrial areas, office districts, shopping, and entertainment nodes. The city is also integrated through interaction between people, firms, and organizations, between residents, entrepreneurs, and politicians, and, as these actors are spatially embedded, also between local sociospatial formations integrated into an urban region.

This article is focused on urban change, on processes through which the city and places within urban space are produced, reproduced, and transformed. It emphasizes relations between social processes and spatial structures via social practices. In established societies, the social practices are guided by a set of broadly accepted rules. The unfolding daily life framed within relatively stable institutions results in relatively stable spatial patterns. The correspondence between social institutions, social practices, and structures and spatial arrangements might gradually change in the course of ongoing evolutionary social processes, such as transition from Fordism to post-Fordism, industrial to postindustrial society, and social to neoliberal state or during second demographic transition.

However, the evolutionary relatively gradual processes of urban change may be interrupted by periods of radical urban

restructuring influenced by turbulent revolutionary transformations in political and economic principles of societal organization. This is the case of postsocialist cities, where the institutional setup was radically changed in the 1990s. The capitalist political economy leads to distinctively different social practices and urban spatial organizations. Contradictions between the inherited socialist urban patterns and newly established capitalist rules created tensions resulting in the restructuring of existing urban areas and the formation of new postsocialist urban landscapes (Sýkora, 2009). Even though the principles that influence the production of urban environments were changed quickly, the pace of change in the built environment, land-use patterns, and residential differentiation is much slower. The urban transformation of postsocialist cities is an unfolding process that may take decades. Revolutionary transformations in urban spatial organization, such as dynamically developing sprawl and increasing residential segregation, pose significant challenges. They call for anticipation of future developments and critical engagement in debating urban change.

The postsocialist cities offer a chance to trace the impact of transformations in political and socioeconomic forces and changing social practices on the logic of urban space generation under the condition of revolutionary, radical, and rapid transformations framed by the transition from communist totalitarian to democratic political regimes and from command to market economies. We can not only compare how two distinctively different societies of socialism and capitalism produce their own urban spaces, but in an online perspective observe how capitalism appropriates and reconstructs the former patterns to its own needs.

There is a widespread recognition of the diversity of urban transformation in former socialist countries indicating that different postsocialist trajectories may be developing (Tosics, 2005). Differences have emerged between the countries that have managed to apply more comprehensively the Western concept of capitalism, and those whose development is more based on the locally specific recombinations of selected aspects of socialism, capitalism, and unique features that have emerged during postsocialism. However, the rejection of communism and the acceptance of capitalist features have placed the postsocialist societies, countries, and cities on a similar trajectory leading away from communism and toward various forms of

capitalism. In this article, while acknowledging the contextual embeddedness of urban transformations and their consequent local specific features and trajectories, the general and common features developing under the imperative of globally spreading capitalism will be highlighted.

The article starts with the reflection of the trajectories, patterns, and underlying forces of urbanization under socialism. This is followed by a section that overviews the recent transformations toward capitalism, juxtaposing two different political and economic systems with their own logic of urban space generation. Specific attention is devoted to relations between socialist legacies and global capitalism in shaping postsocialist urbanization and to major challenges that postsocialist cities face on their transformation path.

### Socialist City

The studies of cities in Central and Eastern Europe suggested that a socialist city existed as a specific entity different from cities in developed capitalist world (French and Hamilton, 1979; Smith, 1996). However, while some scholars emphasized the specific nature of socialist urbanization referring to distinctively different socialist and capitalist political and economic systems (Szelenyi, 1983), others advocated similarities between urbanization in socialist and capitalist countries highlighting the universal influence of industrialization and modernization (Enyedi, 1996). While we can accept that both socialist and capitalist cities were variants of a more general twentieth century modern urban development, important features, such as lower levels of urbanization, less urbanism, and distinct urban spatial structure (Hirt, 2013), distinguished cities in socialist and capitalist countries.

Similarly to capitalist cities, the socialist city was shaped by cultural modernity, industrialization, technological progress, and advanced division of labor. However, the particular character of socialist political and economic organization mediated through the state planned distribution of resources and planned urbanization (Musil, 1980; Smith, 1996) yielded new economic, social, and territorial patterns. They included the lower share of services and higher share of industries in terms of employment and land use, sociospatial disparities specific to socialist production and allocation of housing, and a more compact urban morphology in comparison with capitalist cities. Under the condition of modernity, socialist cities represented the major alternative to capitalist urbanization.

The built environment, land use, and segregation patterns in socialist cities were shaped by political and economic forces that were radically distinct from capitalism. The socialist regime claimed to attain a socially just society with economy serving wider population needs. The essential starting point in forming socialist societies was the elimination of private ownership of means of production and market allocation of resources, which were seen as the key mechanisms being responsible for producing social inequalities. The essential aspects of the socialist system were the common ownership of the means of production and the administrative allocation of resources overseen by the state authorities guided by the power of Communist parties. The flow of resources between governments, firms, and households was regulated by the top-down

hierarchically organized system of central planning. The economic growth shall guarantee an ever-increasing quality of life and socially equitable distribution of resources. However, the priority given to production and strategic (mostly heavy) industries, led to the underdevelopment of consumer services. The inefficiencies of central planning, especially its low capability to stimulate innovations, resulted since the 1970s in exhausting inner resources and slowing down economic and social development.

The industrialization of the socialist economy was at the nexus of development priorities. It led to the boom of urban industrial centers that attracted rural migrants pushed away from their villages by the collectivization of agricultural land and the mechanization of agricultural production. As a result, the socialist countries experienced a fast growth in their levels of urbanization. However, the growth of urban jobs was not paralleled by a corresponding supply of new housing. A significant portion of the rural population employed in cities retained their rural residence leading to an increasing share of rural residents commuting to cities, using mass public transit systems. The phenomenon of discrepancy between the urbanization of jobs and housing was described as under-urbanization (Murray and Szelenyi, 1984; Szelenyi, 1996).

Socialist cities and their metropolitan areas were managed through the top-down centralized control of territorial development as a hierarchically organized system. With land development under the control of state authorities, government policies concentrated the spatial allocation of public investments and thus urban development in few target areas. First of them was the expansion of industrial capacity by the development of new and the extension of existing industrial zones stimulated by the preference of production over consumption and political goal of keeping manual workers as the revolutionary force in major cities. Second, the construction of massive housing estates at the urban edges provided standardized supply of new housing. Third, a dense network of public transportation was developed to assure effective commuting between places of residence, work, services, and leisure activities. Fourth, services were provided in hierarchically organized system of neighborhood, district, and city urban centers, in order to guarantee economies of scale as well as even accessibility by population. Finally, city centers were redesigned as monuments of the social and economic prosperity achieved under the leadership of ruling communist parties.

Although central areas concentrated retail and other consumer services, they did not resemble the picture of capitalist urban downtowns dominated by commerce. In societies governed by central planning machinery, there was no room for financial and other business services. Similarly, the state organized supply of basic and standardized good has not required the development of retail and other consumption-oriented services on the scale known from capitalist societies. Consequently, socialist city centers retained substantial proportion of residential function. The political strategy to keep manual workers as the revolutionary force in major cities as well as nonexisting market pressure on a more economically efficient utilization of land purposefully maintained a higher share of industry in terms of both employment and land use within cities. Industrial areas penetrated from old inner city

quarters to newly established outer city zones. Sections of the inner city presocialist neighborhoods decayed due to the disinvestment of the state whose prime concern was to build new socialist areas. Renewal programs applied in last two decades of socialism often led to brutal redesign of presocialist inner-city landscapes. The majority of new construction concentrated at city edges in high-density residential areas of multistory apartment buildings and new industrial zones. In a contrast to sprawling North American and West European metropolitan areas, the socialist cities developed without suburban residential areas and nonresidential ribbon developments typical for capitalist urbanization. The extent of urban industrial land use and the scale of housing estates constructed for several thousands of inhabitants, and the consequently high proportion of industrial labor force and multiple-family housing noticeably distinguished the socialist city from the capitalist city.

Population in urban space was primarily differentiated by its demographic characteristics (Musil, 1987). The urban landscapes build under socialism looked like a mosaic of relatively large housing estates each containing particular age cohort of population with similar positions in family and life cycle. The formation of such pattern was conditioned by the state financed housing construction, which was spatially concentrated in large districts built-at-once, by the administrative allocation of dwellings to young families with children at the start of their family and housing career, and low levels of overall migration after retaining first housing. Particular generations of housing estates corresponded with certain age cohorts of population. Despite the low level of residential socioeconomic differentiation, sociospatial inequalities existed due to the access of people with higher societal and communist party merits to better housing. Large areas, characterized by social mix of households and less segregated and more evenly distributed homes of working class population, were contrasted with socialist elites concentrated in few exclusive neighborhoods. In general, the socioeconomic status declined from city centers toward urban hinterland, with the exception of higher social status of some well-located new housing estates. Most socialist countries were ethnically homogeneous and with the exception of Roma concentrations, ethnic differentiation was not a distinguishing feature of urban social landscapes. However, in the cities within the Soviet Union, the sociospatial pattern was more complex due to the migration of ethnic minorities within USSR (Smith, 1996).

### City in Transition: Postsocialist Urban Transformations

Since the collapse of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, cities in the former socialist countries have entered a period of dramatic reconfigurations. In the 1990s, these countries abolished socialism and set on the path toward capitalism with democratic governments and free markets. The installation of market rules and pluralistic democracy began to change social practices of individuals, households, firms, organizations, and governments leading to the development of new social processes reshaping social structures that have been for decades moulded by the socialist regime. The social changes

became imprinted in urban landscapes bringing dynamic sociospatial reorganization of former socialist cities. Urban environments formed under the socialist system have been adapting to the new circumstances generated by the political, economic, social, and cultural changes associated with the transition to capitalist market economy and democratic political regimes (Enyedi, 1998; Hamilton et al., 2005; Tsenkova and Nedović-Budić, 2006; Stanilov, 2007).

In the 1990s, former socialist countries abolished socialism and set on the path toward the establishment of capitalism with democratic governments and free markets. The process of societal change is generally referred to as the postsocialist transition. The term transition has been initially associated with the neoliberal agenda of shock therapy, based on the radical replacement of the basic political and economic institutions of socialism with democratic and market arrangements. However, a number of experts have responded to the visions and rhetoric of neoliberal designers of the transition pointing to path dependencies and impacts of socialist legacies (Nielsen et al., 1995; Pickles and Smith, 1998). Using the term transformation they accentuated continuities and highlighted the hybrid nature of postcommunist realities with respect to the recombination of socialist and capitalist elements as constituents of the new postcommunist society (Stark, 1996). This body of work has contributed to the realization that postcommunist transition is not a simple replacement of one social system with another, and that real-life transformations include not only new social forms but also a recombination of new and old elements. The postsocialist transition is now commonly understood as a broad, complex, and a lengthy process of social change (Herrschel, 2007).

The radical change in the political and economic setup has stimulated transformations in virtually all spheres of societal development with its imprint into changing urban structures. The notion of postsocialist city has provided an umbrella concept for insights into urban restructuring stimulated by the government reforms of the 1990s. Two decades since the collapse of former Communist regimes, the relevance of postsocialism began to be put into question. However, while systemic institutional transformation may be over, postcommunist cities are still very much undergoing transformations in their built environment, land-use, and sociospatial patterns (Sýkora and Bouzarovski, 2012). The issue is whether the processes of urban change, such as gentrification or suburban sprawl are new forms of neighborhood change and city development under capitalism or whether they are related to the adjustments of inherited socialist urban legacies to new societal conditions. As the development of these processes is stimulated by structural deficiencies produced under socialism that has sprung up with the establishment of capitalist market economy, they should be interpreted as an integral part of the overall postsocialist transformations.

Transformations take place at many levels and include processes occurring at different speeds (Sýkora and Bouzarovski, 2012). While the systemic institutional transformations have been relatively fast, the pace of changes in social practices has been much slower. The complex environmental systems of cities and urban regions, which embody not only social institutions and practices but also physical artifacts,

have the longest time-span of change and persistence. Distinguishing three levels of postcommunist transition: "i) the institutional transformations that created a general societal framework for transition, ii) transformations of the social, economic, cultural and political practices exhibited in the everyday life of people, firms and institutions and resulting in social restructuring, and iii) the transformation dynamics of urban change"; [Sýkora and Bouzarovski \(2012\)](#) argue that: "The key aspect for understanding post-communist urban change is the distinction between the short-term period when the basic principles of political and economic organization are changed, the medium-term period when peoples' behaviors, habits and cultural norms are adopted to a new environment and transformations in a number of spheres and begin to effect broader societal change, and the long-term period in which more stable patterns of urban morphology, land use and residential segregation are reshaped."

In the first years of the transition, the leading force of transformations was played out by systemic government-controlled reforms that aimed to establish a capitalist system based on a pluralist democracy and a market economy, and to integrate socialist countries into global capitalist economy. The establishment of democratic political system with free elections and the plurality of political forces was followed with economic reforms aimed at the introduction of market system through the privatization of state assets, the liberalization of prices and free foreign trade relations. These reforms were necessary preconditions for other societal transformations to take place through the changing practices of firms and people in turn reflected in changing economic, social, and cultural environments. Urban change has been especially influenced by internationalization and globalization, economic restructuring in terms of deindustrialization and the growth of producer services, increasing social differentiation, new modes of post-modern culture, and neoliberal political practices ([Sýkora, 1994; Stanilov, 2007](#)).

International companies and foreign direct investments became leading agents in reshaping local economies and urban geographies. Foreign investment in real estate reflected the demand for space generated by international firms in producer and consumer services as well as in industrial production and started radically reshape urban landscapes and skylines. Foreign managers and high-salary employees as well as low-paid immigrant workers formed new mutually polarizing segments of population on the housing market. Deindustrialization, which presented the downward side of economic restructuring, has been in many places counterbalanced by the growth of new industries and consumer services. However, both offering mostly low paid-jobs. Only major urban centers, usually capital cities, benefited from the growth in advanced producer services. Economic change mediated through labor markets was expressed in increasing wage and income disparities that contributed to social polarization among households, formation of new sociospatial formations, and increasing territorial disparities. Social inequality and conflicts appeared in initially, socially, and ethnically homogenous urban societies.

New conditions allowed for the development of a greater plurality of values, with particularly strong tendency toward individualism and promotion of self-interests. This impacted not only rapid decline of family formation leading to aging

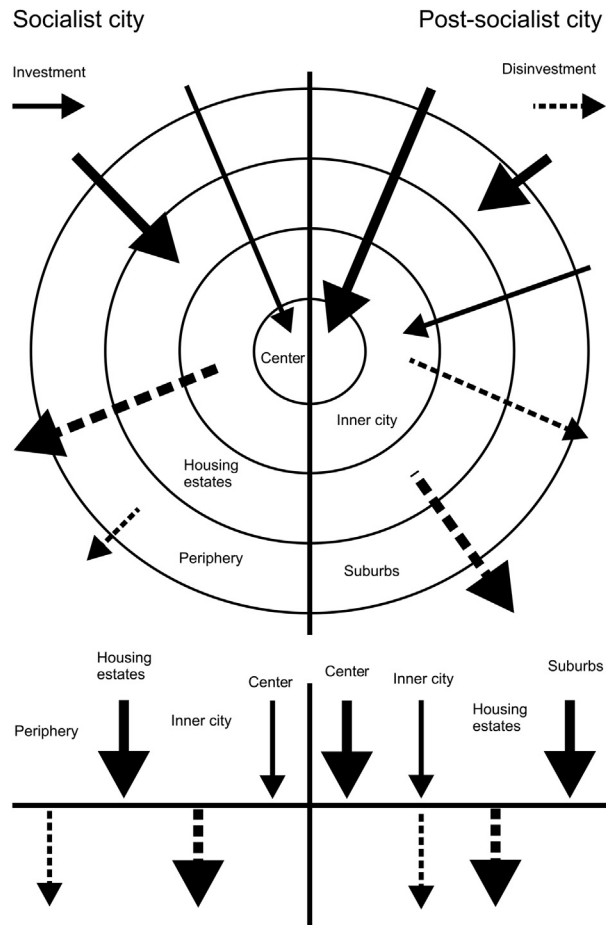
urban populations but especially rapid proliferation of consumption oriented life style. National and urban governments often pursued political strategies grounded in a neoliberal discourse, which saw free, unregulated market as the mechanism of allocation of resources that would generate a wealthy, economically efficient, and socially just society. While the state was perceived as the root of principal harms to the economy and society, urban transformations have often been left to the operation of free market partially bound within the framework of traditional rigid physical planning instruments. In such constellation, powerful investors have often steered politicians and planners to facilitate urban development in a manner favorable to capital ([Altrock et al., 2006; Horák, 2007](#)).

In postsocialist cities, the urban environments inherited from socialist era, have been adapted to the new conditions created by government reforms and ensuing economic, social, and cultural transformations. With the introduction of capitalist urban economy, the contradictions between capitalist rules of the game and socialist urban environment led to the restructuring of the socialist urban features and structures and the formation of new capitalist urban landscapes. Most urban growth and change concentrated in city centers, selected inner city nodes and areas, and in rapidly expanding suburban zone ([Figure 1](#)).

First years of transition were characterized by the rapid commercialization and physical regeneration of expanding city centers accompanied by the decline of residential functions, densification of land uses, traffic congestion, and conflicts with historical heritage. In the course of time, urban change spread to inner city areas, which have been affected by both growth and decline. Deindustrialization left behind extensive brown-fields, which presents not only the threat of decline but also potential for redevelopment. Urban restructuring was driven by the replacement of inherited land uses with new and economically more efficient activities. In major cities, new commercial growth concentrated in out-of-centre office clusters and retail and entertainment complexes. Besides the formation of new secondary commercial nodes and ribbon development areas along highways, waterfronts received particular attention of development industry.

The shifting housing preferences placed many socialist housing estates and some older presocialist neighborhoods on downwards spiral. On the other hand side, gentrification began to bring some inner city quarter to their former glory and prestige. Together with newly constructed condominium districts and gated residential areas reflected desires of new middle classes to live apart. Considering the formation of immigrant enclaves and ghettoization of Roma and socially vulnerable populations in housing estates in declining old industrial cities, the new residential landscapes began to exhibit bold segmentation in housing supply and evolving segregation processes. With the increase in personal wealth of population, people started to move to urban hinterlands to fulfill their dreams of single family home. Sprawling residential districts have been accompanied with big-box retailing, warehousing, and industrial districts located along highways and on their major intersection. Suburbanization has become the most dynamic process changing the landscapes of postsocialist city regions ([Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014](#)).





**Figure 1** The pattern of investment and disinvestment in socialist and postsocialist city. Source: Šykora, L., 2009. Postsocialist cities. In: Kitchin, R., Thrift, N. (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 387–395.

### Global Capitalism, Socialist Legacies and Challenges of Postsocialist Urbanization

One of the key debates in postsocialist urban studies has been evolving about the issue of interaction between socialist legacies and neoliberal capitalism. Gentile et al. (2012) coin the term heteropolitization referring to increasing internal urban complexity and heterogeneity of postsocialist city characterized with the simultaneous emergence of new social and spatial patterns in an environment, where powerful legacies preserve the patterns inherited from the previous era" (Gentile et al., 2012: p. 297). Golubchikov et al. (2013) emphasize the "mutual embeddedness of the legacies of socialism and the workings of neoliberal capitalism that jointly produce ... the hybrid spatialities of transition" (Golubchikov et al., 2013: p. 618). They go in their argument even further speaking about "the subsumption of the inherited systems into the very logic of capitalist and neoliberal relationships, so that, while capitalist practice feeds on the legacies of state socialism, it also alienates them from their history to make them the infrastructure, and

often the agency, for its own expansion" (Golubchikov et al., 2013: 630).

The postsocialist developments bring the re-emergence of some presocialist patterns, transformations in some areas from socialist times and creation of new postsocialist urban landscapes. While the present urban patterns can be interpreted as hybrid (Gentile et al., 2012), in the course of time, new capitalist urban developments will be gaining even more important role in the overall urban organization. Postsocialist city shall be seen as a temporary phenomenon existing in the time-period between the institutional reload through the replacement of the socialist with the capitalist rules of the game and the completion of corresponding transformations in urban built and social environments (Šykora, 2009). While many features resembling socialism will certainly remain present even in distant future, the essence of daily urban life and city operation will be capitalist.

The dynamic development of suburbanization, a boom of gated communities and gentrification of inner city quarters, the emergence of socially excluded localities and enclaves of immigrants, the establishment of office parks and shopping districts, all are linked with the expansion of capitalism to former second world countries. These similar forms of urban developments, nowadays observable across the globe, are the results of the social practices of firms, households, and governments under the political, economic, and cultural conditions of globally spreading capitalism. Global capitalism has been the most powerful agent in the spread of similar urbanization trends and features across the former socialist countries of Europe, as well as in many other regions around the world. The impact of global capitalist forces on postsocialist urban change is, nevertheless, far from uniform. While the global capitalist system embraces nearly the whole planet, individual countries, regions, cities, and neighborhoods are integrated into it in a highly uneven manner. In postsocialist countries, the legacies of socialism, the character of new capitalist institutional setup, the size and attractiveness of market, etc. produce internally differentiating local outcomes of global capitalism.

The most distinguishing feature of local postsocialist urban restructuring under the imperative of global capitalism is the spatial selectivity of investments and territorially uneven growth. The desire of capital to utilize profit opportunities has not been counterbalanced by public sector striving for more socially and territorially balanced development. The urban development in the postsocialist cities has been managed through a mixture of free market practices of private firms struggling for their share of newly emerging markets and a highly decentralized, locally based, and regionally uncoordinated system of land development in city regions.

Rapidly developing suburban sprawl and residential segregation are two key processes of uneven development in postsocialist cities, symptomatic features of global urbanism spreading across former socialist countries and, at the same time, major challenges for public policies. Residential and commercial activities have decentralized into cities' hinterlands and radically transformed the compact physical morphology of the former socialist city. The dynamics of population and job growth in new suburbs has been remarkable bringing city regions in postsocialist countries among the most sprawling

areas in Europe (EEA, 2006). Suburbanization has increased the range of housing options for the middle and upper income households and brought employment and shopping opportunities closer to residents living in the hinterland of cities. At the same time, sprawl, which has become the typical form of postsocialist metropolitan growth, has undermined the prospect of achieving smart, inclusive, and sustainable development. Suburban growth is rarely recognized as an integral component of the overall process of metropolitan development, leaving it to the decisions of numerous suburban municipalities competing for their stake in the circuits of real estate investments and population flows.

The simultaneous growth of gated communities, gentrified areas, and suburbs of wealthy on the one hand side, and the degradation of some housing estates, formation of socially excluded localities, and spatial concentrations of immigrant workers, reflect tendencies toward segregation and the emergence of sociospatially polarized city (Hirt, 2012). Surprisingly, the level of sociospatial inequality has not increased during the first decades of capitalism (Marcinczak et al., 2013). While inner city gentrification and suburbanization of middle class is lifting up these residential zones from below average social status, socialist housing estates that under socialism concentrated younger and better-educated population are declining from their better-off position toward city average. The simultaneous operation of segregation processes and decline in sociospatial disparities is a temporary paradox of postsocialist transformation. In the course of time, the capitalist urban economy accompanied with neoliberal practices of urban development will strengthen and expand the new localities that concentrate populations from the opposite sides of social spectrum and capitalist segregation will definitely erase socialist legacies.

The emerging social urban problems call for the reconsideration of urban and regional planning, policies, and practices pursued since the early 1990s. The postsocialist governments placed high priority on individual choice, economic freedom, and private property rights, without recognizing that urban development is not just a matter of personal but of societal choice. Fighting suburban sprawl and residential segregation requires the coordination of urban development at the metropolitan level and in interscalar coordination with national and local governments. However, the stronger role of governments in social and territorial development has been resisted.

## Conclusions

Postsocialist cities are cities under transformation. Urban landscapes formed under socialism are being adapted and remodeled to new conditions shaped by the political, economic, and cultural transition to capitalism. The development of cities in former socialist countries is now largely governed by market forces and democratically elected governments. However, the reorganization of urban landscapes in postsocialist cities that began with the reforms of the 1990s has not been completed yet. "Their defining feature remains the incessant and relentless process of structural transformation

that has started to unfold since the end of communism" (Sýkora and Bouzarovski, 2012: p. 44).

Even though the series of political and economic transformations is already two decades old, the postsocialist transition is a project still not finished. At present, sprawl and segregation dramatically reconfigure urban landscapes. These urban developments can be seen as outcomes of present day choices that will impact the development of society for decades to come. Postsocialist societies are still facing critical junctures. Unfortunately, negligible attention is given to the anticipation of future developments, their critical evaluation, and the discussion of alternative development paths. Postsocialist developments can lead to the formation of new path-dependent lock-ins that these societies will later regret (Sýkora, 2008). They can learn from analogical developments and alternatives known from other countries and pay attention to the problematic developments that may be avoided if alternative development paths are taken sooner rather than later.

**See also:** Cities: Internal Structure; Gated Communities; Gentrification; Planning During Post-Socialism; Suburbanization and Suburbanism; Urban Neoliberalism; Urban Policy in Europe; Urban Sprawl.

## Bibliography

- Altrock, U., Günter, S., Huning, S., Peters, D. (Eds.), 2006. *Spatial Planning and Urban Development in the New EU Member States: From Adjustment to Reinvention*. Ashgate.
- Andrusz, G., 2001. Cities: post-socialist. In: *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Science*. Elsevier Science Ltd, pp. 1835–1840.
- Enyedi, G., 1996. Urbanization under socialism. In: Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szelenyi, I. (Eds.), *Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 100–118.
- Enyedi, G. (Ed.), 1998. *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- European Environment Agency (EEA), 2006. *Urban Sprawl in Europe: The Ignored Challenge*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.
- French, R.A., Hamilton, F.E.I. (Eds.), 1979. *The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy*. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.
- Gentile, M., Tammaru, T., van Kempen, R., 2012. Heteropolitization: social and spatial change in Central and East European Cities. *Cities* 29 (5), 291–299.
- Golubchikov, O., Badyina, A., Makhrova, A., 2013. The hybrid spatialities of transition: capitalism, legacy and uneven urban economic restructuring. *Urban Studies* 51 (4), 617–633.
- Hamilton, F.E.I., Dimitrowska-Andrews, K., Pichler-Milanović, N. (Eds.), 2005. *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo.
- Herrschel, T., 2007. Between difference and adjustment – the re-/presentation and implementation of post-socialist (communist) transformation. *Geoforum* 38 (3), 439–444.
- Hirt, S.A., 2012. *Iron Curtains. Gates, Suburbs and Privatization of Space in the Post-socialist City*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester.
- Hirt, S., 2013. Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city? *Cities* 32 (Suppl. 1), 29–38.
- Horák, M., 2007. *Governing the Post-communist City: Institutions and Democratic Development in Prague*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Marcinczak, S., Gentile, M., Stepniak, M., 2013. Paradoxes of (post)socialist segregation: metropolitan sociospatial divisions under and after socialism in Poland. *Urban Geography* 34 (3), 327–352.
- Murray, P., Szelenyi, I., 1984. The city in the transition to socialism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8 (1), 90–107.
- Musil, J., 1980. *Urbanization in Socialist Countries*. M.E. Sharpe, New York.

- Musil, J., 1987. Housing policy and the sociospatial structure of cities in a socialist country: the example of Prague. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 11 (1), 27–36.
- Nielsen, K., Jessop, B., Hausner, J., 1995. Institutional change in post-socialism. In: Hausner, J., Jessop, B., Nielsen, K. (Eds.), *Strategic Choice and Path Dependency in Post Socialism: Institutional Dynamics in the Transformation Process*. Edward Elgar, Aldershot, pp. 3–44.
- Pickles, J., Smith, A. (Eds.), 1998. *Theorising Transition: The Political Economy of Post-communist Transformations*. Routledge, London.
- Smith, D.M., 1996. The socialist city. In: Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szelenyi, I. (Eds.), *Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 70–99.
- Stanilov, K. (Ed.), 2007. *The Post-socialist City: Restructuring of Urban Form and Space in Central and Eastern Europe after Communism*. Springer.
- Stanilov, K., Sýkora, L. (Eds.), 2014. *Confronting Suburbanization: Urban Decentralization in Post-Socialist Central and Eastern Europe*. Studies in Urban and Social Change. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Stark, D., 1996. Recombinant property in East European capitalism. *American Journal of Sociology* 101 (4), 993–1027.
- Sýkora, L., 1994. Local urban restructuring as a mirror of globalisation processes: Prague in the 1990s. *Urban Studies* 31 (7), 1149–1166.
- Sýkora, L., 2008. Revolutionary change, evolutionary adaptation and new path dependencies: socialism, capitalism and transformations in urban spatial organisations. In: Strubelt, W., Gorzelak, G. (Eds.), *City and Region: Papers in Honour of Jiří Musil*. Budrich UniPress, Leverkusen Opladen, pp. 283–295.
- Sýkora, L., 2009. Post-socialist cities. In: Kitchin, R., Thrift, N. (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 387–395.
- Sýkora, L., Bouzarovski, S., 2012. Multiple transformations: conceptualising post-communist urban transition. *Urban Studies* 49 (1), 41–58.
- Szelenyi, I., 1983. *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Szelenyi, I., 1996. Cities under socialism and after. In: Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szelenyi, I. (Eds.), *Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 287–317.
- Tosics, I., 2005. Post-socialist Budapest: the invasion of market forces and the response of public leadership. In: Hamilton, F.E.I., Dimitrowska Andrews, K., Pichler-Milanović, N. (Eds.), *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, pp. 248–280.
- Tsenkova, S., Nedović-Budić, Z. (Eds.), 2006. *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe: Space. Institutions and Policy*. Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg.