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KAZALO - CONTENTS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION OF SLOVENIAN CITIES IN THE FIRST DECADE OF 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

Demographic characteristics of population of Slovenian cities in the first decade of 21st century

We analyzed available statistical data to establish present demographic characteristics of the population of Slovenian cities and their recent changes. According to the statistical definition of cities the share of urban population in Slovenia represents half of its total population. The number of population in Slovenian cities is generally decreasing or stagnating, the coefficient of masculinity was growing in the last decade, but not much more than in Slovenia in general, the ageing of population was also a bit faster in urban areas and their ageing index is considerably higher than the Slovenian average. Urban areas also had a considerably larger share of immigrants from abroad in comparison with the national average while employed and unemployed persons were relatively equally distributed among urban and other areas. The level of education was considerably above the national average. We also compared natural growth data which showed that urban areas in 2002 experienced the decrease that was below national average and the increase in 2011 that was also lower than in Slovenia in general.

Key words

Slovenian cities, demography

Uredništvo je članek prejelo 16.11.2012

1. Introduction

Population of Slovenian cities and its demographic characteristics have not been a research topic in Slovenian geography for quite some time. There were some studies about Slovenian cities that had to take into consideration some basic demographic data and some that are taking into consideration only Ljubljana or Maribor (Rebernik 2000; 2005; Dolenc 2000; Počkaj Horvat 1997; Pak 1994), but Slovenian urban population itself was seldom if ever the main subject of the study at least not since the 1st Slovenian demographic symposium where Vrišer discussed "the populational development of Slovenian cities" (Vrišer 1974). This paper therefore tends to fill up this gap at least for the period of the first decade of the 21st century.

The task is not easy at all. The first problem we face is the definition of urban population and we could easily devote the whole paper to this question alone. However, no matter how important this question is, that was not our aim. Therefore we simply used the statistical definition from 2003 (Pavlin 2003) with all of its deficiencies. That also has a practical reason. The statistical office of the Republic of Slovenia publishes the data about urban population aggregated according to the above mentioned definition of so called urban areas. There are 104 such areas with 156 settlements included. Maribor urban area consists of Maribor and 21 adjacent settlements, while Ljubljana urban area encompasses only 3 adjacent settlements. The vast majority of urban areas are in fact single cities and their main characteristic is that they are small and their urban character is dubious.

Tab. 1: Number of settlements in urban areas as defined by Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (Pavlin 2003).

Settlements within urban area	Number of urban areas	Total number of settlements
1 settlement	86	86
2 settlements	10	20
3 settlements	1	3
4 settlements	5	20
5 settlements	1	5
22 settlements	1	22
Total	104	156

Slovenia with roughly 2 million of inhabitants cannot have large cities. Otherwise it would have to have only few cities and extremely high level of urbanization. That is not the case. Slovenia has about 6.000 settlements, most of them with very low numbers of inhabitants and we can state something similar for the urban areas as defined by Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia. Even Slovenian capital Ljubljana with a bit more than a quarter of a million inhabitants cannot be considered a big city. Other cities or, to use statistical definition, urban areas are even smaller. Even according to the rank size rule most of them are well above the line of this rule (Fig. 1). The numbers of inhabitants fall under 50.000 already at the 3rd ranked urban area, under 30.000 at the 5th and under 20.000 at the 8th. Only 18 urban areas had more than 10.000 inhabitants in 2011 (1st January). Most of our analysis includes this group of urban areas as they can undoubtedly be considered

as urban while the rest of them are due to low numbers of inhabitants less appropriate for demographic analysis and many of them also lack urban character.

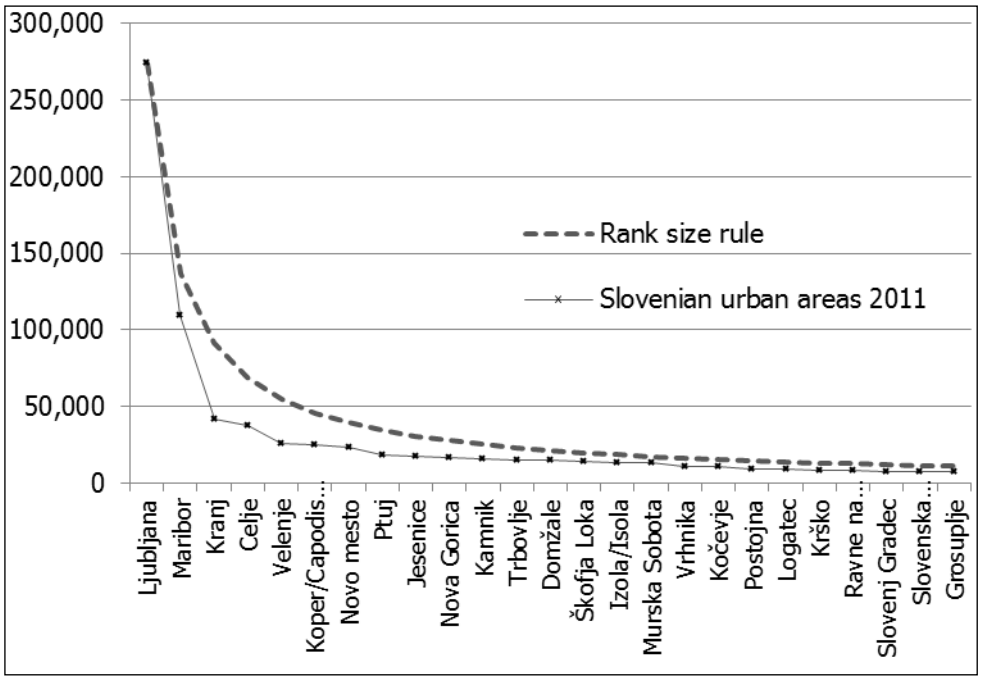

Fig. 1: Population of Slovenian urban areas in 2011 and the line of Rank size rule according to the size of Ljubljana (only 25 largest urban areas are shown on the graph).

In our analysis we used the data of Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SI-STAT Data Portal, data provided by D. Dolenc).

We expected that the population of Slovenian urban areas is older than the national average and that the major cities are losing population due to suburbanization (emigration of urban population to suburban and rural areas within commuting distance from the central city). We also expected that the population is better educated while considering employment and unemployment that there are considerable differences among more and less economically prosperous urban areas.

2. Growth of urban population and urban areas

At the beginning of the nineties in the past century the growth of Slovenian cities already stopped (Jakoš 1993). And before that since sixties they had grown mainly because of immigration from other Yugoslav republics. At the beginning of the new millennium the total number of urban population was slightly decreasing while at the same time the number of population in Slovenia moderately grew.

The period 2003-2011 includes a break in the series due to the introduction of the new statistical definition of population, harmonized with the definition of population and migrants in the Regulation on Community Statistics on Migration and

International Protection (Methodological explanation of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia). For data after January 1st, 2008 the same criteria are applied for citizens of the Republic of Slovenia and for foreigners in preparing statistics on the number of population. The basis of the concept is the so-called usual residence, which in the case of Slovenia includes permanent or temporary residence (one year). The foreigners according to this new definition became inhabitants of Slovenian settlements and most of them lived in the cities. We can therefore observe a sudden leap in growth of urban population in 2008 (Fig. 2). Population of urban areas continued to grow in the following years, but in 2011 the number was lower again than in 2010. Both largest cities/urban areas were losing population before the break in the series. After the leap in 2008 Ljubljana continued to grow, but less and less from year to year while Maribor grew only one year after 2008 and in 2010 and 2011 was again faced with a slight decrease.

There were considerable differences among other urban areas. There were 7 with constant decrease (Ptuj, Trbovlje, Murska Sobota, Ravne na Koroškem, Zagorje ob Savi, Sevnica and Lendava) and 5 with constant growth (Postojna, Slovenska Bistrica, Grosuplje, Brezovica pri Ljubljani and Ivančna Gorica).

How different the urban areas are is best shown with the fact that in 2008 (break in the series) only 35 of them increased in the number of inhabitants while the rest 69 were faced with a decrease. Nevertheless the total number of urban population in that year went up by almost 50.000 due to urban areas with a higher number of foreigners such as Celje, Velenje, Koper, Izola, Novo mesto. Because of its size Ljubljana's number of inhabitants jumped up by more than 14.000. Sežana (13,7 %) had the highest relative change, a city with a lot of construction workers at that time.

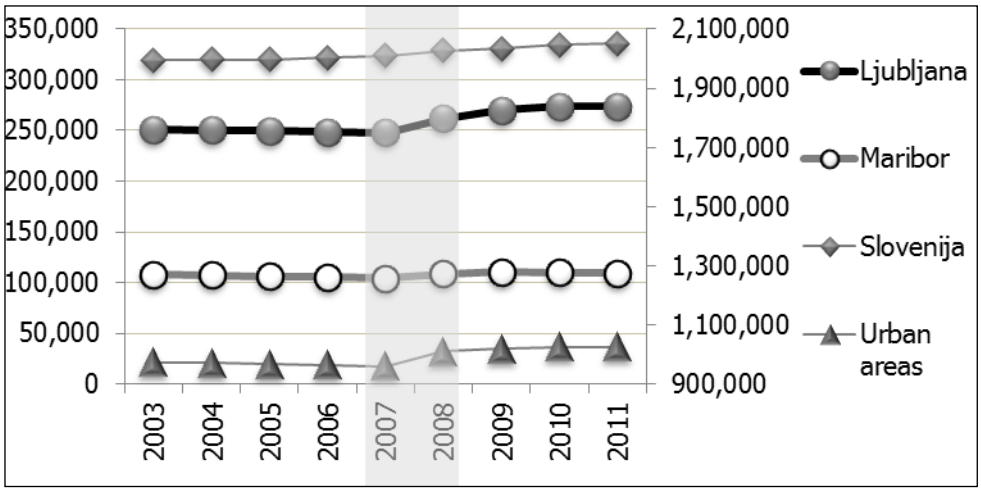

Fig. 2: Changes in the number of inhabitants in the period 2003-2011 in Slovenia, urban areas, Ljubljana and Maribor (break in series because of the new statistical definition of population is marked grey; left scale for Ljubljana and Maribor, right scale for Slovenia and Urban areas).

Among 18 urban areas with more than 10.000 inhabitants in 2011 only 8 had a higher share of total urban population in 2011 than in 2003 and 10 of them lower. Ljubljana increased its share from 25,8 % to 26,7 %. The growth was mainly reserved for urban areas in central Slovenia around Ljubljana, but not at all exclusively, there were also some urban areas with considerable positive change in the number of inhabitants in other parts of Slovenia. On the other side the top loser among the above mentioned 18 urban areas is Murska Sobota, the center of a less developed Slovenian region Prekmurje, followed by Trbovlje, the center of Zasavje, the region economically depressed because of a coal mining decline.

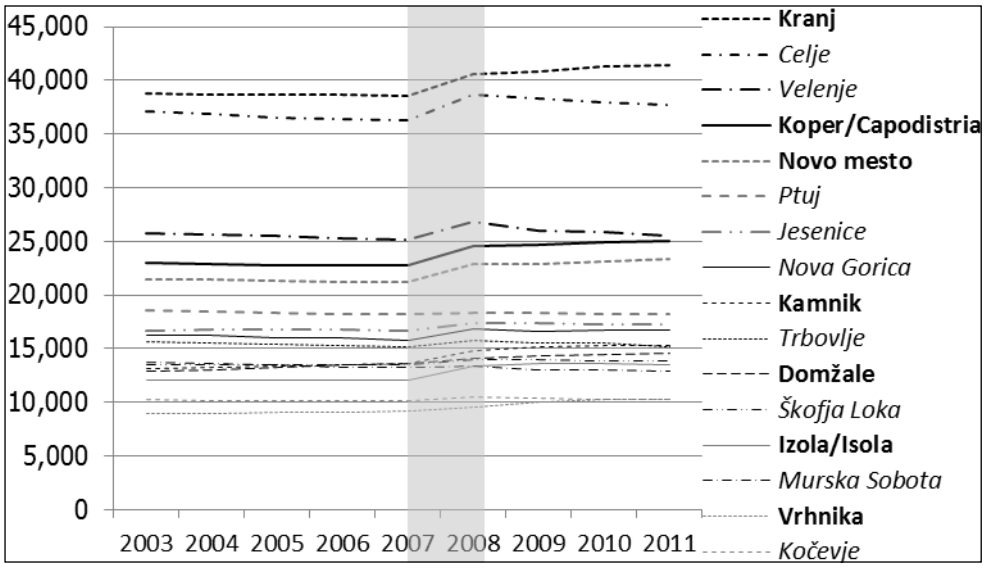

Fig. 3: Changes in the number of inhabitants in the period 2003-2011 in 16 urban areas (break in series because of the new statistical definition of population is marked grey; urban areas with the higher share of total urban population at the end of period – bold, with lower share – italic).

3. Population of Slovenian urban areas by age and sex

As expected the population of urban areas in average is older than in other settlements. Ageing index went up considerably in the 9 year period 2002-2011 (census years). Urban areas average grew more (for 26,7) than the national one (for 22,4). There are of course important differences among different urban areas. Considering the 18 largest, 8 of them had ageing index below the national average. Ljubljana's satelite cities Domžale, Kamnik and Vrhnika even below 100.

The worst ratio between the old and the young population in 2002 as well as in 2011 was in Maribor with ageing indexes 141,7 and 174,7 among 18 largest urban areas and in Portorož (169,6 and 228,1) among all urban areas.

We analyzed the distribution of 3 basic age groups of urban population among urban areas by computing locational quotients and coefficients of localization. Coefficient of localization 0 means equal distribution while 1 means total concentration at one single location. In our case the coefficient of localization of the young population of

1 would mean that all 0-14 years old urban residents live in one single urban area while all the other urban areas should have only population older than 14 years. Of course that is not possible and in our case the coefficients of localization for all 3 age groups were close to 0. The age group of the population from 15 to 64 years was the most equally distributed among all urban areas and had coefficients of localization only slightly above 0 (0,01) for both years. Old population on the other hand was the most unevenly distributed, but still with a coefficient of localization 0,06 in 2002 and 0,04 in 2011 which is the same as the values of this coefficient for young population in both years.

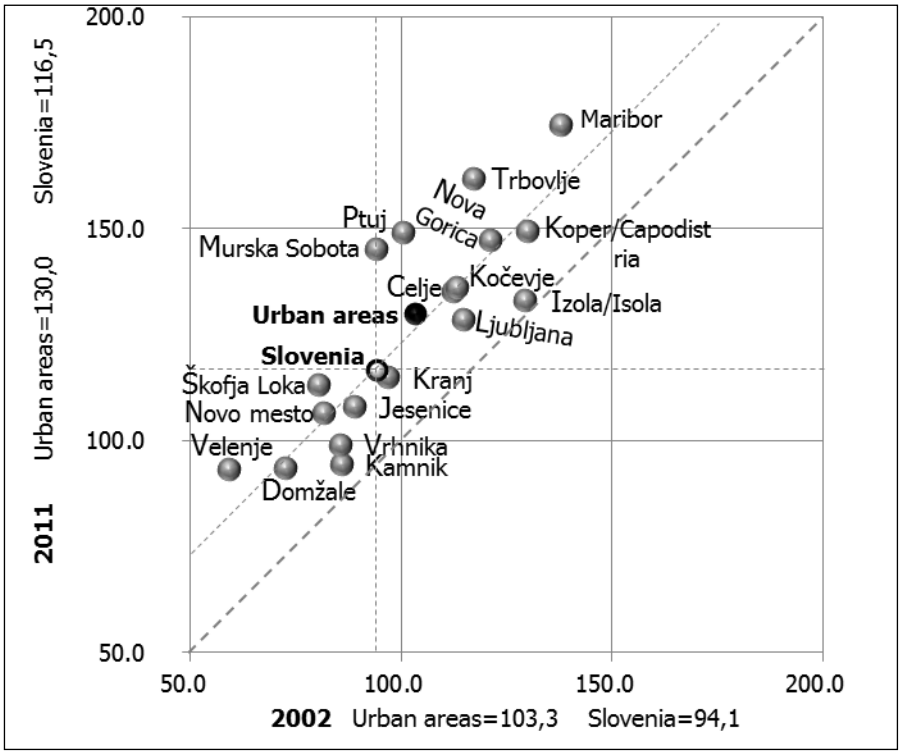

Fig. 4: Index of ageing for 18 largest Slovenian urban areas in 2002 and 2011. Locational quotients were computed for every single urban area. The value 1,00 indicates that the share of an age group of certain urban area in all the urban population of that age is equal to the share of the urban area's population in total urban population. Value above 1,00 indicates an above average share and a value below 1,00 a below average share.

In 2002 locational quotients for young population ranged from 0,80 (Spodnje Hoče) to 1,44 (Ribnica) with a standard deviation of 0,10. At the lower extreme there was almost every littoral urban area (Portorož, Lucija, Koper Izola – all below 0,90). Urban areas with high locational quotients were mainly smaller industrial centers, some from the Ljubljana urban region (Brezovica pri Ljubljani, Mengeš) and some from other parts of Slovenia (Logatec, Železniki, Žiri etc.). In 2011 the quotients ranged from 0,69 (Portorož) to 1,36 (Vipava). Beside Portorož which became the urban area with absolutely the lowest locational quotient for young population, two

more urban areas from the same municipality were close to the lowest extreme (Piran and Lucija) and 3 others from this group were Bovec, a remote town in the Soča valley in the northwestern Alpine borderland, while Lendava and Radenci are from the opposite side of the country (Pomurje region at the extreme north-east). High above average share of young population in both years had Brezovica pri Ljubljani and Logatec, while Trzin (also a neighbouring town of Ljubljana) and Naklo as well as Vipava had the highest values in 2011.

For 2011 we classified all urban areas into several groups according to their locational quotients, for all 3 age groups. The first group was the group of urban areas with a relative concentration of young population. Locational quotients for young population of these urban areas were more than one standard deviation above 1,00. It encompassed 11 urban areas and most of them were satelite cities/towns of Ljubljana (Domžale, Grosuplje, Kamnik, Mengeš, Trzin, Vir, Vrhnika). Even the majority of the rest are urban areas located in the commuting distance from Ljubljana (Novo mesto, Železniki, Žiri, Slovenska Bistrica).

Next is a group of urban areas with relative concentration of young and deconcentration of old population (Brezovica pri Ljubljani, Logatec, Šenčur, Vipava and Zreče). Again the first 3 are located in near vicinity of Ljubljana (less than half an hour driving distance).

Another group worth mentioning is the one with more unfavourable characteristics. It is the group with a relative deconcentration of young population and it consists of 9 urban areas. Bovec, Kranjska Gora, Maribor and Trbovlje all have only considerable a below average share of young population while Lucija/Lucia and Piran/Pirano also have a considerable above average share of population aged 15 to 65. Ilirska Bistrica, Lendava/Lendva and Portorož/Portorose form another subgroup with a considerable above average share of old population.

Relative concentration of old population is significant for Štore and Tolmin with a considerable above average share of old population while Radenci beside that also have a considerable below shares of young and 15 to 64 years aged population.

Relative concentration of 15 to 64 years old population can be observed in 10 settlements, most of them also have a considerable below average share of old population. The largest urban area in this group is Velenje.

Relative deconcentration of 15 to 64 years old population was present in a group of 14 urban areas. Again most of them also had relative concentration of old population at the same time. They were located in all parts of the country and no larger urban area was a part of this group.

The group with moderate concentration or deconcentration consists of 47 urban areas and is further divided into 6 subgroups. Most of the largest urban areas (11) were in this group (Ljubljana, Kranj, Celje etc.).

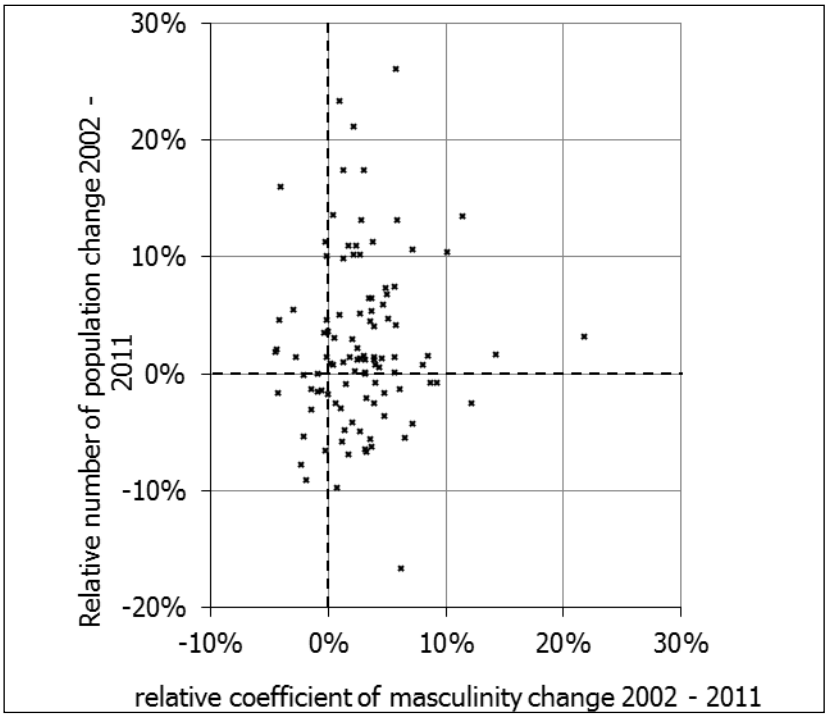

Fig. 5: Relative change of the coefficient of masculinity and number of population in the period 2002 to 2011 in 104 urban areas.

Sex ratio of Slovenian urban population was analyzed by the computation of the coefficient of masculinity (the ratio between the number of men and the number of women multiplied by 1000). In 2002 this coefficient was 925 for urban population and 957 for Slovenian population in general. In the period 2002 to 2011 the coefficient of masculinity grew as age specific mortality for men decreased more in all 5 year age groups than age specific mortality for women (Life expectancy at birth in Slovenia grew by 5.5% for men and only for 3.2% for women). The growth of coefficient of masculinity was higher in urban areas than in general so in 2011 it was 951 in urban areas while national average was 980 men per 1000 women.

As shown on Fig. 5 vast majority of all urban areas experienced the growth of the coefficient of masculinity (80) and also major part of them grew in terms of the number of population (66). The cross at the extreme right of the graph represents a rather small industrial town Šoštanj with 22% growth of the coefficient of masculinity (from 952 to 1159). This must be the consequence of a new statistical definition of population. The number of population in this town with a stagnating number of inhabitants just a bit above 4000 jumped up by 205 between 2007 and 2008. That means that mainly male (industrial) workers of foreign origin became a part of town's population and therefore radically changed sex ratio. This was also the case in some other urban areas with industry that used workers without Slovenian citizenship (Solkan, Trebnje etc.).

4. Natural increase / decrease of Slovenian urban population

In 2002 Slovenian urban areas had birth and death rates above national average. In that year Slovenia was experiencing a period of negative natural growth (decrease) as death rate was higher than birth rate. Natural decrease at the national level was -0,60 per 1000 while urban areas' natural decrease was -0,28 per 1000 inhabitants. Over the 9 year period birth rates grew and the decrease was substituted with a natural growth of 1,58 per 1000 at national level and 0,91 per 1000 inhabitants for urban population. The death rate in urban areas also grew from a relatively small value of 8,70 to a relatively high 9,49 while death rate for Slovenia in general went down.

Individual values of natural increase for 18 largest Slovenian urban areas are shown in Fig. 6. Average values for whole Slovenian population and urban population are relatively close together while the values of urban areas are quite dispersed around them. At the lowest positions are Trbovlje and Ptuj, both with considerable natural decrease in both years. Maribor, Izola as well as Koper and Nova Gorica are all in a similar situation only their values are closer to zero.

Jesenice and Murska Sobota are also in an unfavourable position. These two urban areas still had a natural increase in 2002, but not any more in 2011.

On the other side the top position is taken by Kamnik followed by the group of urban areas consisting of regional centers Kranj, Novo mesto, Velenje and Ljubljana's neighbors Domžale, Škofja Loka and Vrhnika. Ljubljana itself and Celje as well are on the other hand urban areas that switched from a natural decrease in 2002 to a natural increase in 2011. Their natural growth was above the Slovenian average.

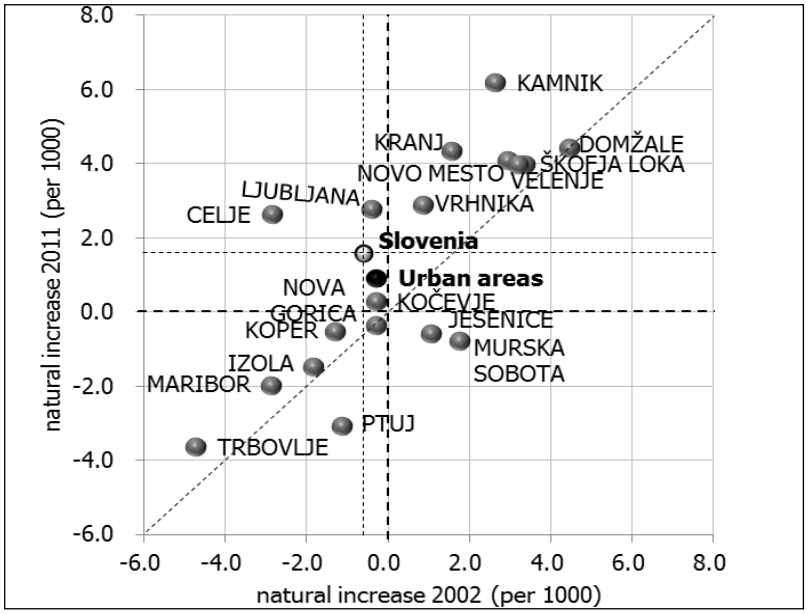

Fig. 6: Birth rates and death rates for 18 largest Slovenian urban areas in 2011.

5. Migrational characteristics of Slovenian urban population

Cities and urban areas should normally have more immigrants than non-urban settlements. In 2002 urban areas in total had only a slightly smaller share of non-migrant population than Slovenia in average. The share of immigrants from other countries was, however considerably above the national average. Considering only the 18 largest urban areas there were some exceptions such as Domžale, Ptuj and Murska Sobota. Littoral cities and mining and industrial center Velenje, as well as Jesenice (city known by its steelwork) all had a lot of inhabitants that immigrated from other countries.

Change from 2002 to 2011 was characterised by the growth of share of foreign immigrants and the decrease of the share of population that lived in the same settlement since birth. Among the 18 largest Trbovlje remained to be the urban area with the highest share of non-migrant population while Domžale and Murska Sobota were urban areas with the lowest share of foreign immigrants.

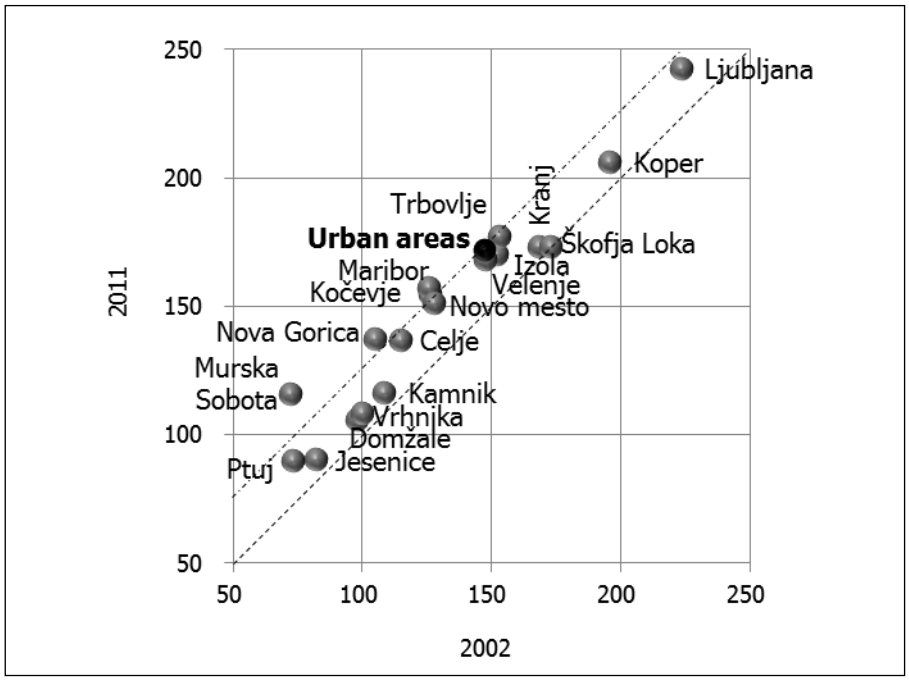

Fig. 7: Immigrants from another statistical region per 1000 in 2002 and 2011.

Considering interregional migrations (Fig. 7) Ljubljana was undoubtedly in "the winning position" while its neighboring urban areas were not having many immigrants from other Slovenian statistical regions. Murska Sobota had the most considerable change from 72 to 116 per 1000 which is still less than half of the Ljubljana's number.

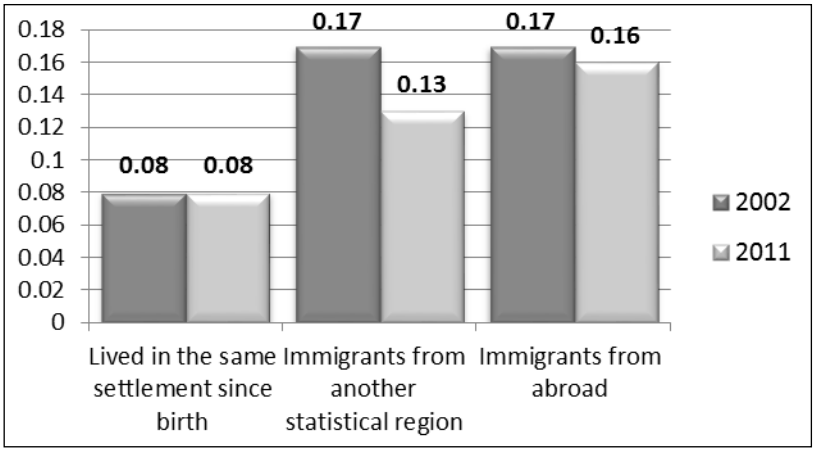

Fig. 8: Coefficients of localization for urban population according to migration status.

Coefficients of localization (Fig. 8) are showing fairly equal dispersion of population that lived in the same place since birth among urban areas (low coefficients). Less equally dispersed are immigrants from abroad as well as immigrants from other statistical regions. Coefficients in 2011 were either lower than or equal to those in 2002. Therefore we cannot claim that the differences among urban areas were growing – obviously they were not.

6. Unemployment and education

In 2011 the rate of employed persons per 1000 inhabitants in urban areas was almost equal to national average (407 and 408) the values for unemployed were also very close together (55 and 53).

As shown on the graph (Fig. 9) old industrial centers Maribor, Kočevje and Trbovlje were characterized by moderate deconcentration of employed persons, while the center of least developed region in Slovenia Murska Sobota as well as an important industrial center Velenje were facing concentration of unemployed. Urban areas with moderate deconcentration of unemployed and moderate concentration of employed persons were mainly from central and western Slovenia. These two groups as well as the group of urban areas with moderate deconcentration of inactive (15 and older) population (3 Ljubljana's satellites) were obviously better economically situated than those from the upper side of the graph. To analyze differences in education we computed the so called "Educational attainment index" as a ratio between the number of persons (15 years and older) with high education and the number of people with basic or no education multiplied by 100. The first thing to be pointed out is a relatively high above national average index of urban areas in total. The level of education in urban areas is therefore still considerably higher than elsewhere, but the growth of index in urban areas in the period 2002-2011 was below the national average. The difference is therefore slowly decreasing.

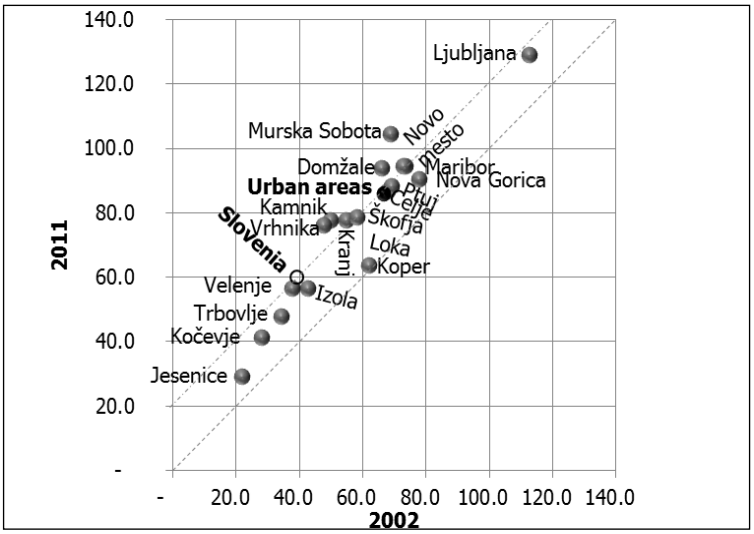

Fig. 9: Unemployed and employed persons per 1000 inhabitants in 18 largest Slovenian urban areas in 2011 grouped according to locational quotients for employed, unemployed and inactive population.

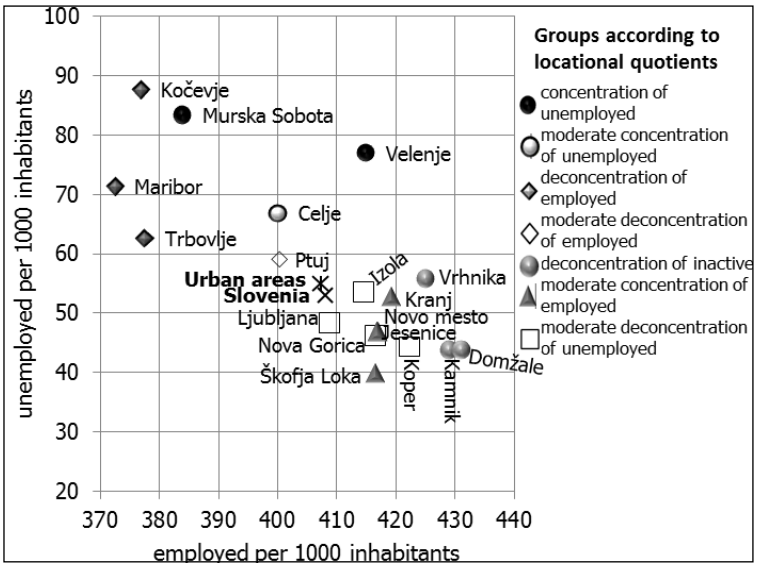

Fig. 10:"Educational attainment index" (ratio between higher and lower educated) for 18 largest Slovenian urban areas in 2002 and 2011.

Trzin had the highest educational attainment index in 2002 as well as in 2011, a small city at the northeast outskirts of Ljubljana with relatively recent urban development with attractive housing in a suburban setting with relatively good accessibility to the center of Ljubljana. In 2002 net migration in this small city was high above all other urban areas (31,9 per 1000) while in 2011 it already had

negative net-migration. Nevertheless it attracted many highly educated and economically well situated residents and remains to be their residential area.

Among the 18 largest Slovenian urban areas, as we can see on the graph (Fig. 10), Ljubljana is positioned high above all others, followed surprisingly by Murska Sobota. Index of this center of least developed Slovenian region grew from 68,8 to 104,5, partly because of the growth of the number of persons with post-secondary education and even more because of decrease of number of persons with basic or no education.

Urban areas below the national average are or were industrial centers with industry largely based on low educated labor force.

We classified all 104 urban areas according to locational quotients for 3 levels of education in 2011 into several groups and the most numerous were the group with deconcentration of persons with higher education (29) and the group with concentration of persons with basic or no education (15). One third of the largest 18 urban areas was also in these two groups that include urban areas with relatively lower educated population. In 2011 40 urban areas had educational attainment index below the national average among them 5 from the group of 18 largest (Fig. 10).

7. Conclusion

We can conclude that the population of Slovenian urban areas in the first decade of 21st century is older than the national average, but the difference is not at all very significant. There are many urban areas with ageing index below the national average even among the 18 largest.

The expected loss of population due to suburbanization is not something that can be generalized for all major urban areas in Slovenia. Some Slovenian cities had a decreasing number of population in the first decade of 21st century, but others did not. For urban areas around Ljubljana (within commuting distance up to 30 or even 45 minutes by car) we can contest that many of them were gaining on behalf of Ljubljana. Ljubljana on the other side gained on behalf of many rural and urban settlements from all over Slovenia and in large part on behalf of international migrations. Its' population grew since 2008 (the new definition of population), not radically, but at least the number of inhabitants stopped decreasing.

Not only in urban areas, but in Slovenia in general, a natural component is a rather unreliable factor of population growth. With ageing population and modern reproduction behavior we cannot expect a high natural increase.

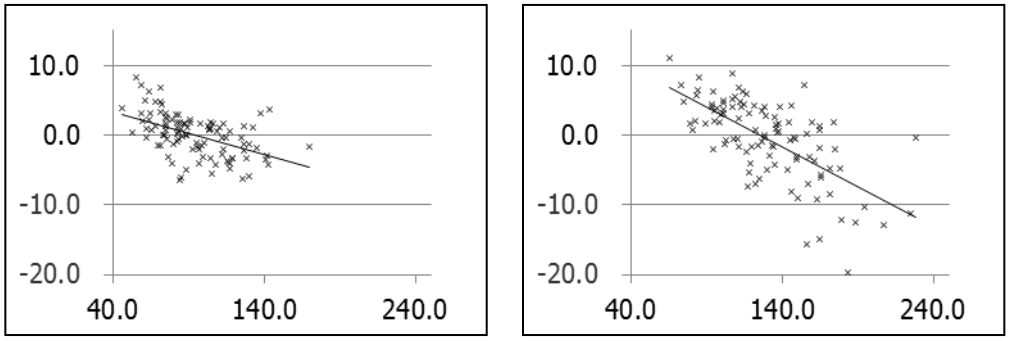

Fig. 11: The distribution of pairs of values for 104 urban areas for ageing index (x) and natural increase per 1000 (y) in 2002 (left) and 2011 (right)

As shown on the graph, the natural increase is in negative correlation with the ageing index. Higher ageing index generally means a smaller increase (or a bigger decrease). The Pearson coefficient of correlation for 2002 was -0,50 and for 2011, the correlation is rather stronger: -0,66. Urban areas with a relatively large share of old population tend to have a natural decrease. However, this is not the case just in the cities, many other settlements have similar problems as average values for urban areas and for Slovenia are not that much apart from each other.

Another important outcome of our investigation is that Slovenian urban areas differ the most from other settlements in Slovenia by their migration characteristics. In 2011 only 6 out of 104 had locational quotient of population that lived in the same settlement since birth above 1 (computed for all population). More than two thirds of all persons that immigrated to their place of residence from another statistical region lived in urban areas and 60% of those that immigrated from a foreign country (50% of total Slovenian population in 2011 lived in urban areas). Considering only urban areas we acknowledged that according to coefficients of localization immigrants from another statistical region and immigrants from foreign countries are the most unevenly distributed among urban areas.

We expected that urban areas would have population with a higher level of education and the data is showing that this really is the case. Actually the 50/50 line is between vocational upper secondary and technical upper secondary education and from there up the share of persons with a certain degree of education that live in urban areas is growing up to ¾ for 3rd cycle of higher education (in 2011).

The employed and unemployed are relatively equally distributed among urban and rural areas, but the distribution of unemployed among different urban areas is relatively uneven (coefficient of localization for 2011: 0,10). Unemployment as expected is not the matter of urban or rural environment. It is more a matter of economic situation in employment centers (usually urban areas). However, due to commuter based working force in Slovenia the consequences of economic decline in certain employment center are rather equally influencing urban center itself as well as the surrounding suburban and rural areas.

At the end we would like to express our dilemma about the urban character of Slovenian urban areas as they are defined by Statistical office. We believe that they consist in large part of settlements with only partly urban character. Many of them

are very similar to their neighboring settlements that are not defined as urban. As most of Slovenian urban areas also have a very small number of inhabitants, demographic indicators may not be very accurate and tend to vary from year to year on the basis of coincidental factors. Finally we may contest that Slovenian urban population is rather differentiated. We may assume that differences in the demographic characteristics of population within individual urban settlements are rather important and deserve to be analyzed; wich we believe is an important task for further investigation of urban population in Slovenia.

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DEMOGRAFSKE ZNAČILNOSTI PREBIVALSTVA SLOVENSKIH MEST V PRVEM DESETLETJU 21. STOLETJA

Povzetek

V zadnjih letih se slovenski avtorji niso kaj dosti ukvarjali s preučevanjem prebivalstva slovenskih mest, še največ je o tem pisal Rebernik (2000; 2005; 2010), pa še on se je v glavnem ukvarjal z Ljubljano, oziroma njeno mestno regijo. Na Statističnem uradu Republike Slovenije so (Pavlin 2003) izdelali študijo, v kateri so na podlagi štirih kriterijev opredelili 104 mestna območja, ki vključujejo skupno 156 naselij. Z vidika analize mestnega prebivalstva delitev ni najbolj ustrezna, saj tako opredeljena mestna območja vključujejo tako pravo mestno prebivalstvo kot prebivalstvo primestnih naselij. Slednje je po svojih značilnostih vsekakor bolj podobno prebivalstvu obmestnih naselij, ki niso vključena v mestna območja kot pa prebivalstvu osrednjega dela mesta. Ker pa Statistični urad nekatere podatke objavlja za mestna območja po njihovi opredelitvi, smo to delitev, kljub navedeni pomanjkljivosti, uporabili v naši analizi.

Pri preučevanju slovenskega mestnega prebivalstva je treba upoštevati tudi majhnost naselij, ki jih v Sloveniji imamo za mesta. Če Ljubljano s četrt milijona prebibivalci morda še lahko uvrstimo med srednje velika evropska mesta, pa tega za Maribor z okoli 100.000 prebivalci najbrž že ne moremo storiti. V Sloveniji torej velikih mest ni, niti ne premore srednje velikih (razen Ljubljane in pogojno Maribora). Ta prebivalstvena majhnost slovenskih mest pride še posebej do izraza, če slovenska mesta primerjamo z Ljubljano. Po pravilu reda velikosti (Rank size rule) vsa po vrsti bolj ali manj odstopajo navzdol od teoretičnega števila prebivalcev, ki je enako številu prebivalcev največjega mesta (Ljubljana), ki ga delimo s številom, ki je enako številu vrstnega reda, ki ga po številu prebivalcev zaseda obravnavano mesto (Slika 1).

Leta 2011 je imelo samo 18 mestnih območij več kot 10.000 prebivalcev in predvsem tem smo se posvetili v naši analizi (grafične ponazoritve), čeprav smo v izračune vključili vsa 104 mestna območja. V teh je živelo približno pol prebivalcev Slovenije, kar naj bi pomenilo 50% stopnjo urbanizacije. A temu bi, iz prej navedenih razlogov, težko pritrdili. V glavnem se polovica prebivalcev Slovenije, ki živijo v mestnih območjih, po svojih značilnostih bolj ali manj razlikuje od povprečnih vrednosti celotnega slovenskega prebivalstva. Ob tem pa velja tudi poudariti, da so razlike med posameznimi mestnimi območji sorazmerno velike. Pogosto so vrednosti kazalnikov za posamezna mestna območja na drugi strani državnega povprečja kot povprečna vrednost za vse mestno prebivalstvo.

V naši analizi smo uporabili podatke, ki so objavljeni na spletni strani Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije. Podatke za mestna območja od leta 2004 naprej objavljajo v Statističnem letopisu (posebno poglavje), nekaj jih je v Si-stat statističnem portalu, nekaj še neobjavljenih podatkov pa nam je posredoval D. Dolenc.

Glede rasti števila prebivalcev v naših mestih, bi pričakovali, da se mesta praznijo zaradi selitve mladega aktivnega prebivalstva v obmestje in na podeželje. Torej bi se moralo število prebivalcev v mestih zmanjševati na račun rasti v nemestnih naseljih. Posledično bi morali imeti v mestih tudi manj ugodno starostno strukturo. Glede rasti števila prebivalcev smo ugotovili, da so v obdobju 2003-2011 slovenska mestna območja skupaj res izgubljala prebivalstvo. Toda le do leta 2008, ko je bila

spremenjena statistična opredelitev prebivalstva. Tuji državljani so po novem postali prebivalci Slovenije in teh je bilo v mestih bistveno več kot v nemestnih naseljih. Skok v letu 2008 je torej zgolj statističen, čeprav se je tudi v naslednjih letih rast nadaljevala, a se je do leta 2011 tudi že ustavila. Razlike med mestnimi območji so velike. Med njimi so taka, ki so v celotnem obdobju izgubljala prebivalstvo (Ptuj, Trbovlje, Murska Sobota, Ravne na Koroškem, Zagorje ob Savi, Sevnica in Lendava) in taka, ki so iz leta v leto prebivalstveno rasla (Postojna, Slovenska Bistrica, Grosuplje, Brezovica pri Ljubljani in Ivančna Gorica). Prav pri slednjih bi lahko govorili o njihovem (vsaj delno) obmestnem značaju, kar je eden od pomembnih privlačnih dejavnikov za priseljevanje.

Starostna struktura slovenskega mestnega prebivalstva občutno odstopa od slovenskega povprečja, pri čemer se ta razlika povečuje. Indeks staranja za celotno prebivalstvo se je v obdobju 2002-2011 s 94,1 povečal na 116,5. V istem obdobju se je vrednost samo za mestno prebivalstvo povečala s 103,3 na 130,0. Od treh temeljnih starostnih skupin prebivalstva je bila med mestnimi območji najbolj enakomerno razporejena srednja starostna skupina (15-64 let), najmanj pa staro prebivalstvo, a tudi za to koeficienta lokalizacije 0,06 leta 2002 in 0,04 leta 2011 ne kažeta posebej velike osredotočenosti starega prebivalstva v zgolj nekaterih mestnih območjih. Še najbolj izstopajo obalna mesta Portorož, Lucija, Koper, Izola z zelo nizkimi lokacijskimi količniki. Za leto 2011 smo na podlagi lokacijskih količnikov za mlado, srednje in staro prebivalstvo vsa mestna razvrstili v različne skupine glede na soramerno osredotočanje posamezne starostne skupine v njih. V skupini s sorazmerno koncentracijo mladega prebivalstva so predvsem naselja, ki bi jim lahko pripisali obmestni značaj, oziroma bi jih lahko opredelili kot satelitska naselja Ljubljane (Domžale, Grosuplje, Kamnik, Mengeš, Trzin, Vir, Vrhnika).

V zvezi s strukturo po spolu podatki kažejo, da se je v večini mestnih območij delež moških povečal. To je posledica večjega zmanjšanja smrtnosti pri moških kot pri ženskah, kar seveda ni značilno le za mestno prebivalstvo, ampak za prebivalstvo Slovenije nasploh. Deloma pa lahko spremembo pripišemo tudi spremenjeni statistični opredelitvi prebivalstva. Tujci, ki so na novo postali prebivalci slovenskih mest, so bili pretežno moški.

Podatki o naravni rasti prebivalstva pri majhnih številkah nimajo prave verodostojnosti, zaradi vpliva naključnih dejavnikov. Pa vendar ugotavljamo, da je slovensko prebivalstvo, če primerjamo popisni leti 2002 in 2011, prešlo iz stanja absolutne depopulacije nazaj v stanje potencialne depopulacije. V letu 2002 se je prebivalstvo Slovenije po naravni poti zmanjševalo za 0,60 na 1000 prebivalcev, mestno prebivalstvo pa za 0,28. To se je, predvsem na račun nadpovprečne rasti smrtnosti mestnega prebivalstva, obrnilo v podpovprečno naravno rast mestnega prebivalstva leta 2011 (mestna območja 0,91 in Slovenija 1,58 na 1000). Povprečna vrednost za mestno prebivalstvo ne odstopa tako zelo od slovenskega povprečja kot vrednosti za posamezna mestna območja. Med večjimi imata največji naravni upad prebivalstva Trbovlje in Ptuj pa tudi Maribor in Izola, z upadom pa sta se tako 2002 kot 2011 soočala še Koper in Nova Gorica, medtem ko sta Murska Sobota in Jesenice z rasti v 2002 zdrsnili na negativne vrednosti v 2011.

Vsaj ponekod je neugodne naravne dejavnike rasti števila prebivalstva izničilo priseljevanje. Za prebivalstvo mestnih območij je značilen večji delež prebivalstva, ki se je že selilo in ta delež se je v obdobju 2002-2011 povečal. Predvsem je v mestnih območjih nadpovprečen delež priseljenih iz tujine, saj so mesta običajno

prvi kraji, kjer se tujci, ki iščejo delo, naselijo. Po deležu prebivalcev, ki od rojstva živijo v kraju bivanja med 18 največjimi mestnimi območji izstopajo Trbovlje, kjer je ta delež največji. Domžale in Murska Sobota izstopata zaradi nizkega deleža priseljenih iz tujine, Ljubljana pa po deležu priseljenih iz drugih statističnih regij. Priseljeni iz tujine so bili med vsemi mestnimi območji najbolj neenakomerno razporejeni (koeficienta lokalizacije v 2002 in 2011: 0,17 in 0,16).

Po zaposlenosti se prebivalstvo mestnih območij skoraj ne razlikuje od slovenskega povprečja, so pa razlike med posameznimi mestnimi območji sorazmerno velike. Murska Sobota in Velenje med 18 večjimi sodita v skupino s sorazmerno koncentracijo nezaposlenih, nekdanja oziroma stara industrijska (rudarska) središča Maribor, Trbovlje in Kočevje pa v skupino s sorazmerno dekoncentracijo zaposlenih. Na drugi strani imamo ljubljanska satelitska mesta Vrhniko, Domžale in Kamnik, ki sodijo v skupino z dekoncentracijo vzdrževanega prebivalstva, Kranj, Novo mesto in Škofja Loka pa po naših izračunih sodijo v skupino s sorazmerno koncentracijo zaposlenih.

Največje odstopanje od slovenskega povprečja ima mestno prebivalstvo pri izobrazbi. To nam kaže "izobrazbeni indeks", ki smo ga po analogiji z indeksom staranja izračunali tako, da smo delež višje in visoko izobraženih delili z deležem prebivalcev z zgolj osnovno izobrazbo in manj in rezultat pomnožili s 100. Med 18 največjimi mestnimi območji (Slika 10) močno navzgor odstopa Ljubljana, navzdol pa Jesenice (tudi Kočevje in Trbovlje). Ob upoštevanju tudi manjših mestnih območij, je daleč pred vsemi drugimi Trzin (lahko bi ga imenovali kar intelektualno predmestje Ljubljane).

Za mestno prebivalstvo Slovenije, kot ga opredeljuje Statistični urad Republike Slovenije lahko trdimo, da je odvisno od opazovane značilnosti bolj ali manj različno od slovenskega povprečja. Predvsem pa se mestna območja močno razlikujejo med seboj. Razlike so nedvomno rezultat številnih medsebojno delujočih dejavnikov, zato je marsikdaj težko sklepati, kaj je temeljni razlog za odstopanje od povprečja. Zelo verjetno ima na izračunane kazalnike določen vpliv tudi to, da mestna območja zajemajo tako obmestno kot "pravo" mestno prebivalstvo (tudi tam, kjer je mestno območje eno samo naselje). Demografska analiza, ki bi upoštevala navedeno delitev, je vsekakor izziv za prihodnje preučevanje slovenskega mestnega prebivalstva.

SELECTED SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE: A CASE OF THE CITY OF PILSEN, CZECH REPUBLIC

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Abstract
Selected Social Aspects of the Quality of Life: A Case of the City of Pilsen, Czech Republic
The article deals with the development of the labour market in the city of Pilsen after 1989, which was significantly influenced by the transformation of the local industry. Apart from the traditional indicators of the labour market, the authors also deal with the proportion of foreign workers. Over the past decade, a dramatic growth of foreigners has been depicted, which was caused by the arrival of foreign investors in Pilsen as these have created a number of job opportunities for less qualified workers. The aim of the contribution is to identify both positive and negative social aspects of life in Pilsen as these are influenced by the development of the situation on the labour market in the city and also to monitor the internal and external factors influencing the development.

Key words
Pilsen; industry; labour market; life quality; foreigners; global economic crisis

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1. Introduction

The city of Pilsen is the metropolis of the Western part of the Czech Republic. Ever since its origin, Pilsen has been a significant centre of commerce, production activities but also of education and culture in the entire West Bohemian region and its significance extends beyond its boundaries. The crucial role of Pilsen stems primarily from its advantageous location as far as transport is concerned as, it has always been a significant factor of the development of the city. The location of Pilsen was, especially during the 20th century, of crucial geopolitical significance which influenced the development of the city and its background both positively and negatively. Several times in the history Pilsen has found itself on the boundary of different worlds, as for example on the boundary of the Protectorate, the demarcation line, in the vicinity of the Iron Curtain but also on the boundary of the EU and other European states in the time before the Czech Republic joined the EU (Dokoupil 2007). Within Czechoslovakia, the location of Pilsen was rather eccentric, but this irregularity underwent a change by a new geopolitical orientation of the state after the year 1989 and the origin of the autonomous Czech Republic in the year 1993.

From the point of the economic-geographic location Pilsen has an advantageous position in relation to the main economic centres of Europe, namely in relation to the economically strong neighbour Bavaria. In combination with the quality transport connection to Prague, Pilsen is an attractive city for foreign investors.

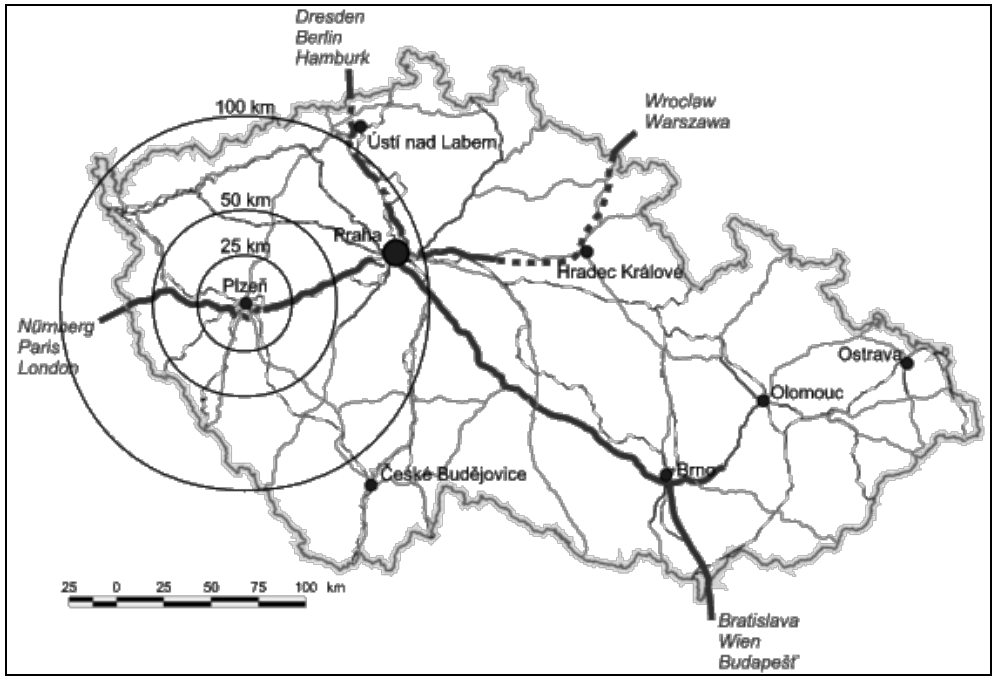

Fig. 1: The location of Pilsen within the Czech Republic.
Source: Statistical Yearbook of Pilsen Region (2006).

Tab. 1 illustrates the basic data concerning the city of Pilsen. The fact, that almost one third of the region´s population lives in Pilsen, confirms its natural significance as a centre. In the whole West Bohemian region there is an obvious discrepancy between the city and the economically weak and depopulating surroundings (Chochole 1995). Thanks to the concentration of job opportunities Pilsen is also a significant centre of commuting to work.

Tab. 1: Basic Data of the City of Pilsen (2010).

Land Area (km^2)	138
Population	165,238
Percentage in the total population of the region (%)	32.5
Population density (pers./ km^2)	1,339
Average labor force	113,024
Number of job seekers	5,602
Land Area (km^2)	138

Source: City Invest Czech (2010).

After the year 1989 the city has witnessed some significant changes in its economic and social development. Some of the changes, caused by the change of the political orientation of the country are also common for other cities of the transforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe; others are specific only for Pilsen. The aim of this contribution is to identify some positive and negative social aspects of the quality of life in Pilsen which are caused by the development of the situation on the labour market of the city and to monitor the internal and external factors influencing the development. Hence the contribution deals with some selected aspects of the transformation of industry, labour market and the influx of foreign workers, which was enabled by the changes of the economical structure of the city of Pilsen.

2. Methodology

In the present study, mainly national and regional statistical materials have been applied and these were later processed analytically and interpreted in synthetic conclusions. The development of the labour market in the city of Pilsen has been recorded by means of the development of the rate of unemployment over the period 1989 – 2011. The necessary data are available from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The structure of the local market from the point of the foreign workers is based on the statistics of the Employment Office in Pilsen, Foreign Police and Department of Social Services of the city of Pilsen. It is much more complicated to identify the factors that have participated in the development and that closely relate to the complex process of the transformation of the city industry. The analysis of the changes in the city industry was based on the data on employment in companies in the time period 1989 – 2008. The state of the industrial production at the beginning of the transformation process can only be characterized thanks to the publication Workers and wage funds of the socialist sector of the national economy in regions and districts as divided according to the sectors of the national economy of the Czech Socialist Republic for the year 1989 (Czech Statistical Office 1989), which contains data about the number of employees in the individual sectors of the national economy. In 2008, there were no more databases gathering data of the same structure. Therefore it was necessary to create a new database based on the

employment data of the individual industrial companies of the city as these are integral part of the financial statements of the given companies. By means of comparing the gained employment data in the time period 1989 – 2008, it was possible to capture the most crucial manifestations of the city´s industry transformation, such as the change of the sectoral structure, the change of the size and ownership structure of companies and the change of the city spatial arrangement (Baštová 2011). Apart from the employment data in industries, the data concerning the development of foreign investment in Pilsen were also applied as these are available from the Czech National Bank.

3. Factors influencing the development on the labour market of the city of Pilsen

Various factors influence the development of the labour market in Pilsen. These are mainly factors connected with the historical genesis of the labour market (Dokoupil 2007). The geographical location of the city of Pilsen can be seen as one of them as the city lies on the main transport arterial road from Bavaria to the Czech metropolis. It was the crossroads of the old commercial trails earlier, these days it is a traffic junction on the significant European corridor. An excellent transport location together with the natural riches in the city background (mineral resources – fuel and energy base, iron ore, kaolin) have become the driving force of the economic but also of the social development. Besides commerce also traditional crafts developed in the city, which had a significant impact on the quality and skilfulness of the labour force in Pilsen. This development dates back to the times of the golden age of crafts in Pilsen in 15^{th} and 16^{th} centuries, later on this continued by the era of industrialization resulting from the enhancement of the transport infrastructure at the turn of 19^{th} and 20^{th} centuries. The interwar and war periods further improved the technical skilfulness of the labour force in Pilsen, which factor was further utilized by the socialist planned mass production. This gave the city the image of a significant industrial centre with experienced and technically capable labour force, but this positive phenomenon was later handicapped by the deformed industrial structure. Pilsen was strongly oriented to heavy engineering; other industries, such as food-processing industry were only marginally represented from the employment point of view.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the transformation of the Czech economy began and, logically, this also affected the industry in Pilsen, mainly the local engineering. Even though a part of the redundant labour force was absorbed by the growing tertiary sector, or as it may be, the offer of new jobs in the city background (the level of commuting to Pilsen was reduced), it was still necessary to face the danger of growing unemployment resulting from the redundant labour force from the transforming plants. Just to give the reader an idea, the biggest employer in Pilsen, the engineering concern Škoda employed 33.500 workers in the year 1989, which accounted for 31.1% of the economically active population in the city (Baštová, Toušek 2005). In the whole monitored period 1989 – 2008, there was a reduction in the number of workers employed in industry from 47.800 in the year 1989 to 31.200 in the year 2008. The proportion of industry in the overall employment was then reduced from 43.6% in the year 1989 to 29.3% in the year 2008.

The magistrate, aware of the above mentioned attractiveness of the city (suitable communication position, experienced labour force) started, immediately at the beginning of the transformation process, looking for ways to reduce the negative

impact of the transformation, especially the growth in unemployment. Here we can talk about specific effects on the development of the labour market, but this time the effects were controlled because they were given by the level of management of the societal elements. By means of the modern concepts of the localisation analyses, respecting preferences of the foreign investors, a significant industrial zone started to be built (in the year 2000 the project was evaluated as the zone with the biggest economic benefit in the Czech Republic). The zone was meant to increase the investment attractiveness of the city as it became, in the conditions of the transforming Czech economy, the initial quality indicator of the economic environment. The development of the unemployment rate responded to the influx of foreign investment positively (see Fig. 2). Namely at the turn of the millennium the rate of unemployment started to divert from the national trend significantly.

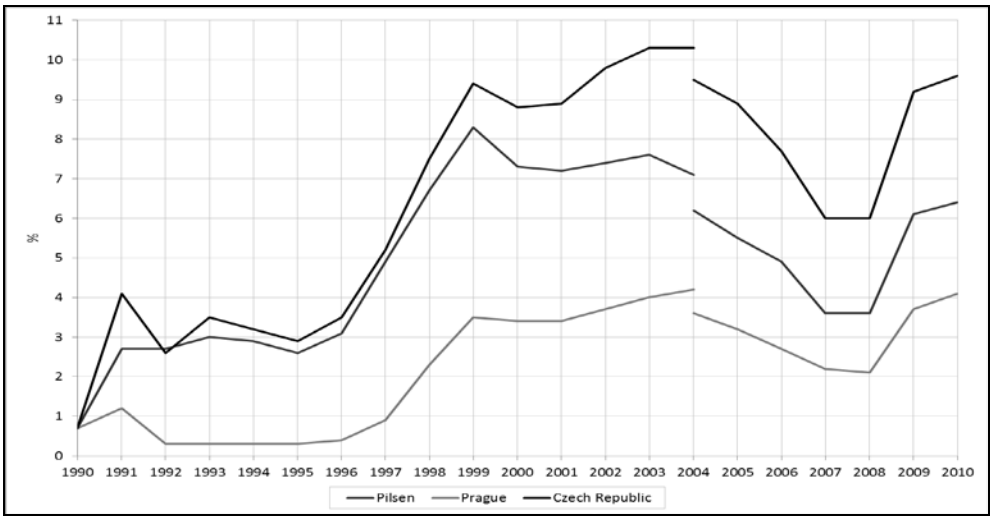

Fig. 2: Unemployment rate in Pilsen between 1990 and 2010.
Source: Monthly statistics of unemployment (1990-2010).

The investment attractiveness is the driving force for receiving the direct foreign investment with the aims of dealing with the employment issues in the city, of getting easier access to the markets of the most developed countries and, last but not least, of the influence on changes in the company environment (Toušek, Kunc, Vystoupil 2008). Numerous studies compare the selected indicators of foreign and domestic businesses and some general conclusions are being arrived at, claiming that in foreign companies the labour productivity is higher, there are higher wages and qualified workers, modern management of the human resources and strong orientation on export. The city of Pilsen has become, thanks to its position and the well-built industrial zone, one of the most attractive Czech localities for foreign investors dealing namely with the export oriented production. Based on the data of Czech National Bank (Foreign Direct Investment. Annual Report 2007), the state of direct foreign investment in the year 2007 was Czk 37.8 bn, which is almost three times as much as the average of this indicator for the other districts in the Czech Republic. The indicator of the state of direct foreign investment per head ranked Pilsen in the year 2007 on the tenth position among the districts in the Czech Republic.

According to Baštová and Dokoupil (2010) around 54% of all the companies in Pilsen with more than 10% share of foreign capital focused on the industrial production and the same applied to 83% of the job positions in these companies (based on the data of companies with 20 employees and above). On the other hand, services have remained the dominant feature of the Czech investors. The influx of foreign investments has changed the industrial structure in Pilsen dramatically. There has been a shift from industrial specialization to sectoral diversification. While in the year 1989 Pilsen specialised mostly in engineering industry (according to the number of employees), a bit less in paper and polygraphic industries as well as food processing industry, in the year 2008 we can speak about significant specialization in the electrical engineering industry represented by new investments, such as the Japanese Panasonic AVC Network Czech, s.r.o., or chemical industry focusing on production of plastic components for car factories.

Despite the above facts engineering remains the main traditional industry of the city. On the basis of the former Škoda company business is done by smaller companies, such as ŠKODA Transportation a.s., Škoda JS a.s., Pilsen Steel s.r.o., Škoda Power a.s., Škoda Machine Tools a.s., which made use of the world famous brand, the tradition of engineering production in the city, the specific level of education and skills of the local labour force working in engineering for a long time, the existence of appropriately focused schools, including the university and the involvement of foreign capital. Apart from the changes in the ownership structure of the industrial plants and their size structure even the localization of the industry within the city has changed. The global economic crisis made its presence felt in the industrial sphere in Pilsen at the end of the year 2008. The crisis affected the employers participating in the activities in the automotive industry most (mostly foreign companies). The biggest slump in employment was recorded in Pilsen in chemical and engineering industries as in Pilsen these are, to a large extent, linked to the production of components for the car industry (Baštová 2011). The electrical engineering industry was less affected by reducing the number of job opportunities.

4. The industrial park Bory Field and new centres of development of technologies

The growing rate of unemployment resulting from the restructuring of the Škoda company and closing down of other industrial plants at the beginning of the transformation period made the city management take a strategic decision – to build the industrial park Bory Field. The city invested heavily in the infrastructure of a large intact area on its Western border and created a system of incentives for foreign investors. Their aim was to diversify the industrial structure by means of the influx of foreign investors because the local entrepreneurs did not have enough capital. The project Municipal Industrial Park Bory Field was one of the most successful projects within the city. Thanks to the vicinity of the German border, the advantageous motorway connection with Western Europe and the city readiness in terms of space and incentives, the well prepared industrial park was quickly filled with companies originating their business from scratch. In the first stage it was mostly assembly plants, while research and development was mostly implemented in their parent companies abroad. In course of time, however, it turned out that this type of investment does not make use of the local qualified labour force sufficiently enough and, what is more, this type of investment was not linked with the local economy well enough. These subsidiaries of foreign companies create the much needed links with the local subjects but fail in the subcontract opportunities or in the

transfer of the advanced technologies and the know-how to the local economy. There is a potential threat that the investors might leave for countries with cheaper labour force. Therefore the city started changing its strategy and started preferring the localization of production with higher value added and with its own research base.

Tab. 2 : Selected indicators of the industrial park Bory Field (31.12.2010).

Area	105 ha
Number of localized enterprises	42
Number of job positions	10,747
Investment of localized enterprises	18,199.5 mil. CZK
City investment	560 mil. CZK
Investment of local owners of electricity, water, gas networks	31 mil. CZK
State investment	76 mil. CZK

Source: Urban Planning and Development Institute of the City of Pilsen (2011).

The origin of the Science and Technology Park Bory Field in the year 2005, located on the border of the Municipal Industrial Park Bory Field in the vicinity of the University of West Bohemia became a crucial project of the city. The cooperation of the development companies and university workers takes place here on the daily basis. The Science and Technology Park in Pilsen has more than 10 thousand m^2 of office, pilot and laboratory areas at disposal. It has modern infrastructure to support research, development and innovation in cooperation with the research background of the university which, at the moment, is building a new modern centre for the research of new industrial materials in a nearby locality. Even some individual local businesses have their development departments here, mainly in engineering and electrical engineering industry (Kerio Technologies, HOFMEISTER s.r.o., MBtech Group and a number of others). The company BIC Pilsen – Entrepreneurial and Innovative Centre has been dealing with the support of innovative business activities since the beginning of the 1990s. Its services mainly aim at small and medium sized innovative enterprises. The centre provides support in setting up new, technology oriented companies, help in searching for funds for the development projects, counselling in issues concerning the origin of new companies, transfer of technologies, involvement of companies in the European programmes and such like. The centre is linked with the European network supporting small and medium sized enterprises Enterprise Europe Network. The support of investment with higher value added helps use the local qualified labour force, mostly oriented on technology, in a better way. Moreover, this kind of investment creates closer relationships between industrial enterprises and the local region and thanks to this effort the risk of the foreign companies leaving for Eastern Europe is gradually being eliminated.

5. Foreigners on the local labour market

The decision of the city to adopt a strategy to support foreign investment and to build the Municipal Industrial Park Bory Field turned out to be a very successful step. In course of time a discrepancy between the quality of the redundant labour force in the city and the requirements of the industrial companies concerning the staff quality made its presence felt ever stronger, because the majority of foreign investment specialised in the fields requiring a large number of non-qualified labour

force. There were more and more situations when the Czech workers were less willing to work in the conditions of the physically demanding jobs with minimum pay, and what was more, all this was taking place in the conditions of a relatively generous social system. Consequently, Pilsen did not have enough labour force able to meet the demand. In connection with this Pilsen experienced a high influx of foreign workers (see Fig. 3), mainly from Eastern Europe and Asia who filled the offered job positions (the most numerous nationalities were and still are the Slovaks, Ukrainians, Moldovans, Mongols and Vietnamese).

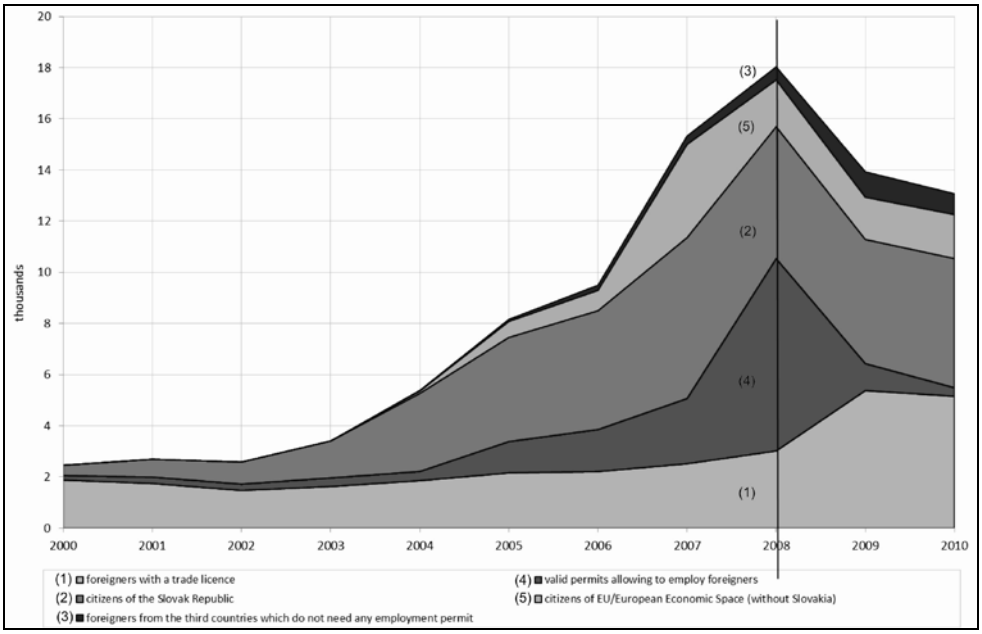

Fig. 3: Development of working foreigners in the city of Pilsen (1997-2010).
Source: Annual report on the situation on the labour market in the district Pilsen-centre (2000-2010); Horáková (2000-2010).

In 2008, the number of foreigners working in legal job positions reached its climax of 18.000 (which was 16.3% of the total labour force of the city, while a similar figure for all the Czech Republic at that time was only 6.4% of legally employed foreigners). This way the foreigners have become a new phenomenon in the city. The majority of them are still working in the blue collar positions (86%). Even in our city cutting production and dismissing a number of workers was the result of the global economic crisis and these measures primarily affected foreigners. The efforts of the government to support their organized departure to their mother countries failed. In spite of that the number of foreigners working in the city started to decrease gradually. The efforts of foreigners, gradually losing their jobs, aimed at getting a trading licence or at earning their living even in an illegal way, and they sometimes even bordered on criminal activities. In relation with the high number of foreigners in the city the municipal bodies have to deal with a lot of problems never heard of before, such as illegal employment, lack of complete information about foreigners, lack of accommodation for foreigners, namely for families with children or single mothers with children, insufficient ability of foreigners to communicate in Czech or in English, bias of the local inhabitants against foreigners, insufficient

responsibilities of job agencies and often even abusing the work of foreigners by the agencies, minimum cooperation of foreigners and their communities with the city.

6. Conclusion

The development of the city was rather complicated in the transformation period. A significant role was played by the above mentioned relative change of the city position, which had been highly marginalized within the former Czechoslovakia. After the year 1989 the "barrier" Southwest boundary of the state became a contact border enabling mutual cooperation of the neighbouring countries and diffusion of innovation. In Pilsen it was manifested and it is still being manifested by significant investment of foreign capital, which, apart from the suitable city location, also makes good use of the city agglomeration effects. The arrival of investors enables penetration of the know-how from the world leading economies and the development of universal cooperation with the advanced countries of Western Europe. The factors affecting this development on the labour market have been both external, i.e. various decisions at the national level (political decisions, economic incentives), the economic crisis, competition from abroad, but the factors have also been internal. As far as various decisions at the regional down to the local levels are concerned, let us name, for example, the decision on the origin of the Municipal industrial Park Bory Field and the significance of the players involved who have had important roles in the local development.

A high number of the new job positions in the Municipal industrial Park Bory Field also helped deal with the threat of the negative social impact of the industrial collapse of the city. The city gained new investors and job positions. New businesses built from scratch (mostly assembly lines) have attracted a lot of foreigners to come to the local labour market. Their employment is connected with all sorts of problems, which are most visible in the crisis periods of the production cycles. The city management and the individual companies are aware of the fact that it is better to change the conditions in the local industry rather than to solve the existing problems. A new strategy of the city is trying to change the character of the industrial production in Pilsen. It is heading for support of investment with a higher value added, for support of innovation in the new companies but also in the existing ones, for the connection of science and development with production activities in the new technology centres and for support of progressive small and medium sized enterprises, not only in the traditional fields (such as engineering and food processing) but also in the new areas (at present the development and the planned production of the top quality medical equipment may serve as a good example). Better use of the local educated labour force is also important in this context.

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IZBRANI SOCIALNI VIDIKI KAKOVOSTI ŽIVLJENJA NA PRIMERU MESTA PLZEN

Povzetek

Mesto Plzeň je regionalno središče zahodnega dela Češke. Zaradi bližine gospodarsko razvite Bavarske in zaradi ugodnih prometnih povezav z bližnjimi regionalnimi središči, je bil Plzeň zanimiva lokacija za tuje investitorje. Po spremembi gospodarskega sistema je sicer prišlo do propada nekaterih podjetij, vendar so se v istem času pojavili številni investitorji iz zahodne Evrope, ki so v Plzňu postavili nove industrijske obrate, oživili proizvodnjo v nekdanjih obratih, številni pa so vlagali v razvoj trgovine. Gospodarsko prestrukturiranje po letu 1990 zato mesta Plzeň ni prizadelo v enaki meri kot številna druga območja v Češki. Nasprotno, da bi ugodili povpraševanju po zemljiščih za gospodarske dejavnosti, je mesto Plzeň uredilo največjo industrijsko cono Bory. V novo industrijsko cono so svoje proizvodne obrate preselila številna nemška podjetja, nastal je tehnološki park ter inovacijski center. S tem se je število zaposlenih v Plzňu zelo povečalo. Struktura plzenske industrije še vedno obsega veliko delovnih mest za manj kvalificirano delovno silo, za kar pa med domačini ni bilo dovolj zanimanja. V Plzeň so se priselili številni delavci iz drugih držav Vzhodne Evrope, predvsem iz Slovaške, Ukrajine, Moldavije, Kambodže in Vietnama. S tem se je nacionalna sestava v mestu precej spremenila. Delež tujih delavcev je kar 16,3% med vsemi aktivnimi, delež tujih delavcev v državi znaša 6,4%. V gospodarski krizi, ki je zajela evropske države, so prvi izgubili delo prav tuji delavci. Vendar jih velika večina ni zapustila Češke, temveč se je povečal obseg ilegalnih priseljencev, dela na črno in sive ekonomije. Pojavljajo se novi socialni problem povezani z revščino, asimilacijo in negativnim odnosom do tujcev.

RECREATIONAL SPACES IN THE TOWNS OF HUNGARY

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Abstract
Recreational spaces in the towns of Hungary
The study is an introduction to recreational spaces in Hungary and an attempt for their typifying in relation with the Hungarian urbanisation processes and trends. In the first half of the essay the division of the urban spaces of Hungary is done, together with the introduction of the birth of the recreational spaces. The essay is continued with the typifying of the recreational spaces, differentiating intra- and extra-urban recreational spaces, giving examples from Hungary. The essay is finished by the introduction of a recreational space within Pécs and one around the city, with a view to their role in the recreation of the inhabitants and the leisure time possibilities.

Key Words
Urbanisation, recreation, recreational spaces, Orfű, Pécs

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1. Introduction

Recreation is a basic need of our modern society. The word 'recreation', in addition to the regeneration of the classic production capacity, has now become a factor of the quality of life. Parallel to the socio-economic changes, the need for recreation is also in constant change, transformation, which has an impact on the respective spaces. Recreation is mostly linked to the population of the urban spaces, and a special type of space serving this purpose is now differentiated in settlement geography. In Hungary, the acceleration of urbanisation processes was connected to the era of socialist industrialisation, an organic part of which was the appearance of recreational spaces. Suburbanisation strengthened after the systemic change, also integrating extra-urban leisure spaces during the use of space. A new phenomenon is the birth of primarily service type "fun-driven" centres induced by the regeneration of inner city areas, with attractions that also target individual demands. In addition to the organic urban spaces, suburban leisure time zones have also joined now the satisfaction of recreational needs, which also improves the quality of life of the urban inhabitants, giving a further momentum to the suburbanisation process.

In our study, besides summarising the theoretical background related to recreation, we demonstrate two case studies to feature the characteristics of extra-urban and intra-urban recreational spaces.

2. Urban spaces in Hungary

In Hungary the period of urban boom was the 1960s and 1970s, also reinforced by urban policy and regional development interventions. Due to the central state support, settlement groups and urban spaces of different geographical extent and economic activity were born (Kőszegfalvy 2004). Urban spaces are not uniform in themselves, either, they are at different levels of the urban hierarchy, the nationally accepted system of which is made by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. At the peak of the hierarchy of the urban spaces we find conurbations, which is an unknown phenomenon in Hungary as yet. The next levels are agglomerations (4 of them can be found in Hungary), agglomerating regions (4) and big city settlement groups (13) (Fig. 1).

In addition to the breakdown of the HCSO we have to mention the system by Kőszegfalvy (1980), who classified settlement groups into seven categories on the basis of their development level, structural and formal features: agglomerations (3), agglomerating regions (5), urbanising regions (3), minor settlement groups (8) and major settlement groups (8), double or triple city areas (5) (Gyenizse et al. 2011).

3. The concept and birth of recreational spaces in Hungary

Recreation, i.e. activities serving the regeneration of human intellectual and physical production capacity (Aubert, A. 2008) now has a separate spatial type in settlement geography. The birth of these spaces is connected to the process of urbanisation, and they are spatially linked to urban spaces too. Their birth was promoted, in addition to the rapid urban growth, by the rearrangement process of society and the improved living standards. Going beyond the classic concept of settlements (Mendöl), Beluszky (1969) includes recreational spaces too in the concept, which is

also a reflection of the process and expectation which demonstrates the growing demand for recreation, because these days settlements must offer all those recreational facilities that are in regular demand by an ever wider circle of the society. Recreation itself, however, is very much personal, so related activities are also varied, and consequently the connected institutional system is also quite versatile (Kőszegfalvy, Tóth 2002). International literature preceded the Hungarian academics to recognise the importance of this process among the economic impacts, as it is shown by researches and modelling approaching the issue from the demand side (Curry, Ravenscroft 2001).

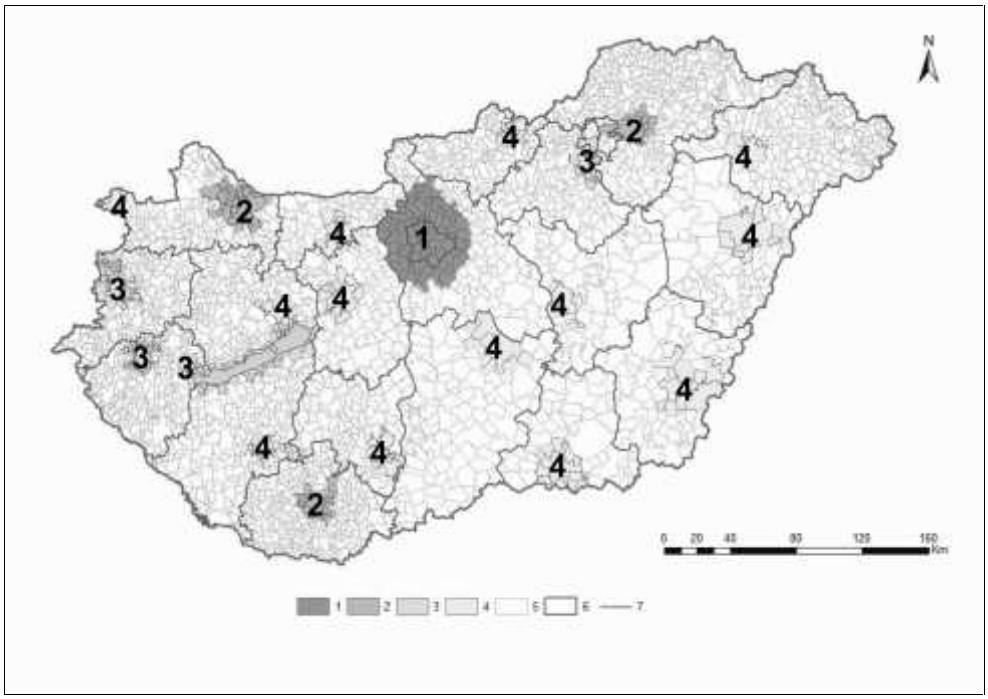

Fig. 1: Urban spaces in Hungary Source: HCSO; Edited by Edina Józsa
1. Budapest agglomeration, 2. Countryside agglomeration, 3. Agglomerating region, 4. Big city settlement groups, 5. Regions outside any settlement group, 6. County border, 7. National border

Recreation as a basic social geographical function was introduced by the Munich School, and was later dealt with in details by Maier (1977, 1982). Beyond the original social geographical interpretation of recreation, individual motivations are also to be highlighted besides the social ones: recreation now serves, in addition the regeneration of working capacity, renewal, refreshment and entertainment, i.e. the goal of recreation is the achievement of a quality life (Kovács 2007). The spatial distribution of recreational facilities and the differentiation of this spatial type are also basically influenced by the widening of the interpretation of the concept. Another factor influencing the appearance of this spatial type is the leisure time consumption habits of the inhabitants, categorised into a fourfold system by Kovács, (2007): passive, reactive, accumulative and inspirative. On the basis of the therapeutic value of recreational activity, Kiemstedt (1967) differentiates among the following categories, supplemented by the authors with examples from Hungary.

Tab. 1: Typifying of recreational spaces on the basis of the value of the activity in therapy.

Therapeutic value of recreational activity	Activity	Examples from Hungary
Activities requiring dynamic movement	Excursions, hiking, active sports (e.g. mountain climbing), farming in small hobby gardens	Őrség, Mecsek, Bükk
Activities requiring dynamic movement but with smaller energy demand	Cycling, walking, horse riding	Balaton beach
Activities requiring static muscle strength	Skiing, ski tours	Bükk, Mátra, Bakony
Activities with no therapeutic value, requiring direct muscular work	Sunbathing, camping, angling	Rivers and lakes
Activities with no therapeutic value, requiring indirect muscular work	Visiting sports events, watch of monuments or theatre performances	Historical and cultural cities

Source: modified by the authors on the basis of Kiemstedt (1967).

A preliminary of the birth of recreational spaces, connected to the demand and motivation side on the level of society, is the expansion of domestic and international tourism typical in the 1960s. Travelling as a leisure time activity became a basic need for an ever wider layer of society (Lengyel 2005). The changes of the world economy in the 1970s, however, did not favour tourism: the oil price boom and its consequences, with leisure time more and more concentrated on the weekends, appreciated destinations closer to the place of residence. The worsening economic environment of the 1980s further reinforced this process, and weekend leisure possibilities and excursions became the main foci of tourists (Kraftné Somogyi 1993). Besides the popular touristic destinations, the interest in extra-urban spaces, in the vicinity of the place of demand, increased, in accordance with the changing needs. Holiday areas and blocks of small hobby gardens were born in the suburban environment of the Hungarian cities (Martonné Erdős 1992). Their existence is due to the double structure of the socialist system, the duality of the state-owned homes related to work and the privately owned holiday homes connected to leisure time (Cséfalvay 1994). The birth of such recreational spaces can be seen both within the city and in the settlements in their environment. The rural settlements transformed into recreational spaces are characterised by "post-productivity" (Ilbery 1998), i.e. the production of traditional goods is replaced by residential, recreational and holiday functions (Faragó 2006). By now, the separation of recreational settlements among the functional settlement types has been raised (Tóth 1996), which suggests that recreational roles have become much more important than the other functions.

Recreational processes gained a new impulse by community networks and systems that support locally organising communities and spontaneity. Besides recreational spaces in the classic sense, spaces of new type have also appeared as community spaces, such as private homes that may even serve as locations of theatre performances (home theatres), restaurants and events satisfying different needs (social games or book clubs).

The designation of recreational spaces can be done by different landscape assessment methods whose raison d'être is created by the reinforcement of the urbanisation processes. Today humans pass a major part of their leisure time by some recreational activity, often accompanied by a space especially designed for

recreational purposes. In the creation of spaces for this purpose, the role of arable lands with decreased farming value is gradually appreciated. Most suitable spaces are the interfaces of natural elements of different types. Today, recreational zones are becoming more and more important in the spatial planning and development processes of settlement too (Gobster 1995).

The assessment of recreational space and related activities is provided by useful information by the features of the one-day trips of the Hungarian citizens. A most recent study made on the assignment of the Hungarian Tourism Inc. showed that in 2010, two-thirds of the Hungarian population participated in a trip like this. Such trips are made more frequently than the average by families of four or more members, families with small children, youth aged 18-24, internet users, owners of holiday homes, and also the residents of the Middle Transdanubian and South Transdanubian regions.

Excursionists usually choose a destination within Hungary (90.5%) and make almost eight one-day trips per annum. The most popular destination of one-day trippers were the touristic regions of Middle Transdanubia (22%) and North Hungary (17.1%). Seasonality typical of tourism can also be seen here, although to a lesser extent than in the case of longer main travels (Magyar Turizmus Zrt. 2010).

Among the travel motivations, shopping comes first (42.3%), followed by the visiting of friends, relatives and acquaintances (18.3%), and by city visits (6%). These three factors account for 66.6% of all motivations. Further motivations are waterside holidays, recreation, medical treatment, visit to holiday homes or second homes and visiting cultural events. Gardening, mountain excursions, health preservation, sports and other events, pilgrimages and wine tasting were mentioned in negligible numbers (Magyar Turizmus Zrt. 2011).

Among all participants of one-day travels, 66.5% do not collect information of touristic type either before or during the excursion. The households that do look for information for their travels gather most of the information about the selected destination on the internet, from their relatives and acquaintances or from travel brochures or travel guides (Magyar Turizmus Zrt. 2011).

4. Typifying of recreational spaces

The recreational spaces of Hungary can be designated by settlement or regional boundaries, and so we can differentiate intra-urban and extra-urban recreational zones (Kraftné Somogyi 1993), which grouping can also be read in international literature (see e.g. Williams, Shaw 2009). The birth of the individual types is of course influenced by several factors. In addition to natural endowments and social and economic development level, attractions, i.e. the elements of supply have a significant influence too. The latter determines not only the spatial appearance of recreational zones and types but of course also the targeted segments and thereby the products and recreational programmes designed.

4.1 Intra-urban recreational spaces in Hungary

Intra-urban recreational zones can be found within the administrative boundaries of settlements. On the basis of their functions they can be so-called constructed recreational facilities (plazas, shopping centres, theatres, cinemas, swimming pools, sport halls, exhibition spaces, museums, open-air museums etc.) (Aubert 2008).

Many of them can now be found in almost all cities and now serve as an organic part of the recreation of the local inhabitants.

In addition to these, more and more popular are those recreational spaces offering complex experiences that target wide layers and age groups of society in one place with their colourful programme and leisure time offer. In this case we can witness a kind of functional shift, as these spaces can often be found and are given touristic and recreational functions in derelict factory facilities or warehouses (e.g. Pécs-Zsolnay Cultural Quarter).

The Hungarian citizens find thermal and leisure spas very attractive. Although the range of the attraction of these facilities varies, they are always important in the satisfaction of the recreational needs of the local inhabitants. Spas target various segments and offer varied leisure and entertainment facilities, together with wellness services and other programmes (e.g. Szeged, Kaposvár, Eger, Debrecen, or Zalaegerszeg).

A special element in this group is made by the so-called ecotourism centres and visitor centres that usually demonstrate specific nature protection areas, usually in a funny and entertaining way, especially to families with small children and to groups of school and kindergarten pupils. Such facilities include, among other things, the Bechtold István Visitor Centre of Nature Protection in Kőszeg, or the Körös Rivers Valley Visitor Centre. In addition, they often organise tours and nature watch activities with professional guidance.

Another group of the intra-urban recreational zones are those green areas (parks, alleys, lakes etc.) (Aubert 2008) which allow both active and passive leisure in a quasi-natural environment. In these areas inhabitants can enjoy tranquillity, an escape from the noise and the everyday problems of the big cities, still they can have rest, walk, or make tours or picnics not far away from their homes (e.g. Debrecen – Nagyerdő, Nyíregyháza – Sóstó, Miskolc – Miskolctapolca, Lillafüred, Kaposvár – Deseda).

4.2 Extra-urban recreational spaces in Hungary

Another large group of categorisation is the so-called extra-urban or suburban recreational zones that are located on the outskirts of settlements or in their hinterlands. Among them there are rather extended areas (e.g. nature protection areas, park forests, arboretums, lakes etc.) as well. Coming from the features of the settlement network of Hungary, they are dominant in the Transdanubian part of the country, where the spatial organising functions of the central settlements are of outstanding significance in the settlement network dominated by small villages and small towns (Aubert 2008).

In this case too we can mention built facilities, such as fortresses, churches, lookout towers or open-air museums (e.g. Kaposvár-Szenna), many of which are significant in themselves as touristic attractions. Nowadays their functions are enriched by a growing number of events and organised programmes, such as fauna and flora watches, traditionalist festivals, family events or castle tournaments. This category also contains bicycle routes that are used by a growing number of cyclers, like the bicycle route connecting Pécs to the popular resorts of Orfű and Abaliget, or the bicycle routes around the large lakes of Hungary (Lake Balaton, Fertő Lake, Tisza Lake), whose significance is outstanding in both recreation and domestic tourism.

Like in the case of intra-urban recreational space, in this case too we can mention demonstration centres and visitor centres whose goal is the demonstration of a specific (cultural, natural, historical or gastronomic) topic (e.g. Szeged-Ópusztaszer, Szekszárd-Pörböly). These centres, besides their constant exhibitions, often enrich their programme supply by temporary exhibitions and other organised thematic programmes.

Scenes of extra-urban recreation are the so-called agricultural production units (small hobby gardens, e.g. in Pécs-Cserkút). In the 1990s, parallel to the acceleration of urbanisation, more and more people moved from villages and small towns to the city housing blocks, where these people, having lived in different conditions and pursued agricultural activities in the first place, were awaited by a totally different lifestyle. As a consequence of the natural desire to get away from the city, a growing demand appeared for those areas where some agricultural activity could be pursued, where people could grow some crops in their leisure time, maybe with the purpose of getting some extra income. This is accompanied by the growing popularity of hobby gardens and health conscious way of living these days, and the appearance of some kind of "bio-garden movement" that appreciates these areas in recreation (Kraftné Somogyi 1993).

Due to the significant changes taking place in the 1960s, there was a growing demand for privately used holiday homes too, as a consequence of which more and more suburban resort areas were born. In addition to the satisfaction of holidaymaking and leisure needs, the birth of these areas was promoted by the introduction of non-working Saturdays. They became suitable spaces for the implementation of regular family programmes. The increase of demand was reinforced from the 1980s by the increasing transportation costs, the decrease of leisure time available for recreation and the increased number of second and third jobs taken by the employees (Martonné Erdős 1992). The birth and development of these extra-urban recreational zones was also promoted by their increased role in the capital investments of the population and in the decrease of the stress on the former selected holiday regions (Kraftné Somogyi 1993). Such holiday and recreational areas ("second homes" or leisure time homes) can be found in many places in Hungary (e.g. Pécs-Orfű, Abaliget, Szeged-Szelid Lake, Miskolc-Mályi, Bükkszentkereszt, Mezőkövesd, Bogács, Szekszárd-Fadd-Dombori).

Of course there are also freely available natural areas in the vicinity of the settlements (waterside holiday regions, lakes, forests, study paths etc.) whose role must be mentioned in the life of the local inhabitants. These areas, in addition to offering space for passive pastime, can also serve as scenes of many types of leisure activities including hiking, horse riding, hunting, or water sports (pl. Sopron-Lővérek, Fertő Lake, Pécs-Mecsek, Pécs-Orfű, Pécs-Malomvölgy Lake, Zalaegerszeg-Azalea Valley etc.).

Besides all these, in the recreation of the people we must mention recent trends as well: we must not neglect the ever more popular events and festivals organised around different topics (music, gastronomy, culture, preservation of traditions etc.). Many of these have a national significance, but their role in the lives of the local population is even more important (e.g. the Fish Soup Festival of Baja, National Theatre Festival of Pécs, Szekszárd Vintage Days etc.).

5. Intra- and extra-urban recreational spaces – practical examples

5.1 Case study: Intra-urban recreational space – Zsolnay Cultural Quarter
Pécs, by the acquisition of the title European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2010, was given a special chance for the renewal of its inner areas that can also raise the quality of life of the urban citizens to a higher level. One of the basic pillars of the ECOC related investments was the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, created by the regeneration of a brownfield area. In several countries of Western Europe we can see similar functional shifts; in fact, many cities renewed their derelict or run-down areas and gave them recreational functions in connection with the award of the European Capital of Culture status (e.g. Liverpool or Essen).

The basis of the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter in Pécs is the formerly world famous Zsolnay Factory, which has lost much of its significance over the last 20 years, induced by the changes in the internal and external environment. The worldwide crisis of porcelain industry affected the Zsolnay Porcelain Factory too, a factory that had a key role in the employment of the local population. The volume of manufacturing declined, space necessary for production gradually shrank and complete groups of buildings were deprived of their original functions (the activity of the manufacture uses only one-fifth of the total factory area). The factory, however, offers much more possibilities and also requires more than simple real estate management. The buildings of the factory served as references for the products manufactured among their walls. These buildings are excellent industrial history values and also potential touristic attractions.

During regeneration, several issues were raised that impacted the success of the process: real estate vs. production; culture vs. industry; institution vs. business; profit vs. non-for-profit activity. The main goal of the project is "creation of a cultural and arts knowledge centre, a cultural zone that serves and at the same time expands the public culture possibilities of the inhabitants of the city and the region, and offers a basis for the enlargement of the product range of cultural tourism" (Feasibility Study of the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter 2009). The regeneration of the factory and its utilisation for cultural purposes also means the renewal of the respective city part. The renewal of factory facility, the northeast gateway of the city of Pécs, allows the enlargement of the city centre, its eastward extension. The heritage basis of the Quarter, in addition to the buildings formerly used in production, includes the intellectual heritage of Zsolnay by which Pécs gained worldwide recognition many years ago and which has still remained an important asset in the image of the city.

The regeneration of the Quarter leads to a versatile cultural use, in addition to the former production function. Elements of the cultural use include touristic, recreational and arts knowledge centre functions. The greatest expectation against the activity of the manager of the Quarter, the Zsolnay Örökségkezelő Kft. (Zsolnay Heritage Management Ltd.) is sustainable operation. This requires a continuous flow of visitors, on the one hand, and reliable and solvent tenants, on the other hand. Among the institutions that have moved to the Quarter we find the Pannon Philharmonic, the Pécs Gallery, the Bóbita Puppet Theatre, the Arts Faculty of the University of Pécs, and also catering facilities.
Among the visitors of the Quarter, local and nearby residents are of special importance. Whereas the presence of tourists is restricted in time and space, local residents mean the foundation of the operation of the Quarter. Of course the spaces

of the Quarter cannot be clearly separated into touristic and recreational spaces, and this separation must not be a goal, anyway. The two target groups can be differentiated by the character of their consumption habits, to which the typical spaces can be connected. Recreational spaces are visited both by local residents and tourists, while in spaces of primarily touristic function the proportion of local inhabitants is low; their visit is usually linked to participation in some event.

Tab. 2: functional division of the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter.

Spaces with touristic function	Transitory zone	Spaces with recreational function
Arts Quarter (museums: exhibition of the history of the Zsolnay family and factory, Zsolnay Mausoleum, Gyugyi Collection, Pink Exhibition)	Planetarium	Playgrounds
	Laboratory – an interactive magical space	Bóbita Puppet Theatre
	Squares, exhibition spaces and concert halls (E78, Pyrogranite Court)	Sport fields

From the 2011 professional report of Zsolnay Heritage Management Non-for-profit Ltd. we can see that almost one half of the visitors to the Quarter come from Baranya County. This is due, on the one hand, to the fact that local residents are also interested in the sights of interest, but any further visit to the Quarter is dependant upon the programmes. Among the local visitors we find those interested in culture, those with a strong sense of identity, public education institutions and organised school groups, who show up also in the "Arts Quarter", part of the facility with basically touristic functions. On the other hand, visiting a cultural event is not the main attraction for domestic tourists, at least this is revealed by the market research done in the framework of the Feasibility Study. The primary attraction, in accordance with the surveys, is the visit to the manufacture, within that especially watching how porcelain is painted.

The long-term basis for the operation of the Quarter can be events, which, in addition to filling up the space with life, guarantee the return of guests several times a year. It is estimated that major festivals and events are visited by approximately 2,000-2,500 people each. If the Quarter becomes an acknowledged location of events, the number of visitors can probably be increased by some 25,000-30,000 people annually. Such major events may be in the future in our opinion the Zsolnay Festival that addresses a broader audience, and also the Szamárfül Festival that is an entertainment opportunity for local families with kindergarten and young school age children, primarily. However, contradictions can also be seen in programme and events organisation. It is a question how the citizens of Pécs – who are the main audience of the events – will take the relocation of formerly successful and highly visited programmes from the inner city of Pécs to the new quarter. The Heritage Festival – Pécs Days is a programme of 22 years of past, it is one of the most renowned multi-day events of the city that was hosted in 2012 by the Zsolnay Quarter. The acceptance of the change of location is made problematic by the fact that the concerts could only be visited by paying entrance fee, as opposed to the formerly free participation.

5.2 Case study: extra-urban recreational space – Orfű

Orfű can be found in Baranya County, at the northwest foot of the Mecsek Mountains, 18 kilometres from the county seat, Pécs. The municipality now has 916

inhabitants (HCSO 2010), after the integration of five former settlements – Orfű, Mecsekrákos, Mecsekszakál, Tekeres and Bános – and has become a destination important in tourism.

The birth and the tourism sector of Orfű is a relatively recent phenomenon, the area was consciously made a holiday resort in the 1960s. The main goal was to meet the recreational demands of the people working in the city of Pécs, especially of the miners and their families, for which a system of artificial reservoirs was made. The lakes are still the main basis of recreation in the village.

The developments starting in the 1960s included the construction of roads, the creation of the infrastructure and suprastructure conditions of tourism. Beside the lakes holiday sites, angler's residences, company holiday facilities, private holiday homes and student camps were established (South Transdanubian Tourism Public Limited – STTPL–, on the assignment of the Orfű Tourism Association TDM Organisation, 2010).

The block of holiday homes, as in other holiday resorts of Hungary, is characterised by the variety of holiday homes, as a result of different needs and different amounts of money available for their construction (Kraftné Somogyi 1993).

Tourism was flourishing until the 1980s, since then it has gradually been losing its attraction, mainly due to a loss of markets after the disappearance of social tourism (youth tourism and company holiday facilities). Later the introduction of the system of travel cheque gave a boom to tourism, as in other parts of Hungary too. In 2004 it was the unpleasant weather, in 2008 the lake muck removal works that resulted in the decline of the number of guests (Orfű TDM organisation – STTPL 2010).

Although the crisis breaking out in 2008 had a negative impact on tourism as well, it promoted extra-urban recreation. A result of the crisis and the recent trends is the growing popularity of trips of shorter distance and time, and the growing role of individualism, environment consciousness, a growing demand for the alternative forms of tourism, the appreciation of authenticity and going back to the roots, culture and education, the nostalgia need of traditionalism, health consciousness, the growing role of active touristic products and experience-orientation (Aubert 2011) all make Orfű a more and more popular and acknowledged destination these days. The management of the touristic products of Orfű and the attraction of guests to the area was the responsibility of the Orfű Tourism Association after 2008. In 2010 this work was taken over by the Orfű Tourism Association Tourism Destination Management Organisation.

The touristic and recreational supply of Orfű is very much varied, especially if we also include in the destination the nearby villages: Abaliget, Kovácsszénája and Husztót, as these villages posses further touristic products and offer further possibilities to the guests.

According a 2012 survey of the Orfű Tourism Destination Management Organisation, approximately 53% of all guests arriving at Orfű are from Pécs or Baranya County. The proportion of nearby citizens, however, varies attraction by attraction. The composition of the range of one-day trippers is more difficult to examine, as the participants in this kind of recreation are not registered at any accommodation, and

the survey based on questioning the postal code of the place of residence is not widespread yet.

In order to get to know the composition of the circle of guests, the Orfű Tourism Association assigned in 2010 the South Transdanubian Tourism Public Limited to make a study. In addition to the findings of this, we use information received from the representatives of the respective attractions.

The recreational functions of the lakes of Orfű have been separated from the beginning: the Orfű Lake is mainly for bathers, the Pécs Lake for the lovers of water sports, while the Herman Ottó Lake and the nature reserve offer recreation for anglers. The role of the Orfű Lake and the beach of the lake is important in passive leisure. The lake is evidently most popular with the local inhabitants, the population of Baranya County and Pécs – especially higher education students in Pécs, youth of 26-35 years of age without children and families with parents aged 36-45 –, their proportion within all guests is estimated by the employees of beach facilities to be around 80%.

In order to meet the demand of travellers for experiences, Orfű tries to attract guests by thematic events, organised programmes, the Pécs-Orfű-Abaliget bicycle route, and by the combination of water based and artificial elements of experience. Orfű is part of the Baranya Fun Tour, anyway.

The Aquapark attracts guests from all over Hungary. Although the high proportion of the Pécs citizens can also be observed here, the share of guests from Budapest and West Hungary is also significant. The Active Water Sports Centre, using the opportunities offered by the area, offers a wide range of programmes to the guests, like kayaking and canoeing, or dragon shipping. In addition, there is a sailing association and a surfing club to broaden the range of touristic services in Orfű. Among the users of these services the high proportion of the Pécs citizens – especially the young and the families – can be seen, besides the sports events and camps organised in Orfű, which have a national significance.

The staff of the House of Mecsek is active in programme organisation. Their supply of services includes speleological adventure tours, surface tours, educational presentations, camps and forest schools. These programmes are mainly designed for the university students of Pécs, the youth, families and small children, and also for guests arriving from Budapest and Szeged.

The Directorate of the Danube-Dráva National Park offers programmes in Orfű too. An expert of the Directorate, Attila Komlós reported about the popularity of the speleological tours in the caves of the Limeburners Springs and in the stalactite cave of Abaliget. The caves can only be visited with guide. These two programmes are not typical elements in the recreation of the Pécs citizens: the cave of the Limeburners Springs is explored by speleologists in the first place, while the Abaliget Stalactite Cave is mostly visited by Pécs citizens with their families or school classes in their early year, and they later return as visitors with their own families and relatives, only. The area around the cave, on the other hand, has a role in recreation with its lake and excursion paths. The guided tours offered by the Directorate of the National Park are popular with hikers from Pécs in the first place.
Equestrian programmes are also popular. They are attractions for the whole of the region or Hungary. Designated horseback riding trails and qualified equestrian farms

are at the disposal of guests. The main market segment for the horse riding facilities is primary and secondary school pupils from Pécs, and families from Pécs, Baranya county, Budapest and West Hungary.

The designated orienteering and triathlon tracks and the bicycle routes allow active recreation which is more and more frequently used by the citizens living nearby. The study paths and designated hiking trails are also popular with excursionists. The Herman Ottó Lake and Kovácsszénája Lake are important for anglers. This anglers' paradise, with national recognition, is especially important for the generation aged 45-65.

The environment of Orfű, the villagescape, the protected peasant houses, the local exhibition house and the Court of Ovens, and also the Mill Museum are more of touristic importance, attracting school groups, families and guests with special interest from all over Hungary, but less popular recreational attractions for the local inhabitants. The guests from nearby areas are usually families from Pécs and Baranya County, and the generation aged 45-65, also from Pécs and Baranya. Exceptions from this are the gastronomy programmes, handicrafts workshops and other events organised in Orfű, as they are favoured by local inhabitants, nearby dwellers, families, and elderly people alike.

In general we can say of the events that although Orfű boasts of many events of national importance (Bear's Garlic Days, Pumpkin Festival, Fishing on Orfű), these are popular with Pécs citizens. Depending on the type of the event, students, families and elderly people appear in higher proportions at these events.

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RECREATIONAL SPACES IN THE TOWNS OF HUNGARY
Summary

The birth of recreational spaces is closely linked to the process of urbanisation, to the appearance of leisure centres in- and outside the settlements. The most typical examples for this are the agglomerations, while the appreciation of the intra-urban recreational spaces is a rather recent phenomenon. In addition to the satisfaction of the demand of the local inhabitants, the motivations of the one-day trips of the Hungarian population also reinforce this process. Also in line with the international trends, recreational spaces offering complex experience are becoming more and more popular, addressing wide layers of society, but above all the individual persons. We can see more and more examples for the renewal of city quarters and objects renewed in the framework of urban regeneration projects, which also means a functional shift and the renewed places can serve as community spaces for the local inhabitants. The endowments of the landscapes and settlements determine the birth of characteristic leisure spaces in Hungary, so the development of the country towns of the Great Hungarian Plain is usually concomitant with the progress of intra-urban recreational spaces, while extra-urban recreational spaces are more typical in the mountainous and hilly areas. A specific feature of the recreational space use in the whole of Hungary is the presence of privately used holiday homes and closed hobby gardens for agricultural utilisation, which basically correlates to the urbanisation process but can also be linked to exact dates from the recent past.

Our case studies demonstrate the two basic types. The Zsolnay Cultural Quarter of Pécs, also related to the award of the European Capital of Culture title in 2010, is an example for brownfield area regeneration, as a result of which a recreational space serving both local inhabitants and tourists was created, with rich industrial monument assets and cultural programme supply.

Orfű is a recreational space in the hinterland of the city of Pécs, using the splendid endowments of a Mecsek Mountains, with a considerable touristic activity and number of guests by Hungarian standards (50 thousand guest nights per annum). This destination has entered the renewal part of its life cycle, with a new image and programmes, a changing circle of guests. In this process, the rapidly changing demands of the local inhabitants living in the agglomeration are more and more emphasised.

HUNGARIAN CHALLENGES OF HOUSING BLOCK REGENERATION: A CASE STUDY OF URÁNVÁROS, CITY OF PÉCS

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Abstract
Hungarian challenges of housing block regeneration: a case study of Uránváros, city of Pécs
As post-socialist suburbanisation is about to decline, and the buildings of cities start to age rapidly, more and more attention is focused on city rehabilitation in East-Central Europe as well, which will probably be continued in the near future by the rehabilitation of early housing estates. Through an example, the current study shows the challenges such an action faces. Based on the comparison of demands with scenarios that were drawn up from data bases originating from a diverse methodology, it appears that the most reasonable idea would be to generally apply the basic principles of diversification and selecto-concentration, but the uniqueness of individual housing blocks requires that planning is done on an individual basis.
Key words
Regeneration, planning, East-Central Europe, housing estates, selecto-concentration

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1. Introduction

Just like the declining trend of suburbanisation – and associated city diffusion – (Duany et al. 2000; Bajmócy and Györki 2012), re-urbanisation is another feature that can be observed in Hungary (Szirmai 2011). New urbanism, green design, healthy communities etc. and other urban planning trends that intend to act against inevitably uneconomic suburbia that waste space, time and resources (Guhathakurta and Wichert 1996; San Martin 2001; Schuchmann 2001) lay emphasis on urban rehabilitation with a view to the (re-)utilisation of already built-in urban (residential) areas (Duany and Speck 2010).

In Hungary, because population decline and ageing have been in effect for three decades already, together with the increasing proportion of empty flats, the need for re-utilizing formerly residential areas is becoming more and more evident, as opposed to launching new green-field investments. Some elements of the European Capital of Culture 2010 project in the city of Pécs have also made an attempt to enliven urban spaces and revive the urban texture (Takáts 2005). In the case of de-central zones of the urban margin areas, including 'Uránváros'[1], one of the important housing estates, this was focused on certain core public areas only, and was mostly limited to repaving, landscaping and creating new parks, with the obvious aim to also boost associated private investments. During the still running post-project evaluation process with the involvement of an array of disciplines and the public, several conflicts and opportunities were pointed out, also calling the attention to the need of further research. The importance of research and new studies is justified by the fact that the new urban development concept and integrated urban development strategy are just being elaborated.

The primary objective of the current study is to explore about the general challenges in regenerating Hungarian housing estates, from aspects like factors to be considered, study methods to be applied, to the cardinal issues of planning and implementation. For better applicability, all these aspects are shown in our paper as a case study, through the example of 'Uránváros', an early housing estate.

2. Research methods

In order to survey the characteristics and perspectives of the city district (van Kempen et al. 2006, 30), we used different methods (both qualitative and quantitative) in several stages, with the inclusion of a substantial number of university students pursuing their studies in the field of geography and urban development. Among others, our surveys dealt with the housing block as a whole, the changes of social-economic structure, and the functional changes of public open spaces, buildings and institutions, as well as the typical traffic and transportation issues of the district. The surveys included field data collecting, questionnaires, internet database building and analysis, interviewing, mental mapping, as well as active participation in professional round-table discussions and public forums. As it follows from the age of the district, from the transforming composition of its residents and from the partial changing of its functions, first of all the authors wanted to gain an objective view of which types of spaces in Uránváros are used by what type of people, for what purposes and when. Accordingly, as part of field data collection, a group of 15 geographer MSc students performed a detailed survey with

[1] 'Uránváros' in Hungarian means Uranium City in English.

photographs on the current status of street furniture, vegetation, paving, traffic, environment (light, smells, sounds) and space users. The survey was conducted in two daily periods (one during the day and one in the evening), with the district divided into 140 spatial units[2]. We asked a total of 40 local people of various ages, residence and social status to draw mental pictures about the district they are familiar with, either supporting or contradicting reality.

In order to be able to perform a more or less representative survey of the true population in the target area[3], seven building type specimens were established (differing in their age, technology, structure and position), whose spatial structure and distribution pattern appropriately represent the residential units and the inhabitants of the entire district. A considerable proportion of students taking part in surveying activities live in the target area which was helpful for them in finding their way (and in raising trust), when they were surveying particular building types, blocks of flats or housing blocks. As part of such activity, they had to proceed from one flat to the other, collecting and recording the basic data of people living there. Although complete coverage was hard to achieve in this sample too, yet the recorded data allow for much more accurate estimations than those originating from a regular population census.

The information about the space use of Uránváros, as obtained from the actual picture was completed with data from a questionnaire-type but much simpler space use calendar, from which it is possible to see the space/time use data of an entire day of the population reached in Uránváros i.e. those currently using the district. With the help of the evaluated 210 questionnaires we could see an outline picture not only about the major everyday routes and mobility patterns of people living in Uránváros, but also about the spatial tracks of people staying there from other reasons, and their motivation. The obtained data were further refined by having questionnaires filled out by residents and private entrepreneurs[4]. Permanent residents of the Uránváros district were selected randomly and asked about the district, the use of public spaces, the physical condition of their homes, traffic routines and the effects of the ECC investments. The total number of people asked was 225, which sample size is more than 1% of the local population according to the 2001 census. In case of the questionnaires for the businesses, we were aiming at total coverage and thus contacted all the enterprises involved in economic activities, regardless of the profile, but the rate of refusal was high (about one third). Nevertheless, the mapping of businesses was accomplished, and the approximately 50 questionnaires completed by mostly small enterprises provided a good indication of changes in the conditions for local enterprises, as well as their customer distribution.

From the aspect of the future of Uránváros, we have considered it to be of key importance to know about the situation and potentials of flats in the estate market. Besides relying on questionnaire data, the authors wished to reach this objective most effectively by collecting data of estates and flats for sale or for hire on the

[2] Aiming at the highest possible resolution, three different types of areas were differentiated when designating the small units (normally around 0,5 ha in area) bordered by buildings: *inner court type*, *along traffix axis type*, and *other type*. Coverage was, however, not complete: public institutions, and areas occupied by main roads were not included in the surveyed areas.

[3] As an important criteria of further planning, this was necessary because all the available statistical data were highly outdated, and there is illegal or semi-illegal flat hiring in the district, including a substantial, seasonally fluctuating pool of university students, numbering about 1,000.

[4] This part of the survey was conducted with the help of first and second year BSc students.

internet into a database, by analysing these, as well as by making interviews with sales representatives of the four largest estate agencies. The database contains, among others, the district, size area, price, room numbers, wall structure and advertiser ID for all of the traded estates in Pécs, which thus allows for comparisons between city districts. The short-term measuring of temporal changes is made possible by a similar database completed a year before. The interviews, partly using directed questions, seek answers to the estate market position of Uránváros as a whole, to the general features of flats and residents, both from the side of demand and supply, and extended onto the better understanding of special local conditions. In drafting the various scenarios, the active participation in professional round-table discussions and public forums held as part of the local post-project evaluation of the ECC project also had an outstanding role, contributing to the research with a wide variety of new pieces of professional information and feedback.

3. Briefly about city district rehabilitation

As interpreted in our research, city district rehabilitation is virtually identical with urban rehabilitation (Roth 2004, 75), i.e. it is a modified version, emphasizing its partial spatial character and the importance of the need for it to be cautiously fit into the urban texture. Accordingly, what is understood as city district rehabilitation is "the renovation of the residential buildings, flats, community institutions and infrastructure of a worn-down district, during which the typical structure and layout of the district, together with the valuable buildings, are maintained". City district rehabilitation includes a wide array of activities, differentiated on the basis of the degree, depth, "crudeness" and possible objectives of the interventions (Egedy and Kovács 2005, 9). Because city district rehabilitation concentrates on smaller units of the urban texture, it is essential that special emphasis is laid on the well-thought, complex development of suburbia and the environment of connecting axes.

The concept of city regeneration which has recently established itself in Hungary too, has its foundations in an integrated, wide approach (mostly along principles of social, economic and environmental elements) (Roberts 2000, 17; Egedy and Kovács 2005, 12). Accordingly, the planning for future and the actions of implementation must rely on a harmonic coupling of needs with major trends that are drafted with process analysis on the widest possible basis and with the largest possible number of layers. A high level of co-operation between governmental/local, business and civilian spheres, i.e. a partnership with a good division of tasks, has decisive importance in implementation. Moreover, when rehabilitating city districts, the effects on other parts of the city should not be overlooked either, meaning that planning should not be restricted to the actual implementation site only, and to the demands and expectations formulated by locals only.

Because the target area of Uránváros can actually be interpreted as one of the archetypal representatives of Hungarian large housing estates (LHE), it is worth introducing the city district rehabilitation characteristics of this housing environment form in a few sentences. One of the urban architectural values of Uránváros is just the fact that it is not a typical housing estate regarding its structure and integration into the city corpus, but instead it is much more liveable and colourful. One of the main characteristics of LHE's is their relative synchronism and uniformity considering both the flats and the residents, which fact influences subsequent actions as well (Csizmady 2003; Ferkai 2005). The renovation of flats and buildings becomes necessary at more or less the same time (Egedy 2001), and their resident

population of relatively homogeneous age structure and social status age together due to their reduced mobility, and enter together the stages of life that demand special requirements. The replacement of flat owners and the emptying of the flats also happen as a single major wave. Other characteristic features are density and bulkiness which characterise the residents, the flats and the values. All this requires and justifies grand, action-type management activities, which, however, are considerably slowed down by the fragmented nature of Hungarian property structure. Regrettably, the projects having been implemented so far by the government or the municipalities are not the least as complex as the ones at the time of the creation of these buildings, thus they have never reached the levels of value-enhancing renovations known from western countries (Egedy 2005, 241).

4. Characteristics of the district

The analysed city district was built in several stages between 1955–1974, but along a single concept. Its birth was related with the manpower need from the exploitation of uranium ore that had been discovered in the western outskirts of the city, and the associated improvement of urban functions causing a significant demand for flats. The district which is officially called Újmecsekalja but conventionally called Uránváros by residents was built up from the south-west towards the north-east, proceeding from the fringes of the town towards the core areas. For the purposes of the housing estate, which was to accommodate about 25,000 people, a plain area was selected between the historic town and the planned mine. Initially, four-storey pitched-roof houses were built, with a network of small backyards, then in 1962 the individually designed 7-storey houses were completed, the system of service units was established together with the headquarters office building of the mining company, small shops, a clinic complex, confectioneries and a restaurant. The hierarchic system of residential units was created in a way that they integrated worker hostels, baby day care and kindergarten units, primary and vocational schools than later secondary grammar school and vocational grammar school as well. In the 1960s four- and ten-storey panel block buildings also appeared, and in 1969 ‘Mecsek Áruház’, the most up-to date five-storey department store of the city and the region was opened. This was the time when the construction of the 17-storey block of flats was launched in the planned sub-centre of the district. The last concrete panel buildings were completed by the mid-1970s, contributing to the total of 7,350 flats completed until 1974 in the district. During the course of two decades, the exceptionally broad system of institutions was completed in the district of Uránváros, based on well-thought principles, so as to please the needs of uranium miners, a highly-esteemed class in the socialist era. Although some parts of the planned investments were eventually left out, nevertheless several emblematic locations and a significant residential focus point were thus created for the entire city of Pécs. Owing to the features of the district and the proximity of the university, it has remained a popular area among young people, and the liveability of its public spaces was further enhanced by its rehabilitation implemented as part of the Pécs ECC 2010 project (Bencze 2009).

Its peculiarity as a housing estate was ensured by the fact that although its creation was started early, it lasted through three decades, moreover, it is a district which is diverse despite being uniform, and has a privileged abundance of functions associated with its central and radial structure (Fig. 1.) Because it was built in stages through a long period starting in the mid-1950s, it now shows an unusually diverse picture regarding its buildings (wall material, physical and technical

condition, number of storeys, arrangement of buildings, etc.), its inhabitants (age, occupation, family status, incomes, etc.), as well as in its public spaces. Because of this diversity, Uránváros is a particularly suitable subject in the study and field research of development routes leading from traditional districts to rehabilitated housing estates.

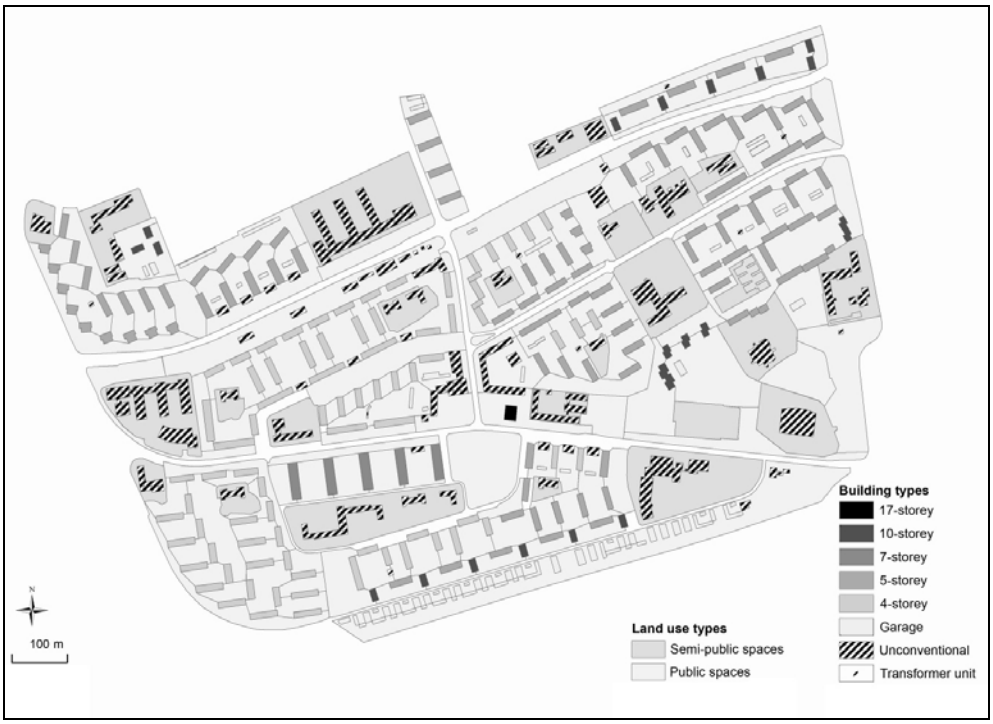

Fig. 1: The spatial structure and building types of Uránváros (ed.: Bognár Z. 2012).

The outdoor public spaces of Uránváros are generally in an acceptable state, due to (or sometimes despite) their public (local governmental) maintenance, but also there are many places that require renovation. The overall picture is generally uniform, with a few interesting, new-looking central spots, created as part of the ECC project, standing out from the east-west ageing 'slope'[5]. Facilities in these outdoor spaces are diverse in their types as well as qualities, due to the influence of the different communities living there, which is a partial indicator of the long-term transformation of the user populations. As regards the functions of spaces, they are almost exclusively characterised with pedestrian traffic and green areas, as well as with the facilities for public parking opportunities and communal waste collection. Playgrounds used to be all around the place, but these have almost perished, with only remains being present of what used to be facilities, sometimes in dangerous conditions, nowadays being used as dog toilets, bicycle stands or other destructive types of uses. Only about one third of them have been able to keep their original

[5] The buildings and the original population of the district are oldest in the south-western part, turning into a younger composition in the north-eastern-eastern parts. Ageing does not always appear simultaneously on the general condition of buildings, sidewalks and public spaces, since the availability of financial resources initially allowed more serious and more diverse technical content than in the case of the most recent housing blocks that are mostly featureless or worn-down despite having been already renovated.

function, mostly with new or already renovated paving. Predominantly shaggy garages are found in 20% of the investigated areas, usually in smaller clusters of 5-10 units; however, the "forest of garages" in the spatial unit along the railway line marking the southern district border has a capacity of 300 cars, fulfilling the automobile storage needs of local residents that once was strong but has become reduced recently.

Based on our surveys, there appears substantial difference between the daytime and night-time public space use of Uránváros. Looking at either the spatial pattern of parking cars or the age distribution of people using these spaces it is found that the majority of employees commute to work to other parts of the town, but at the same time many people from outside Uránváros tend to use the services with wider attraction zones in the centre of the district (post office, clinic, offices, educational institutions). This finding is supported by data from the space use calendars: more than one third of responding people are not residents of the district, among whom 60% are of child age or students. The population that is present in the district in daytime hours is made up by older and middle-aged people (at rates beyond 50%), whereas evening and night-time hours show a dominance of younger adults (university students and working age people) who arrive home after work or school. It should be noted, however, that large numbers of young students are also present in the district in the daytime period, although not in public places but inside various institutions, thus they are considered as "transit population" regarding their space use, relying on other local services only partially. The centre with its multitude of restaurants, pubs, shopping, sporting and playground facilities has a dominantly all-day, central role. Other central points of density are major bus stops, the market, and, temporarily, the areas around kindergartens and schools.

According to the most recent official census data in 2001, the number of inhabitants in the 6,258 flats[6] of Uránváros was 12,247 individuals. In one of our studies we estimated the permanent population to be much larger, at around 14–15 thousand (Orbán 2011). The difference of 2–3,000 is probably made up by the temporary tenants, mostly university students who tend to avoid census. It is a common practice that although three or four people live in a flat in order to cut down on costs, only one person is registered officially, or sometimes not even one of them. However, the population census data in the sample building type in our study highlight the fact that the wave of generation replacement takes place in the present decade in some parts of Uránváros, with a fading pattern from west towards the east. Thus, because of the often temporarily empty flats or ones with a widow owner only, the number of residents in the district nearly reached the figure of the 2001 census. To bring a typical example: the population of mostly elderly, single people and young newcomer residents with low income and level living in small families is enriched by university students with an occupation rate of 3-6 people per flat. Another effect of the changes is that the local community is now greatly influenced by the conflicts caused by extremities arising from differences in age, lifestyle and mentality. The proportion of old pensioners is estimated by our surveys at around 40% or even more, but university students also represent a considerable, nearly 25% ratio. The surprisingly low rate of employment is distressing. Families with small children, i.e. people who represented the target group of the high-standard service sector and public space system at their time of creation, are now

[6] The figure of 7,350 built flats mentioned earlier decreased somewhat primarily due to conversions to shops and other business service units, and partly because of the fact that the official statistical demarcation of the Uránváros district is somewhat different from what was used in our study.

found in small numbers, mostly in local governmental flats, this fact generating a number of functional problems.

Data obtained from questionnaires (in excess of 200) do support in many respects the aforementioned information originating from other sources. An interesting fact is that because of the two-pole population in shortage of active working age people, the figure of 200–250 automobiles per 1000 citizens is only about two third of the average value typical for big cities. The relative shortage of automobiles is perfectly replaced by the availability of public transportation. With almost no exception, people replying to our questions are satisfied with the conditions in this respect, rating the accessibility of Uránváros higher than 4.5 (on a scale of 0-5). The rate of bicycle use, another type of modern urban traffic is quite low, owing to the age and general health status of residents: 62% of the population do not have a bicycle. The prerequisites of any further development, as seen by young people asked, is a more developed bicycle route network and more (closed) storage facilities.

The uniform identity conception of the housing estate is well reflected by the fact that the place of residence within Pécs, as specified by people in their answers to the open question, was Uránváros with almost no exceptions. Such a bold identity is not surprising, since Uránváros used to be probably the socially most cohesive district, some of its effects still being present. The high level of supply standards, regarding housing blocks in general, was supported by questionnaire data. Besides public transportation which was considered to be outstanding, educational, health and other services were rated with scores higher than 4, just like general shopping possibilities. More than 4/5 of people buy their supply of foodstuff locally, more than 2/3 have access to health services, 50% to education locally, but even clothing, hardware and entertainment products are purchased in situ by about 1/3 of the answering residents. Major causes of dissatisfaction by members of the community, include noise and air pollution, sanitary problems, and the lack of job opportunities locally, but even these factors were scored to somewhat higher than 3. Accordingly, less than 1/3 of the population would move from the district, given the opportunity. These people would move on because of reasons such as wanting a family house with garden, looking for a larger flat, or wishing to live a more dynamic life in a downtown area. Those wishing to stay are kept in place by familiarity, the quiet environment, family, friends or school in the neighbourhood, good traffic, and budgetary limitations. Uránváros is a place liked by its residents: the average score was good (4.04). The same finding is suggested by the information gained from the analysis of mental maps. Resulting from the well-planned, spatially clear arrangement, most of the people described is a liveable residential environment, well supplied with services. The vast majority of people consider the local investments of the ECC project and its effects in the district to be clearly positive, but when they are asked about examples, most of them will not be able to bring up anything else but the landscaping and livening up of the main square. Negative opinions highlight uselessness and the lack of new employment opportunities, whereas less intense criticism talks about the insufficiency of results, with the direction being considered to be right. Entrepreneurs, however, view the outcomes of recent developments more pessimistically, as shown by our questionnaires; to be more precise they do not really see any outcome that could help them crawl out from the harsh economic situation. The micro and small businesses most of which employ a few members of staff only, say that they are struggling for survival in a particularly price-sensitive setting, and do not plan hardly any investment. Most of the shops were established in the 2000s, relying on the prospective consumption of

the local population, and thus the majority of customers of these shops are local people. There are also some special profile stores in the district – taking advantage of good accessibility, an important aspect of choosing location for a business – whose target customers are from outside the district or even from outside the city. Despite the generally sombre situation, people that were asked are looking forward to, most of all, the renovation of streets and public areas, and the shifting of population living in the area.

According to the opinion of estate agents, the foreseen future of the district will probably improve somewhat, due to the fact that Uránváros is already becoming more popular because of the availability of relatively inexpensive, small flats with low running costs and proximity to high standard service supply, sought after by young people and university students from other parts of the country. The negative part of the picture here is the horrible unemployment and debt conditions of the wider economic environment. It is saddening that even estate agents think that the only way of increasing the value of flats in the district is by minor (engineering) renovations, because concrete panels of the buildings are structural elements and thus must remain unmodified. They also believe, though, that there may be possibilities to expand the area of the district on neighbouring unbuilt areas, because this is the type of residential environment – with an abundance of greenery – that is most sought after in the city. In a real estate marketing slogan for Uránváros, they would emphasise the greener, more liveable, cheaper, more familiar environment.

The analysis of a real estate internet database seemed to support what was communicated by the agencies. The representation of flats in Uránváros in the real estate market is much greater, standing at a proportion of 1/7, than their share in the total number of flats in Pécs. This proportion has grown since the last figure measured a year before, with the prices per square metre having grown relatively, owing to the fact that prices have decreased significantly in other parts of the city. Flats with few rooms, slightly in excess of 50 square meter area are being advertised at prices around 28,000 EUR, but at the same time this is the district where a separate flat in satisfactory condition and in a good environment can be bought at the cheapest price – starting at around 17,000 EUR. NGOs operating in Pécs organised a programme series and round-table discussions as a follow-up activity to the 'Public spaces and parks' programme of Pécs 2010 European Capital of Culture project. Lead by the organisation 'Urbanista Konzorcium', and with the title '6xUránváros' a programme and public event series of 6 elements was organised in the spring of 2012 in the district of Uránváros. The main purpose of the action was to “strengthen the relationship between the local community and the completed investments of the ECC, and relying on this, open up new needs and directions for the community which could encourage co-operation between actors of the situation, at the same time drawing up outlines for the city about further development and investment tasks in the district” (Urbanista Konzorcium 2012, 6). Although the action has brought several interesting results and experience, these have stayed within the circles of professionals, as disinterest and passivity was sometimes outrageous. The majority of people articulate their opinion only when they feel that they are personally and directly affected, and even in such cases mostly against something. Whether or not it is really relevant to base the plans for the future on the opinion of a constantly changing, though significant part of the population whose representation is constantly decreasing, is another question.

5. Challenges (scenarios and demands)

As seen by the authors of this paper, the most probable future of Uránváros, based on the fundamental local tendencies and without any major interventions, is as follows. Looking from the perspective of demographic changes – one of the most important starting points – a substantial decrease is foreseen in the near future, due to the high representation of the age group of elderly, pensioner people. As old people disappear and people around the end of their active period move out to less costly living conditions offered by villages, the multitude of flats staying empty for varying periods of time will be slowly filled up by the younger generation. These people include university students and young individuals at the beginning of their career who move in from the countryside and use the relatively cheap Uránváros as a springboard, also low-income small families, and working age small families with children who are forced to leave their downtown or suburban houses or flats, maybe because of a mortgage bankruptcy. The generation shift must certainly be accompanied by the modernisation of flats and the partial renovation of buildings ant their environment, the reconsideration of their functions. This, in many cases, would mean the flat-cost modernisation of space use infrastructure (e.g. playgrounds) that was originally planned for higher number of children, and it also inevitably means that new facilities are introduced in accordance with the already existing new lifestyles (dog walking areas, outdoor leisure areas for elderly people, parking areas, etc.). We cannot anticipate major transformations following demographic changes in the public institutional system of Uránváros, because there are no drastic changes foreseen in the age groups within area units used as a matriculation basis for public education services. In relation with favourable spatial conditions, further concentration and specialisation are expected in the institutions, and the decreasing numbers in the children age group and the population in general will not have a negative effect on the expansion of attraction zones. The age structure of the population will continue to strengthen in the near future which will call for the functional modification of certain public buildings, as well as the improvement of their accessibility. According to what is told by the owners of smaller local businesses in the market, recent times have taught them to respond and adapt quickly in a way that their profiles follow the changes in the structure and demand of local residents, thus the supply they provide is good both in quality and quantity.

We have now reached the cardinal issue of traffic. As the number of small families in the working age grows, the slow increase in the number of cars is expected, even if service supply and public transportation remains good and there is an advantage of central location. Considering the uneven distribution of parking areas, the growing rate of automobiles per thousand inhabitants can become a source of conflicts, even if the figure will keep lagging behind the national average. The situation can become even more complicated due to the fact that the number of bicycles grows as well, since the space occupation of bike parking facilities in the loosely built public areas is ensured even in the long run, but storage on the level of flats and houses might be a problem. As part of the scenario, a few other effects must also be mentioned whose predictability is much lower but their importance is equally high. Looking at workplaces which have full effect on the future of the district, we see different possible outcomes when we assume that prospective large-scale employers come into the scene (including mining which is currently being reconsidered), and when it is anticipated that others might continue to shrink (e.g. the university). However, the most important features of Uránváros (composition of estates, position within

the city structure) more or less determine the basic parameters of the residents moving here; whichever of the two employment scenarios comes true. The situation of possession relations and closely associated, the issue of communities also have a wide range of effects. Currently, the dominant type of possession in the district is private ownership and private flats/apartments, whereas residential communities hardly function at all, due to the high degree of fluctuation. Not only the proportion of the changes in this, but also their direction are an open question and are almost impossible to estimate. Thus, the strengthening of communities is possible either on a higher level of privatisation or as state / local governmental roles are increased, but the situation might as well turn to the contrary; nevertheless the main aim remains the same: making space use more intensive and more rational.

The possible scenarios are influenced by a number of different demands, originating from either the residents, private or public entities of economic life, or from the side of the natural environment within the district and beyond its boundaries. Most of all these different demands are expressed openly towards any designer by the residents, due to their numerousness and loud articulation (especially in a housing estate), therefore it is of primary importance to seriously consider these. In the case of Uránváros, however, it is not advisable to base the plans for the future on the opinion of such a currently existing generation that is disappearing slowly from the area. Because the intentions of the municipality regarding the district are not precisely formulated, and there is no significant investor or employer in view with plans for the area either, there is an exceptional opportunity for the designers of the rehabilitation to generate demands, cautiously regarding the requirements of the natural environment, and to capture and attract the most adequate population. The challenge in this case is how to harmonise the possible scenarios with the designer's ideas which are possibly similar in nature and take advantage of those scenarios.

6. Recommended intervention plan (diversification and selecto-concentration)

The authors hereby present their theoretical developmental recommendations, based on the findings outlined above. The suggestions do include some activities that appear to be difficult to implement, yet we believe that the district is highly suitable in its present status to receive complex, harmonised development. If the aim is to create a district that is more reactive and less prone to housing block demographic wave effects, then it should be a basic principle to establish a resident population which is sufficiently diverse, with variable lifestyles and different needs in many respects. As a response to the challenges, the planned interventions should include in their complexity the enrichment and diversification of real estates, the transformation of ownership relations, the broadening of traffic opportunities, and the transformation of a number of public spaces, as well as public institutions. Although increased diversity is suggested, yet the absence of real communities call for introducing selecto-concentration, a certain degree of clustering differences. Grouping together and selectively settling[7] residents with basically similar lifestyles is necessary not only in order to enhance the establishment of communities, but also so as to rapidly, more adequately and simultaneously satisfy the space use needs of certain interest groups – which are often incompatible with anything else. In doing that, an element that is hardly transformable and is thus determinant for a

[7] A direct method to be used in the case of a larger proportion of local governmental flats. In the current situation selective settling can be achieved by incentives that mean significant attraction to certain target groups.

long term due to high costs, is the separation of parts of the physical environment, i.e. the creation of specialised spatial arrangements and facilities. A differentiated space is sustainable only if there is sufficient mobility (moving to a different place as one's lifestyle changes), which is not really the situation nowadays in Hungary when people usually adhere to their private possessions and familiar environment. However, in a more diverse district, moving within the area[8] becomes possible, meaning that mobility can strengthen, even if the proportion of hired estates does not grow.

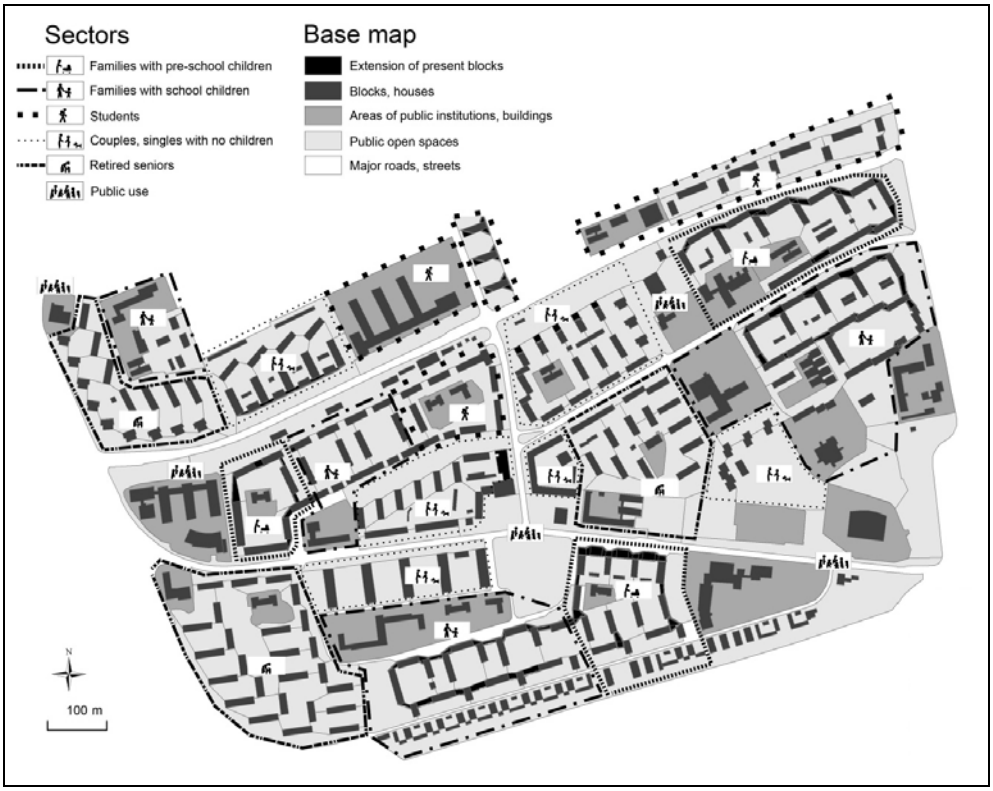

Fig. 2: A theoretical space use and functional map of a "selecto-concentrated" Uránváros (ed.: Orbán K. 2012).

In the example of Uránváros, five different sectors are established based on the lifestyle types with the most different space uses and spatial structure requirements (Fig. 2.). In each of them, development should be focused on the specified target resident group. The average home size and physical conditions are usually uniform within the categories, with only limited variability. Sectors for families with small children need a fully closed building framework, day care units, kindergarten facilities and maybe primary school lower classes, all based on local needs. Traffic of their inner spaces should be removed to the outside, re-landscaped playgrounds and bicycle storage facilities should be created in the place of most of the existing parking lots and garages. When restructuring the building frameworks, the inclusion

[8] Due to the supply of flats and the strong identity feeling in Uránváros, there is considerable degree of internal moving, and re-settling after once having moved out (N. Kovács, Halling and Tirri 2008).

of elevators is essential, and it is also recommended to ensure the connection of ground level apartments with the backyards, even maybe with new patios. The fusion of smaller flats into larger ones is needed in small numbers only, but it is absolutely possible in this sector.

The sectors with partly closed building units for families with older children could be completed with spatially directly connected primary school (upper classes), secondary grammar school, and various types of sports grounds and facilities replacing the existing inner parking lots. The horizontal and vertical extensions of home units here could include and greatly need the fusion and enlargement of separate flats, and it would also be necessary to renovate and build new garage units in the margin areas. In the more open, busier sectors dedicated to university students, the number of apartments can be increased by the division of existing ones and by vertical extension. Their quality can be improved by the creation of rooms (kitchen, dining room, lounge) and buildings (entertainment, studying) for community use. Regarding mobility, the preferred type of traffic here is by bicycles, for which enclosed storage facilities should be created, linked to the community buildings.

Similarly, in spaces for working age people still or already living without children the main objective can be, besides maintaining open building unit structures, an increased residential density, but in this case, mostly by means of vertical extensions, by keeping and possibly diversifying smaller and larger apartments. Here, public transportation should have higher importance besides bicycle use, with respect to the assumed age composition. For this group, the spatial requirements represented by keeping household pets and going out with friends probably have a higher value too (dog walking areas, pubs, cafeteria, restaurants).

In the sector for older, pensioner people the requirement of partially closed structure, a prerequisite of quietness and silence comes to the foreground once again, together with the keeping of inner, recreational areas with restricted or no traffic, the creation of sheltered parks and the keeping of homes with small number of rooms. Parts of his area, where the buildings are gradually becoming values of heritage, are the most suitable for preserving the residential spatial structure and appearance that are so familiar and dear for elderly people. Accordingly, renovation is the choice of interventions here, with the reconstruction of building engineering structures and the inclusion of elevators being vital components. Because mobility is reduced in this age group, the easy pedestrian access and short distances to local public institutions (clinic, community activity house for elderly people, etc.) should be prioritised, with the availability of complementing public transportation facilities. The inner roads, parking lots and garages could be replaced with accessibility sidewalks, recreational facilities, benches, as there is no substantial automobile and bicycle use in the sector.

7. Implementation?

Implementation is the most critical point of development projects in Hungary, which is equally true for city district rehabilitation. The questionability of such a rehabilitation project is further increased by the almost total lack of practical experience. Although there is an increasing number of European examples for large housing estate rehabilitation, (e.g. Leipzig – Grünau), samples of comprehensive block regeneration are scarce in Hungary; the Ferencváros and Józsefváros

investments being the only examples so far. Occasionally it is possible to obtain useful information from specialist forums of smaller scale rehabilitation projects such as the post-project evaluation of the rehabilitation programme of public spaces in Uránváros.

Based on experience gained so far it can be stated that the competent municipality must take a fundamental initiator-organizer role in the implementation process of city district rehabilitation (whether it be housing block type or a more traditional one). A wide spectrum of professionals, potential investors, and local residents must be involved and made interested in co-operating broadly with each other. Even as early as during the planning stage attempts must be made to create a wide and co-operating array of specialists, and their knowledge should be utilised in the stage of having the plans produced. In raising the necessary funds, the involvement of the private sector is usually essential, including banks and/or for-profit investor groups, thus laying the foundations of economic sustainability in the long run. It is also crucial to actively involve the residents of the district, which is important in the stage of surveying the demands, and is an active community-developing facility contributing to the success of technical implementation. The complex of the aforementioned aspects can prove to be useful for any city district rehabilitation project, however, as the physical conditions of the spatial unit to be revived continue to deteriorate and as more drastic and complex interventions become necessary, the full utilisation of the entire spectrum of measures becomes increasingly indispensable. One of the most important requisites of success is continuous, diverse but reserved communication between all of the parties involved. Even if there is good general knowledge of earlier experience in other places, it must be remembered that all city districts, especially housing estates are unique and irreproducible (especially as time passes), meaning that their rehabilitation routes are different and highly specific (Hall et al. 2005, 354).

8. Conclusion

City district rehabilitation, although in various forms, starts infiltrating into Hungary, too. Besides abandoned industrial areas, there is an increasing demand for the rehabilitation of old, ruined city parts around downtown areas; moreover, there is an approaching need, to come within this decade, for the revival of other districts which are not completely concrete panel (prefabricated) blocks. From the post-project evaluation of the revival of public spaces within the ECC project in Uránváros, Pécs, a number of problems and potentials were pointed out. From these experiences we can find solutions to the special challenges of the rehabilitation of housing estates, and we can also draw general conclusions. The basic challenge of city district rehabilitation is to satisfy the assumed and evoked social needs of the target resident population, in good harmony with the well-surveyed physical environment, and to harmonise those needs with those of non-residential space users, with other urban functions and with the broader natural environment. Because in Hungary, due to speculation in the real estate market, it is mostly areas with buildings just before final demolition that are subject to rehabilitation, it is advisable for the sake of success that the conditions for an ultimate, “hard rehabilitation” to be ensured. Due to the size and complexity of the district, the role of initiator and co-ordinator should be taken by the public administration unit on the adequate level, who should make efforts even as early as in the planning stage to actively involve a broad and co-operative specialist and financial human basis, and to find out about the diverse opinions of residents – who are normally uninterested

at the level of city district. Negotiations with local estate owners are only relevant in the stage of planning for specific blocks or buildings. The specific features of the rehabilitation of housing estates originate from simultaneity and similarity/uniformity, density and bulkiness, as well as from the dominance of public spaces. Challenges associated with the wave-like ageing of flats and their residents call for breaking up such homogeneity in all aspects. However, the diversification of flats and their residents, the institutions, public spaces and services used by them cannot be implemented without a certain degree of clustering. This is justified also by the distressing absence of resident communities, by strengthening separation and alienation, intolerance and incompatibility. When planning the interventions, relying on the selecto-concentration method, a more reactive and more heterogeneous picture can be created on the city district level, from a harmonic mosaic of internally alike smaller sectors. The age of a housing district greatly determines the "hardness" of rehabilitation, and by the shifting of generations in its resident population, its optimal timing is also determined. The density and bulkiness involved in the rehabilitation sets strict lower limits to the reproduced values of the interventions, since the reproduced values per unit area should not be less than in the preceding situation. The directions and dimensions of development could include the enlargement of buildings and flats with horizontal or vertical extensions and fusions; the improvement of the already good public transportation with more frequent lines and electrification; the use of spacious areas and wide roads for building bicycle road network and storage facilities; promoting the taking over of non-functional public spaces into community use or possession even by partial privatisation; the continuation of increasing environmental energy efficiency by the inclusion of renewing energy sources. Besides the multitude of transformations and things to change, we must not forget about the value preserving duties of heritage protection – an aspect which is not yet seriously recognised in housing estates.

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HUNGARIAN CHALLENGES OF HOUSING BLOCK REGENERATION: A CASE STUDY OF URÁNVÁROS, CITY OF PÉCS

Summary

City district rehabilitation, although in various forms, starts infiltrating into Hungary, too. Besides abandoned industrial areas, there is an increasing demand for the rehabilitation of old, ruined city parts around downtown areas; moreover, there is an approaching need, to come within this decade, for the revival of other districts which are not completely concrete panel blocks. From the post-project evaluation of the revival of public spaces within the ECC project in Uránváros (Uranium City), Pécs, a number of problems and potentials were pointed out. From these experiences we can project solutions to the special challenges of the rehabilitation of large housing estates, and we can also draw general conclusions. In order to survey the characteristics and perspectives of the city district, we used different methods (both qualitative and quantitative) in several stages, with the inclusion of a substantial number of university students pursuing their studies in the field of geography and urban development. Among others, our surveys dealt with the housing block as a whole, the changes of social-economic structure, the functional changes of public open spaces, buildings and institutions, as well as the typical traffic and transportation issues of the district. The surveys included field data collecting, questionnaires, internet database building and analysis, interviewing, mental mapping, as well as active participation in professional round-table discussions and public forums.

The concept of urban regeneration which has recently established itself in Hungary too, has its foundations in an integrated, wide approach (mostly along principles of social, economic and environmental elements). As interpreted in our research, city district rehabilitation is virtually identical with urban rehabilitation. The basic challenge of city district rehabilitation is to satisfy the assumed and evoked social needs of the target resident population, in good harmony with the well-surveyed physical environment, and to harmonise those needs with those of non-residential space users, with other urban functions and with the broader natural environment. Because in Hungary, due to speculation in the real estate market, it is mostly areas with buildings just before final demolition that are subject to rehabilitation, it is advisable for the sake of success that the conditions for an ultimate, “hard rehabilitation” are ensured. Due to the size and complexity of the district, the role of initiator and co-ordinator should be taken by the public administration unit on the adequate level, who should make efforts even as early as in the planning stage to actively involve a broad and co-operative specialist and financial human basis, and to find out about the diverse opinions of residents – who are normally uninterested at the level of city district. Negotiations with local estate owners are only relevant in the stage of planning for specific blocks or buildings. The specific features of the rehabilitation of housing estates originate from simultaneity and similarity/uniformity, density and bulkiness, as well as from the dominance of public spaces. Challenges associated with the wave-like ageing of flats and their residents call for breaking up such homogeneity in all aspects. However, the diversification of flats and their residents, the institutions, public spaces and services used by them cannot be implemented without a certain degree of clustering. This is justified also by the distressing absence of resident communities, by strengthening separation and alienation, intolerance and incompatibility. When planning the interventions, relying on the selecto-concentration method, a more reactive and more heterogeneous picture can be created on the city district level, from a harmonic

mosaic of internally alike smaller sectors. The age of a housing district greatly determines the “hardness” of rehabilitation, and by the shifting of generations in its resident population, its optimal timing is also determined. The density and bulkiness involved in the rehabilitation sets strict lower limits to the reproduced values of the interventions, since the reproduced values per unit area should not be less than in the preceding situation. The directions and dimensions of development could include the enlargement of buildings and flats with horizontal or vertical extensions and fusions; the improvement of the already good public transportation with more frequent lines and electrification; the use of spacious areas and wide roads for building bicycle road network and storage facilities; promoting the taking over of non-functional public spaces into community use or possession even by partial privatisation; the continuation of increasing environmental energy efficiency by the inclusion of renewing energy sources. Besides the multitude of transformations and things to change, we must not forget about the value preserving duties of heritage protection – an aspect which is not yet seriously recognised among housing estates.

FORMS OF SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN TOWNS (BASED ON THE CASE OF MARIBOR)

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Izvleček

Oblike socialno prostorske diferenciacije mest (na primeru Maribora)

Prispevek obravnava oblike prostorske diferenciranosti mesta, ki nastajajo ob zadovoljevanju človekovih potreb, in sicer socialnih stikov, oskrbe, kulture oziroma izobraževanja ter rekreacije. Socialno prostorska diferenciranost je najbolj očitna na področju socialnih stikov, oskrbe z oblačili ter kulture. Najpomembnejša socialna lastnost, zaradi katere nastaja prostorska diferenciranost se je izkazala starost ter materialni položaj. Pokazalo se je, da je velikost mesta ključnega pomena za socialno prostorsko diferenciranost.

Ključne besede

socialna diferenciacija, prostorska diferenciacija, Maribor

Abstract

Forms of social and spatial differentiation in towns (based on the case of Maribor)

This contribution discusses forms of spatial differentiation of the town, occurring while human needs are being fulfilled (social connections, supply, culture, education and recreation). Social and spatial differentiation is most noticeable in the area of social connections, clothing stores and culture. The most important social characteristics, responsible for spatial differentiation are age and material situation. Also, the size of the town proved to be crucial for social and spatial differentiation.

Key words

Social differentiation, spatial differentiation, Maribor

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1. Introduction

Modern societies show a rising trend of social heterogeneity of people due to pluralisation of lifestyles and ever growing social differences; both are apparently showing through larger spatial differentiation. Presuming that the spatial situation reflects social relations, one can imagine that a socially differentiated society also shows spatial differentiation. A town can therefore be understood as a "mosaic of social spaces" (Frey 2012, 507), in which each social group "claims" a certain part of town, street or a group of objects where it lingers in order to fulfil its needs. The Chicago school of urban ecology explains intertwinement of social spaces as consequence of aspiration for connecting members of similar social groups that have the same or similar social characteristics or a similar lifestyle. Towns thus show as intertwinement of different spaces (areas), defined by social characteristics of their inhabitants; to be more exact: social groups; as well as different economic activities. The situation of social and spatial differentiation has up to this point been based on cohabitation and several aspects of demographic and residual segregation. Taking this into consideration, the social differentiation of towns seems to be a consequence of national, religious and socio-economic characteristics of inhabitants. Social and spatial differentiation can be observed in all areas of human activities. If living creates differentiation of space, so does work, recreation, social care, education and communication. The consequence is that certain parts of cities (areas, quarters, streets, buildings or pubs) attract people with similar social characteristics. A more detailed observation shows that members of certain social groups gather at a certain location at certain times of the day, which means that the town space is not only socially differentiated, but also differentiated in the sense of time.

The purpose of this paper is to show social and spatial differentiation of town that occurs because of social connections, recreation, education and supplies of certain social groups. We want to show sites that fulfil the needs of such individual social groups of people. However, this paper does not so much focus on social and spatial differentiation of Maribor, as on checking the basis, work methods and possibilities of interpretation of collected data.

2. Work method

While collecting information about and analysing social and spatial differentiation of human activities, one needs to concentrate on data, obtained through questionnaires and observation. We are limited to unreliable data, to a relatively small sample of population and a short time interval for data collection which proved to be a weak element during the study of social and spatial differentiation of human activities. Due to the lack of primary data, we were forced to use indirect data, too.

A special methodological approach is the question "What social characteristics can explain the spatial differentiation of a certain activity?" Is spatial differentiation of different stores defined by gender, age or something else? Spatial differentiation cannot be treated as a result of all social characteristics simultaneously, but rather by considering only one characteristic. The selection of such characteristics was limited to age, gender and material status. Also relevant proved to be the lifestyle; however, due to its complexity, we were not able to define indexes for a suitable analysis.

Another methodological problem refers to the question if it is possible to show differentiation of all activities through the same social characteristics. In our cultural environment it does not make sense to differentiate places of education on the basis of gender; also not suitable is differentiating areas with food supply on the basis of age. The selection of social characteristics, relevant for spatial differentiation, therefore needs to be made individually for each activity. What makes it more difficult is also the selection of categories for individual social characteristics. An example: one needs to define the question "What characteristics of lifestyle show in social and spatial differentiation." Or furthermore: what are the suitable age groups, relevant for social and spatial differentiation of places of provision? It is a known fact that young people have different provisioning and shopping habits and needs than the older people. However, at what age do "the young" turn into "older", an age factor, relevant for variety of provisioning? We were not able to find many examples and leads in literature; the following text is therefore also a methodological try for suitability of selection.

The work was done in three steps:

1. Inventory of areas where inhabitants take care of their needs for provisions, recreation, education and social needs; we made a list and a graphic presentation of all locations that carry individual activity.
2. Evaluation of areas from the point of view of social characteristics of visitors; individual locations were observed and notes were taken as to the structure of visitors, including their social characteristics, material standing, age and gender. In order to obtain a better and more detailed view on the social profile of visitors of individual areas, discussions were lead with visitors, staff in shops and pubs, cultural venues and recreation areas.
3. Defining areas where individual social groups linger; based on differentiation of activities and social characteristics of visitors to an individual location, areas were defined where individuals with certain social characteristics represent more than the average number. Concentration of such similar social characteristics was understood as an area (social space) where a certain social group operates.

While studying social differentiation, one needs to consider one more methodological limitation – social differentiation can be studied only on activities where the users have the chance to choose between different products, different locations and activities that serve the same purpose. In case the choice is not possible, which is usually connected to the size of towns, the social and spatial differentiation does not apply.

3. Social and spatial differentiation of towns

We presumed that we would be able to identify areas within the city centre that connect representatives of certain social groups. Regarding contents, this hypothesis is neither original, nor new. The question rather revolves around the fact whether and how it is possible to confirm it and with what data (elements). We limited ourselves to the wider centre of Maribor. Outside of the defined area, there are less such activities; differentiation therefore does not stand out anymore. We also considered some activities, the basic human needs, the way we know them from the Munich school of social geography.

3.1 Social relations (communication)

The area of social relations is very wide, we therefore limited the survey to representatives of social groups in pubs; analysed were pubs in the city centre, the offer of which is limited to cold and warm drinks. We presumed that people who mingle in certain pubs represent certain age groups: young, middle-aged, older. We could probably also add a social characteristic, such as lifestyle. However, the latter does not stand out well enough in the case of Maribor. We bring this back to the social structure of inhabitants which is not sufficiently differentiated (there are not sufficient representatives of diverse lifestyles that reflect in space). Also, the offer of pubs is not adjusted to individual lifestyles. It was furthermore presumed that the age structure of guests in some pubs changes during the day. We therefore tried to analyse the numbers of visitors of certain age within two time periods; between 10 and 11 in the morning, and between 6 and 7 in the evening. Visitors were also asked for reasons of their visit. Results confirmed our expectations; namely that the social equality of visitors seems to be an important reason for selection of the location where social relations and carried out.

Tab.1: Reasons for the visit of a certain pub among different age groups.

	Up to 25 yrs	26 - 55	55 and more
Access / reachability	11	12	14
Location	12	17	14
Diverse offer	17	20	15
Ambience, set-up	23	27	19
Social equality of guests	22	23	29
Other	15	1	9

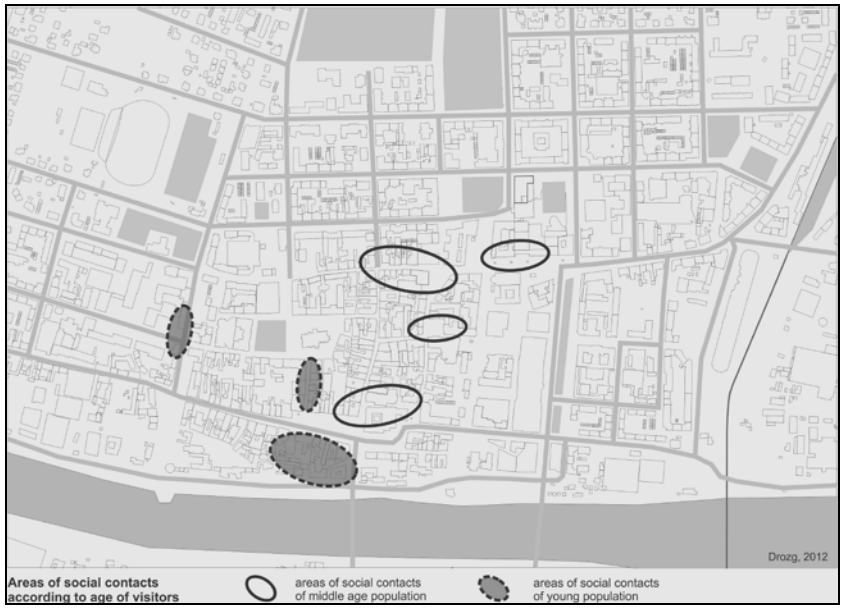

Fig. 1: Areas of social contacts according to age of visitors.

The graphic display shows a "social" differentiation of pubs in the city centre. This can be seen especially in pubs closer to education establishments and in the part of town that is known as "the entertainment area" (Lent); this shows through a relatively larger part of younger population. On the other hand, pubs, located in the central downtown area show predominantly older visitors (age groups 25 – 55 and older population). Especially the first group consider the Ambience as an important issue, the same goes for the older population. It was presumed that the share of the older population would stand out more in certain locations / certain venues; however, the empirical data does not support this hypothesis. Findings show that pubs with predominantly younger generation do not report many visitors from the older generation. On the other hand, pubs with predominantly middle-aged group of people, also show a larger number of older visitors.

3.2 Supplies

Individual social groups would normally get supply in certain stores or certain parts of the town. A more detailed view shows that what also matters is the time when the establishments are open. Judging by the offer of goods, supply seems to be an issue of social and spatial differentiation of the city centre. We considered places with daily supplies (food) and clothing shops. Regarding the first, the selected indexes do not show differences between locations of supply providers and the social characteristics of buyers (material standing, gender and age), we therefore cannot speak about the social and spatial differentiation. We could perhaps describe the social and spatial differentiation as the consequence of buyers' lifestyles; however, the obtained empirical data does not confirm this. A similar survey about the social profile of buyers at ecological markets shows that the eco markets are visited mostly by people who are aware of the advantages of eco and bio products, which is definitely an element that reflects the lifestyle (Čukec 2012). This kind of differentiation cannot be said about shopping centres. In Maribor, the supply of goods between different providers is very similar in terms of price and in variety. The selection of the shopping centre (location) is therefore rather linked to access (logistics), benefits that the shop keepers offer to buyers and other shops in the shopping centre, than to social characteristics of buyers. One needs to consider that selection of goods in shopping centres covers wishes and needs of different buyer segments, which neutralizes the social segment of supplies. However, one should perhaps also not forget the type of goods bought by different social groups. This was not subject to our primary research. We, however, presume that differentiation among buyers also touches the types of goods that are bought. Another relevant aspect of social and spatial differentiation was shown through the time getting supplies. Shopping centres display a rather large heterogeneity of buyers throughout the day; the morning hours show a larger density of older population, while in the evening the share of the older population is smaller. Exactly the opposite could be said about the younger generation; the latter lingers around especially in the evening hours and hardly ever in the morning.

Tab. 2: Age structure (%) of buyers in the shopping centre Europark at different times of the day (n=268).

	8.00 - 12.00	14.00 - 17.00	18.00 - 20.00
15 – 25	9	14	18
26 – 40	19	29	37
41 – 60	28	42	33
over 60	44	15	12

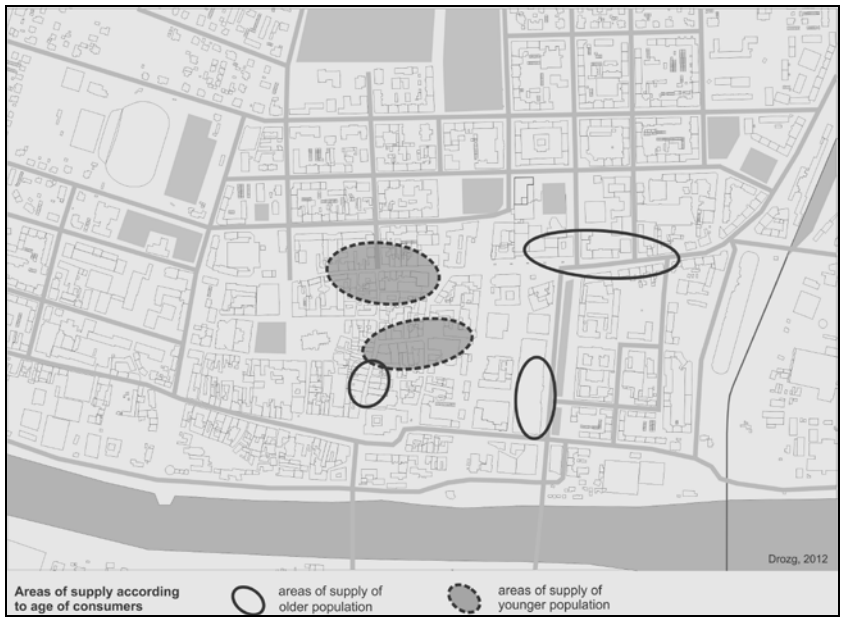

Fig. 2: Areas of supply according to age of consumers.

Regarding places – clothing stores; we differentiated between those, predominantly visited by younger people and other, meant primarily for middle-aged and older people. Data on age structure of buyers was obtained mainly from sales staff. Young people seem to prefer smaller stores that specialize on certain brands or certain styles. It is interesting to see that this type of stores dominates the offer. The older generation prefers department stores from the past; those that are rather larger and offer a wide variety of clothes. We were not able to define any spatial pattern for set-up of those two different types of stores. However, we split stores into low-price and high-price while presuming that there is a rational ratio between social characteristics of buyers and the price of goods that speaks of buyers' material status. This data was obtained through comparing prices of individual articles in different stores as well as from staff. We believe there is no real connectivity between the price-class and buyers' age because it was noted that high-priced stores also attract many young visitors and vice-versa. We also noticed that difference between the most expensive and the least expensive article in the store are not large, which we believe to be a sign of economic homogeneity or else a small economic heterogeneity of buyers. Placement of stores in Maribor considering the price-range does not show a distinct social and spatial differentiation of a certain street or part of town, where one would find a larger proportion of high-price stores and consequently buyers with more buying power and of higher social class. We believe the reason can be found in the size of the town, perhaps also in the social and economic standing of the population that does not have a huge buying power. One also needs to consider that the higher-priced stores can be found in shopping centres in the city outskirts and not in the city centre.

3.3 Culture (education)

For this chapter we took cities with cultural activity that includes music, arts, film and theatre in the widest sense of the word; official and alternative culture, including cultural and open-air entertainment offer. Culture can be understood as a form of education, because it offers new ways of communication with the world and life for all generations. We believe the visit of cultural events be linked to the lifestyle and age. Cultural venues were split according to the average age of visitors; we also distinguished between places, visited by predominantly young people of up to 30 years of age and older. Results show that the social and spatial differentiation does not relate to the type of cultural events; one must differentiate between official and alternative cultural production. The former attracts predominantly older visitors, the latter primarily younger visitors. The spatial pattern of the social and cultural production in the city shows that the official venues, visited primarily by middle and upper social class can be found in the city centre, while the alternative culture positions itself at less fancy and less central areas of the city centre.

We also checked if social and spatial differentiation of cultural activities can be guided by material standing. For this purpose the material situation visitors of cultural event was analysed. One could mention two extremes: the theatre as a place where one can find primarily upper social classes and open air venues, visited primarily by middle and lower social classes. An enquiry asked theatre goers and open-air visitors how often they went to “the other type of cultural events”. The “Theatre” group results showed that 63% of people also attend other cultural and entertainment events in the city; while the open-air group reported only 12% as theatre goers. We understand this as a typical proof of social and spatial differentiation of the cultural offer in the city.

3.4 Recreation

We considered locations where recreation requires certain expenditure (entrance fees, membership fees) and where it happens in closed spaces or at organised open-air areas (playgrounds). We were not able to define indexes at other locations that could define social and spatial differentiation.

Differentiation of recreational areas that have to be paid for is definitely connected to the material status of the individual, and often also to the individual’s age. Considering this, we tried to analyse the social characteristics of tennis court users, since this seems to be the only form or recreation that is suitable for the set criteria. Results show that the majority of users can be assigned to the age group 30-55; they have tertiary education degrees, work in services, live in a one-family house.

As to the question Why this form of recreation and a certain tennis court, the most common answers stated the following: a similar social standing of other players, acquaintances and friends and popularity of this sport. Reasons for Why this particular tennis court: access and proximity, friends and other people. We then used the same approach when analysing amateurs at two football fields. Results showed the age-group between 25-40; secondary education, living in blocks of flats. This tells us that the form of recreation can be partly socially tagged; in some forms the share of certain social groups might be larger than in others. The spatial pattern of discussed recreational areas does not tell us much.

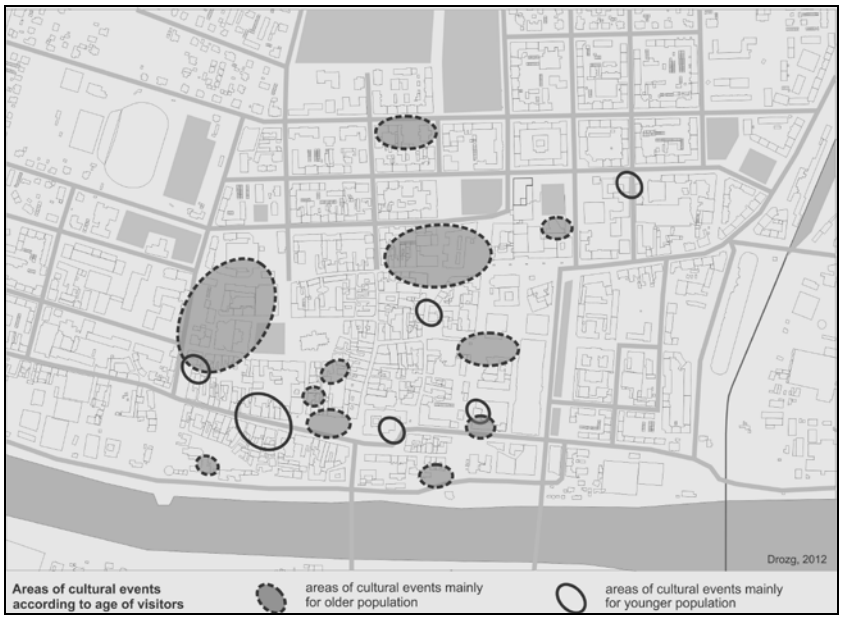

Fig. 3: Areas of cultural events according to age of visitors.

4. Findings

1. We can talk about social and spatial differentiation of towns also in relation to other human activities; not only in relation to the living area. All analysed activities (social contacts, education, culture, supply and recreation) show elements of social and spatial differentiation of the town space.

2. The most noticeable among analysed activities is social and spatial differentiation according to age and material status. Social and spatial differentiation could not be defined in certain activities (like food supplies). We believe to have found the reason in the size of the town. This does not mean that social differentiation would not define the spatial differentiation; but that the social and spatial differentiation can show in many ways – apart from WHERE, we have WHEN and WHAT as very important (in the sense of what to buy) of HOW (in the sense of how to buy).

3. Spatial differentiation is not so visible in Maribor; it cannot be assigned to certain parts of the town or certain streets because it does not include more than a group of objects or parts of the street. This can also be assigned to the size of the town and the diversity of the demand and supply for individual services. The size of the town can often be linked to a diverse social set-up of inhabitants, which means a higher number of diverse activities.

4. Spatial pattern of places / areas where individual social groups fulfil their needs does not show characteristics that could define the law of location (excluding the fact that all activities and services are concentrated in the wider city centre) or the law of spatial differentiation, seen as a consequence of territorial and functional connectivity between members of social groups. Empirical data proves that a major

part of service users decides on the basis of impression and belonging to the clientele of a certain place, location or venue (especially visible when choosing the place of lingering with friends - social connections).

5. Social and spatial differentiation of the town is most visible in the area of social connections. Certain streets close to places of education have a large number of pubs, visited by primarily young population. The city centre, on the other hand, shows a larger number of pubs and restaurants, frequented by middle-aged and older people. The motives among the latter are linked to the central location, proximity of other identity-related objects and other activities.

6. Social and spatial differentiation can also be seen on the case of supply, especially clothing stores; what stands out most are stores for the younger and those for upper-class population. It was noticed that the latter can hardly be found in the city centre. Due to the rather small size of the city, we did not notice areas with a large number of stores, intended particularly for upper class buyers.

7. Differentiation of the city is also noticeable among visitors of cultural events; in this case we considered age and material standing of visitors. Analysis showed that the structure of people, visiting the official cultural events, differs greatly from those, visiting alternative, open-air events (alternative culture).

8. Differentiation of the recreational space stands out less, because most of the recreational areas can be found on the outskirts of the city, therefore spatially very dispersed. Furthermore, there is not enough sports infrastructure for a more detailed study, because the existing infrastructure does not give us a clear social differentiation of individual locations. What we noticed indeed, was the social differentiation of recreational forms; some of them being used by primarily people of higher social status.
9. The areas of social and spatial differentiation of individual activities do not overlap; they also don't complement each other, which would turn certain parts of the town into distinct social characteristics (age, social status, etc…). This characteristic can also be attributed to the size of town and small social diversity of its inhabitants.

10. Suitability of such findings (social differentiation of the town) cannot be objectively evaluated. On one hand, findings seem to be relatively tautological, which probably derives from selection criteria. On the other hand, the interpretative possibilities of social differentiation are limited to plain facts; and this leads us back to the small size of the city. The most relevant aspect of spatial differentiation proved to be the age. "The city of the young" and "the city of the old" are perhaps the most obvious forms of social and spatial differentiation in a mid-size town.

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OBLIKE SOCIALNO PROSTORSKE DIFERENCIACIJE MEST (NA PRIMERU MARIBORA)

Povzetek

V sodobnih družbah se povečuje socialna heterogenost zaradi pluralizacije življenjskih stilov in vse večjega socialnega razlikovanja. Oboje bi se naj odražalo v večji diferenciranosti prostora in nastanku območij - delov mesta, kjer se pogosteje zadržujejo pripadniki določenih socialnih skupin.

Mesta se kažejo kot preplet različnih krajev (območij), ki jih označujejo socialne lastnosti prebivalcev, natančneje – socialne skupine, in različne gospodarske dejavnosti. Dosedanji prikazi socialno prostorske diferenciacije so praviloma sloneli na bivanju oziroma na različnih vidikih demografske in rezidualne segregacije. Socialno prostorsko diferenciacijo pa lahko sicer opazimo tudi pri drugih človekovih dejavnostih, katere upoštevamo v socialni geografiji. Tako kot bivanje ustvarja diferenciacijo prostora, jo ustvarjajo tudi delo, rekreacija, oskrba, izobraževanje in komunikacija. Posledica tega je, da se v določenih delih mesta zbirajo pretežno pripadniki s podobnimi socialnimi lastnostmi. Natančnejši pogled odkrije, da se pripadniki določenih socialnih skupin na določenem kraju zbirajo v določenem delu dneva; prostor mesta ni le socialno diferenciran, temveč tudi časovno.

Namen prispevka je prikazati socialno prostorsko diferenciacijo mesta, kakršna nastaja ob socialnih stikih, rekreaciji, izobraževanju in oskrbi določenih socialnih skupin.

Delo je potekalo v treh korakih: 1. inventarizacija krajev, kjer prebivalci mesta zadovoljujejo potrebo po oskrbi, rekreaciji, izobraževanju in socialnih stikih. Popisali smo lokacije posamezne dejavnosti in jih grafično prikazali. 2. ovrednotenje krajev iz vidika socialnih lastnosti obiskovalcev. Na posameznih lokacijah smo opazovali in beležili strukturo obiskovalcev ter njihove socialne lastnosti, predvsem spol in starost. 3. Opredelitev območja delovanja posamezne socialne skupine.

Glavna spoznanja so naslednja: O socialno prostorski diferenciaciji mesta lahko govorimo tudi v povezavi z drugimi človekovimi dejavnostmi, ne le v povezavi z bivanjem. Pri vseh obravnavanih dejavnostih (socialni stiki, izobraževanje-kultura, oskrbovanje in rekreacija) smo opazili elemente socialno prostorske diferenciranosti mestnega središča. V obravnavanih dejavnostih je najbolj opazna socialno prostorska diferenciranost glede na starost uporabnikov ter glede na materialni položaj. Prostorska diferenciacija v Mariboru ni tako izrazita (obsežna), da bi obsegala posamezne dele mesta ali ulice. Več kot skupino objektov oziroma dele ulic skoraj ne obsega. To lahko pripišemo velikosti mesta oziroma raznovrstnosti ponudbe in povpraševanja po posameznih storitvah. Socialno prostorska diferenciranost mesta je najbolj očitna na področju socialnih stikov, deloma še na področju oskrbe, natančneje pri trgovinah z oblačili, pri čemer najbolj izstopa diferenciranost trgovin za mlade in tistih, ki so namenjene kupcem višjega socialnega položaja.

WEGE DER REGELUNG INNERSTÄDTISCHER KONFLIKTE – DAS BEISPIEL DES MODERATIONSVERFAHRENS DES KOOPERATIONSPROZESSES INNENSTADT VON FREYSTADT/OBERPFALZ

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Abstract
Wege der Regelung innerstädtischer Konflikte – das Beispiel des Moderationsverfahrens des Kooperationsprozesses Innenstadt von Freystadt/Oberpfalz
The paper describe the example of urban management activities as a result of the program for revitalisation of the town center. The problem occures after the decision of trade company to built up a new shopping center on the edge of the town. The result of this decision could be the loss of attractivnes of the town center. The retailers and caterers togeather with state support and experts have prepared the program for better and more attractive offer in town centre.
Key words
Urban management, urban revitalisation, town marketing

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1. **Basis und konkreter Anlass**

1.1 Städtebauförderung und Innenstadtprogramm

Im Laufe der inzwischen langen zeitlichen Entwicklung der Städtebauförderung wurde in Bayern für die Jahre 2005 bis 2007 das Modellvorhaben „leben findet innen Stadt“ entwickelt. Es sollte die Kommunen auffordern, Strategien für den Erhalt und die Entwicklung lebendiger und vielfältig nutzbarer Innenstädte zu finden. Dies zielte unter anderen auf Gegenbewegungen gegenüber der Entwicklung der letzten Jahrzehnte ab, mit zunehmenden Verlagerungen etwa der Einkaufsflächen „auf die grüne Wiese“ am Rande der Städte. Mit dem Programm „Aktive Stadt- und Ortsteilzentren“ wurde dann in Bayern in 33 Städten und Gemeinden eine Fortsetzung vorgenommen. Für das Jahr 2008 standen dazu etwa 1,4 Mio. € an staatlichen Finanzhilfen des Bundes und des Landes zur Verfügung. Diese Mittel waren für Konzepte, städtebauliche Koordinierungs- und Managementleistungen sowie bauliche Investitionen bestimmt (Bayerisches Staatsministerium 2008). Als einen der Förderfälle wurde die Stadt Freystadt/Oberpfalz, zum mittelfränkischen Verdichtungsraum gehörend, ein städtebaulich sehr attraktives Städtchen mit einer barocken Wallfahrtskirche am westlichen Stadtrand, ausgewählt.

1.2 Die Vorstudien in Freystadt

Die Lage der Stadt Freystadt südlich des Verdichtungsraumes Nürnberg-Fürth-Erlangen mit einer guten Verkehrsanbindung birgt besondere Chancen und Risiken. Gerade Städte in günstiger Verkehrslage sind Ziel von großen Handelsinvestoren einerseits, andererseits entwickeln sich diese Standorte in der Nähe zu Oberzentren und aufgrund der reizvollen landschaftlichen Lage auch zu sogenannten „Schlafstätten“. Auswärts tätige Personen nehmen Einkaufs- und Freizeitangebote außerhalb ihres Wohnortes wahr. Derzeit stellt Freystadt jedoch den Versorgungs- und Lebensmittelschwerpunkt für die Bevölkerung aus Stadt und Umland dar. 2755 Einwohner der insgesamt 8.791 Einwohner leben in der Kernstadt, wobei sich der Rest der Bevölkerung auf 32 Ortsteile verteilt. Im Landesentwicklungsprogramm Bayern (LEP) 2006 ist Freystadt als Unterzentrum ausgewiesen. Unterzentren versorgen die Bevölkerung mit Gütern und Dienstleistungen des qualifizierten wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Grundbedarfs. Im Jahr 2001 hatte die RRV-GmbH eine erste Untersuchung der städtebaulichen Situation unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Einzelhandels durchgeführt, 2008 wurde eine Aktualisierung vorgenommen (Förtsch, Hofmann, Hutzelmann, Maier 2009). In Freystadt konzentriert sich die Einzelhandelstätigkeit zum einen auf den sanierten Innenstadtbereich und zum anderen auf das außerhalb der Stadtmauern und somit außerhalb der Kernstadt gelegene Gewerbegebiet entlang der Berchinger Straße und des neuen Gewerbegebietes „Jura“. Kleinstrukturierter und ortsansässiger Facheinzelhandel gibt der Innenstadt einen eigenen Charakter, wobei der Textileinzelhandel, der sowohl eine hohe Sortimentstiefe und -breite aufweist, dominierend ist. Der kurzfristige Bedarf an Lebensmitteln wird allerdings überwiegend in den Supermärkten und Discountern am Stadtrand getätigt.

1.3 Der konkrete Anlass

Im Zuge der Erstellung des Einzelhandelsentwicklungskonzeptes erklärte die Unternehmensgruppe EDEKA die Absicht, den bisherigen Standort ihrer Filiale in Freystadt aus der unmittelbaren Innenstadt an deren Rand zu verlagern. Dort war die Errichtung einer Filiale mit insgesamt 1.479 m^2 Verkaufsfläche vorgesehen. Der in der Innenstadt ansässige Einzelhandel befürchtete als Folge der Standortverlagerung erhebliche Frequenzverluste und, damit verbunden, negative

Auswirkungen auf den Einzelhandelsstandort Altstadt insgesamt. Um dem entgegenzuwirken hat die Stadt Freystadt im Rahmen des Städtebauförderprogramms Aktive Stadt- und Ortsteilzentren im Juni 2009 das Architekturbüro Moser (Nördlingen) mit der Ausarbeitung einer Machbarkeitsstudie zum Erhalt des Edeka-Standortes Kirchengasse und das Büro GEO-Plan in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Autor von Seiten der RRV-GmbH mit einem Moderationsverfahren zur Aktivierung des Einzelhandels und der Gastronomie in der Frey-stadter Innenstadt beauftragt.

Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit waren:

- Eine Ertüchtigung des Altstandortes EDEKA an der Kirchengasse zu einem zeitgemäßen Einkaufsmarkt ist planerisch weitestgehend darstellbar. Eine Realisierung scheiterte jedoch an dem mangelnden Interesse von EDEKA, den Altstandort zu erhalten sowie an der fehlenden Bereitschaft benachbarter Grundstückseigentümer, benötigte Flächen zu verkaufen.
- Das Moderationsverfahren unterstützte die Gründung eines Vereines zur Stärkung der Innenstadt (Wir leben Freystadt e.V.) und erarbeitete ein Maßnahmenprogramm.

2. Ablauf der Beratung

Was den zeitlichen Ablauf der Beratung anging, so begann sie im Januar 2009 mit der Vorlage des aktualisierten Entwicklungskonzeptes Einzelhandel in Freystadt, im Juni 2009 folgte der Start des Moderationsverfahrens mit insgesamt drei Werkstatt-Abenden und endete im Oktober 2010 mit dem Abschluss des Verfahrens und konkreten Umsetzungsprojekten.

3. Das Moderationsverfahren

3.1 Zielsetzung und Vorgehen

Zielsetzung des Moderationsverfahrens war, gemeinsam mit Einzelhändlern, Gastronomen und Dienstleistern Ziele, Handlungsfelder und Projekte einer öffentlich-privaten Initiative zur Stärkung der Innenstadt zu erarbeiten. Den Rahmen hierzu bildete das Förderprogramm Aktive Stadt- und Ortsteilzentren, das für entsprechende Projekte sowie für das Projektmanagement eine finanzielle Förderung vorsieht. Durchgeführt wurden drei „Werkstätten“:

- Werkstatt 1: Ziele und Handlungsfelder einer partnerschaftlichen Innenstadtentwicklung am 7.10.2009,
- Werkstatt 2: Projekte und Projektbewertung am 3.12.2009,
- Werkstatt 3: Projektumsetzung am 22.10.2010.

Der an den Werkstätten zu beteiligende Personenkreis wurde gemeinsam vom Bürgermeister und dem Aktiv-Kreis Innenstadt festgelegt. Die Teilnehmerzahl sollte möglichst auf 20 bis 25 Personen begrenzt werden, um ein effektives Arbeiten zu ermöglichen.

3.2 Die Werkstatt-Arbeit

In der ersten Werkstatt wurden auf der Grundlage der wichtigsten Ergebnisse des Entwicklungskonzeptes Einzelhandel von den Werkstatt-Teilnehmern besondere Potentiale, sog. USPs (Unique Selling Propositions), im Sinne von handlungsfeldunabhängigen Alleinstellungsmerkmalen der Stadt Freystadt erarbeitet. Dabei wurde davon ausgegangen, dass Freystadt, wie jede andere Stadt,

in einem regionalen Wettbewerbsverhältnis steht (v.a. mit Nürnberg und Neumarkt). Insofern sollte, um die Entwicklung der Stadt positiv beeinflussen zu können, an lokalen Besonderheiten angesetzt werden. Als Besonderheiten bzw. Alleinstellungsmerkmale wurden dabei erkannt:

- Attraktivität als Einkaufsstadt,
- gute Erreichbarkeit,
- hoher Freizeitwert,
- Stadtbild – Marktplatz,
- soziales Leben,
- Wallfahrtskirche/Konzerte,
- Pferde.

Die Standortpotentiale der Stadt liegen vorwiegend in der attraktiven, gut erreichbaren Innenstadt, der vielfältigen, hochwertigen und dennoch überschaubaren Geschäftsstruktur sowie in der guten Erreichbarkeit der Innenstadt. Hoch bewertet wird auch der Freizeitwert von Freystadt. Dies betrifft die Naherholungsgebiete, die gute Radwegevernetzung, das Angebot an Sportanlagen sowie das kulturelle und gastronomische Angebot. Das Stadtbild der Freystadter Innenstadt, vor allem des Marktplatzes, gilt als besonders positives Alleinstellungsmerkmal. Handlungsbedarf zur weiteren Qualifizierung der Innenstadt wird insbesondere in den Themenfeldern „Erlebnis“ und „Angebot“ erkannt.

Tab. 1: Moderationsverfahren Innenstadt – Faktoren für eine attraktive Innenstadt.

Angebot Einzelhandel, Gastronomie, Verwaltungseinrichtungen, Dienstleistungen, Arbeitsplätze, Wohnungen		Erreichbarkeit Individualverkehr, ÖPNV, Fuß- und Radwege, parken, Beschilderung, innerstädtische Wege, Anlieferung
	Kommunikation, Image, Gemeinschaftswerbung, Kooperationsklima, Identität	
Gestaltung Stadtbild, Fassaden, Schaufenster, Plätze, Aufenthaltsmöglichkeiten. Grünanlagen, Wasserläufe, Treffpunkte		Erlebnis Märkte, Aktionen, Kultur, Freizeit, Sport, Spielflächen, Sauberkeit, Sicherheit

Im Themenfeld Erlebnis liegt der Schwerpunkt auf der Durchführung von Themenmärkten sowie von Innenstadt-Events, wie z.B. langen Einkaufsnächten oder Kulturveranstaltungen. Die Märkte sollen v.a. qualitativ hochwertig angelegt sein und regionale Besonderheiten bzw. regionale Anbieter in den Vordergrund stellen (z.B. lokale Gewerbeschau, regionale Produkte). Als Event-Themen wurden „Kultur“ (z.B. Kunsttage in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Handel, Konzerte), die Durchführung von Modeschauen, einer Kneipen-Wander-Nacht oder Open Air Konzerte am Marktplatz benannt. Das Themenfeld Angebot zielt v.a. auf eine verstärkte Kooperation der Gewerbetreibenden. Dies betrifft z.B. einen einheitlichen Außenauftritt bei gemeinsamen Events und gemeinsamer Werbung sowie die Nutzung eines gemeinsamen Logos. Aufgabe der zweiten Werkstatt war es, zu den in der ersten Werkstatt definierten Themenbereichen Projekte zu entwickeln und „Startprojekte“ festzulegen. Die Bewertung der Projekte und damit die Definition der Startprojekte wurden anhand folgender Kriterien vorgenommen:

1. Bewertung der Umsetzbarkeit
   - Hohe (politische) Bereitschaft zur Umsetzung vorhanden,
   - Motor/Partner vorhanden, der das Projekt voranbringen will,
   - schnell umsetzbar,
   - Erfolg versprechend.
2. Bewertung der Bedeutung
   - Strategische Relevanz für die zukünftige Entwicklung der Innenstadt,
   - hohe Ausstrahlungswirkung,
   - positive ökonomische Wirkungen, Berücksichtigung knapper finanzieller Ressourcen,
   - positive soziale Wirkungen: Steigerung des Gemeinschaftsgefühls, Einbindung lokaler Akteure.

Aus insgesamt 27 Projektideen wurden folgende neun Startprojekte festgelegt:

1. Gemeinsames Motto von Innenstadthandel und –gastronomie,
2. Gemeinsames Logo von Innenstadthandel und –gastronomie,
3. Themenmärkte (z.B. Schnäppchentage des Handels, Autoschau, Gewerbeschau),
4. Innenstadtevents (z.B. Einkaufsnächte, verkaufsoffene Sonntage, Samstag XXL),
5. Kinder- und Familienfest in der Innenstadt (z.B. Radaktionstag),
6. Weihnachtsmarkt,
7. Weihnachtsbeleuchtung,
8. Internetauftritt von Handel, Gastronomie, Dienstleistung usw.,
9. wegweisende Beschilderung zur Innenstadt.

Im Rahmen der dritten Werkstatt wurden nach einem kurzen Abriss der bisherigen Ergebnisse die Umsetzungsstrukturen sowie die Finanzierungsmöglichkeiten erörtert. Zur Umsetzung der Projekte des Moderationsverfahrens wurde von privaten Akteuren der Verein „Wir leben Freystadt e.V.“ gegründet. Der Verein formuliert als mittelfristige Zielsetzung, etwa 30 Mitgliedsbetriebe zu werben. Der Bürgerschaft steht die Möglichkeit einer Fördermitgliedschaft offen. Teile der Mitgliedsbeiträge werden in den Projektfonds einfließen und den privatwirtschaftlichen Beitrag dazu darstellen.

3.3 Die Umsetzung

Ein wesentlicher Teil des Moderationsverfahrens bestand in der Aufgabe der Umsetzung in konkrete Maßnahmen und deren Finanzierung. So ist es gelungen, eine Organisationsstruktur der Innenstadtakteure zu gründen sowie einen Projektplan zu erstellen:

- Die Strategische Ebene (Lenkungsgruppe) erstellt einen Jahresaktionsplan, stimmt diesen mit dem Programm Aktive Stadt- und Ortsteilzentren fachlich ab, ermittelt das Jahresbudget, erstellt Förderanträge und bereitet die Projektumsetzung vor. Der strategischen Ebene gehören an:
  - Vertreter der Stadtverwaltung,
  - Vorstand des Vereins „Wir leben Freystadt“,
  - das Projektmanagement.
- Die operative Ebene managt die Projektumsetzung. Sie konkretisiert den Jahresaktionsplan, ermittelt Kosten, erstellt Zeitpläne, bereitet Ausschreibungen vor, stimmt diese ggf. mit der Lenkungsgruppe ab, vergibt Fremdleistungen, erstellt eine laufende Projektdokumentation im Sinne

eines Projekttagebuchs und besetzt regelmäßig ein Projektbüro. Der operativen Ebene gehören an:
- das Projektmanagement,
- Verein „Wir leben Freystadt“,
- weitere private Akteure.

Die Finanzierung des Projektmanagements erfolgt durch öffentliche und private Mittel: Die Honoraraufwendungen für das Projektmanagement werden zu 60 % durch staatliche Mittel (Städtebauförderung) und zu 40 % durch städtische Mittel finanziert. Für die Projektumsetzung wird ein Projektfonds gegründet. Dieser Projektfonds dient zur Umsetzung von investiven und investitionsvorbereitenden Projekten. Er speist sich zu 50 % aus privaten Mitteln sowie zu 20 % aus städtischen und zu 30 % aus staatlichen Mitteln:

- Beantragung der öffentlichen Mittel
  - Bewilligungsantrag der Stadt über Gesamtsumme an Regierung – wenn die Höhe der privaten Mittel feststeht,
  - Einreichung des Maßnahmenprogramms, getrennt nach investiven, investitonsvorbereitenden bzw. –begleitenden und nicht-investiven Projekten.
- Bewilligung durch Regierung
  - Bewilligungsbescheid über Gesamtbudget,
  - Stadt streckt öffentliche Mittel (Gesamtanteil) vor,
  - Verwendungsnachweis am Jahresende für alle Maßnahmen,
  - Ausreichung der staatlichen Mittel an die Stadt,
  - nicht verwendete Mittel werden nicht bezuschusst,
  - Förderzeitraum: vorerst 3 Jahre, dann Evaluation.
- Operationelle Verwaltung
  - Verwaltung des Projektfonds durch Stadt oder rechtsfähigen öffentlich-privaten Träger (z.B. IG, Verein, GmbH),
  - Projektmanagement kann Zugriff auf das Konto haben und über die Mittel verfügen,
  - Rechnung für Umsetzung geht an die Stadt bzw. den Verwalter des Kontos.

Tab. 2: Organisationsstruktur Projektmanagement.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="6">Projektmanagement</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Strategische Ebene – Lenkungsgruppe</td><td colspan="3">Operative Ebene - Projektumsetzung</td></tr>
<tr><td>Wir leben Freystadt</td><td>Projektmanagement</td><td>Stadt-verwaltung</td><td>Verein „Wir leben Freystadt“</td><td>Umsetzungs-management</td><td>Weitere Private Akteure</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Fachliche Beratung</td><td>Umsetzungs-management</td><td colspan="3">Projektumsetzung</td></tr>
</table>

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NAČIN REŠEVANJA KONFLIKTOV V MESTNEM SREDIŠČU – PRIMER IZ MESTA FREYSTADT

Povzetek

V letih 2005 – 2007 je bavarsko ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, ki je pristojno tudi za urejanje prostora, oblikovalo program „življenje v mestnem središču" katerega namen je bil omiliti posledice preselitve velikega števila trgovin iz mestnega središča na rob mesta.

Mesto Freystadt je lokalno središče z 8.791 prebivalci. Mesto ima izoblikovano središče, kjer je skoncentrirana večina trgovskih lokalov, med njimi nekdanja veleblagovnica. Vodstvo te največje trgovine je sklenilo trgovsko dejavnost iz mestnega središča preseliti na rob mesta. To je med majhnimi trgovci povzročilo negotovost, saj je bilo realno pričakovati, da bo mestno središče poslej obiskovalo manj kupcev. V sklopu prej omenjenega programa so trgovci, gostinci, mestna uprava in strokovne organizacije pripravile program, s katerim bi povečali atraktivnost mestnega središča. Načrt je obsegal tri delovna srečanja, na katerih so partnerji oblikovali predloge za povečanje atraktivnosti mestnega središča. Pri tem so izhajali iz potencialov, kakršni so dobra dostopnost, tradicija, prostori identitete, socialna vloga središča, bližina cerkve. Gastronomska ponudba, kolesarske poti, bližina rekreacisjkih območij. V nadaljevanju so bili opredeljeni štirje tematski sklopi, znotraj katerih so udeleženci oblikovali konkretne ukrepe za povečanje atraktivnosti mestnega središča. Predlagani sklopi so naslednji: ponudba, dostopnost, podoba, doživetja. Konkretni ukrepi znotraj posameznega sklopa so naslednji: ureditev kolesarski poti do mestnega središča, organizacija prireditev, prenova objektov, ureditev dodatne kulinarične ponudbe, organizacija kulturnih prireditev, oblikovanje logotipa mestnega središča in podobni. V organizacisjkem smilu je bil ustanovljen projektni svet, ki je vodil in usklajeval delo na posameznih projektih.

LIFE IN VESZPRÉM, IN THE "TOWN OF QUEENS"

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Abstract
Life in Veszprém, in the "town of queens"
Every settlement is a unique place. This uniqueness is manifested, among others, in cultural and historical values. Truly reflecting the settlement's history and development, the ground plan of a town safeguards these unique characteristics over the centuries. Therefore, it is practical to analyse the spatial extension within its historical relations when researching a settlement's morphology, development and functional structure. This method has traditions dating back to Tibor Mendöl in the Hungarian settlement geography. By means of historical settlement geography, one can interpret the creation of a settlement space, the principles of spatial arrangement, and explore the expansion or regression of a settlement. In the present study, we attempted to find a correlation between the historical, functional and formal aspects of the transformation processes on the example of Veszprém, a county capital in Transdanubia. The authors' aim of doing so was to establish a basis for a later settlement-morphological examination of the town.

Keywords
Historical settlement geography, settlement structure, historical ground plan development, fortress-based settlement

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1. Introduction

By means of the historical settlement geography, one can make sense of the spatial development of settlements and the principles of spatial arrangements, moreover, one can also explore the expansion or regression of a settlement. In this study, the author made attempts to find the interrelation between the historical, functional and formal aspects of the transformation processes in the case of Veszprém, a county capital of Hungary's Transdanubia region.

2. Historical settlement geography of Veszprém

"It is primarily the initial period of the formation of a settlement that the physionomical features of the same demonstrate a strong interrelation with the natural environment into which man settles and creates the settlement, adjusting to the properties of the natural environment" (Mendöl 1963). This classical statement of settlement geography becomes particularly true for Veszprém when examining the local and positional energies impacting the spatial growth of the town. The following important statements can be made:

1. The location of the town core was determined by the valley of the River Séd, at places up to 60 to 80 metres deep, cut into the dolomite highland along fault-lines. The most audacious section of the river looking for its way towards the East with fickle bends around the picturesque Fortress Hill and its continuation called Benedict Hill.
2. Since the cliff nose standing out to the North of Castle Hill with its steep slopes proved to be an ideally defendable elevation, it gave a place to the fortress, along the mint dimension of which, as along an axis, the chain of the later fortress-based settlements were built.
3. The special feature of Veszprém's settlement structure dating back to the early medieval times, i.e. its downtown streets are adjusted to the changing terrain levels and that it has a lot of narrow, steep and zigzagged streets a result of the aforementioned facts.
4. Thus, Veszprém is one of the naturally grown towns; its early ground plan having an irregular arrangement. As a result of gradual and long-term growth, this street network continued to expand by spreading to the outside (Csapó 2005).
5. The fortress-based settlements to unite later on – the so-called "angles" – were formed at the meeting point of the Devecser fault-line crossing Bakony Hills and the Nagyvázsony fault-line dividing Bakony Hills and Balaton Highlands, as well as at their common exit in the East (Bulla – Mendöl 1999).
6. These fault-lines were tracks of highly important routes, which, thanks to the central location of Veszprém Highland, connected Bakony, Southern Bakony, Balaton Highland and Mezőföld.
7. It was along these routes that the products from areas with different branches of agriculture reached Veszprém's marketplace. Expanding to South-East from the southern end of the fortress, this marketplace became the centre-line of Veszprém's road network.
8. As the only significant watercourse on Veszprém Highland, River Séd also enhanced handicraft and trade. It is not only by its relative richness in water but also by the power of its drift that River Séd, with its fast flow and stony bed, represents a significant settlement-forming energy locally. In the

earlier centuries, 39 mills operated between Veszprém and Ősi, which was important because there was no other place on Mezőföld, north-west of River Sió, where a water-mill could have been built. Among these mills using water energy, there were flour-milling, plank-cutting and braying mills as well. It was the river that provided a living to the local craftsmen, too, such as the tanners, the divers and the nationwide famous beaters of Veszprém.

From whichever direction one approaches the town, it seems to have been built on a plain area. It is only from a close distance that one notices the town's unexpected and surprising image. On this dolomite plateau, which can be defended well from both the North and the South, the first findings are from the Neolithic Age. However, the Illyrians and the Celts had settlements here, too. No important Roman roads led across the town; the Romans did not settle down here – their village farm was found at Balácapuszta nearby. However, this Roman estate centre is an essential antecedent of the formation of Veszprém town. The settlement, namely, lay in the line across which the road connecting Aquincum to Italy passed (this corresponds to the track of today's highway between Veszprém to Tapolca), and this was the branching point of the road which connected to Amber Road, leading from the North to the South, at Savaria. In the age of the great migration, Lombards and Avars lived in the area. The conquering Hungarians already found a church reinforced with entrenchments and, probably, a fortress as well.

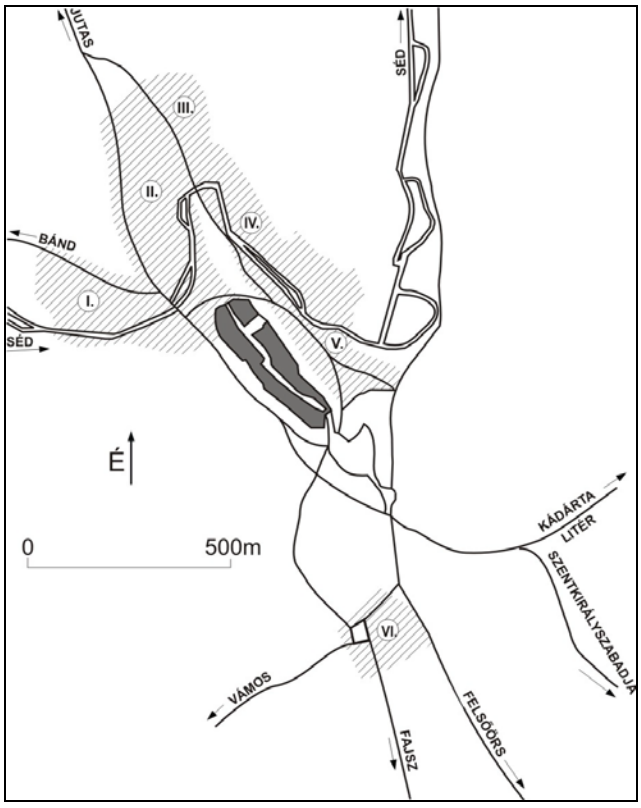

Fig. 1: The medieval fortress-based settlements and the major roads.
Source: the authors' own construction based on Korompay 1957.

There is evidence, however, that, in the 10th and 11th centuries, the centre of Veszprém town was the fortress. With its relative elevation, the fortress emphasized sub- and superordination since, parallel with its formation, a number of fortress-based settlements began to develop around the fortress as a clerical and royal centre of administration. The small-scale development with small houses, the valleys and the hillsides with opposite location to that of the Fortress Hill virtually put the fortress in a frame. In a natural manner, geographically separated by the River Séd, six small settlements developed. It was the bishop's and the chapter's servants who lived in these parts of the town.

See explanation in the text:

- Inhabited in the earliest time, St. Nicholas Angle can be identified as the area of today's University Town, the museum and Calvary Hill. Iron-melting furnaces from the 11th century were found in this part of the town. (VI.)
- St, Margaret Angle developed north-west of the Fortress Hill. It was named after the church sanctified to the honour of the guardian of suffering women. This settlement was also referred to as "West Chapter" due to the canon's houses built around the church-hill. The international commercial route was leading towards the West across a bridge on the River Séd. Today, St. Ladislaus' Chapel of opposite orientation is standing next to St. Stephen Viaduct, on the place of the former church. (I.)
- The least known medieval town district is the St. Thomas Angle. Away from the fortress to the North, it was an Episcopal settlement. Apostle St. Thomas is the guardian of carpenters, architects and the sick. His worship was probably related to the profession of the inhabitants in this part of the town. (III.)
- St. Catherine Angle was situated by the River Séd, between the two aforementioned settlements. The settlement detached from St. Margaret Angle was in the joint possession of the queen and the bishop. This settlement hosted the St. Catherine Dominican Monastery established in 1240 by Bishop Bartholomew, where King Béla IV's daughter, Margaret was raised between 1246 and 1252. Built in Romanesque style then extended in the Gothic times, St. Catherine's Church and Monastery, the so-called Margaret Ruins can still be seen at Margaret Square under Benedict Hill. (II.)
- Mud Angle developed on the other side of Benedict Hill, east of Catherine Angle. Its location can be identified as the area of today's Buhim Valley, by the hill embraced by the River Séd starting from the cape of Benedict Hill. Water mills operated here on the River Séd (referred to as Muddy Water earlier). (IV.)
- St. Ivan Angle was situated south of Mud Angle. Its name refers to the medieval denomination of St. John the Baptist. St. Ivan is the patron saint of inn-keepers and leather workers, so, most probably, the local inhabitants chose him to be their guardian because of their professions. The area of this settlement can be identified as today's Oak Hill district. (V.)

Besides the above settlement parts under the bishop's authority, there was an exception: the area of today's Have-A-Look-In Valley, which belonged under the authority of the Archbishop of Esztergom. The famous monastery of the nuns practising Orthodox ceremonies, where the Hungarian coronation palest was made, stood in a place referred to as Veszprém Valley by its medieval name.

The reason why Veszprém was called “the Queens’ Town “was that the Bishops of Veszprém were the queens’ counsellors and one of their privileges was the coronation of queens. The throne for the inauguration of queens used to stand in St. Michael’s Cathedral in Romanesque style, founded by King St. Stephen and this was the place where the queens’ crown and seal were guarded. Archaeologists estimate the number of Veszprém’s inhabitants in the 11th century between 1000 and 1200. The medieval town parts were not yet built closely together. The undeveloped gardens and plough-lands between them gave a village-like appearance to the rural town. To provide for the transportation between the angles and the other settlement parts, the basic road network of Veszprém had developed by the end of the 13th century. Starting in the 15th century, the areas between the individual settlement centres became inhabited.

Meanwhile, the small fortress on Castle Hill was continuously being expanded. The gradual, subsequent development of the fortification system of the fortress brought about significant changes from the settlement structure’s point of view. First, the inner and the outer fortress were separated then, in the 14th century, the southern side of the fortress was reinforced by a strong wall in order to protect the Fortress Gate, the marketplace and its southern surroundings. To continue the work in the next century, walls were built to the other sides of the fortress thus far protected by steep cliffs as natural reinforcement. So were the Episcopal seat, its town practising handicrafts and trade, as well as the roads connecting it with its environment protected by the walls of the fortress. After the fall of Székesfehérvár in 1543, Veszprém became the most important border fortress of Transdanubia. Veszprém became a constant theatre of war: it changed ownership seventeen times during 200 years. In these battles against the border fortress during the Ottoman occupation, the medieval culture of the town suffered fatal damage. The final act of destruction was done by the Habsburgs during the years of Rákóczi’s Freedom Fight. The reconstruction process in the 18th century had a complex effect on the development of Veszprém’s settlement structure. The reconstruction resulted in a change of scale in the fortress: wider, multi-storey houses were built to replace the narrow, old, single-storey ones. The small, zigzagged dead-end streets (so-called „turn-around streets”) disappeared and the baroque appearance of the fortress complex began to develop (Korompay 1969). At the same time, the weight-point of Veszprém’s spatial growth shifted to the South, and the belt of the town parts around the fortress closed (Fig. 2).

The new town part around the market, namely, grew together with the gradually populating, medieval St. Ivan Angle. By this, the development of the settlement began to include today’s Oak Hill district, the place of which had been covered with a Turkey oak forest at the time of the Ottoman occupation. That was the time when the approach road called Coach Park Street to the road to Palota was built. At times of fairs, this was the place where people could park their carts. This is Kossuth Lajos Street today. At the end of the century, the settlement at Komakút Square was built together, towards the South, with the surroundings of the marketplace on the north of today’s Old Town Square. (Koma-kút was a resting and area for long-distance cart passengers.) The Calvinist citizen having been exorcised from the fortress as well as Jewish families gradually moving to Veszprém after 1523 settled down west of the fortress, over Devil’s Ditch. They named their new place of residence “Jerusalem Hill”, a denomination taken from the Bible. Very soon, the inhabitants opened separate cemeteries. In their ground plan structures, certain parts of today’s downtown have preserved the features of the road network from the early Middle

Ages. We can still find narrow, steep streets with a slightly zigzagged line. The development was adjusted to the varying terrain height, which made the streets look diversified. Only few blocks of regular nature can be found in the historical parts of the town.

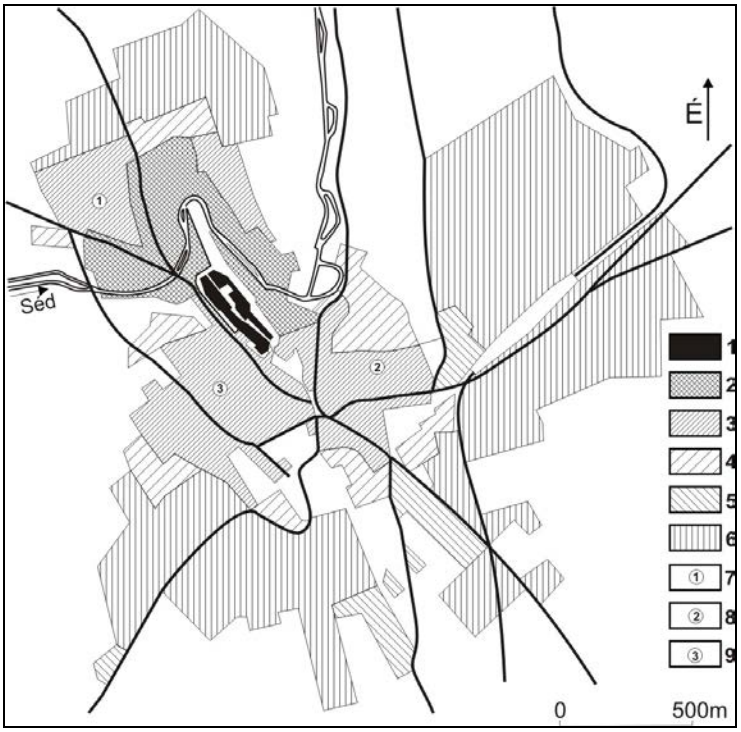

Fig. 2: Spatial Growth of the Town Body (from the 15th to the mid-20th century).
Source: the author's own construction, based on Korompay 1957.
Legend: 1. The fortress 2. the medieval settlement 3.Town parts in the New Age until 1780 4. 1780 to1850 5. 1850 to 1900 6. 1900 to 1955 7. Thirteen-Town 8. Oak Hill 9. Jerusalem Hill

Founded in the 18th century, Thirteen-town (known as Dózsa-town today) can here be mentioned as an exception. German tradesmen were settled onto small plots in the area called Cemetery Hill named after the first cemetery established around the town after the Ottoman occupation. Despite the small size of these plots, one can hardly find development in unbroken rows in the town centre. The lack of unbroken row of houses on both sides and the frequent changes in the direction of streets is a feature of medieval origin, which proves the natural spatial development of the gradually growing town (Korompay 1957). This development was also justified by the towns growing population. In 1785, at the time of the first official census, Veszprém had 7082 8nhabitants. This headcount was approximately three times as many as the population of the 1720s. The settlement reborn thanks to construction works became a prosperous, artisan's and trading town with multiple nationalities and denomination. The changes in Veszprém's ground plan in the subsequent decades can be restored with the help of maps as well. The oldest known map of the town comes from 1780. The map drawn by Ferenc Kováts, Engineer-in-Chief of Veszprén County, carefully depicts the orographic and hydrographic environment of the settlement as well as the roads and the balks but pays less attention in the

depiction of development level. The change in the spatial extension can, however, clearly be seen on the map: Oak Hill is the part of town which is developed in the densest way but the Jerusalem Hill and Cemetery Hill settlement parts, with the latter spreading over towards the Beaters' District can also be seen. The first cadastral survey of the town was made due to the increased taxes and rates and taxes imposed in the Bach Era. On the basis of records kept about the owners, the area and mode of cultivation of lands, József Sárnpék, Veszprém's "Chartered Engineer" drew the coloured mp depicting the expansion of the town in 1855. The names of 75 streets, 6 roads and 9 squares appeared on this map. (Hungler 1988.) When comparing this map to the one from 1780, it can be seen that the main direction of the proportionally low spatial growth continues to be South-East, towards Cart Park. The bigger, northern part of Cserhát appears as a new settlement part with the integrating Giricses Hill. Those settling down here were poor: this is clearly indicated by the dissipate plots and the small, cabin-like houses. The centre of the town was the marketplace, which was the venue of active grain trade. The streets sloping towards the valley of the River Séd and inhabited by craftsmen 30 the North and the North-East. Those, however, who wanted to cross the Séd by cart had to choose Horgos Street or its continuation, Jókai Street. This was the street to lead to the only bridge called the Big Bridge on which carts could pass (Cholnoky 1938). The other marketplace, smaller in significance, the livestock-market developed here. Pápai Road and Csornai Street both started from here, towards the North-East and the North, respectively. This was the route for the livestock to be driven from the meadows of the highland to the town for the nights. In 1881, the Southern Railway connecting Buda with Nagykanizsa was built. Although there had been concepts to lead the railway track along the northern side of Lake Balaton across Veszprém, a different plan was implemented. The town made enormous financial and political efforts to compensate the disadvantages originating from its geographical characteristics but by the time the Jutas railway station on the line from Székesfehérvár to Celldömölk was built on the highland, Veszprén had already lost its former leading role in the grain market. The railway, however, had a strong impact on the development of the settlement structure that the outer railway station, originally belonging to Jutas, was situated about 4.5 kilometres north of the town centre and its remote location generally had an adverse impact on the development of the town structure. From this point, the general endeavour of the town became its expansion towards the North in order to make Veszprém reach the railway station at Jutas. The situation was greatly improved by the Balaton railway line built in 1909, which created a direct railway connection, on the one hand, with Jutas, on the other hand, with Lake Balaton towards Balatonalmádi-Alsóörs-Balatonfüred. Its track led along today's Haszkovó Street – Hold Street – Levendula Street – Mester Street – Európa Street. Visitors to the town could reach the centre from the small, inner railway station along Kossuth Lajos Street, from the direction of the Industrial Estate Station along Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Road (the former road from Szabadja). This provided for the enhancement of commerce and the mass transportation of bathers.

In the first decades of the 20th century, changes took place also in other locations regarding the development of the town's internal and external transport connections. The road to Devecser and Pápa put the transport on the road to Tapolca to a minor position. The track of the former along Jókai Street at Hosszúvölgy was becoming less and less suitable top manage the growing traffic. Thus, in 1907, Óváry Ferenc was opened by penetration between the Town Hall and Hotel Korona. This improved the connection between Jerusalem Hill and the town

centre a lot, which facilitated the development of Jerusalem Hill district. In 1909, Tobak Street, thus far known as a dead-end street, was opened up by means of the explosion of a cliff and the construction of a bridge, to run into a small street leading along the east side of Benedict Hill, thus creating a connection Buhim and Beater's District (Somfai 2000). Built in 1937, the Viaduct as well as Dózsa György brought about another significant change in the structure of the town: they made a connection between two town parts, Jerusalem Hill and Cemetery Hill, and they eased the busy cross-town traffic of Road No. 8. In this way, Veszprém's crossing section was constructed along the route Budapesti Road – Kossuth Lajos Street (a pedestrian zone today) – Óváry Ferenc Street – Dózsa György Road – St. Stephen Viaduct – Pápai Road (Gy. Lovassy 1990). The ONCSA Houses were built between the two world wars between Síp Street and today's Tummler Henrik Street. They were the homes of poor families with many children. This was a social project implemented with financing from the National Fund for the Protection of People and Families. The new owners could repay the purchasing price of these bedsitter houses in discounted monthly instalments. There were similar houses with similarly set-out plots on an area nearby, between Aranyoskút and Nagytó Streets. The row of villas at the beginning of József Attila Street and a number of richly ornamented houses with a carved verandah. Proceeding outwards along József Attila Street, plots were handed out on a social basis between Szegfű and Kiskörösi Streets from the donation of Bishop Nándor Rott after World War I. These identical houses comprise the core of Nándor Housing Estate. After the economic recession, the estate grew towards the South by the residential houses erected. Also residential houses were built on the triangular area bordered by Budapesti Road – Cholnoky Jenő Street – Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Road between the two World Wars. At the same time, a large district, called New Estate, developed north of Budapesti Road. Its borders are Jutasi Road – Őrház Street – Haszkovó Street – Hold Street and Nap Street.

As a point in the "Industrial Axis", Veszprém was strongly developed after World War II. The University of Chemical Industry was moved to the town. Many workers employed in the industrial zones nearby were settled to Veszprém. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of the town's inhabitants grew by 16 and a half thousand, i.e. by 43.4 per cent, which made it the fastest growing county capital of the time. In 1990, already 63,870 people lived in Veszprém. This was the town were the most flats were built compared to the number of inhabitants and also the place where the aggregate value of council investment projects by inhabitant was the highest in Hungary (Beluszky 2003, Lenner 2011). In the 1960s, Veszprém's settlement structure started to change dramatically. Kádárta and Gyulafirátótot were attached to Veszprém in 1973 and 1984, respectively (Kocsis 1997). The town was gradually closed up within a ring of housing estates (Fig. 3).

Three housing estates of large surface areas and of different character were built up in three different points of the town. By the early 1960s, University Town had been completed on the area bordered by Hóvirág Estate – Stadion Street – Egyetem Street. The houses were mostly four-storey ones built of brick, with green parks among them. A decade later, in the early 1970s, the construction of the housing estate at Jutasi Road was commenced. The construction works proceeded from the North to the South. The first houses, yet four-storey and built of brick, were erected at the corner of Jutasi Road and Haszkovó Street, then, near Munkácsy Road, tall residential blocks were built of concrete panels manufactured by the residential construction panel manufacturer in Győr. The last panel buildings in this area were

finished at the end of the 1980s. The panel buildings of Cholnoky Estate were built from concrete panels, manufactured locally, from the second half of the b1970s to the turn of 1989 and 1990. Visible from the by-pass road around Veszprém, the street with terraced Houses in Cholnoky Housing Estate have been built in during the past 20 years.

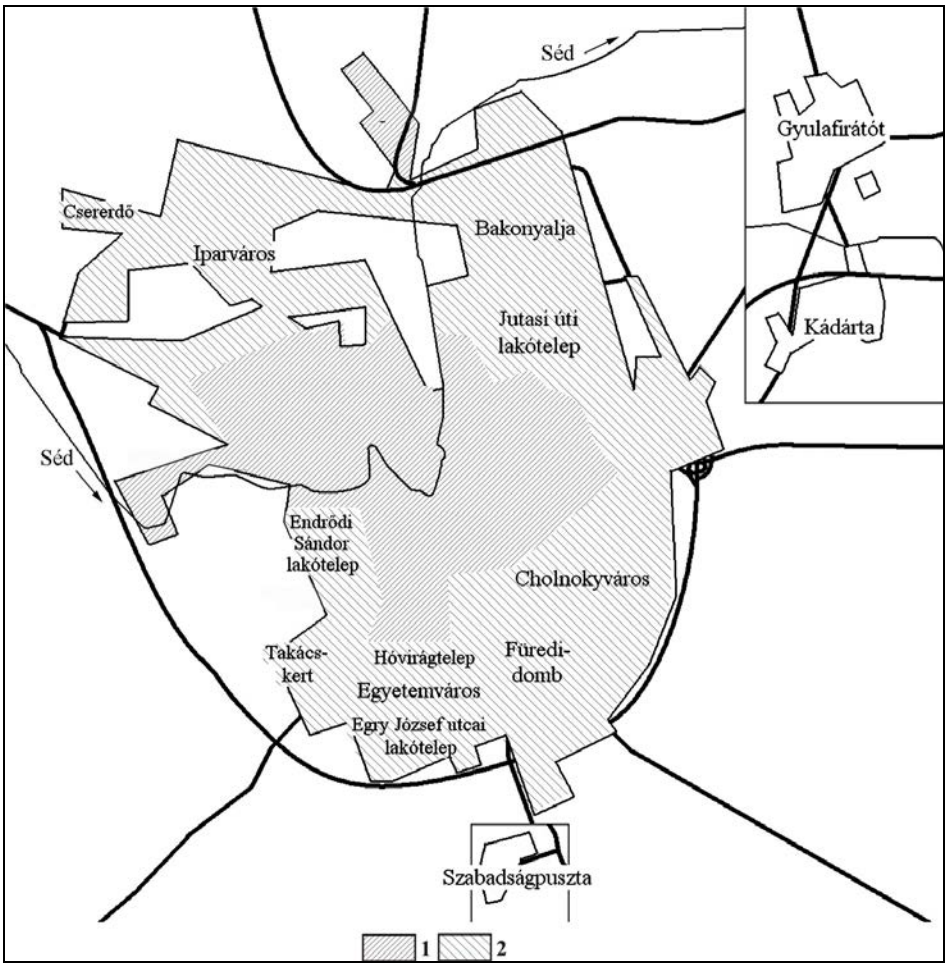

Fig. 3: Spatial Growth of Veszprém from the Mid-20th Century to the Present Days.
Source: the author's own construction.
Legend: 1. The extension of the town body until the mid-20th century 2. The ring of housing estates.

Besides the housing estates mentioned, residential blocks built from construction panels or terraced houses can be found virtually everywhere in the town. The terraced houses in Avar Street in Dózsa-Town were built in the 1970s. Oak Forest began to develop between the two World Wars; at the same time, s residential area with detached and semi-detached houses developed. Later, after Bakony Works had been established in 1968, housing estates consisting of ready-cut houses were built for its workers. In this area, anyway, new streets have been opened even in the past ten years. El Built mostly of four-storey brick buildings, the housing estate in Endrődi Sándor Street was completed in the northern foreground of Jerusalem Hill in

the late 1960s. The houses in the housing estate in the mouth of József Attila Street– Egyetem Street. However, the terraced houses and blocks of Takács-Garden at the place of the former brick-factory were built after the political changes in 1989. The terraced houses in Egry József Housing Estate were the results of the co-operation in the movement of the communist work-teams. At the same time, the so-called Baláca Row has been developed in the past three decades. On Füred Hill, east of this housing estate, along the southern edge of Veszprém, terraced houses built in the 1970s can be found. The modern terraced houses of the loop of Cserepes Street – Varga Street are one decade younger. On the northern edge of Veszprém, at the foot of Bakony Hills) on the premises of the former Soviet garrison), the officers' apartments built of the construction panels manufactured by the Kiev Construction Panel Factory were renovated, but there are also blocks of modern-style estates to be found in this area. The authors wish to mention the changes brought about by the reconstruction of the old marketplace and its surroundings, Gypsy Hill, Cserhát and Kossuth Street in the town centre. Old and valuable buildings of significance in the town's image were demolished out of political intentions. The construction project of the new town centre commenced in 1967. The twenty-storey residential building, the commercial centre belonging thereto office buildings, Hotel Veszprém and the Oak Hill Housing Estate finally did not suit either to the old urban structure or the town's image (Bőszéné- Szatmáry-Nagy 2008). Fortunately, the bigger part of the patinas town centre – the clerical and educational institutions of the Fortress Hill, the Old Town Square in front of the Fortress Gate the commercial centre of Veszprém in the 18th century, then the County Hall and its residential quarter to the South – have escaped "modernisation".

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LIFE IN VESZPRÉM, IN THE ”TOWN OF QUEENS”

Summary

In his study, the author presented the historical settlement geography of Veszprém in two aspects: through the development of its functions, the authors examined the process of the settlement's urbanization, then analysed the changes in the settlement structure in the different ages. Veszprém grew into a town at the crossing-point of roads running along fault-lines, where the River Séd and its side brooks had carved a cliff cape suitable to erect a fortress on, the Fortress Hill into Veszprém Highlands. During the most of its history, Veszprém has been an Episcopal centre, a state administration centre and a border fortress protecting its traders and craftsmen. Its monuments from the Middle Ages were destroyed during the Ottoman occupation; its historical image as seen today developed in the Baroque times. Veszprém's dynamic development at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was stopped by the main railway lines' avoiding the town. During the communist regime, Veszprém was being developed at a racing speed. After the fall of the surrounding industrial area, especially since the changing of the political system, the town's role as the leader of economic processes has decreased. Today, the ground plan of the town truly reflects its development through history: the gradually developing ring of fortress-based settlements enhanced the dominant role of the fortress in the settlement structure of the old Veszprém. During the ground plan extension of the later times, the fortress retained its central role but the involvement of the plateaus of the surrounding hills of nearly the same height in the urban development resulted in a new trend in the improvement of the town.

COEXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS AROUND ONE OF THE CAMPUSES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS

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Abstract
Coexistence of different social groups around one of the campuses of the University of Pécs
In the process of urban transformation and renewal, large numbers of immigrants are expected in connection with the existence of prosperous branches of industry. It is assumed that in an environment where higher education is one of the most important economic factors, there will be conflicts in the everyday coexistence of social groups. The aim of this study is to investigate, in a city quarter which was forced to transform due to economic structural changes, and which has a bold mixture of ageing people and temporary university residents, how the coexistence of different groups of the society influences the quality of life in the quarter, and how the situation is perceived by the affected people themselves. Furthermore, we want to see what kinds of tension arise from the interactions between these groups with dissimilar/different background, and what possible solutions can be found to resolve such tension.

Keywords
University, urban transformation, studentification, housing estate

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1. Introduction

Recently, the geographic study of the transformation of settlements and city quarters (gentrification, studentification) has started to include cities where there are large numbers of higher education (primarily university) students as residents. Besides the analysis of the economic effect of universities (including Florax 1992; Geuna, Nesta 2006, Varga 2009 among others) there is an increasing number of publications in which the research focuses on the effect of university students on local conditions, the city quarter or district (Fincher, Shaw, 2011, Munro, Livingston 2012). The aim of the present study has been to gain insight, through the transformations induced by the university, into the relationship in which the "original" population of a particular quarter coexists with university students moving into the district.

The studied housing block city district was established in the mid-1970s, as industry in Pécs was developing and the functions of the city kept continuously widening; it was mainly its location and its highly qualified inhabitants that could make it a residential environment of higher prestige (Pirisi, Trócsányi 2006, 91). Its good liveability was ensured by its easy access to public institutions and services, of which a substantial proportion still are considered an attraction. When mining was discontinued in the 1990s, the decline (ranging from the degradation of buildings to the birth of slum zones) that was experienced in other parts of the city (Meszes, Gyárváros, Balokány) did not really appear here. The reason for this is partly the relatively young age of flats in comparison with those of other housing blocks, and the geographic proximity to university faculties. Linked with the expansion of higher education, the university started to become an increasingly important economic factor in the city of Pécs (e.g. increasing employment rate and student numbers), thus the development of the quarter in the 1990s was influenced fundamentally by the presence and proximity of university faculties and teacher training college (Trócsányi, A. 2011. pp. 267-270.). The Medical School (with 2,912 students, and with training programmes running in Hungarian, German and English languages), the Faculty of Humanities (4,960 students), and the faculty of Sciences (2,742 students) are in the immediate neighbourhood of the housing estate, and also the Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology (3,799 students) is within walking distance (PTE 2011, 1). In accordance with those written above, the studied housing block district is a highly adequate sample for presenting about the social and economic effects of a town turning more into a university city.

Currently, the greatest employer of the city and the region is the University of Pécs, with more than 25,000 students, of whom 18,660 (PTE 2011, 1) are pursuing their studies full-time, meaning that they actually live their everyday life in the city. The aim of the current study is to present about the issues of coexistence between local residents and university students, through the analysis of a particular city quarter. It is likely that these two substantially different (age, lifestyle, incomes) major social groups have conflicts between them, which were now scrutinized, together with the difficulties in such coexistence. The fundamental questions of the research related to how liveable the city quarter is for its residents. Is the presence of university students performs an advantage or a disadvantage? Are there conflicts between students and local residents? According to our hypothesis that we formulated before the research as university students and professors with good knowledge and frequent use of the area, the students temporarily living in the area make the everyday lives of "native" residents harder. As a consequence of the seasonality of

university life and due to the constant change of people between years, filtration and the turnover of the population is very fast, therefore conflicts may arise. As we supposed, the possible sources of such conflicts root in lifestyle, communication difficulties and the general lack of trust. In the followings, we deal with the background of the research, introduce the host city Pécs, and present the results of the survey.

2. Methodology

The research was based on a data collection in May 2011 and May 2012. When geographically designating the study area, the main idea was to include as many of the university faculties as possible, despite the fact that the university has a scattered structure within the city. Accordingly, one of the university blocks, located west of the city centre, was selected (the "western campus") where several faculties are located (Medical School, Humanities, Sciences, Engineering, and even the Faculty of Arts, at the beginning of our studies), concentrating on a block-based uniform structure segment (Fig. 1). In our studies we surveyed the residents of the ten-storey blocks of flats in the western and northern part of the sample area, and also all of the businesses and stores in the area. Each of the seven selected buildings had 2x32 or 2x40 flats, and the number of surveyed commercial units was 48.

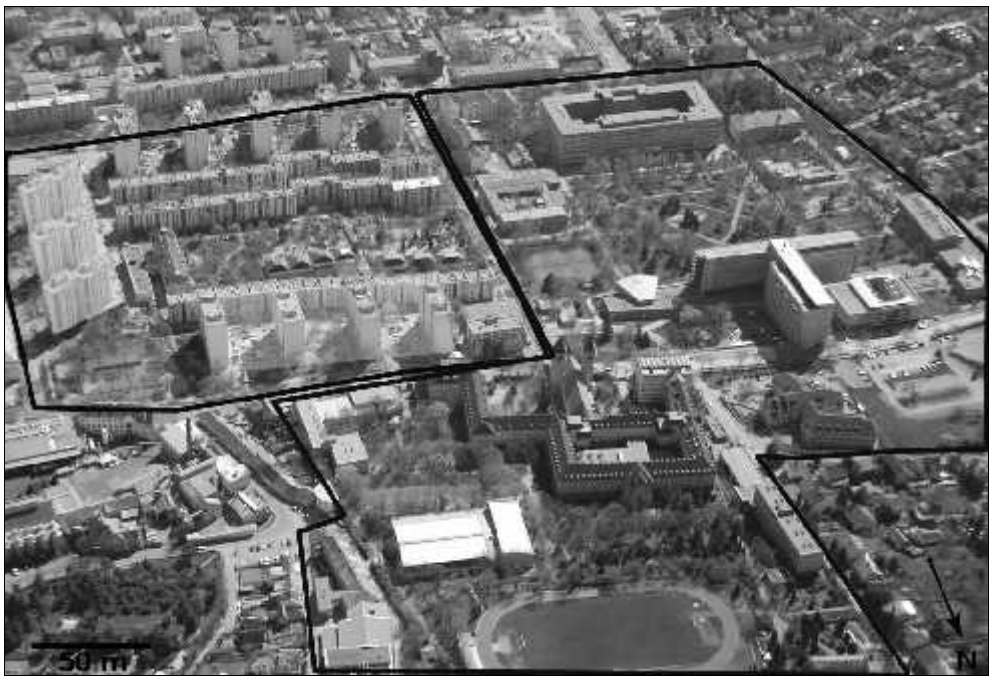

Fig. 1: The investigated area.
Source: TRócsányi, A. 2008, Ed.: Gyüre, J. – Makkai, B. 2012.

During the survey we contacted altogether 892 local residents (including 240 flat owners), altogether 208 university students, and staff members/owners of a total of 63 businesses operating in the area, who were asked about living conditions

(apartment total area, ownership relations), coexistence with university students / locals, basic demographic information, and types and client pool of small business units). Any further field information required for our research was obtained using questionnaire surveys and interviews. Surveying the population was done in the form of a full survey/census, whereas recording people's perceptions was done in random ways. The interviews (32 altogether) were made with local business owners, residents and university students. During the survey, interview subjects were categorised in three major groups: local ("native") residents, university students and business owners. Within the pool of local residents, the opinions of singles, of those with small children and of retired people were analysed separately, with the assumption that their different habits and daily rhythms influence the preferences they indicate in the interviews. Besides recording the general demographic data, special emphasis was laid in the questionnaires on trying to survey positive and negative perceptions associated with the city district, the university and the students (interview subjects were asked to associate three positive and three negative expressions with each).

3. Results

3.1 Residents of the city quarter and how the quarter is perceived

Traditionally as well as today, the studied city quarter has a variety of functions. Of these, the residential function, as reflected by the intensive housing block structure, appears boldly, but also present are education (kindergarten, university) health, (from general practitioner to clinical services), business and commercial services. The northern and southern margin of the studied area fits onto an important traffic axis which also handles, in addition to local needs, (east-west) transit traffic too. The total population of the area is estimated at around 3-4,000 individuals[1] (including university students), whereas the aforementioned faculties have nearly 12,000 full-time students (PTE 2011, 1).

Basic demographic data were collected about altogether 822 local residents and 178 tenant university students in seven building blocks of the studied housing district. Looking at the age structure of people living here (Fig. 2) it appears that the district is characterised with a highly aging population, according to the current trends. The children age group is almost totally missing, and the absence of middle aged people is also striking. Normally, younger people live here who consider for themselves this part of the city as a starting point. Young couples with no children or with one child tend to move here because of the reasonable prices of flats, the proximity of the downtown area and for the good availability of services. The dominant features of the district (e.g. concrete panel buildings, flat sizes) distract young and middle aged people with higher incomes, among whom only those remain in place for whom certain features of the quarter (being close to the university) are dominant in their choice of values. However, a certain type of distortion is also observed, especially in the younger age group (19-26 years), where university students appear, besides being tenants, as owners too. Generally, these cases are about flats that are purchased with the help of the parents for the period of university studies – of which one or two rooms are in most cases let out, this way improving the cost-effectiveness of such an investment, e.g. easing the burden of loan repayment.

[1] No exact data are available, since even the most recent official census data are older than 10 years. However, it is also true that the official registration of flat-hiring university students (official checking in as temporary residents) is not always done. This is a sort of unspoken agreement between the flat owner (no tax paying required) and the tenant (lower rental fees imply).

After graduation, the majority of students having become flat owners sell their property, while some utilise them by letting them out, either staying at the place or leaving.

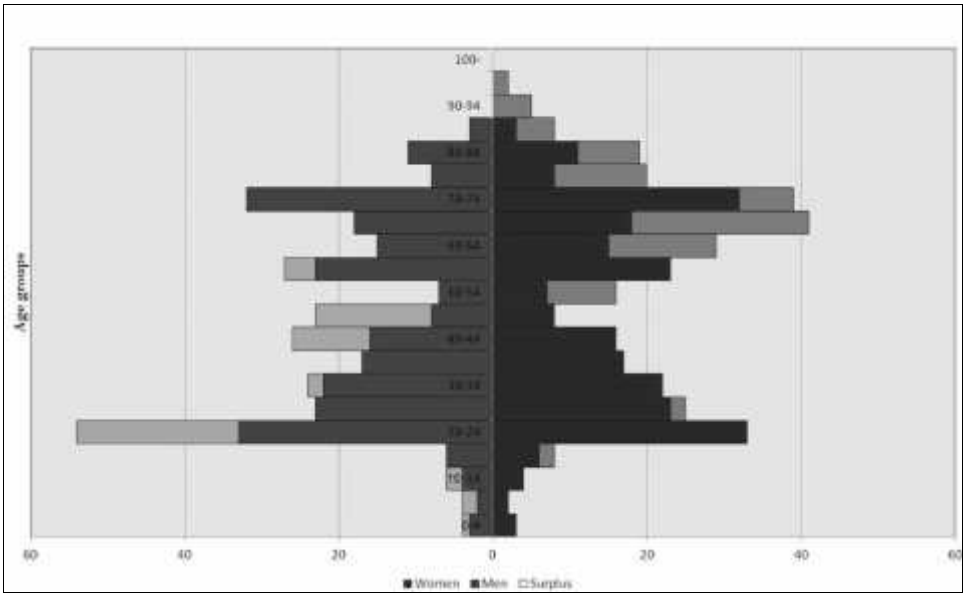

Fig. 2: Age structure of local residents (n=822).
Source: Gyüre, J. – Makkai, B. 2012.

In the case of older age groups, there are more factors in effect; some people are still members of the original population of the quarter. People living in the area partly belong to those who were formerly unable to move to other quarters of the city (primarily due to reasons related with estate market), and there are others who did not want to move because of the good accessibility of the area. As a special feature, widowing exists in this quarter, too: the children have left the family, and one of the parents has become a widow and stayed in the relatively large flat.

A unique category is made up by students living here in hired flats (178 people), their age structure appearing in Figure 3. We should note here that there were only 26 tenants who were not university students: among them it was middle-aged employees that were found to be dominant[2]. An explanation to this may be the fact that in the city of Pécs there is a predominantly supply-determined market of estates, with a result that price-sensitive tenants do not prefer this relatively expensive district, unless there is a serious reason for it to be considered such as local institutions of local employment possibilities. The age structure of students, most certainly, shows a completely different picture. In the greatest proportion it depicts the "official" age of people participating in higher education (ages 18-24), but it also appears that university graduation often shifts to the 25-27 year-old age group. This is influenced by the type of training (e.g. medical) as well as other factors such as when obtaining the degree is postponed for some reason (eg. gap year), the lack of a language exam, etc.). The appearance of the middle-aged

[2] Their data do not appear in the chart.

cohorts is explained by a number of factors including going for second and third degrees or pursuing doctoral studies. It is also common that the student can enter or re-enter higher education only with some delay for some particular reason (e.g. birth of children, spending a period in the workforce market, financial constraints), in which cases flat hiring is preferred to university dormitories. In general it can be stated that younger university students or those in the initial years of their studies choose dormitories in a greater proportion, whereas students in the upper university years or in an older age tend to prefer hired flats that offer increased privacy, due to reasons such as choosing a mate, looking for improved comfort, or having higher incomes.

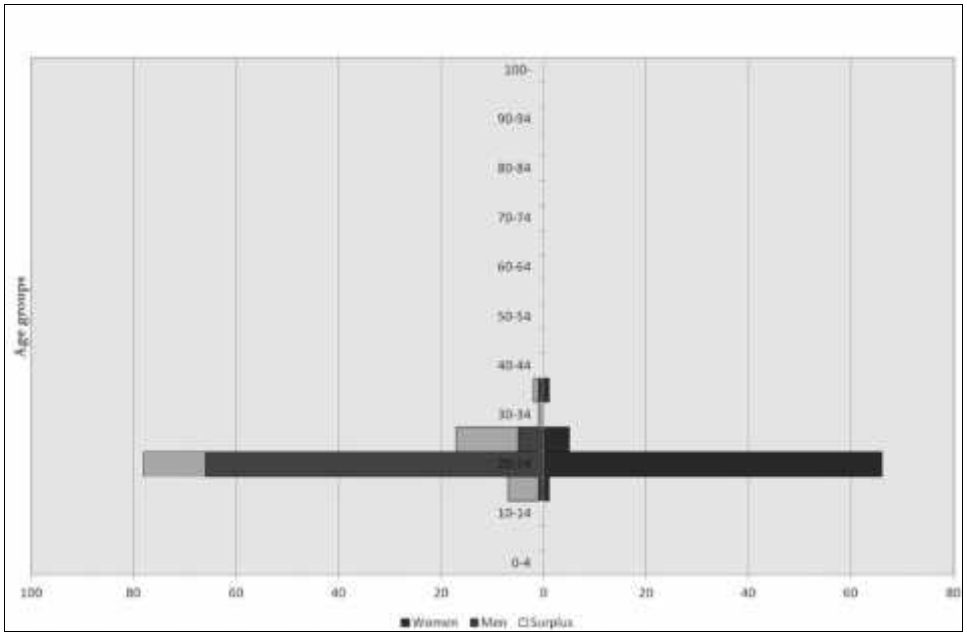

Fig. 3: Age structure of flat-hiring university students (n=178).
Source: Gyüre, J. – Makkai, B. 2012.

The aforementioned structural peculiarities are reflected in the employment structure of the city, too. Among the interviewed people, there is a relatively even distribution of those employed in the service sector (33%, of which 2% are associated with the university), pensioners (33%), and students (32%).

Regarding the liveability of the quarter, it can be concluded that the vast majority of the interviewed people like to live there. In the case of pensioners and families with small children, this proportion is almost 100%, but, interestingly, 20% of university students do not consider the area to be a liveable one. The possible background for this may be the fact that older people like their familiar environment they got used to, and adhere to it. This assumption is supported by the interviews, too; the following statement by a pensioner is a typical one. "I have lived here for long, and would not like the idea of moving. Mostly because of having got used to it, and I like the place, anyway." At the same time, not all of the students will surely be able to fit in the environment or will like this setting, since the costs of hiring a flat are quite substantial in a Hungarian context, and it is mostly the well-off students (or their

parents) – i.e. those coming from housing environments that are highly different form panel blocks – who can afford paying for it. For them, this type of accommodation is the necessary, least bad option, located close to the university. Nevertheless, it also has to be considered that the young, highly mobile population, i.e. the majority of those involved in the process of studentification, normally have weak bonds with their temporary residential environments (Smith 2005, 83).

During the research we wanted to find out how different groups evaluated the area (Fig. 3). Among positive opinions regarding the studied city quarter, it was the good accessibility of the area that was most prominently highlighted by all three social groups. Another shared positive feature was public transport which means, as there is no other form of community transportation service in the city, the dense network of bus lines. Among university students and residents, the broad spectrum of services was another substantial positive factor. For residents of the district (especially with regard to age), medical services belonging to the university was a highly emphasised feature. The clinic block run by the Medical School is a health service centre not only for the city but also for the south-western region of the country. The negative perceptions regarding the city quarter are along two major themes. Noise pollution and crowdedness associated with traffic (either private or community) was the most important problem that was noted. Personal spaces are seen as shrinking, and the liveability of the quarter and everyday general feeling are disturbed by the frequent occurrence of homeless or beggar people. All three groups mentioned the odour/smell of malt generated by the brewery located next door to the studied district. Another aspect of crowdedness was blamed among business owners: the simultaneous presence of a high number of competitors causes the lack of buyers and the insufficiency of purchasing power.

Fig. 4: Positive and negative perceptions regarding the studied city quarter.
Source: Gyüre, J. Makkai, B. 2012.

3.2 Students, university and supply of services in the city quarter

When launching the research it was assumed that both the university and the students are perceived positively in the studied city quarter, therefore we also surveyed the associated perceptions, e.g. the cultural and economic effects on local society, among others. Besides the former two factors, we also found it important to survey the opinions of the service sector which is present in the area with high impact on the image and appearance of the city. Fig. 5 shows that the presence of both the university as an institution and the students is considered to be positive by those interviewed. In the case of the university, the representation of negative perceptions is at an almost negligible level. According to what was written in the questionnaires for residents and for the service sector, and based on what was said in the interviews, the reason for such a perception is the fact that owing to the university, the cultural programmes have a wider variety, there is a high level of health care services, and community transportation is also managed at high standards. In the answers it was also emphasised that the presence of the university is a factor that is beneficial for development, for attracting investment projects, for improving communities, and for boosting up purchasing power.

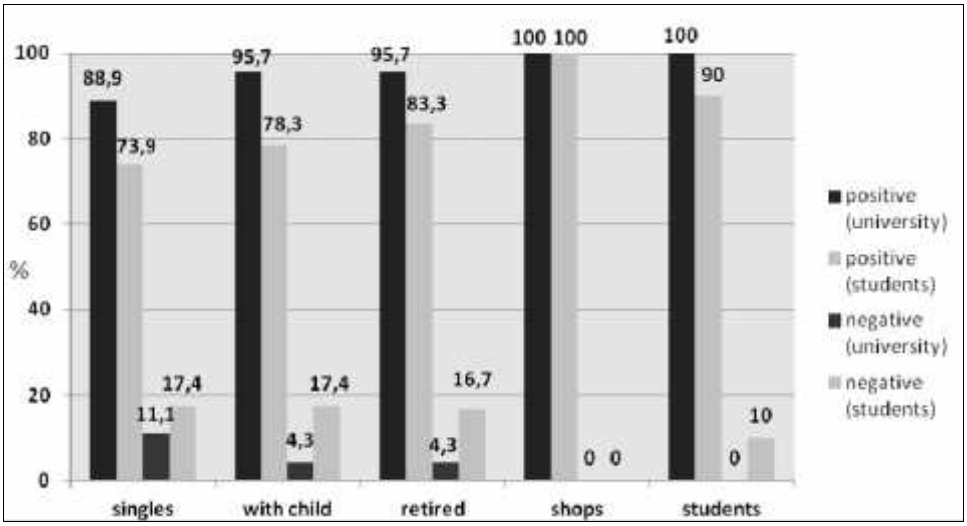

Fig. 5: The perception of the university and the students, by various groups of the society (n=110).
Source: Gyüre, J. – Makkai, B. 2012.

Students are judged predominantly positively, especially by business owners according to whom students make the city quarter become younger, and provide them with a basis for a living (in the studied shops, approximately 30% of the turnover was generated by student clients, as declared by business owners). In businesses that are specialised on the needs of university students (e.g. stationary, copy centre), about 95% of the turnover is from students. The proportion of people negatively perceiving the presence of high numbers of students is around 16-17%. The negative feature most often mentioned in connection with students is noise, loudness, parties and garbage. Even among the students themselves, about 10% regard such conditions as disturbing. Altogether, the general perception can be considered to be positive, although there are certain problematic fields that we are going to touch upon later on.

There are about 50 commercial units trying to satisfy the fundamental needs of altogether 15,000 people including those living here and those coming to the quarter. Almost all of the interviewed groups were entirely satisfied with the standards of these services. As it appears from the interviews, such a high level of positive judgement originates from the presence and wide choice of banks, ATMs, shops and amusement opportunities. The only exception is the category of pensioners: 8.3% expressed their dissatisfaction in this dimension. From personal interviews and from communication during data recording it turned out that the indicated deficiencies concerned mostly the availability of book stores, marketplace, and, as most of the pensioners pointed out, the post office. (Each of these lacking services used to operate earlier in the city district, but were forced to disappear one by one by the transformation of the local population and the economy.) It must be noted that there is a considerable fluctuation of shops in the city district, which may result from improper profile selection or mismanagement, as well as from high rental fees. Nevertheless, if the long-term structure of the service business portfolio is analysed, it clearly appears that the profile related to the university, its students and professors has a constantly growing share.

3.3 Conflict points

During everyday coexistence, it is quite likely that there will be some confrontation between groups with different cultural and social backgrounds. In the followings the conflict sources typical of the city district will be presented, specifying the reasons, types and possible solutions. From the responses it appears that the university students think in higher proportions than local residents that there are problematic issues between them and locals (Fig. 6). Students normally do not participate in the community life of local residents: 63.3% confessed so. This roots in the fact that they consider their hired flat as a temporary place of residence, and this is the first time in their lives when they spend longer periods away from the parent's home, that is when they first have encounters with strangers on a daily basis, and learn how to coexist with them (Darren 2005, 86.) Among possible causes, probably there are factors in the background like difference between mobilities of the social groups. During their everyday life, university students probably have much more, intensive interactions with local people (travelling between university buildings, partying, shopping), and that is why they may perceive more conflicts. In addition – especially in the case of students coming from abroad –, adaptation in a new cultural setting is harder, and a possible cultural shock can be more difficult to cope with, e.g. because of language problems. On the other hand, people living here have become used to university students and the problems associated with them (e.g. moving from one hired flat to another) during the past decades, accepting them and having become insensitive or more tolerant, thus they have a different perception of situations that might appear to be a conflict for the students. In must be noted, however, that in the case of families with small children, 40% of those questioned do not consider their relationship with students to be good, which may be caused by the fact that they lack the type of experience we described above as something shared by the (older) local residents. People with small children are at the same time tend to be much more sensitive in buildings that have weak noise insulation, and their young age means that they have higher mobility and stronger interactions than older local people.

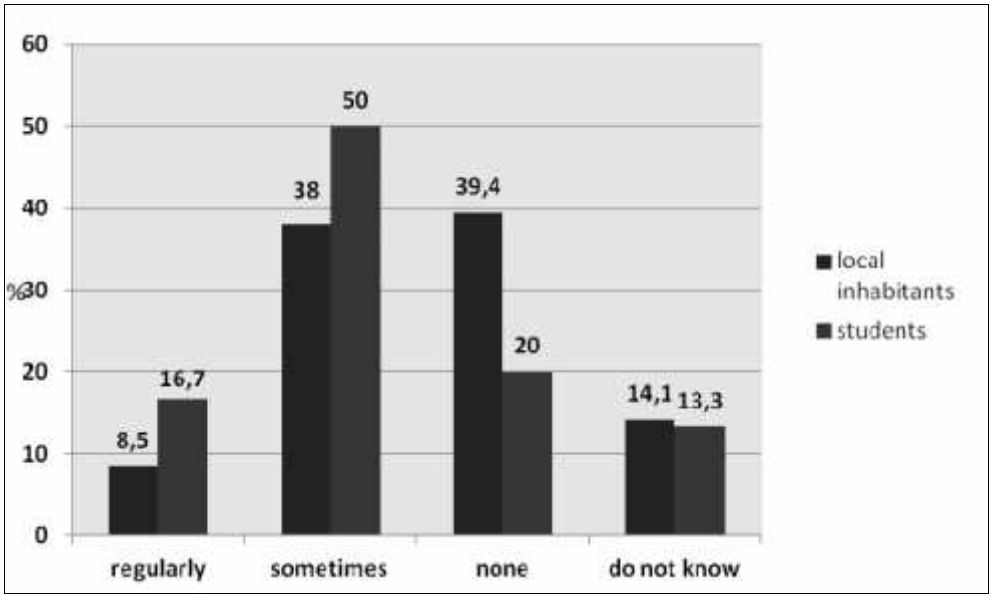

Fig. 6: The occurrence of conflicts, as seen by local inhabitants and university students (n=118).
Source: Gyüre, J. Makkai, B. 2012.

Accordingly, the study has revealed that the formerly assumed conflicts do exist in the analysed city quarter. It can be said that both the students and the local residents identified the different ways of thinking and the problems in behaviour as the most typical sources of conflict. Students emphasised the different ways of thinking (32%), whereas local residents highlighted behaviour (45%). It is important to note that none of the answers included the lack of trust. Interview answers, too, support the results that were obtained from questionnaires. Most of the answers specified noise, partying and the continuous sound of music as problems. It is interesting that even among students there were some who expressed their dislike upon the regular partying next door, this finding also underlining that university students cannot be regarded as a homogenous group, either. So as to find effective solutions, it is necessary to reveal the causes of conflicts. When possible reasons were sought, it was found that one of the conflict sources typical of the city quarter, i.e. stealing, cannot be associated with university students. As revealed by statistics, and opinions of business owners and residents, such cases were more related to the housing block nature of the area and the type of businesses offering their services there.

According to our survey results, conflicts and collision points during everyday coexistence are generated by the following causes. First of all, the generation problem has to be underlined: the most frequent reason for conflicts is the generation difference issue. The everyday life rhythm of people living in the area (families and older people) can be described with typical daily and weekly cycles (with strict timely barriers such as getting to school/work). Compared to this, the more liberal and relaxed daily rhythm of university students is determined by the daily and weekly cycle of lectures, community events (parties, concerts) and journeys home and back. The next major group of factors is those related with

differences in attitudes and with the lack of respect. This problem group is partly rooted in the generation issue. On the other hand, the coexistence of groups from different social and cultural environments (both from within the country and from abroad) necessarily brings about the emergence of conflict points. The third category is that of problems generated by communication difficulties. There are two components of which the dominant one is the aforementioned generation gap, and the other is the presence of an increasing number of foreign students (537 in 2004, 1,615 in 2011; PTE 2004, 1) in the city quarter, the numbers having grown to threefold in five years and still growing in line with the expectations of the university.

Based on the above factors, our study has revealed the following conflict types in the city quarter. Loud behaviour is normally associated with students having fun at night. Loudness is a problem not only out in the streets but also inside houses or blocks of flats (students having parties). The crime of stealing is not associated with students, but instead mostly to homeless people, although a valuable subject type of stealing is bicycles often preferred by university students. As regards crowdedness, we must differentiate between busy traffic and congestion in the city quarter outside the morning and afternoon rush hours (when there are serious traffic jams, especially because there are several kindergartens, primary and secondary schools in the neighbourhood). Due to the currently existing traffic management mode, the transit capacity of the area is very low. Crowdedness in public transportation is a serious problem, which does not decrease despite that the local bus company has increased the frequency of lines in the peak periods, and has introduced vehicles with higher passenger capacity. Vehicles are still overloaded, and their rate of utilisation is well beyond the maximum holding capacity. In traffic, the shortage of car parking space is critical. Besides university people and the local residents, there are also patients and their relatives coming from the wider region to the clinical centre managed by the university, who contribute significantly to the parking burden on the district. In peak times, crowdedness makes personal spaces of people to shrink to its minimum. In everyday life, crowdedness is felt in the service sector. The time needed to arrange or buy things in shops, cafeteria, banks or at the doctor has become longer. Impoliteness became measurable, possibly caused by the already mentioned generation gap and crowdedness. Littering generally is a result of the larger population and less developed waste management. There are also cases when there are masses of garbage left behind in open public places after parties or different events, containing bottles, cans and cigarette butts. For an increasing number of residents, dog faeces is the greatest problem, as pets become more and more popular.

3.4 Possible solutions

The authors of this study believe that solving the raised problems can be more successful if the following possibilities are considered. All parties concerned should be involved in handling the conflicts or tensions, or at least attempts should be made by all parties. We believe that problem management/solving should follow a top-down approach (city, university), and a bottom-up type of initiative (local residents, university students) at the same time. The municipality can handle some of the problems emerging in the city quarter (and in other districts), using the available measures (passing local governmental regulations, organising traffic, etc) and relying on the assistance of city residents. The university sanctions student behaviour that is "incompatible with the status of being a student, harming or threatening the university's good reputation" (PTE 2012, 2). The university which

already has an active function in city matters (there is a separate official for maintaining relationship with the municipality) should play a much more intensive role in the communication between university students and local residents (e.g. by organising joint programmes for the city quarter).

Different needs appearing on the levels of various social groups and individuals (transportation, health serviced, etc.) should be taken into consideration. In addition, a common voice should be found between newcomers and those already living in the district – necessarily calling for compromise solutions due to the difference of backgrounds –, which need to be progressive from the aspect of the entire community (e.g. the service sector should be able to communicate with all its customers, and should be able to serve simultaneously the socially different needs of locals and those coming to the place). In practice, this could be achieved by making the various groups become interested. For the sake of social integration and better familiarisation, it is possible to organise community development programmes (e.g. cultural and sport events, visiting neighbours, gardening, cleaning up or renovation activities for the community). In order for one of the most significant problems, i.e. the generation gap, to be reduced, marketing tools should be applied, and programmes should be set up (e.g. "adopt a grandma", assistance in shopping, carrying home the goods, helping in info-communication, with a return of some cooking, minor mechanical chores around the hired flat). It is essential that compromises are sought, the rules of mutually beneficial coexistence are established, and the so-called 'wall effect' neighbour disturbance is minimised – e.g. washing machine use and loud music is restricted in the evenings after 22.00. Besides all these it is important that the municipality plays a more active role in the city quarter, as part of which the representatives can better familiarise themselves with the needs of local people, and with that knowledge, can better direct actions and development projects affecting the district. Another great difficulty besides the generation gap is the existing structure of traffic (regardless of it being individual or community, motorised or pedestrian). Some intervention is required from the side of the city management (modifying traffic order, organising community transportation, maintaining pedestrian sidewalks). In addition to that, well-harmonised cooperation is necessary between the university and the municipality, for the sake of parking area reorganisation and traffic management.

4. Conclusions

Our study has shown that all parties involved consider the analysed city quarter to be liveable, and relate to it with a positive manner. There is no significant difference between various age groups in how they feel about the city quarter, the university and the students. However, it was revealed that there is a degree of tension between university students moving in and local residents. These conflicts are latent; they do exist but are still in an embryonic stage. It was also found out that the direction in which the transformation of the city quarter proceeds is accepted by people living there, but they perceive some side-effects (e.g. crowdedness) as disturbing. The effect of the university on the district is viewed as a positive phenomenon both at present and for the future. Besides its influence on local economy (multiplicity of the service sector; estate market), there is also a strong cultural effect of the institution. Due to the presence of foreign students, a sort of multi-cultural city quarter is gaining shape, with its effects appearing for example in the form of multilingual advertisements and services. Compared to the general Hungarian degree of openness and the reserved attitude towards strangers, people

living in the city quarter are more open, more tolerant and more receptive. Further studies are necessary to find out whether this is going to stay like that as the number of foreign students possibly continues to increase. The university generates higher numbers and better quality in respect of cultural programmes. The new research centre of the university was built in the immediate neighbourhood of the studied district, which, in addition to its beneficial effect on the appearance of the quarter, can further emphasise its educational-scientific character. Another question regarding the transformation of the area is whether the replacement of the population continues along the former trends, or it even accelerates because of the conflicts described earlier. If it turns into a district of temporary residences mostly, and becomes a university quarter, how will it be possible to handle its seasonality? To find about these issues, further studies are required which will hopefully help the formation of the proactive type of behaviour in all parties involved.

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COEXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS AROUND ONE OF THE CAMPUSES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS

Summary

Recently, the geographic study of the transformation of settlements and city quarters (gentrification, studentification) has started to include cities where there are large numbers of higher education (primarily university) students as residents. Besides the analysis of the economic effect of universities (Florax 1992, Geuna, Nesta 2006, Varga 2009) there is an increasing number of publications in which the research focuses on the effect of university students on local conditions, the city quarter or district (Fincher, Shaw 2011, Munro, Livingston 2012). The aim of the present study has been to gain insight, through the transformations induced by the university, into the relationship in which the "original" population of a particular quarter coexists with university students moving into the district. The studied housing block city district was established in the mid-1970s, as industry in Pécs was developing and the functions of the city kept continuously widening; it was mainly its location and its highly qualified inhabitants that could make it a residential environment of higher prestige (Pirisi, Trócsányi 2006, 91.). The research was based on a data collection in May 2011 and May 2012. In our studies we surveyed the residents of the ten-storey blocks of flats in the western and northern part of the sample area, and also all of the businesses and stores in the area. During the survey we contacted altogether 892 local residents (including 240 flat owners), altogether 208 university students, and staff members/owners of a total of 63 businesses operating in the area, who were asked about living conditions (apartment total area, ownership relations), coexistence with university students / locals, basic demographic information, and types and client pool of small business units). Any further field information required for our research was obtained using questionnaire surveys and interviews. Surveying the population was done in the form of a full survey/census, whereas recording people's perceptions was done in random ways. The interviews (32 altogether) were made with local business owners, residents and university students.

Basic demographic data were collected about altogether 822 local residents and 178 tenant university students in 7 building blocks of the studied housing district. A unique category is made up by students living here in hired flats (178 people). The age structure of students, most certainly, shows a completely different picture. In the greatest proportion it depicts the "official" age of people participating in higher education (ages 18-24), but it also appears that university graduation often shifts to the 25-27 year-old age group. This is influenced by the type of training (e.g. medical) as well as other factors such as when obtaining the degree is postponed for some reason (eg. gap year), the lack of a language exam, etc.). When launching the research it was assumed that both the university and the students are perceived positively in the studied city quarter, therefore we also surveyed the associated perceptions, e.g. the cultural and economic effects on local society, among others. Students are judged predominantly positively, especially by business owners according to whom students make the city quarter become younger, and provide them with a basis for a living (in the studied shops, approximately 30% of the turnover was generated by student clients, as declared by business owners). In businesses that are specialised on the needs of university students (e.g. stationary, copy centre), about 95% of the turnover is from students. The proportion of people negatively perceiving the presence of high numbers of students is around 16-17%. The negative feature most often mentioned in connection with students is noise,

loudness, parties and garbage. Even among the students themselves, about 10% regard such conditions as disturbing. Altogether, the general perception can be considered to be positive, although there are certain problematic fields that we are going to touch upon later on.

During everyday coexistence, it is quite likely that there will be some confrontation between groups with different cultural and social backgrounds. In the followings the conflict sources typical of the city district will be presented, specifying the reasons, types and possible solutions. Accordingly, the study has revealed that the formerly assumed conflicts do exist in the analysed city quarter. It can be said that both the students and the local residents identified the different ways of thinking and the problems in behaviour as the most typical sources of conflict. Students emphasised the different ways of thinking (32%), whereas local residents highlighted behaviour (45%). It is important to note that none of the answers included the lack of trust. So as to find effective solutions, it is necessary to reveal the causes of conflicts. According to our survey results, conflicts and collision points during everyday coexistence are generated by the following causes. First of all, the generation problem has to be underlined: the most frequent reason for conflicts is the generation difference issue. The next major group of factors is those related with differences in attitudes and with the lack of respect. This problem group is partly rooted in the generation issue. On the other hand, the coexistence of groups from different social and cultural environments (both from within the country and from abroad) necessarily brings about the emergence of conflict points. The third category is that of problems generated by communication difficulties. There are two components of which the dominant one is the aforementioned generation gap, and the other is the presence of an increasing number of foreign students (537 in 2004, 1,615 in 2011; PTE 2004, p. 1., 2011, p. 1.) in the city quarter, the numbers having grown to threefold in five years and still growing in line with the expectations of the university. The authors of this study believe that solving the raised problems can be more successful if the following possibilities are considered. All parties concerned should be involved in handling the conflicts or tensions, or at least attempts should be made by all parties. We believe that problem management/solving should follow a top-down approach (city, university), and a bottom-up type of initiative (local residents, university students) at the same time. The municipality can handle some of the problems emerging in the city quarter (and in other districts), using the available measures (passing local governmental regulations, organising traffic, etc) and relying on the assistance of city residents.In practice, this could be achieved by making the various groups become interested. For the sake of social integration and better familiarisation, it is possible to organise community development programmes (e.g. cultural and sport events, visiting neighbours, gardening, cleaning up or renovation activities for the community). In order for one of the most significant problems, i.e. the generation gap, to be reduced, marketing tools should be applied, and programmes should be set up.

All in all our study has shown that all parties involved consider the analysed city quarter to be liveable, and relate to it with a positive manner. There is no significant difference between various age groups in how they feel about the city quarter, the university and the students. However, it was revealed that there is a degree of tension between university students moving in and local residents. These conflicts are latent; they do exist but are still in an embryonic stage.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF BRATISLAVA: SUBURBANIZATION IN YEARS 1995-2009

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Abstract
Urban development of Bratislava: suburbanization in years 1995-2009
This paper deals with 14 years of urban development in Bratislava, especially aimed at the suburbanization processes. The main subject of this paper is to find the spatial shape of suburbanization in that case, the intensity of suburbanization and the regularities suburbanization occurs under. Furthermore, the main goal of this paper supposes suburbanization to be dynamic and changing throughout the derived time framework. Confirmation of this has to be done together by theoretical and empirical knowledge. All above mentioned assumptions have been confirmed.

Keywords
Bratislava, migrations, suburbanization, stages, urban development

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1. Introduction

Modern suburbanization has become the one of the popular phenomenons in growing cities in the second half of 19th century. During 20th century, this turned to be the object of several sciences such as architecture, spatial science, geography, economy, sociology or ecology. Therefore, there is a lot of points of view to this process and thus lot of definitions what suburbanization is and what not. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze or introduce all of these definitions, but in respect to the mostly geographic-related papers, we can aggregate the relevant definitions into three groups by the way how they consider such process.

The first meaning of suburbanization may be understood as a part of the conception of the stages of urban development introduced by Klaassen (Van den Berg and Klaassen 1986). According to this model, suburbanization is the second stage in city growth and occurs after the urbanization phase. Regarding to demographic changes in city and its surrounding, authors have distinguished two sub-stages: (a) relative decentralization when the population of city surroundings is growing faster than in city itself and (b) absolute decentralization when the city suffers from population decline whereas the surroundings population is increasing. This model has been discussed in detail and strongly criticized by some authors due to incredibility of its cyclical and some other features (Champion 2001, Storper and Manville 2006, Fishman 2005).

In the second meaning, suburbanization is considered as a sociologic issue in case the urban population is moved to the rural environment while the urban way of life is being infiltrated along with (Boyer 2001). Sometimes, suburbanization is treated as a paradox process of seeking a lost community and individualization as well. Bauman (2004) considers the actors of suburbanization tired of anonymity and uniformity in city, so they are looking for new unordinary environment, which will finally find in the city surroundings. This seems to be the most typical especially for young families (Rerat 2012).

The third environmental meaning treats suburbanization as the one of the most important factors responsible for the land cover change (Antrop 2004). Suburbanization is often the most profitable activity to be located in the closest city surroundings without taking the environment into account.

For the purpose of our work, the first meaning of suburbanization is the most important. In spite of proclaimed incredibility, we perceive the Klaassen model as a good tool to determine the stage of city's development omitting its cyclical feature and disurbanization stage (which occurs when the population of entire urban region made up by core city and ring is affected by population decline). Hence, we understand the stage of suburbanization in case, when the population in urban ring is increasing faster than as in the city.

2. The Position of Bratislava

Bratislava, the capital city of Slovakia located in Central Europe, went through different governing systems throughout its history. This has been reflected in some features such as in spatial form, stages of population growth, administrative boundaries, etc. Equally, the environmental conditions affected the city's development as well.

It seems to be beyond the scope of this short paper to introduce the basic environmental conditions and modern history in brief, but we perceive that as a basis to understand the suburbanization processes in case of Bratislava. The city itself is located on the confluence between Danube and Morava River, both representing a significant spatial barrier, especially in the past, when the technical development was not on the current level. Likewise, but less intensively, the Little Carpathians mountain range also works as a barrier. The strength of these rivers as a barrier has been increased, since they have become boundary rivers. Morava was a river separating the Cisleithania from Transleithania in Austro-Hungarian Kingdom till the end of World War I in 1918. Afterwards, in interwar period, the rivers became a boundary among Czechoslovakia and Austria and Hungary respectively. In postwar period until 1989, sections of these rivers located within Slovakia were part of the well known "Iron Curtain" which made Bratislava impossible to expand towards nowhere but north and east.

Therefore, the ring representing the suggested city influence is not circle-shaped, but crescent-shaped. However, the suburbanization was considered as the "pure capitalistic phenomenon" and had not been developed during the socialist period due to three major circumstances:

1. Building restriction in so called "non-central municipalities[1]", what resulted in broken demographic balance because ageing inhabitants had not enough resources to recover their old houses, whereas young inhabitants was forced to live in the industrial cities (Bašovský 1995)
2. Low difference of real estates' prices in cities and surrounding rural areas, so living in city was cheaper regarding to the transportation costs (Musil 2001). Cities have been usually better equipped than rural communes, especially in terms of apartment amenities (e.g. central heating, hot water, flushing restroom, etc.).
3. "Lame urbanization" (Węclawowicz 1998) - process typical for socialist countries, where urbanization had been driven directly by government without taking the negative externalities (society, geographical conditions, ethnical structure) into account. Some socio-pathogenic phenomena's such as countrymen locked in pre-fabricated apartment houses, different social classes living together on one store, etc. have appeared.

Meanwhile after the fall of socialism and since Slovakia has joined EU and Schengen Area, the situation has become different and the influence of Bratislava is expanding even towards Hungary (e.g. Bezenye, Dunakiliti, Hegyeshalom, Rajka municipalities) and Austria (e.g. Berg, Hainburg an der Donau, Kitsee, Wolfsthal municipalities). First significant indications of suburbanization beyond the territory of Slovakia have appeared just few years ago and are not the object of this paper due to expected difficulties with obtaining proper comparable data.

3. Current research state in case of Bratislava

Being the capital and largest city, Bratislava and its surrounding have become the most used example of suburbanization in Slovak scientific literature. Furthermore,

[1] In former socialist Czecho-Slovakia, some more populated municipalities (except cities and towns), similar to small towns had been selected as "central municipalities" (CM) (in Slovak language "strediskové obce"). Along with cities and towns, only CMs were supposed to being developed. Therefore, other non-central municipalities (in Slovak nestrediskové obce) were under the building closure.

the suburbanization processes in its hinterland are the most essential. Therefore, there are a lot of papers devoted to suburbanization in Bratislava, basically, following the classification mentioned above. Regarding to demographical approach, Bratislava has been studied individually (Slavík and Kurta 2007) or by comparing to other cities (Bezák 2011; Vigašová and Novotný 2010; Novotný 2011; Hudec and Tóth 2012). Apart from this first approach, the sociologic research of Bratislava and its hinterland involving the areas beyond the territory of Slovakia has been also made (Zubriczký 2010). Due to fact that Bratislava is located within the area of very, perhaps the most fertile soils, the research devoted to land cover changes caused by suburbanization has also proved to be very important (Šveda 2010, Šveda and Vigašová 2010) in respect to the environment.

Besides all of these mentioned works, there is still a lack of papers focusing on individual development of the suburbanization in different time sections. Although some definitions stressing the time aspect has been written in Czecho-Slovakian conditions (Sýkora 2001, Matlovič and Sedláková 2004), the time is often underestimated in papers related to individual suburbanization.

The last two mentioned works (Sýkora 2001, Maltovič and Sedláková 2004) imply the existence of phases in terms of suburbanization, probably based on so called trade-off theory, which has been introduced in Slovakia (Buček 2006) as well. According to this, suburbanization is often driven by two major factors:

1. Transportation costs including the price of the transportation whatever it is related to public transport or individual transport. In terms of suburbanization, the theory assumes increasing transportation costs by increasing distance from the center of the core city.
2. And land rents meaning the average price of real estates. Due to market mechanism, lack of space in city which obviously generates greater demand for accommodation or commercial activities increases the living costs. In terms of suburbanization, the theory assumes decreasing prices of real estates by increasing distance from the center of the core city.

The sum of these two factors is called overall costs and is different in every distance from the core city. We may assume the best place for suburbanization to be in the distance with the lowest overall costs because it can attract a lot of suburbanization actors. Nevertheless, as the territory along the distance with best conditions for suburbanization has some territorial limitations or alternatively, any local government decisions leading to construction attenuation may appear, we may expect the most intense suburbanization to shift into different distances. Spatial saturation and thus, the lack of space caused by suburbanization might be the significant factor responsible for land rents and hence overall cost increase.

The main goal of this paper is to point out how the suburbanization changes its spatial form in different time periods and which municipalities could be marked as suburban leaders on the example of particular urban region of Bratislava.

4. Methodology and data

In order to fulfill the main goal of this paper, it is necessary to identify the suburbanization in the spatial and time framework. It may be identified by empirical field research or by studying the statistical data provided by Statistical office of

Slovak republic. We have decided to combine both of these two approaches: first to identify the suburbanization by provided statistical data and then to verify it by field research. Some additional questions have appeared as we applied such methodology:

1. What should be the spatial framework of this study?
2. How can be the stage since the suburbanization phase has started identified?
3. Which spatial units should be used?
4. What methodology to use in order to mark studied spatial units as suburban?

In previously mentioned Klaassen's model and its other derivations, the term "urban region" has been noted. Usually, urban region is made up by two sub-regions of internal structure: the urban core and the urban ring. Since the urban core is the part of urban region consisting from the important core city or cities respectively, which can be treated as population source areas according to the suburbanization, the remaining predominantly rural areas can be considered as the region, where suburbanization may occur. Therefore, in respect to this paper, urban ring is equal to spatial framework of our work.

In Slovakia, the system of functional urban regions based on the daily commuting has been introduced and modified by prof. Bezák (1990, 2000) and unlike the official administrative divisions, it is perceived to be the proper and suitable regional system used in different geographical studies (Bezák 2011; Novotný 2011; Hudec and Tóth 2012). Since the internal structure of functional urban regions in Slovakia has not yet been delimited (Bezák 2012), we will treat the administrative territory of Bratislava as the urban core even though its administrative boundaries are often considered as so called overbounded (Ouředníček 2004). Furthermore, we have decided to omit the intraurban suburbanization due to difficulties with data obtaining. Location of functional urban region of Bratislava within Central Europe is illustrated in Fig. 1.

In order to avoid processing of useless data, it is necessary to define the credible time framework to cover the whole suburbanization process in case of Bratislava. Considering that, determination of year when the suburbanization in Bratislava has started seems to be the very important step. As we have defined above, the beginning of the suburbanization stage should be assigned to year, when the population of core city started to decline while the population of urban ring is increasing. According to the table 1, the suburbanization in Bratislava has started in 1996. In order to involve the pre-suburbanization period, we have chosen to extend the time framework to period 1995-2009. Regarding to the methodology, the data after 2009 are not necessary.

The next step is to define the spatial units. As we have noted before, the administrative divisions of Slovakia are not considered as credible according to the geographical aspect of population activities. However, municipalities (in Slovak obce), the smallest spatial units the annual statistical data are issued for, seems to be the best way in order to study suburbanization at most highest fidelity.

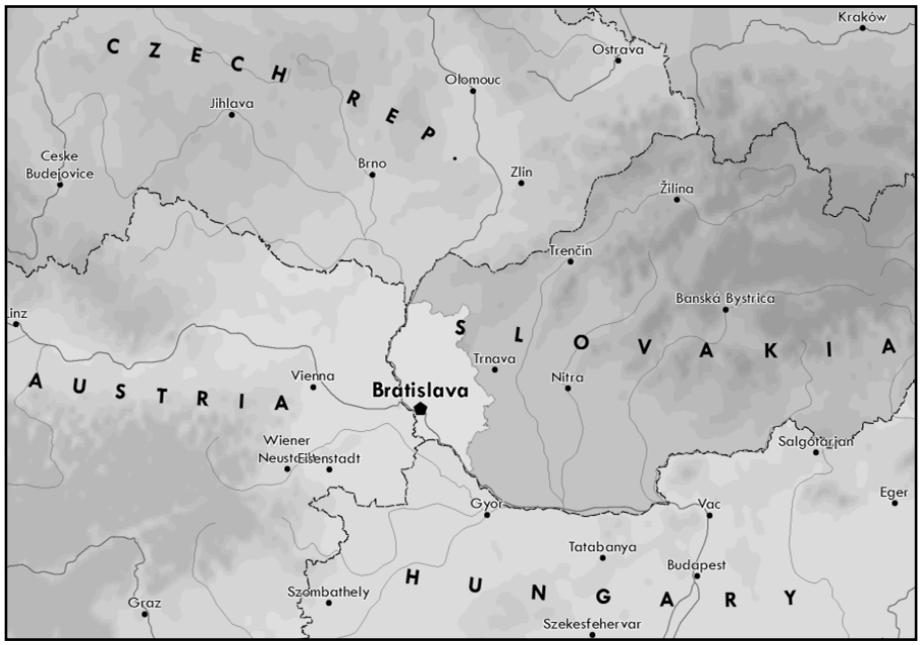

Fig. 1: Location of functional urban region of Bratislava within Central Europe.

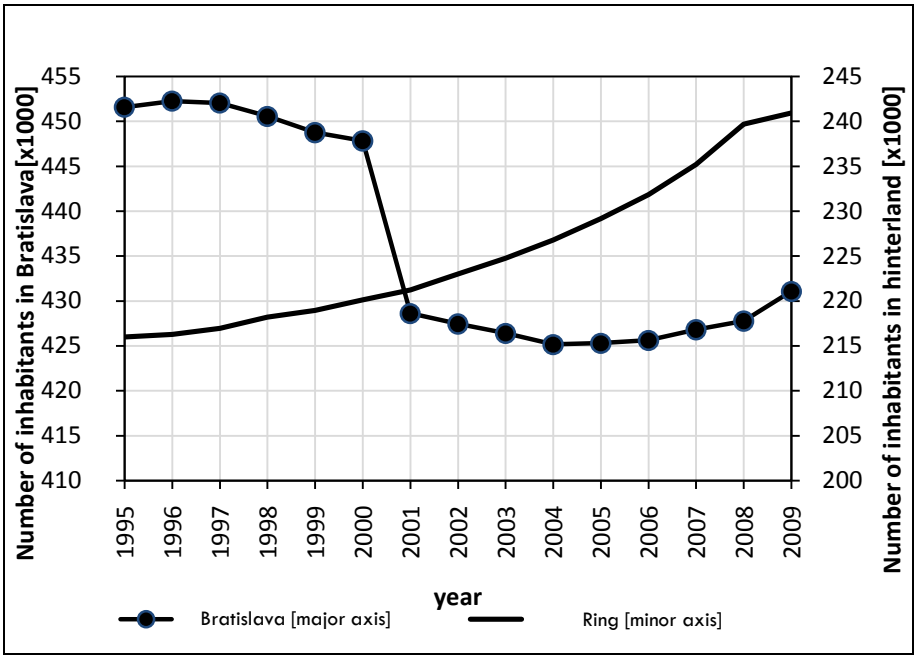

Fig. 2: Population development of Bratislava and its hinterland (1995 – 2009).

The last problem is how to mark these municipalities as suburban. As the suburbanization is strongly related to migrations, net migration has proved to be the

best way. In respect to the proper data compatibility, normalization by number of inhabitants per each municipality at the end of exposed period is the most important. This can be expressed by simple formula:

$$m_i = \frac{I_i(t;t+1) - E_i(t;t+1)}{P_i(t+1)}.100\ \%$$

where:

m_i = net migration rate per i municipality
$I_i(t;t+1)$ = absolute number of in-comers to i municipality during exposed period
$E_i(t;t+1)$ = absolute number of out-comers from i municipality during exposed period
$P_i(t+1)$ = population of i municipality at the end of exposed period

The usage of population at the end of exposed period instead of population at the beginning of exposed period or mid-period population respectively is concluding in better expression of value of net migration rate. Thus, the value of net migration rate reflects the proportion of population at the end of exposed period, which might be the result of recent suburbanization processes.

Since the time framework of this paper is too long for annual study of statistical data in detail and for study of suburbanization, it has been disaggregated into five three-years (sub)periods. Due to basic annual statistical data for the year 2012 has not yet been issued, sixth period is impossible to be created. Therefore the time framework could not have been extended to the year 2012. The Tab. 1 shows the list of five suburban periods with its dates.

Tab. 1: Suburban stages in case of Bratislava.

Suburban stage	Period
1.	From January 1st, 1995 to December 31st, 1997
2.	From January 1st, 1998 to December 31st, 2000
3.	From January 1st, 2001 to December 31st, 2003
4.	From January 1st, 2004 to December 31st, 2006
5.	From January 1st, 2007 to December 31st, 2009

The major problem in identifying of suburban municipalities lies on a value of net migration rate that credibly reflects and follows the suburban processes. If this value is underestimated, the non-suburban municipalities can be identified as suburban. Likewise, if is overestimated, some suburban municipalities can be identified as non-suburban. Therefore, the proper estimation of this suburban threshold should be done together with field research.

5. Results

Based on the methods mentioned above, we have made the analysis of suburbanization processes in case of Bratislava. As the spatial and time framework

has been properly selected, the last task was to define the credible suburban threshold. It has been proved, that the most credible value of net migration rate in order to distinguish suburban municipalities and non-suburban municipalities in case of Bratislava is 7 % per each suburban stage.

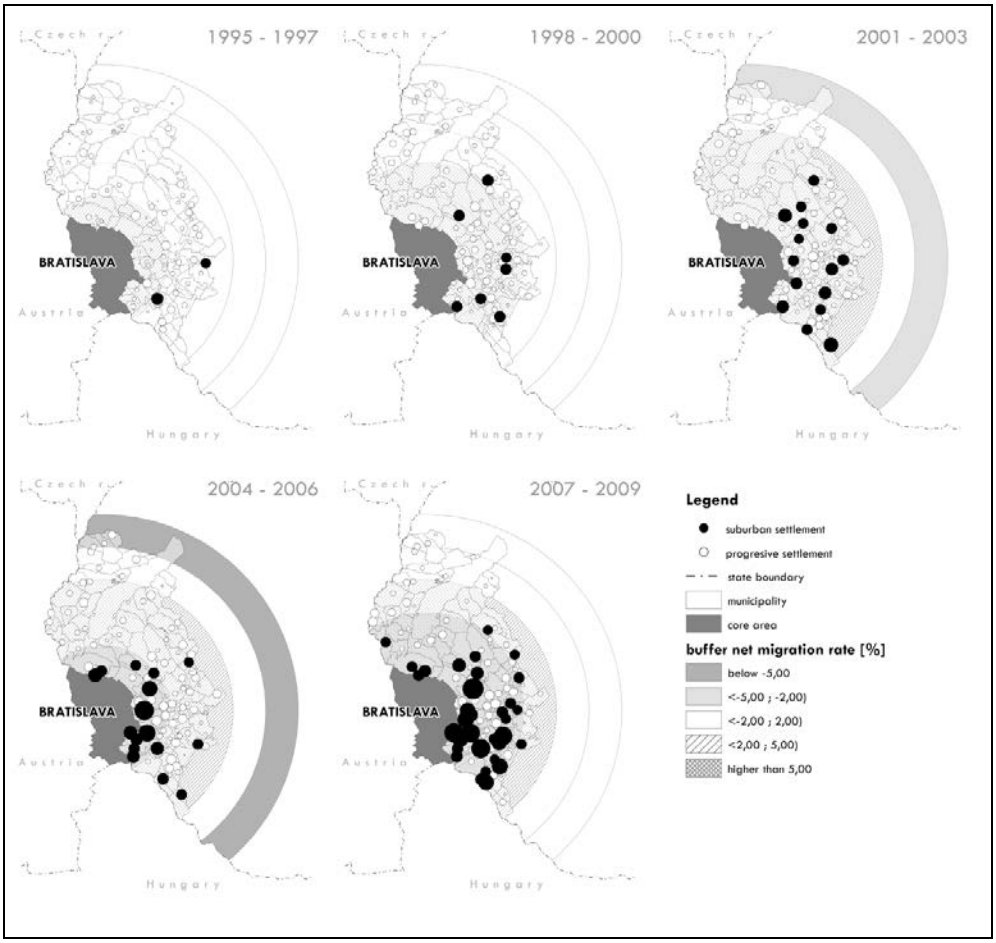

Fig. 2: Development of suburbanization in functional urban region of Bratislava within the suburban stages in 1995 – 2009.

As it can be seen in Fig. 2, the intensity and spatial shape of suburbanization has been changing throughout the time framework of this paper. In the first stage, only two small municipalities were marked as suburban. Also, the significant population increase based on migrations was observed only in closest distance ring. We may assume this stage to be the transition between urbanization and suburbanization period. In the following period, the number of indentified municipalities was increased along the average size of suburban municipalities (Tab. 2). In the third period, suburbanization became more essential on the eastern parts of urban ring, while the northern parts still was not affected by such process. This trend has continued in following periods till the end of the time framework. Suburbanization on the east side of Bratislava urban ring has been becoming more and more

essential as well as the intensity of significant positive net migration rate has been becoming greater.

Tab. 2: Municipalities of f.u.r. Bratislava with highest values of net migration rate per each suburban stage.

Rank	Name	Population state at the end of exposed period	Net migration rate	Net migration
1st suburban stage	1.1.1995 – 31.12.1997		2 municipalities identified as suburban	
1.	Hviezdoslavov	312	10,33	31
2.	Jánovce	449	7,16	32
1.	Píla	242	9,92	24
2.	Macov	157	9,55	15
3.	Limbach	1 047	9,17	96
4.	Hviezdoslavov	343	9,01	30
5.	Hurbanova Ves	223	8,97	20
1.	Horný Bar	1 179	15,15	165
2.	Limbach	1 303	14,19	182
3.	Oľdza	303	12,04	36
4.	Hurbanova Ves	250	11,11	27
5.	Hamuliakovo	1068	11,09	117
1.	Zálesie	1 036	27,55	294
2.	Miloslavov	1 219	21,14	244
3.	Chorvátsky Grob	2 077	18,02	355
4.	Marianka	1 153	14,19	155
5.	Rovinka	1 503	13,22	195
1.	Chorvátsky Grob	3 066	32,44	989
2.	Rovinka	2 039	26,09	510
3.	Hviezdoslavov	525	25,90	130
4.	Miloslavov	1 670	25,44	404
5.	Čenkovce	1 106	24,41	269

Resource: Population movement balance in year 1995 – 2009 (issued annually).

Interesting thing is the low intensity of suburbanization on the northern parts of the functional urban region. According to the land rent map, the real estates are and have been quite cheaper on east than north. It is not confirmed, but we assume this can be caused by Slovnaft oil-factory located near to the eastern administrative boundaries of the city or by close airport with its landing zones respectively. Due to

prevailing western-winds in latitudes where Bratislava is located on, the eastern part of functional urban region can be affected by air pollution produced by Slovnaft oil-factory, what obviously reduces the prices of real estates in such localities. Besides this, the nearby airport with landing zones makes really noisy environment what is not in compliance with the nature of suburbanization (quiet and stress-free living in countryside). Those two factors are not present on the northern parts of urban ring. On the other hand, the analysis confirmed the assumptions proclaimed in the introduction of this paper. The hypothetical place for suburbanization, represented by distances where the suburbanization is more intense, is shifting throughout the time framework of this paper. As it appears in Fig. 2 and Tab. 2, different municipalities became the most suburban regarding to the net migration rate in each stage. The size of suburban municipalities, the number of affected municipalities as well as the number of suburban actors tend to be greater and greater. It seems, the suburbanization in Bratislava compensates the delayed urban development comparing with the western cities by its strength.

6. Conclusion

This analysis has shown how the suburbanization processes are changing throughout the history. The basic hypothesis has been proved as we figured out that the distance line of the most intense suburbanization is shifting in the hinterland and has some regularities. Number of municipalities affected by suburbanization is increasing as well as annual number of inhabitants included in these processes. However, there is still a number of unanswered questions to further research. First, how would the suburbanization trends in Bratislava have looked like, if we had had the statistical data of net migration for year 2012 and had created the sixth stage of suburbanization. Second, how would the comparison based on the similar methods has looked like, if we had incorporated other most populated cities in Slovakia or abroad respectively. At last, would the suburban threshold has been different in different cities or not? Nevertheless, we consider this paper to be the proper and valuable contribution into issues related to such processes like suburbanization is.

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URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF BRATISLAVA: SUBURBANIZATION IN YEARS 1995-2009

Summary

There are a lot of proofs in geographical literature related to the difference of urban development among European cities located in the former East bloc and West bloc during the postwar period. Generally, regarding to the housing policy, urban development of eastern cities is perceived as delayed comparing to the west. In the Eastern bloc, suburbanization was considered as pure capitalistic phenomenon, and therefore was prohibited by many regulations, while urbanization and forced growth of industrial cities was preferred. Although Bratislava is located on the boundaries between Austria and Slovakia or Hungary and Slovakia respectively, it is not an exception. This position has significantly limited the spatial development of city. However, suburbanization after the fall of socialism has appeared and currently is the most intense all over Slovakia.

The main goal of this paper has been to verify whether the assumption related to the proclaimed dynamics of suburbanization is true or not. According to that hypothesis derived from the scientific literature, suburbanization should change its spatial shape, intensity and municipalities affected by. The research had to be done combining the theoretical and field research. For this purpose, basic statistical data related to the migrations has been used. In order to identify whether any municipality is suburban or not, the threshold value of net migration rate had to be determined and if the net migration rate was above the threshold, the municipality has been marked as suburban. Regarding to this, determination of the credible threshold of net migration rate was the major problem. As the suburbanization processes related to Bratislava in this paper are not expected to be beyond the travel-to-work area of Bratislava, its functional urban region has been used as the spatial framework. According to the initial appearance of suburbanization as well as to data availability, the time framework between years 1995 – 2009 has been used. For better fidelity, time framework was disaggregated into five three-year periods – suburban stages. The approximation of proper threshold value had to be done in compliance with the field research that proves the best value of net migration rate is 7 % per each suburban stage.

Results of this analysis have shown the correctness of proclaimed hypothesis. Suburbanization is dynamical and is changing around Bratislava throughout exposed time period. In each stage, different municipalities were affected by suburbanization by different ratio. Moreover, the number of affected municipalities is still increasing. It is obvious that suburbanization has become one of the typical urban processes located in surrounding of Bratislava. Further analyses would probably prove, whether this trend will continue or not.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE TOURIST INFRASTRUCTURE AND TOURIST ARRIVALS IN MARIBOR IN THE LAST TWO DECADES

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Izvleček

Transformacija turistične infrastrukture in obiska v Mariboru v zadnjih dveh desetletjih

Avtor v prispevku prikaže razvoj turizma v Mariboru, pri čemer se osredotoči na velike spremembe v turistični ponudbi (zlasti v obsegu in sestavi namestitvenih zmogljivosti) in turističnem obisku po letu 1991. Spremembi poteka turističnih tokov proti Jugovzhodni Evropi ter veliki gospodarski krizi in propadu velikih podjetij v Mariboru je sledilo veliko zmanjšanje turističnega obiska in potreba po transformaciji turistične ponudbe v mestu. V Mariboru so zgradili vrsto različnih hotelskih in drugih turističnih objektov, s katerimi se je po letu 2000 močno povečala pestrost in kvaliteta turistične ponudbe, posledično pa se je postopoma ponovno pričel povečevati tudi turistični obisk. Kljub temu Maribor še vedno kaže vse značilnosti turističnega kraja s prevladujočim mestnim turizmom, za katerega so značilne kratke povprečne dolžine bivanja turistov in prevlada nočitev v hotelih.

Ključne besede

turizem, mestni turizem, turistični obisk, turistična infrastruktura, Maribor, Slovenija

Abstract

Transformation of the tourist infrastructure and tourist arrivals in Maribor in the last two decades

The paper presents the development of tourism in Maribor, with a focus on major changes in the tourist offer (especially tourist infrastructure and accommodation facilities) and tourist visit since 1991. Changes in tourist flows to South-East Europe, the great economic crises and the collapse of the major industrial companies in Maribor was followed by a large decrease in tourist visit and the need for transformation of the tourist offer in the city. In Maribor was built a range of new hotels and other accommodation facilities, which resulted in the fact that since 2000 increased diversity and quality of the tourist offer and, consequently, has gradually started to increase also the tourist visit. However, Maribor still shows all the characteristics of a tourist destination with the dominant urban tourism, which is characterized by short average length of stay of tourists and the high share of overnight stays in hotels.

Key words

Tourism, urban tourism, tourist visit, tourist infrastructure, Maribor, Slovenia

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1. Introduction

Maribor is the second largest town in Slovenia, with around 95 thousand (94,984) inhabitants in 2012. It lies on the terraces along the Drava River, at the intersection of the five distinct landscape units: the Drava Valley (with the traffic and energetic importance), the Pohorje Mountain (once mostly forested, but now renowned for its summer and winter tourism), the forests and farms of the Kozjak Hills, the fertile arable lands of the Drava Plain, and the fruit and vine yarded Slovenske gorice Hills.

The settlement began to grow along the Drava River in 12th century and become a town called "Markburg" in 1254 (the Slovene name Maribor did not appear until 1836). Between the 16th and 18th centuries, competition from foreign merchants, numerous fires, multiple sieges at the hands of the Hungarians and Ottomans, the so-called "wine wars" with neighboring Ptuj, and the plague, influenced on the development of the city (Gosar et al. 2009). In 1846, there were only 2,200 residents living in Maribor due to a relatively slow growth of the city. Years later, when the railway between Vienna and Trieste were constructed, the development of the industry and trade escalated also in the population growth, so the number of the population in Maribor increased to 31,300 in 1900.

After the WW I, Maribor made a great progress in economic development, and become one of the most industrialized centers in Slovenia. There were 15 major textile factories, and the metal and food industry started to develop rapidly as well.

After the WW II, Maribor developed into one of the biggest industrial city in former Yugoslavia. The metal industry took the leading role, followed by textile and electro technical industry. Also new industrial branches arose: non-ferrous metal industry, building-material industry and production of petroleum products (Lorber 2009). This development has had also a major impact on the development of tourism in the city.

At the end of the 1980s and begging of the 1990s the common Yugoslav market disintegrated and Maribor's industry, which mostly depended on Yugoslav market, encountered a mayor crisis, especially in the sectors of metal and textile industry, which had employed at the time nearly 40% of the city's residents. All major companies were shut down, and unemployment rose to a staggering 25%.

The situation has improved since the mid-1990s with the development of small and medium sized businesses and industry. The tertiary service sector and trade with numerous shopping malls have become most significant for the economic development. Also the financial sector is equally relevant. The Post of Slovenia has its headquarters in the town; therefore Maribor has also become an important logistical centre, situated at the crossing of the 5th and 10th European transport corridor. Based on the number of employees, today the Clinic Centre of the University of Maribor is the biggest company in the city. Maribor is also an important educational centre with many schools and the University of Maribor, second largest in Slovenia. In addition, tourism is gaining on its importance again, due to the rich history and culture in the town, and a range of business, conference, cultural, entertainment, sports and ethnological events.

The changes of the population in Maribor have always depended on its economic development. From the WW II to the mid-1980s the above average population growth was noted. It was a result of the intensive industrialization and immigration

of population from rural areas. Additional housing areas were built in the east part of the city (Tezno and Pobrežje), but the biggest change in the spatial development of the city was the expansion of housing to the south, to the Pohorje Mountain (Tabor). Next to housing projects with hundreds of apartments, many one-family houses were also built. Between 1948 and 1981 the number of inhabitants increased from 62,700 to 106,100.

In the beginning of the 1980s the stagnation and also depopulation took place in the town. A negative natural increase can be observed in Maribor reaching from 1985 onwards, while a negative migration has been present since 1991. From the mid-1990s, the number of inhabitants annually decreased by about 1,100 or 1.2%. In the process of suburbanization, Maribor's population migrated to the environs of the town, but they moved also to the Slovenia's capital, Ljubljana (especially people with high education). Maribor also has the highest percentage of senior citizens, compared to other larger Slovene cities (Horvat 2009).

2. Tourist potential of Maribor

The main tourist potential of Maribor represents:

- the old town center with cultural and historical monuments;
- developed, varied and high-quality tourist infrastructure;
- internationally recognizable cultural, educational and other institutions;
- a range of business, conference, cultural, entertainment, sports and ethnological events;
- the economic importance of Maribor as the second biggest town in the country;
- significant international traffic situation at the 5th and 10th European transport corridor;
- picturesque surroundings of the Drava River, wine growing Slovenske gorice Hills and forests on Pohorje, which allow a wide range of sports and recreation (Horvat 1994).

As in many other European cities boasting a medieval tradition, the most interesting part of Maribor is its centre. It was built in the Middle-Ages and was surrounded by the city's fortress which was built in the 13th century and expanded in the 16th century. With its narrow streets and houses built on small parcels of land, the old town centre still reveals its medieval origins, though much of the time these traits remained veiled, because of the numerous and extensive reconstruction which have occurred over the centuries.

The biggest area of the old centre represents the Glavni trg square (Main Square) with its Town Hall, built in 1515. In the middle of the square there is the Mary's Plague Monument, which was built in memory of plague epidemic in 1680. Close by is the oldest part of Maribor called Lent, which lost its importance when the main bridge over the Drava River was built. Revitalization of this part of the city started in the 1980s. Its biggest tourist attraction is an over 400 year-old vine which is considered to be the oldest vine in the world. Inside of the city centre is a vast Slomšek trg square with the Cathedral. Close by is the Theatre of Maribor and the main building of the University of Maribor with the University Library. The Maribor town Castle, built in 1478, gained its present post-Renaissance look in the 17th century. The late baroque stairway was built in the 18th century. Before WW II, the castle was changed into a regional museum with archaeological, ethnographic and

historical artifacts. In the former Jewish Ghetto, a synagogue from the 15th century is preserved (Gosar et al. 2009).

The City Park is also an important tourist area. In 1889-1896 it was planted with exotic trees. In northerly direction, the park continues with many walking paths to the Three Ponds. Going west, one can find a sports park Ljudski Vrt, whereas the sports park Tabor is located on the right Drava bank.

In the southern edge of the city is a renewed baroque mansion Betnava's Castle. Moreover, one can find interesting tourist destinations in the close proximity of Maribor. Above the City Park, a hill Piramida is located with a chapel which was built after the first castle was finally demolished in 1784. West from the City Park are another two hills Mestni vrh and Kalvarija with a bigger chapel from 1681. It was built to remember those who died due to plague which occurred in the city on and off from 1386 until 1681. In the close proximity is also a winegrowing area between the Drava River and Pesnica Valley. Wine cellars are a popular tourist gateway for many tourists. These cellars are also intertwined with many wine roads. The tourist farms and wine cellars along the Maribor, Podpohorske and Upper Slovenske gorice wine roads and the trail of Archduke Johann are excellent choices for lovers of exceptional wines and culinary delights (Gosar et al. 2009).

Beside the Drava River's energetic importance, it also possesses a tourist one. After the construction of the Mariborski otok hydro power plant, the dam was built behind it, forming a 10 km long Bresternica Lake which is now used for many water sports. On both banks of the lake, there are a lot of resting places and old boat houses which are a popular destination of local people. Below the dam, the first swimming pool was built in 1930 on Mariborski otok.

On the south side of the town stretches a green Pohorje Mountain, very suitable for hikers, cyclists, adrenaline seekers, as well as lovers of the tranquility of nature in Pohorje's primeval forest, waterfalls and peat moors. The area is crossed by local roads and forest tracks, and there are a number of mountain huts. During the wintertime Mariborsko Pohorje turns into one of the most attractive and the biggest ski centers in Slovenia, with many skiing sectors like Areh and Bolfenk on the top of the mountain. The climax of every winter season is the Golden Fox FIS competition in slalom and giant-slalom for women.

3. The development of tourism in Maribor till 1991

The tourist development in Maribor has always depended on its economic development. The beginning is related with the construction of the railway between Vienna and Trieste, due to which the city became accessible and interesting to a wider range of travelers and tourists. An important role also played establishment of the local tourist association end of the 19th century. Tourist visit began to rise in the early 20th century. In 1909, in Maribor were registered about 15.600 overnight stays. Tourists stayed in small city hotels (such as Erzhercoh Johann, Meran, Mohr, Schwarzer Adler) and in restaurants. Most of the guests stayed in Maribor up to 3 days (Vuk 2010).

During the interwar period there was no significant tourist development. In the center of the town has been reconstructed hotel Orel and hotel Zamorc, and on the outskirts of town were built summer swimming pool Mariborski otok. In 1938, there

were about 400 tourist beds in Maribor, and were registered around 56,300 overnight stays (Janša Zorn 1996).

After WW II, Maribor was quite destroyed. During this period, began intensive industrial development and construction of the city, while the development in the tourism sector began only in the 1960s. The damming of the Drava River is created accumulation lake, around which began to develop recreational tourism. At the time, Pohorje Mountain has become also a major tourist destination, where they built several mountain huts. In 1959, the Pohorje cable car linked town with the top edge of the Pohorje Mountain. The highlight of the winter season presents FIS competition in skiing that takes place in Maribor from 1964 onwards.

In the town tourist development was not so intense. In 1963 they built a modern city hotel Slavija, in 1966 modernized hotel Turist (nowadays hotel Piramida) and in 1969 the hotel Orel (the oldest hotel in the town). Outside the city is at the foot of Pohorje Mountain located hotel Habakuk, and at the top of Pohorje Mountain is hotel Bellevue.

According to the characteristics of stationary tourist visit in Maribor, the period between 1961 and 1991 could be divided into two developmental stages, which could also be defined as main stages of tourist development.

The period between 1961 and 1973 is considered as a period of the development in which the number of tourist beds gradually increase from less than 500 to about 1,100, the number of tourists from around 50,000 to 110,000 and the number of overnight stays from around 80,000 to 190,000. Tourist visit was mainly focused on the town hotels. Average length of stay of tourists ranged from 1.4 to 1.6 days. Tourists from Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Germany and Austria prevailed.

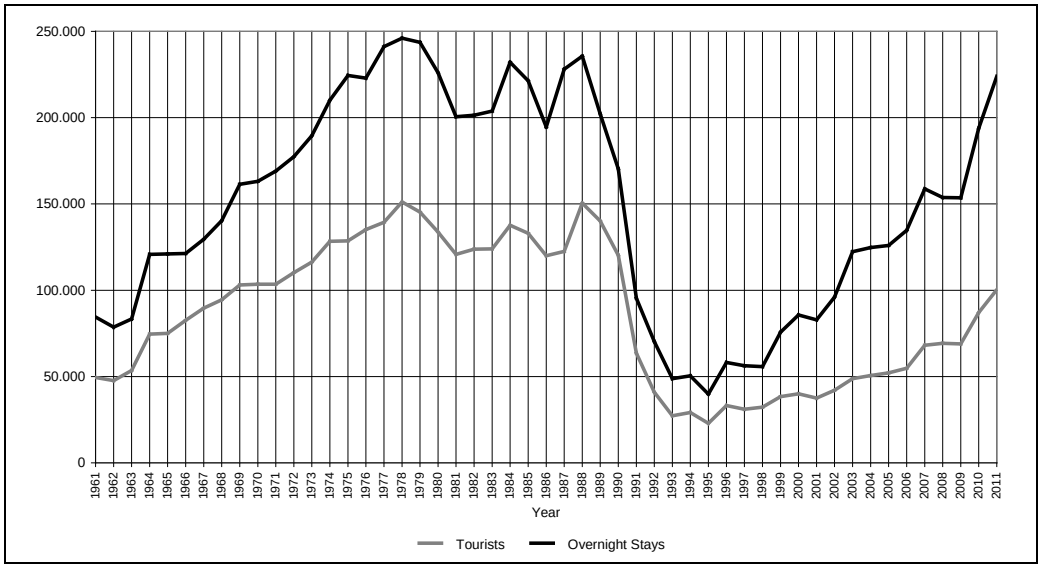

Fig. 1: Number of Tourists and Overnight Stays in Maribor between 1961 and 2011.
Source: Letni pregledi turizma, 1961-2002; www.stat.si.

The period between 1974 and 1990 is considered as a period of the peak of tourist visit, and coincides with the peak of the economic development in the city. Number of tourist beds ranged between 900 and 1,200, the number of tourists between 120,000 and 150,000, and the number of overnight stays between 200,000 and 245,000. Maribor is ranked among the top ten tourist destinations in Slovenia.

Average length of stay of tourists ranged from 1.6 to 1.7 days. Most tourists visited Maribor for business reasons. Important were also recreational and transit motives. Prevailed tourists from former Yugoslav republics (especially from Serbia), which accounted 60% of all tourists and 65% of all overnight stays in the city. Among foreigners, tourists from Germany, Italy and Austria prevailed.

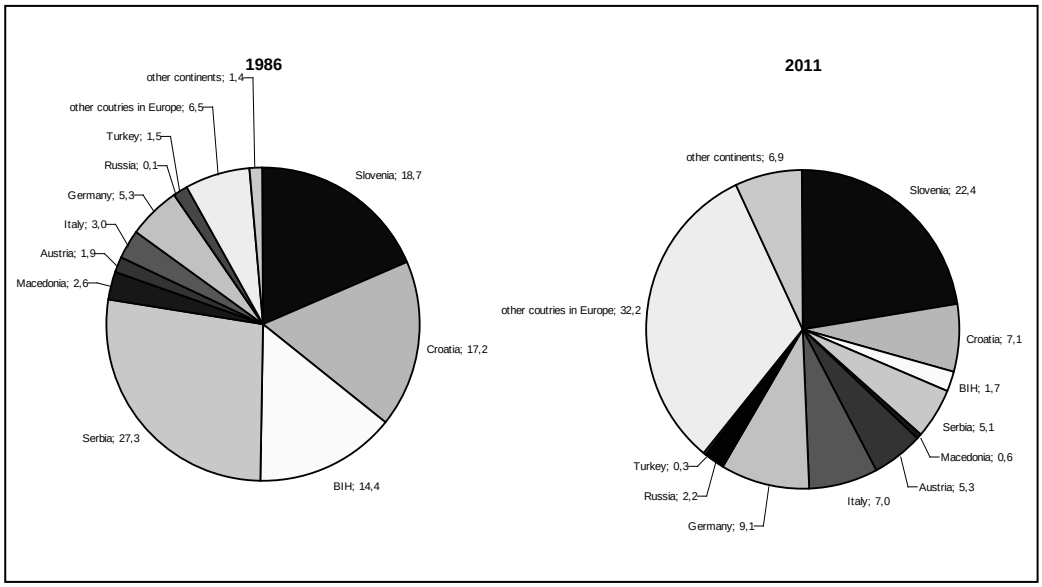

Fig. 2: Share of Overnight Stays in Maribor by Origin of Tourists, 1986 and 2011.
Source: Letni pregledi turizma, 1986; www.stat.si.

4. Transformation of the tourist infrastructure and tourist arrivals in Maribor in the last two decades

The period between 1991 and 2000 is considered as a period of the mayor economic crisis in which, because of the war on the Balkans, changes in transit flows to South-East Europe, the collapse of large industrial enterprises in the city and great decrease of tourist visit from other former Yugoslav republics, in Maribor significantly reduced the accommodation capacity (reduction of 3 times, compared to the previous period) and tourist visit (reduction of 6 times).

In that period the number of tourist beds ranged between 420 and 750, the number of tourists between 23,000 and 40,000, and the number of overnight stays between 40,000 and 75,000. The main reason was the almost complete absence of tourists from other former republics of Yugoslavia (the number of their overnight stays fell from around 140,000 in mid-1980s to around 6.000 in 1995). Average length of stay of tourists ranged from 1.6 to 1.7 days. Among foreigners, tourists from Germany, Italy and Austria prevailed.

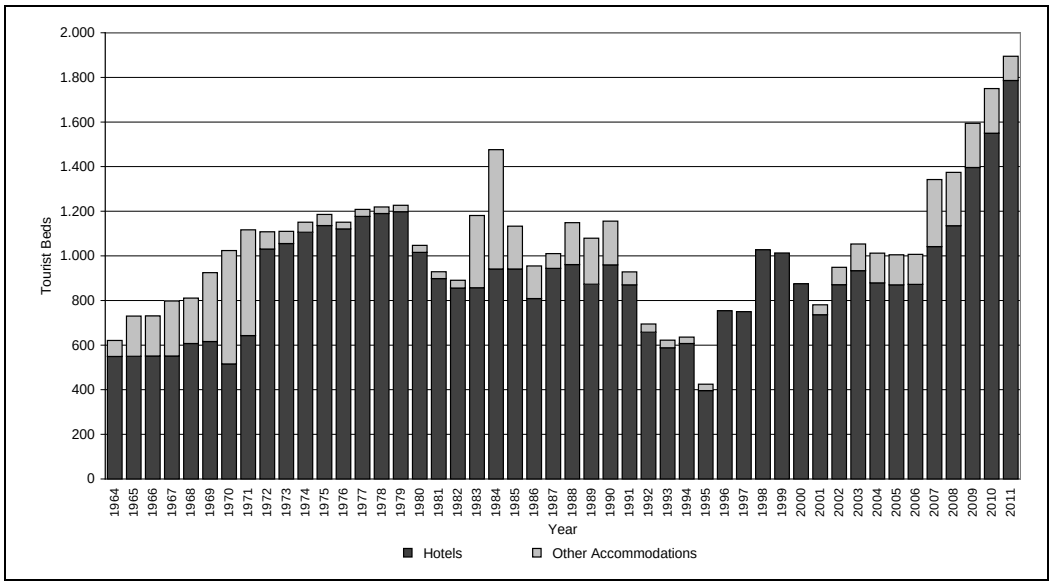

Fig. 3: Number of Tourist Beds in Maribor between 1964 and 2011.
Source: Letni pregledi turizma, 1964-2002; www.stat.si.

Older hotels, most of which were owned by one tourist company, have been closed or have experienced significant transformation. The largest city hotel Slavija was closed in 2001 (and in 2012 was converted into a business center). In 1989, the hotel Orel was connected with neighboring hotel Zamorc, and then in 2006 part of the hotel was closed and converted into a shopping center, part reconstructed and part converted into hostel Uni (Turk 2011). The hotel Piramida was renovated in 1994 into modern business hotel (and then part reconstructed again in 2012). Hotel Habakuk, located outside the city at the foot of Pohorje Mountain, was also reconstructed in late-1990s into 5-star hotel with modern spa and wellness facilities, based on thermal water which was found near Maribor in the beginning of the 1990s.

In the mid-1990s and after 2000 began to emerge in Maribor a variety of new small hotels, which are mostly privately owned. Among them, most work as a family business. Most of them were built on the outskirts (on the edge) of the town, especially at the foot of Pohorje Mountain. There is, in addition to Habakuk (5-stars hotel) and sport Hotel Arena, a variety of small family hotels, guest houses, apartments and private accommodations with tourist beds. The reconstructions of older buildings and new constructions have greatly increased the variety and quality of the tourist offer in the city.

Due to the entry of Slovenia into the European Union, the resumption of transit flows to South-East Europe, the intense development of tertiary sector and the expansion of tourist offer and new reconstruction of tourist infrastructure in Maribor, we could consider a period since 2000 as a period of re-development of tourism in the town. In 2004, the number of stationary tourists after 12 years of crisis again exceeded 50,000, and the number of overnight stays 120,000. The largest increase is the last two years, when in 2011 the number of tourist beds increased to around 1,900, the number of tourists to around 100,000 and the number of overnight stays

at around 220,000. Average length of tourist stays ranged from 2.2 to 2.4 days, which shows a slight increase in the interest of tourists for a longer visit in Maribor. It also increased gravitational radius of tourists, which is marked by increase in the share of tourists from more distant countries (from other European and non European countries). However, still most of the tourists come from Germany, Croatia, Italy, Austria and Serbia. In 2012, growth in tourist visit is even more noticeable, since Maribor has the title of European Capital of Culture.

Tab. 1: List of Main Tourist Accommodation Facilities in Maribor in 2012.

Type of Accommodation - AREA (part of the town)	*	No. of Tourist Beds	Average Price for Room (€)
CITY CENTRE			
hotel Piramida^{+}	4*	130	55-200
hotel City^{++}	4*	158	60-160
hotel Ocean	4*	51	110-210
hotel Orel^{+}	3*	117	50-80
hotel Lent	3*	34	60-100
hotel Tabor	3*	113	40-100
hostel Uni^{++}	2*	86	40-70
hostel Pekarna^{++}	2*	55	20-50
pension Vila Mira	3*	16	50-80
UNDER POHORJE			
hotel Habakuk^{+}	5*	205	150-430
hotel Arena	4*	120	55-90
hotel Draš	4*	54	60-110
garni h. Merano	3*	34	50-90
garni h. Milena	3*	36	40-65
pension P. kavarna	3*	28	50-80
pension Mlada lipa^{+}	3*	22	40-80
apartment Mari^{++}	4*	88	40+

Type of Accommodation - AREA (part of the town)	*	No. of Tourist Beds	Average Price for Room (€)
EDGE OF TOWN			
hotel Betnava^{++}	4*	82	75-200
hotel Bajt	3*	50	40-90
hotel Bau^{++}	3*	71	40-90
hotel Kačar	3*	36	50-100
hotel Vila Emei	3*	25	50-60
motel Lešnik^{+}	3*	48	40-80
pension Budja	3*	27	40-50
pension Janez^{+}	3*	26	
pension Kužner	3*	10	

$^{+}$ established before 1990
$^{++}$ established after 2005

Source: www.lodging-world.com/slovenia/cities/maribor.

Fig. 4: Main Tourist Accommodation Facilities in (the edge of) Maribor in 2012.
Source: www.hotels.com; www.lodging-world.com/slovenia/cities/maribor

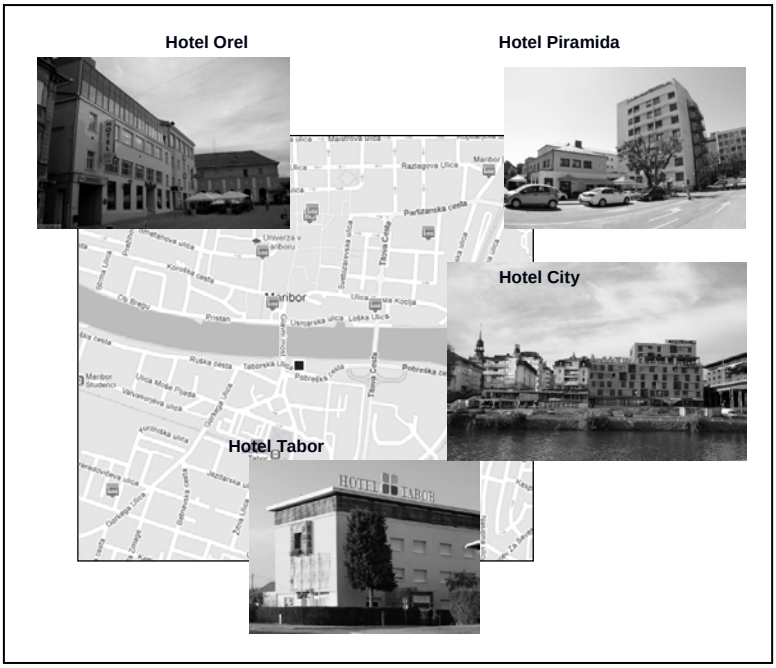

Fig. 5: Main Tourist Accommodation Facilities in the city centre of Maribor in 2012.
Source: www.hotels.com; www.lodging-world.com/slovenia/cities/maribor.

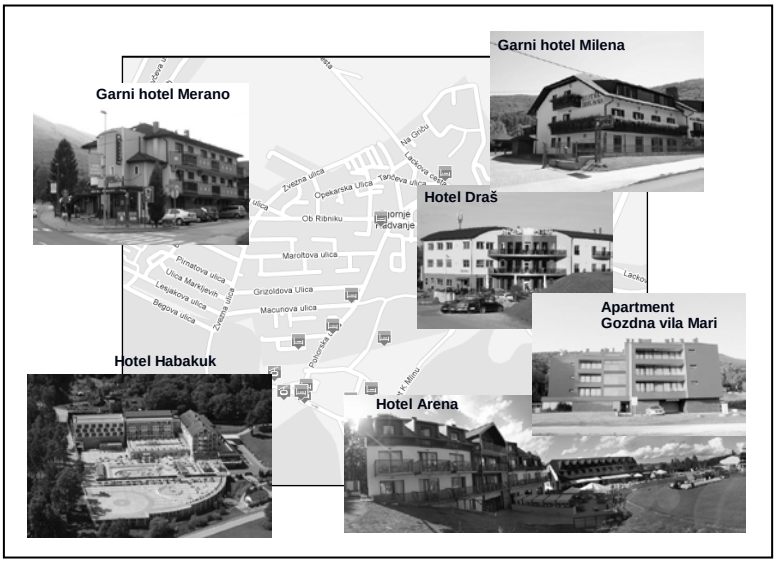

Fig. 6: Main Tourist Accommodation Facilities under the Pohorje Mountain in Maribor, 2012.
Source: www.hotels.com; www.lodging-world.com/slovenia/cities/maribor.

Constructions of new accommodation facilities have intensified even after 2006, when on the outskirts of the town and also in the city center ware open some new hotels. In 2006 was opened hostel Uni, in 2007 hotel Betnava, and in 2011 modern business hotel City (in the city center). Between 2003 and 2011 in Maribor significantly increase the number of tourist beds; from around 1,000 to 1,900 in 2011. The largest increase is among the tourist beds in hotels; their number increased from around 850 to 1,570 in 2011. In the 1990s, tourist beds in hotels represent about 95% of the total accommodation capacity in Maribor, and in them is registered as much as 98% of all overnight stays. In 2011, representing 83% of total accommodation capacity and in them is registered 90% of all overnight stays in Maribor.

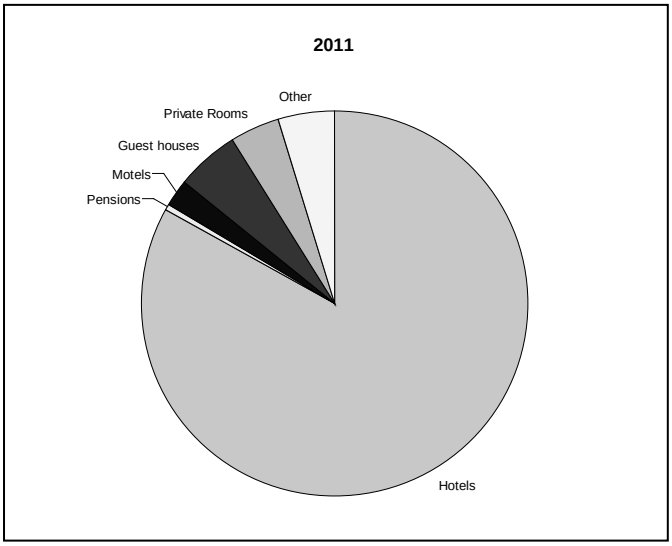

Fig. 7: Structure of Tourist Beds in Maribor in 2011.
Source: www.stat.si.

5. Conclusion

Regarding the existing tourist offer and the characteristics of tourist visit (in particular the short average length of stay of tourists, an equal distribution of tourist visit over the year, majority of overnight stays registered in the hotel facilities), Maribor shows all the characteristics of a tourist destination with a developed urban tourism.

Between 1960 and 1998 the average length of stay of tourists varied between 1.4 to 1.8 days. After 2000, has increased to around 2.2 to 2.5 days; longer in the case of guests from Slovenia and other former Yugoslav republics (2.5 to 3.0 days), while tourists from other countries staying in Maribor on average 2.0 days. In presented statistics of stationary tourists are not included daily visitors. By estimation of Tourist Board of Maribor come yearly to Maribor also about 1.2 million daily visitors. Between them, visitors which come to the town with shopping, recreational, cultural, commercial and other motives prevailed. Annual summer Festival Lent, in particular, attracted the highest number of visitors.

Tourists are attracted to the city especially by the old town center with several cultural and historical monuments, high-quality tourist infrastructure, internationally recognizable educational, cultural and other institutions, many business, conference, cultural, sports and ethnological events, and a wide range of sport and recreation possibilities.

The main disadvantage of tourist offer in Maribor is the lack of major attractions and non-utilization of the potential for development of spa tourism. This would help to get a longer average length of stay of tourist. Maribor is now a destination in which tourists come just for a day or two, but unfortunately it is not destination which could attract tourists for a longer time, and is also not the starting point for excursion tourism in the region. The city has a relatively rich historical heritage, which has unfortunately only of regional importance, and therefore does not represent a major tourist potential. In terms of international recognition is the most important tourist potential Lent with the oldest vine in the world, which should become one of the most important elements of tourist promotion and distinctive identity of the town in the future. Significant tourist potential are also internationally recognizable cultural institutions, events and shows, including the mass cultural events (such as the Lent Festival), on which should based the development of segment of cultural and events tourism in the town in the future.

Since Slovenia joined the European Union is evident remarkable rise of tourism in Maribor. With large investments into tourist infrastructure were completely renovated existing and built a variety of new accommodation facilities, especially in the edge of the town (in particular on the foot of the Pohorje Mountain). This has greatly increased the variety and quality of the tourist offer. Investments in promotion, and many events, are contributed to the increase of tourist activities in the city as well. Especially from the largest project in the last decade, the European Capital of Culture, the city expects changes in the perceptions of the town (from industrial into post industrial town), the recognizability of the site in Europe, and further tourist development.

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TRANSFORMATION OF THE TOURIST INFRASTRUCTURE AND TOURIST ARRIVALS IN MARIBOR IN THE LAST TWO DECADES
Summary

After WW II, began intensive industrial development and construction of the city, while the development in the tourism sector began in the 1960s. The period between 1974 and 1990 is considered as a period of the peak of tourist visit, and coincides with the peak of the economic development in the city. Number of tourist beds ranged between 900 and 1,200, the number of tourists between 120,000 and 150,000, and the number of overnight stays between 200,000 and 245,000. Maribor was ranked among the top ten tourist destinations in Slovenia.

The period between 1991 and 2000 is considered as a period of the mayor economic crisis in which, because of the war on the Balkans, changes in transit flows to South-East Europe, the collapse of large industrial enterprises in the city and great decrease of tourist visit from other former Yugoslav republics, in Maribor significantly reduced the accommodation capacity (reduction of 3 times, compared to the previous period) and tourist visit (reduction of 6 times). Older hotels, most of which were owned by one tourist enterprise, have been closed or have experienced significant transformation.

In the mid-1990s and after 2000 began to emerge in Maribor a variety of new small hotels, which are mostly privately owned. Among them, most work as a family business. Most of them were built on the outskirts of the town, especially at the foot of Pohorje Mountain. The reconstructions of older buildings and new constructions have greatly increased the variety and quality of the tourist offer in the city.

Due to the entry of Slovenia into the European Union, the resumption of transit flows to South-East Europe, the intense development of tertiary sector and the expansion of tourist offer and new reconstruction of tourist infrastructure in Maribor, a period since 2000 is considered as a period of re-development of tourism in the town. The largest increase is the last two years, when in 2011 the number of tourist beds increased to around 1,900, the number of tourists to around 100,000 and the number of overnight stays to around 220,000. Average length of tourist stays ranged from 2.2 to 2.4 days, which shows a slight increase in the interest of tourists for a longer visit in Maribor. It also increased gravitational radius of tourists, which is marked by increase in the share of tourists from more distant countries (from other European and non European countries). In 2012, growth in tourist visit is even more noticeable, since Maribor has the title of European Capital of Culture.

Regarding the existing tourist offer and the characteristics of tourist visit (in particular the short average length of stay of tourists, an equal distribution of tourist visit over the year, majority of overnight stays registered in the hotel facilities), Maribor shows all the characteristics of a tourist destination with a developed urban tourism. Tourists are attracted to the city especially by the old town center with several cultural and historical monuments, high-quality tourist infrastructure, internationally recognizable educational, cultural and other institutions, many business, conference, cultural, sports and ethnological events, and a wide range of sport and recreation possibilities.

LEBEN IN DER STADT – BEISPIEL SZOMBATHELY

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Abstract
Leben in der Stadt – Beispiel Szombathely
Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit der Kultur, als wichtiger Bestandteil des städtischen Lebens, die von vielen Faktoren (unter anderen Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Umwelt) beeinflusst ist, aber sie selbst unsere Lebensqualität beeinflusst. Kultureinrichtungen sind zwar für alle zugänglich, aber es fehlen örtliche, für die einzelnen Stadtteile zustehende Möglichkeiten Kultur zu genießen, zu schaffen, dadurch und dafür Gemeinschaft zu bilden. Da das Leben, beziehungsweise die Lebensqualität der Einwohner wird auch davon beeinträchtigt, wo man wohnt. Das richtet die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Stadtstruktur, die zwar ein historisches Produkt ist, aber auch Rahme und Abbildung für unseres Leben zugleich.

Stichworte
Stadtentwicklung, Stadtstruktur, Lebensqualität, Kultur

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1. Zielsetzung, Problemfeld der Veröffentlichung

Wie man in der Stadt lebt, ist von sehr vielen Faktoren beeinflusst, zum Beispiel: das Einkommen, die Bedürfnisse, Alter, Familienstand, Religion, Kultur und so weiter der einzelnen Stadtbewohnern und auch die Situation des Staates ist zu bemerken. Zwischen Person und Staat steht ja die Stadt selbst, die mit ihrer Größe, Lage, Geschichte und Gestalt, Struktur und natürlich durch die anderen Einwohner das Leben, beziehungsweise die Lebensqualität der Stadtbewohner sehr stark, nicht selten entscheidend beeinträchtigt. In diesem Artikel möchte ich meine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Stadtstruktur beschränken. Die Struktur einer Stadt bedeutet Studienfeld für viele Disziplinen, wie sie sich verändert, um die Wünsche der Bewohner zu erfüllen, oder wie die Bewohner sie verändern. In der Stadtstruktur sollten sich historische, kulturelle, materielle Aspekten wiederspiegeln, zum Beispiel Baumaterial, Zeitgeist, Kunststyl, sowie Mode, finanzielle Möglichkeiten und so weiter (Hofmeister 1980). Unter den vielen Wissenschaften, die die Stadtstruktur erforschen, steht (außer Frage, meine ich mit einem Hauch von Berufsstolz) Stadtgeographie auf den ersten Platz, die die Stadt (und auch ihre Struktur) als ein zusammenwirkendes System der Natur-, Infrastruktur-, Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftssphären betrachtet (Tóth 1998, 392) – ein Produkt der Interaktion der benannten vier Elemente, sowie der von denen bestimmten Rahmenbedingungen. Mehrere Kollegen von unserem Lehrstuhl befassen sich mit Szombathely (Csapó, Kocsis 2006, Lenner 2012), ich habe seit 1995 Szombathely Artikeln gewidmet und wir alle warten auf die Volkszählungsergebnisse von 2011, denn die Stadtstruktur ist am besten durch Daten über die Struktur der Bevölkerung und Wohnungsbestandes zu erforschen (Kocsis 1996). Da die statistischen Daten fehlen noch, wir müssen uns bei unserer Arbeit auf sogenannte weiche Faktoren, wie Fotos und Karten, eigene Erhebungen (zum Beispiel Immobilienpreise, sowie Straßenbild, Einbau, Csapó 2004, 2005a, 2005b) und natürlich persönliche Erfahrungen als Stadtbürger stützen. Sobald die nötigen Daten vorhanden sind, werde ich die mit meinen früheren Studien vergleichen. Da meine Dissertation (Kocsis 1997) auch Szombathely, ihre dynamische Faktorialökologie betraf, es bietet sich eine sehr gute Möglichkeit die Stadtstruktur, beziehungsweise ihre Veränderungen zwischen 1970 und 2011 zu erforschen, mit besonderem Hinsicht auf demographische Daten, wie Alter, Familienstand, Schulung, Bildung, sowie Strukturdaten des Wohnungsbestandes, wie Baujahr, Größe, Komfortstufe. Erst dann werden wir wissen, wer in Szombathely lebt (Einwohner), unter welchen Bedingungen (Wohnungen, Infrastruktur); was uns wohl begründete Aussagen über Lebensqualität machen lässt. Durch Szombathely‘s Beispiel möchte ich die Auswirkung der Stadtstruktur, beziehungsweise ihrer Veränderung auf die Lebensqualität der Einwohner demonstrieren, beleuchten, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kultur.

2. Die Stadtstruktur von Szombathely

Was die historische Entwicklung der Stadt und ihrer Struktur angeht, Szombathely ist unter anderen von zwei Faktoren stark beeinflusst: ein organisches Wachstum seit der Römerzeit und durch Eingemeindung benachbarten Siedlungen in den letzten 130 Jahren.

2.1. Die Stadt vor den Eingemeindungen

Szombathely wurde in 43 nach Chr., bald nach ihrer Gründung als colonia Sitz des Pannonien, jedoch blieb eine kleine Provinzstadt mit allen dazu gehörenden

Einrichtungen und Gebäuden (Gouverneurs Palais, Bäder, Theater und so weiter). Die Bevölkerung sollte niemals die 10000 Schwelle überschritten (Kiss et al. 1998). Steinamanger, Szombathely‘s deutscher Name aus dem Mittelalter deutet auf Steine (Ruinen) hin. Wir sollten aber keine Ruinenstadt vorstellen, den es steht außer Frage, dass Szombathely seit ihrer Gründung ununterbrochen bewohnt war! Nach der Staatsgründung (das bedeutete sowohl die feudal-königliche, als auch die kirchliche Administration), wurde Szombathely Besitz des Bistums von Győr, das als Feudalherr die kleine Siedlung mit Steingebäuden und Maurer Zentrum seiner Güter im Komitat Vas und Marktstadt (1407) förderte (Csapó, Kocsis 2006). Dennoch blieb Szombathely klein, selbst wenn sich in der Türkenzeit (1578) der Komitatssitz von Vasvár nach Szombathely zog. Großen Aufschwung erlebte die Stadt, als Königin Maria Theresia in 1777 Szombathely ein neues Bistum errichtete. Als Komitats- und Bischofsitz wurde Szombathely in einigen Jahrzehnten die größte Stadt in ihrem Komitat, aber die bauliche und demographische Entwicklung blieb noch immer innerhalb des alten Stadtgebietes. Die kleine Burg hat ihre Bedeutung schon in dem 17-ten Jahrhundert verloren (Sill 1971), auch die Stadtmauer wurden abgerissen, beziehungsweise von den Bautätigkeiten überschritten, aber die Nachbardörfer von vier Seiten haben Szombathely nur ein Gebiet von etwa 1 km^2 gelassen.

2.2. Die Eingemeindungen

Die schnelle, doch ausgewogene Entwicklung hat das Stadtgebiet langsam ausgefüllt. Nach dem Einzug der Eisenbahn (1865), was die Stadt mit Wien und mit Rijeka und Triest (eine neue Ausgabe der Bernsteinstraße, die schon in der Römerzeit sehr wichtig für Szombathely war) verknüpfte, war es allen klar, dass die moderne Stadt mehr Platz für ihre Einrichtungen, Einwohner, Betriebe braucht. Die erste Welle der Eingemeindungen bedeutete sehr viel für Szombathely, denn die Vereinigung mit Óperint in Westen und Szentmárton in Osten vervielfachte das Stadtgebiet (1886). Óperint war sehr urban, die Vereinigung beeinträchtigte Szombathely‘s Gesicht nur sehr wenig. Was Szentmárton angeht, als Zwergdorf konnte Szombathely‘s durchschnittlichen dichten Einbau nicht beeinflussen. Die Stadt hat sich also auf die beiden Nachbardörfer Ost-westlich sehr ausgedehnt (Betriebe, Schulen, Kasernen und natürlich Wohnhäuser wurden dort gebaut), was sich bald in einer Straßenbahnlinie manifestiert hat. Von der Eisenbahnstation in Osten durch die Stadtmitte nach Westen, wo Villas der Wohlhabender und Stadtpark erbaut, errichtet wurden, führte die Linie.

Szombathely wurde der drittgrößte Eisenbahnknotenpunkt, was die Zahl der Passagiere angeht (Szilágyi I. 2005), und ihre Industrie war auch sehr vielseitig und wohl entwickelt. Die demographische Entwicklung hat sich nicht verlangsamt, so die Stadt wuchs über ihre neue Grenze, diesmal nach Süden (Gyöngyössz̋ollős). Das war in 1933, erst nach dem ersten Weltkrieg, aber das Zusammenwachsen hat diese administrative Maßnahme schon Jahrzenten früher überholt. Das neue Stadtviertel war kleinstädtisch und obwohl schon vor der Eingemeindung eigenes Industriegebiet hatte, Gyöngyössz̋ollős haben eher die Angestellten als Wohnort bevorzugt, was auch in der Bautätigkeit (Straßenführung, Wohnungsbau) sich widerspiegelte. Die dritte und stärkste Welle kam erst in 1950. Die Eingemeindung von Kámon, Herény (diese beide waren schon miteinander und Kámon mit Szombathely zusammengewachsen) und Olad war schon seit Jahren geplant und noch dazu kam die neue Administration der Volksrepublik Ungarn, die kleinen Dörfer keine Zukunft versprach („je größer, desto sozialistischer“). So wurde Szentkirály, die ebenso durch Eingemeindung von fünf Zwergdörfern in 1935 zustande kam, mit Szombathely vereinigt. Szentkirály lag etwas weiter von Szombathely und ist auch

heute nicht in die Stadt eingewachsen, ebenso wie Zanat, die die letzte Welle in 1969 bedeutet (KSH 1996). Wegen ihrer Lage wurde Zanat in den thematischen Karten nicht dargestellt, um die Stadt noch in genießbaren Maßstab zeigen zu können.

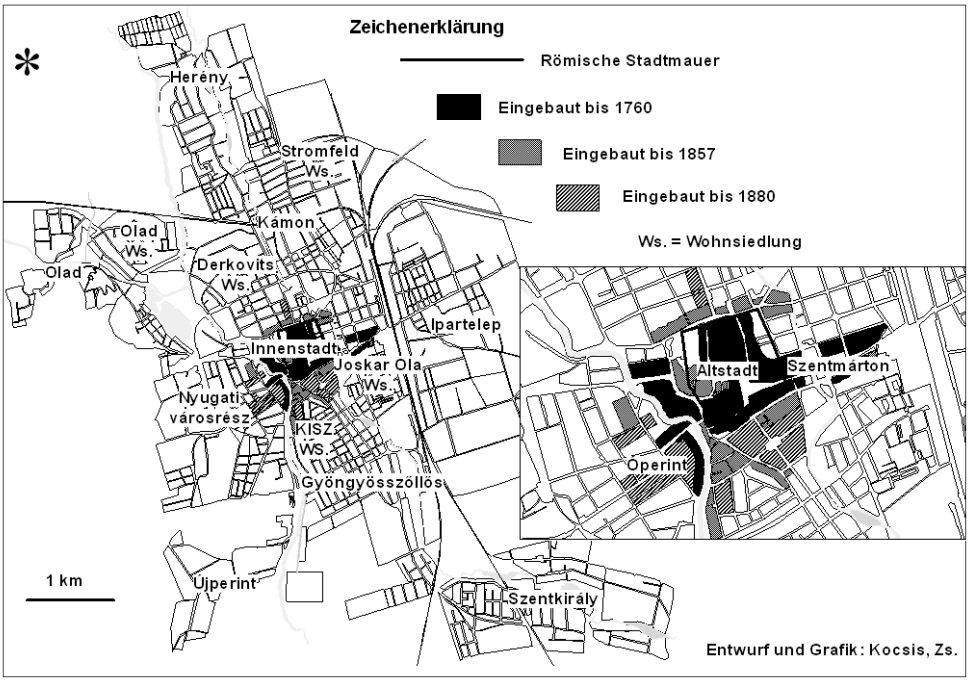

Abb. 1: Entwicklung der eingebauten Gebiete in Szombathely bis 1880, Stadtteile und die eingemeindete Dörfer.

2.3. Die Stadtstruktur heute

Die durch historische Entwicklung und Eingemeindungen zustande kommende Stadtstruktur bietet allen fast alles, also bedeutet einen wichtigen Faktor des Wohlfühlens, der Lebensqualität der Bürger von Szombathely. Die einzelnen Stadtteile haben nicht alle, oder nicht in allen Hinsicht eigenes Gesicht, jedoch sind ihre Namen tagtäglich benutzt. Szombathely hat natürlich Flächenwidmungsplan, Stadtentwicklungskonzept und weitere Dokumente, wo Stadtteile eingeführt sind, aber in der Umgangssprache werden nicht immer die offiziellen Namen, oder nicht für das entsprechende Gebiet benutzt. Grenzen sind unklar und besonders in Werbungen der Immobilienmakler ist ein gewisses (und bewusstes) Durcheinander zu beobachten. Es werden sehr häufig Gartenstadt und Wohnpark geschrieben, obwohl es kein in Szombathely gibt. Gartenstädte in dem Sinne, wie von Howard (Howard 1902) und Unwin (Miller 1992) gemeint, existieren in Ungarn gar nicht, Gartenstadt ähnliche Phänomene sind auch nicht häufig zu beobachten. Unter Gartenstadt sollte man Wohnviertel mit viel Grün, Straßen mit Reihenhäuser, sowie Einfamilienhäuser in geschlossener oder nicht geschlossene Reihe verstehen. Wohnpark als „gated community“ mit Wachdienst und weitere Dienstleistungen inbegriffen gibt es in Szombathely auch nicht. Deswegen sollten die von mir benutzten Benennungen nur als Orientierungshilfe gesehen werden, die sich wohl

auf stadthistorischer, bauhistorischer, technischer (infrastrukturverbundene) Basis stützen, dennoch sind mit Stadtplanungsbezirken, Wahlbezirken und so weiter nicht identisch.

2.3.1. Altstadt und Innenstadt

Die Altstadt kann als CBD oder Stadtkern betrachtet werden, denn sie zeigt alle dazu gehörende Phänomene (Rückgang der Wohnfunktion, Häufung von administrativen Behörden – Bürgermeisteramt, Komitatsamt, Gerichtshof, Finanzamt, kulturellen und Bildungseinrichtungen – Kindergarten, Schulen, Galerie, Konzertsaal, Eroberung durch Wirtschaftfunktionen – Filialen von Banken, Büros, Geschäfte und natürlich Gastwirtschaft). Was die Altstadt von der Innenstadt unterscheidet ist nun der Einbau, denn in diesem Viertel sind nur ausnahmsweise Gebäude ohne Stockwerke zu finden. Dieser Teil der Stadt hat (dank Bürgermeister Éhen und seiner Ideen, Visionen) seit ein Jahrhundert ein „großstädtisches" Aussehen. Das abgerissene Dorf Szentmárton wurde in eine Wohnsiedlung verwandelt. Das bedeutet, dass in der unmittelbaren Nähe der Altstadt findet man Hochhäuser, die zwar bunt gemalt, doch noch graue, sozialistische Wohnsiedlungen bedeuten. Funktionell passen sie an die Innenstadt, nur ästhetisch, bauhistorisch bilden sie einen steilen Bruch. Die Innenstadt ist mit dieser Ausnahme eine organische Erweiterung, Fortsetzung der Altstadt, nur der Einbau ist bunter (neben den zehnstöckigen Hochhäuser sind mehrere Häuser ohne Stockwerke zu sehen), die Straßen sind entweder breit, für den modernen Verkehr geplant, oder eng, kleinstädtisch. Nicht nur wegen der Wohnsiedlung ist die Wohnfunktion hier viel stärker ausgeprägt. In der Umgangssprache versteht man unter Innenstadt praktisch Szombathely vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg, also die Straßen von ehemaligen Óperint und Szentmárton inbegriffen, aber nur die nördliche Teile von Gyöngyössziőllős.

2.3.2. Die eingemeindete Dörfer

Kámon, die frühere Arbeitersiedlung (wohl von frühmittelalterlicher Herkunft) ist lückenlos mit Szombathely eingeschmolzen, liegt sehr nah zur Innenstadt und ist sehr beliebt als Wohnort, was auch in Inseraten gut erkennbar ist („in einer ruhigen Straße von Kámon" – so werden Wohnungen sogar entlang der Ausfahrtstraßen in Kámon von Immobilienmakler angezeigt). Dieser Stadtteil hatte Industriezonen und auch viele öffentliche Einrichtungen sind heute hier zu finden, aber funktionell zählt er Wohnviertel. Vielleicht dank der Einschmelzen, Kámon hat nur Spuren von früherem Siedlungskern, nur das Schloss aus dem späten Mittelalter zeugt davon, dass hier ein Dorf stand. Gyöngyössziőllős ist mit Szombathely zusammengewachsen (siehe Kapitel 2.3.1.), die ehemalige Grenze ist nur für Lokalhistoriker von Bedeutung. Wie Kámon, hat vor allem Wohnfunktion, aber Schulen, Sprechzimmer und kleinere Büros zeigen die Folgen der Innenstadtnähe. Der Name ist zwar bekannt, doch in Anzeigen kommt eher nur als „südlich von Innenstadt" vor. Gyöngyössziőllős hat seinen Kern verloren, und wird nicht als eigenständiger Stadtteil gesehen. Das wird noch dadurch verstärkt, dass Gyöngyössziőllős gar kein einheitliches Gesicht hat: teils Wohnsiedlung, teils Innenstadt, teils Gartenstadt (nicht in siedlungsgeographischem Sinne).

Óperint besteht heute aus vier verschiedenen Teile: Nah zur Innenstadt ein abwechselndes Straßenbild mit je klein- und großstädtischen Elementen. Es gibt hier viele Schulen und weitere Einrichtungen, die nicht von den Anrainern, sondern von der ganzen Stadt benutzt werden (zum Beispiel Universitätsfakultäten, Schule und Heim für Behinderte). Weiter nach Westen finden wir ein Villenviertel, das aus zwei,

von sich stark getrennte Teilen steht: ein altes (fast alle Häuser sind vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg gebaut) und ein neues (überwiegend in den letzten zwei-drei Jahrzehnten gebaut). Die beiden haben ihre Fortsetzung im Süden, aber die Häuser sind nicht mehr Villen, sondern Einfamilienhäuser oder Reihenhäuser in verschiedensten Umstand. Erst in den letzten Jahren mit der Stadt zusammengewachsen liegt Újperint, ein Vorort der ehemaligen Gemeinde Óperint. Diese Siedlung bewahrt noch vieles aus ihrem dörflichen Bild, aber eine rege Ausbau-Neubau Tätigkeit ist zu beobachten, was das Aussehen dieses Stadtteiles in den letzten zwanzig Jahren stark verändert hat. (Óperint ist auf Karte 1 als „Nyugati városrész" = westliches Stadtteil, aufgezeichnet.) Es gibt keine Spuren von ehemaliges Gemeindezentrums, die Kirchen wurden nach der Eingemeindung, schon für die ganze Stadt gebaut, sowie die oben genannte Schulen, also Óperint hat sich in Szombathely aufgelöst.

Olad hat zwar eigenes Zentrum (zwei sogar), aber die Wahrheit ist komplizierter: das Dorf Olad hat sein Zentrum, nur von der Kirche markiert, keine weitere öffentliche Einrichtungen sind vorhanden. Die Wohnsiedlung Olad, die neueste in Szombathely hat eine neue Kirche, Grund- und Mittelschule, Kulturhaus, Postamt, kleinere Geschäfte, aber die Wohnsiedlung ist als Neubau erstanden, weiter vom Dorf Olad, und hat mit dem nur so viel zu tun, dass sie auf dem Gebiet des Dorfes, auf Olad's Wiesen und Ackerfelder aufgebaut wurde. Das alte Olad ist übrigens mit dem neuen Villenviertel von Óperint organisch zusammengewachsen.

Herény hat sehr viele Ähnlichkeiten mit Kámon, nur mit weniger Industriegebiete und mehr Gärtnereien. Da das Dorf Herény weiter von Szombathely lag, sein Siedlungskern ist besser erhalten (ein kleiner Hauptplatz mit Schloss und Kirche), doch hat kein „Gesicht". Man sieht hier viele Reihenhäuser, aber auch Straßen mit Einfamilienhäusern, die entweder einfach, oder groß (manchmal sogar sehr groß) angelegt sind. Die Grenze zu Kámon ist zwar nicht verschwunden, dennoch schreibt man in Immobilienanzeigen viele Straßen von Herény zu Kámon oder umgekehrt.

Zanat war ein Straßendorf und blieb das bis zu den 90-er. Seit dem wurden neue Straßen mit großen Häusern gebaut. Der Großteil der Siedlung sieht sehr „suburban" aus, also fast ausschließlich Wohnfunktion gibt es hier, der Kern des Dorfes ist nicht spürbar.

2.3.3. Die Wohnsiedlungen

Diese sogenannten sozialistischen Wohnviertel sind um die alte Stadt (etwa bis 1950 gemeint) angesiedelt, aber wie in Szombathely gewöhnlich, auch dort gibt es viele Grünfläche. Olad habe ich schon erwähnt, als jüngste und modernste mit einem markanten Kern. Die älteste ist die Derkovits Wohnsiedlung, wo man ein schönes Beispiel der Stadtplanung der 60-70-er Jahren sieht. Am Rande der Innenstadt, jedoch ein bisschen weit davon stehen hier Reihenhäuser und Blockhäuser (aus Ziegel) aus der 60-er Jahren, aber überwiegend sind die Hochhäuser, die das städtische Nebenzentrum umgehen. Es besteht aus Geschäften, Kindergarten, Schulen, Sprechzimmer, sogar einen lebhaften Markt findet man hier, sowie Bankfilialen, Büros. Eigentlich fehlt nur eine Kirche, ein Kulturhaus und ein Gemeindeamt davon, was man von Zentrum einer 5-10 Tausend Stadt erwartet. Die KISZ Wohnsiedlung (KISZ=Kommunistischer Jugendverband) wurde auf die Grenze zwischen Innenstadt und Gyöngyössziőllős ebenfalls in zwei Phasen gebaut, hat also Blockhäuser und Hochhäuser, aber auch viele Straßen mit Einfamilienhäuser. Zu nah zur Innenstadt liegend, man findet nicht und man braucht auch nicht ein städtisches

Nebenzentrum. Szentmárton wurde abgerissen und hat seinen Platz einer Wohnsiedlung übergeben, nach Joskar Ola, Szombathely's Partnerstadt genannt. Hier sind viele Zentralfunktionen zu finden (Kindergarten, Schule, Sprechzimmer, Postamt, Markthalle), aber die Innenstadt, sogar die Altstadt ist so nah, dass einem weitere Einrichtungen, sowie Funktionen kaum fehlen. Die Stromfeld Wohnsiedlung ist das kleinste und hat sowohl Hochhäuser, als auch Reihenhäuser. Diese sind in Englischem Styl gebaut (Darunter versteht man in Ungarn Häuser mit kleinem Garten vor- und mit etwas größerem nach dem Haus.).

2.3.4. Ipartelep

Auch Pick- und Éhen Gyula-telep (telep = Siedlung) bekannt wurde wie eine Zechkolonie gebaut, also kleine Häuser um die Betriebe. Jetzt findet man hier viele Fachgeschäfte, Warenhäuser, Lagerhäuser, die Industriebetriebe ihre Funktion verloren haben. Mit dem Rückgang der Industrie hat sich die Wohnfunktion etwas verstärkt (weniger Umweltbelastung), jedoch sind die Immobilienpreise wegen der Wohnungsbestandes und des Ruhmes der Siedlung niedriger. Da die Siedlung entlang der wichtigsten Ausfahrtstraße liegt, die Preise sind mit fehlenden Funktionen (nur eine Schule) und nicht mit der Lage zu erklären.

2.3.5. Szentkirály

Seit Ende der Türkenzeit hat Szentkirály, beziehungsweise ihre Teildörfer dreimal Aufschwung erlebt: Erstens, als die Sommerresidenz der Bischöfe und weitere Schlösser erbaut wurden. Zweitens, in den 70-80-er Jahren des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, als eine starke Bautätigkeit die Straßenbild aus ländlichem ins vorstädtisch verwandelte, und drittens, nach dem Jahrtausendwende, als eine neue Welle der Suburbanisierung diesen Stadtteil erreichte. Die letzten beiden Wellen haben die Bevölkerung etwa verdoppelt, dennoch ist Szentkirály als eine Nachbarschaftseinheit zu sehen, wo die 4000 Einwohner zwar einander nicht kennen, aber mindestens grüßen. Die Gärten sind groß, viele davon auch für die Landwirtschaft benutzt, man kann sogar Hausmilch, Eier, Gemüse kaufen oder mit dem Nachbar tauschen. Szentkirály besteht zwar aus fünf ehemaligen Dörfern, aber ist und war immer eine Pfarre. Diese Tatsache könnte der Grund sein, der die Eigenschaften dieses Stadtteiles erklärt. Zum Beispiel in Szentkirály findet man Zäune nur vor dem Haus, als Dekoration, in anderen Stadtteilen umfassen die die Parzelle, manchmal wie eine Festung.

3. Problemen der Stadtstruktur

Die Stadtstruktur ist eine Gegebenheit, die man durch Planung bewusst verändern kann, doch in einer kürzeren Zeitspanne als Unveränderlich, Probleme bereitet. Natürlich sind alle Probleme einer Stadt nicht nur auf ihre Struktur zurückzuführen! Die von mir akzeptierte und benützte Definition der Stadt von Professor Tóth (Tóth 1998, 392) deutet genau darauf hin, dass eine Stadt durchaus von ihrer Umgebung abhängig ist, und als Umgebung sind wohl geographische- und Wirtschaftslage ebenso zu nennen, als finanzielle Situation einer Stadt oder die Klimawandel: sowohl örtliche, als auch globale Faktoren wirken dabei (Lenner 2012). Was die Lebensqualität betrifft, Szombathely hat sehr gute Position in der Kriminalität, hat viele Grünfläche, moderne Infrastruktur und so weiter. Die Lebensqualität der Einwohner hängt aber auch davon ab, in welchem Stadtteil man wohnt. Szombathely ist zwar kompakt, der Öffentliche Verkehr funktioniert von früh bis spät, dennoch sind einige Einrichtungen, Funktionen, die man für sein Wohlfühlen

braucht, nicht einfach zu erreichen. Das beeinträchtigt die Lebensqualität, besonders auf den Gebieten der Gesellschaftsleben und Kultur.

Schon vor dem Systemwandel war es zu beobachten, aber erst in den letzen zwanzig Jahren wurde es massenhaft erschienen, dass die Bevölkerung ganz bis zum Ende des Stadtgebietes, sogar weiter darüber sich hinaus siedelt. Dennoch war es keine Stadtflucht, denn die Bautätigkeiten in der originalen Stadt, beziehungsweise Stadtteilen durch zwei Faktoren erweckt wurden: Privatisierung der Wohnungen, Liberalisierung des Immobilienmarktes, sowie Rückgang der Arbeitsplatzfunktion durch Aufhebung kleineren Betrieben. Über den Prozess der Suburbanisation, die Agglomeration und ihre Geschichte um Szombathely (Kocsis 2006) sollte hier keine Rede mehr sein. Interessant sind doch die Folgen, die aus dem Sicht der Stadtstruktur gar nicht zu vernachlässigen sind: Szombathely kämpft unter anderen mit zwei strukturgebundenen Problemen:

1. Sehr viele Intellektueller sind ausgezogen, die nicht nur ihr Steuer, sondern auch ihre Bedürfnisse nach Kultur zu Hause, also in den Nachbardörfern lassen. Viele Programme laufen bei mäßigem Interesse. Die Anzahl der Veranstaltungen ist zwar hoch, aber mit seltenen Ausnahmen nur für kleines Publikum. Für eine Kleinstadt wäre das mehr als ausreichend, aber Szombathely hat fast 80000 Einwohner, und beim Publikum merkt man auch kaum, das es um eine Universitätsstadt geht.

2. Die eingeschmolzene Stadtteile haben nur sehr selten ihre Kerne gehalten. In meisten Fällen das bedeutet nicht mehr als eine Kirche oder Postamt. Schulen, Sprechzimmer, Kulturhäuser, Bibliotheken, Gemeinschaftshäuser, lokale Märkte, Vereine sind verschwunden. Die sozialistischen Wohnviertel wurden zwar bewusst geplant, aber ihre Zentren sind nur ausnahmsweise als städtische Subzentren voll Funktionsfähig (siehe Kapitel 2).

Sowohl die Suburbanisation, als auch die Funktionsverlust der eingemeindeten Dörfer bedeutet zunehmende Belastung der Innenstadt, Inanspruchnahme des öffentlichen Verkehrs und Parkplätzen und führt zu abnehmender „Konsumierung" der Stadt, der städtischen Kultur. Im Namen der Effektivität wurden Filialen der Bibliothek, Schulen zugesperrt, das Kulturzentrum in der Olad Wohnsiedlung funktioniert als Außenstelle des städtischen Zentrums „Agora", also bietet Programme für die ganze Stadt, aber nichts besonderes für die Anrainer, und die anderen Stadtteile kommen noch schlimmer aus. Es gibt keine Möglichkeit, um für örtliche Ziele zusammen zu kommen. Für die Sprechstunden der Stadtpolitiker stehen gelegentlich Klassenzimmer zu, denn am meisten fehlen Gemeinschaftshäuser, Einrichtungen oder einfach Räumlichkeiten, wo man über örtliche Probleme diskutieren kann. Es ist zwar nicht unmöglich, aber ziemlich schwer, das eigene Interesse der einzelnen Stadtteile zu artikulieren.

Aus stadtpolitischer Sicht ist diese Situation sehr angenehm, denn die Stadtväter sollten sich nur um die ganze Stadt kümmern. Sie müssen auch nicht die verschiedene Meinungen, Bedürfnisse der Bürger von den einzelnen Stadtteilen. Deswegen können sie die auch nicht vertreten. Auf diese Weise können dann stadtpolitische Entscheidungen getroffen werden, die zwar der Stadt als ganzes vorteilig zu sein scheinen, aber auf örtlicher Ebene, für die Einwohner der Stadtteile nichts versprechen, nur wenig nutzen. Obwohl die eingemeindete Siedlungen Szombathely auch heute noch als ein buntes Mosaik zu sehen lassen, die Besonderheiten einzelnen Stadtteilen können weder in den Flächenwidmungsplänen,

noch in der Stadtpolitik im allgemeinen durchkommen. Das macht die Stadt weniger erträglich, weniger attraktiv für die Einwohner (Suburbanisation), beeinflusst den Immobilienmarkt (in den entleerten Stadtteilen fallen die Preise) und schädigt die lokale Gesellschaft (Verfremdung, Gleichgültigkeit).

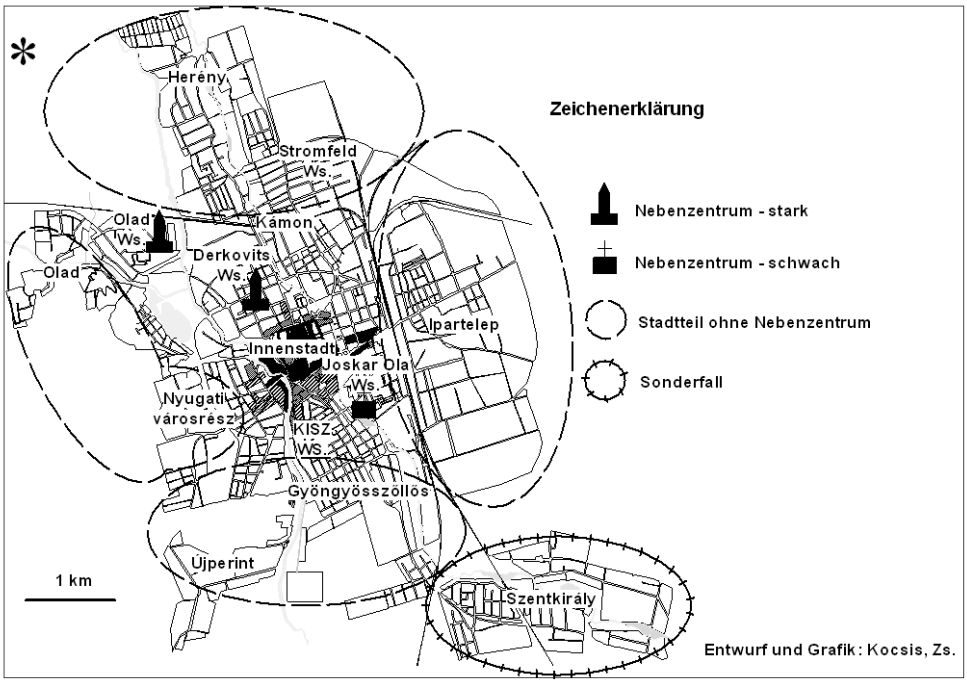

Abb. 2: Stadtteile mit oder ohne kulturelle Einrichtungen.

4. Sonderfall Szentkirály

Für das Wohlbefinden, Wohlfühlen kann man auch tun. Der in Kapitel 2.3.5. gezeichnete Stadtteil Szentkirály bietet ein kleines Beispiel, was aber bedauerlicherweise für die andere fast nutzlos ist. Die meisten Stadtteile sind viel größer und auch ihre Geschichte lässt nicht die Erfahrungen zu übernehmen. Doch, eben die Geschichte ist nicht auf Szentkirály‘s Seite: die Zwergdörfer hatten nur fünfzehn Jahre zusammengelebt und plötzlich wurden Teile von Szombathely, parallel mit der Einführung des Rätesystems. In diesem sozialistischen Model wurden zwar die Autonomie und Selbstverwaltung der Gemeinden fast ausgelöscht, dennoch bekamen die Dörfer ihre eigenen kulturellen Einrichtungen, wie Bibliothek, Kulturhaus. Szentkirály hatte sowas nie. Als das Gemeinschaftshaus in der ehemaligen Bischofsresidenz eröffnet wurde (1999), könnten wir als Neuheit beurteilen. Das Haus funktioniert wohl mit Unterstützung von der Stadt, ist doch unabhängig von dem Agora-Zentrum. Seine Finanzierung hängt meistens von den Anrainern (durch Stiftung, Spenden) ab, und auch die Programme sind für sie gedacht. Überwiegend sind die Ausstellungen, Konzerte örtlicher Künstler, besser gesagt Schaffender. Obwohl es viele Künstler in Szentkirály (Musiker des symphonischen Orchester, Lehrer des Kunstgymnasiums, Freischaffende, die oft kulturelle Ereignisse veranstalten) leben, die meisten Mitwirkende sind Amateure in

allen Sinne des Wortes. Da es um den „Nachbar“ geht, die Veranstaltungen laufen vor vollem Haus, wenn es nur anderthalb Hundert Zuschauer bedeutet. Das Gemeinschaftshaus ist also eine Bürgerinitiative, da die Einwohner von Szentkirály wollten sich nicht nur die „Reise“ in die Innenstadt sparen, sondern eigenes Kultur- und Gesellschaftsleben haben. Dank dieser Zusammenarbeit konnten die alte und die neue Einwohner sich besser kennenlernen und eine Gemeinschaft bilden, die heute sehr laut und gut organisiert gegen die geplante Biomassenkraftwerk in Szentkirály protestiert. Wegen der Lärmbelastung und Luftbeschmutzung sind auch in Ipartelep die Proteste tagtäglich, aber es geht immer nur um Klage einzelnen Familien, Straßen, vereinzelt können sie sich nicht artikulieren, das auch in anderen Stadtteilen der Fall ist.

5. Fazit

Natürlich sind das Leben, sowie die Lebensqualität nicht nur von Kultur geprägt, aber ich musste mich auf dieses Gebiet konzentrieren, denn Szombathely bietet mit wenigen Ausnahmen wirklich allen ein ruhiges Leben, viel Grün und wenige Kriminalität, die einzelne Stadtteile weichen nur wenig von den Durchschnitt ab. Es gibt zwar Unterschiede, aber am meisten sind sie auf den miteinander zusammenhängenden Gebieten von Gemeinschaftsleben und Kultur deutlich, markant. Die Stadtführung kann die Probleme von Szombathely gerade noch handeln, aber ihre Aufmerksamkeit reicht nur selten unter der Stadtebene. Hauptsache, dass alles gut geht (durchschnittlich), und die Situation, Probleme einzelnen Stadtteilen überschreiten ihre Reizschwelle nur sehr selten, wenn doch, die Antwort ist: kein Geld. Dennoch es fehlen nicht die Gemeinschaftshäuser, Nebenzentren, es fehlen Bürger, die die brauchen und benützen! Szombathely hat weniger Stadtbürger als Stadtbewohner, es sind viele Einsiedler, erste Generation Stadtbewohner. Man sollte das nicht als eine Beleidigung der Dorfbewohner verstehen! Denken wir nur an das Beispiel von Szentkirály, wo gerade das Dorf und die Einsiedler aus der Stadt zusammen Bürgerschaft bilden, die Ansprüche auf eigene Kultur und Gemeinschaft haben. Als Einsiedler, der aus einem Dorf kommt und in Szentkirály lebt, kann ich nur sagen: es ist gut in Szombathely zu wohnen und gut in Szentkirály zu leben.

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LIVING IN THE CITY – EXAMPLE SZOMBATHELY

Summary

Living in the city, respectively the quality of life is a function of many factors, from which I will focus on the city structure and culture. Both are objective and subject to change at once. The spatial and even the social structure of a city is determined by natural elements, infrastructure, economy and society (landscape and situation, utilities and traffic, financing and even global market situation, history and social issues as well), though the settlement itself is an interaction of all four spheres from above! Since the datasheets of 2011 census are still not available, I have to carry on my research on Szombathely started in 1996 with work on soft factors like real estate prices, own surveys of the street view, building up structure – getting support from my colleagues studying Szombathely from different fields of interest. In this paper I would like to point on the city structure as a determinant of the quality of life, and closer on the culture, respectively the accessibility of culture according to the inhabitant of particular city districts. The spatial structure of Szombathely is impacted by two factors (among many others of lower importance): an organic growth since the Roman Empire and a series of amalgamation (1886-1969). That later was necessary because the medieval town has grown to its limits marked by close villages on the al four sides. The very moderate secular growth was fastened once by the founding of an episcopate in 1777 and by becoming railway junction, which brought modern industry into the city and its vicinity. The amalgamated villages gave Szombathely place to grow but they changed the city structure with their different level of urbanization and development. Now we can define the Downtown surrounded by the inner city (these two are pretending the ancient Szombathely before the amalgamations), the housing areas of the former villages and the large housing estates designed and built in the so called socialist manner, with prefabricated high houses made of concrete. Of course, many problems of a city are not structure based. But there are two which are related and both can be seen as a consequence of city structure. Since the structure and the dwelling policy as well their needs did not satisfy, many intellectuals moved from the city in the last three decades. They are paying their tax in the neighboring villages and their demand on culture is missing in Szombathely. This is the trap of suburbanization: after work going home, mowing grass, drinking beer and staying home. More obviously is the problem of the amalgamated settlements, which have lost their profiles. Most of them are grown into Szombathely, forming popular housing zones. (They called garden cities in the real estate advertisements, but there are no garden cities in Hungary at all as meant by Howard, originally.) On behalf of effectiveness they have no own institutions, even their centers are hardly or not at all to recognize. Szombathely is a city of 80.000 inhabitants, despite of the amalgamations; its body is quite compact. So it does not matter the accessibility of cultural institutions, the problem is that the particular districts have no place to make their own culture, to build local community! Szombathely's cultural supply is as good as it expected to be according to its population size, but the programs are meant for the whole city (to an "average" citizen), not for the special demands of a single district. The culture center named Agora organizes programs mostly with participants outside the city (the most wanted productions are coming from the capital, Budapest) and everyone is happy to see them, but there are only few opportunity for the Szombathely artists to be present in their own city. This is the point of view I think, it shows the importance of local community provided with local community house. Szombathely's structure does not support to build or rebuild local communities due its compactness and grown together. Szentkirály was created in

1935 by amalgamation of five tiny villages (with only one church, so they were since centuries a parish, which is not of small importance), which were amalgamated with Szombathely in 1950. After it but rather in the seventies the population doubled due the many new dwellings (early suburbanization). A new wave of suburbanization came to Szentkirály after the turn of the millennium, causing a second doubling, so the population is about 4.000, a little bit big for a neighborhood unit. People do not know, but greeting each other, the new comers are enjoying the suburban way of life, which is strange mixture of being city inhabitants and buying milk, eggs and bread next door. Obviously Szentkirály could save its face, its nature (but not its village look) despite the suburbanization, and acts like a melting pot for original and new Szentkirály inhabitants. They founded a new (there was no old one, Szentkirály was originally too small to have it) community house, which is having financial support from the city, although independent from the city culture center Agora. It means that the events organized by local people are for local people (exhibitions, concerts of artists living in Szentkirály). We must be careful with “artist” because the participants are often not professional ones, but amateurs in all sense of the word, yet the attendance is high (about 150 people are full house), which is not always to say about city cultural events in the center. It is very simple; it is about my neighbor I know by sight! It is clear that the experience of Szentkirály can not be transferred to other districts. They are more populated, which could mean a better situation by financing but even by their higher population, it would be harder to fit the cultural demands of all of their inhabitants. Szentkirály’s history can not explain the situation, because other amalgamated settlements have a long independent past too. It seems to be the geography, Szentkirály’s place in the city structure: situated further off the city body, the immigration and house building activities caused by urbanization were not as strong as in other parts of the city, which are nearly dissolved in Szombathely. Despite of all these, I think, Szentkirály’s pattern to build local community is noteworthy and the city council should take it into consideration by creating zoning plans and by city development decisions as well. A working local community has its own vision, plans, so the decision makers do not have to care about it. They only have local initiations to make compatible with and incorporate into city level measures, plans. It could enhance the quality of citizen’s life. The only problem is that there is a shortage of citizens in Szombathely, who need and want to build local communities, to make local culture and who want to participate in the life of the city. It is good to dwell in Szombathely (the hard factors are looking good), but sometimes it is not so good to live in Szombathely.

NAVODILA ZA PRIPRAVO ČLANKOV V REVIJI ZA GEOGRAFIJO

1. Sestavine članka

Članki morajo imeti naslednje sestavine:
- glavni naslov članka,
- ime in priimek avtorja,
- avtorjeva izobrazba in naziv (na primer: dr., mag., profesor geografije in zgodovine, izredni profesor),
- avtorjev poštni naslov (na primer: Oddelek za geografijo Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Mariboru, Koroška 160, SI – 2000 Maribor, Slovenija),
- avtorjev elektronski naslov,
- izvleček (skupaj s presledki do 800 znakov),
- ključne besede (do 8 besed),
- abstract (angleški prevod naslova članka in slovenskega izvlečka),
- keywords (angleški prevod ključnih besed),
- članek
- summary (angleški prevod povzetka članka, skupaj s presledki do 8000 znakov).

2. Citiranje v članku

Avtorji naj pri citiranju med besedilom navedejo priimek avtorja in letnico, več citatov ločijo s podpičjem in razvrstijo po letnicah, navedbo strani pa od priimka avtorja in letnice ločijo z vejico, na primer: (Drozg 1995, 33) ali (Belec in Kert 1973, 45; Bračič 1975, 15 in 16).

Enote v poglavju Viri in literatura naj bodo navedene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah. Če je v seznamu več enot istega avtorja iz istega leta, se letnicam dodajo črke (na primer 1999a in 1999b). Vsaka enota je sestavljena iz treh stavkov. V prvem stavku sta pred dvopičjem navedena avtor in letnica izida (če je avtorjev več, so ločeni z vejico, z vejico sta ločena tudi priimek avtorja in začetnica njegovega imena, med začetnico avtorja in letnico ni vejice), za njim pa naslov in morebitni podnaslov, ki sta ločena z vejico. Če je enota članek, se v drugem stavku navede publikacija, v kateri je članek natisnjen, če pa je enota samostojna knjiga, drugega stavka ni. Izdajatelja, založnika in strani se ne navaja. Če enota ni tiskana, se v drugem stavku navede vrsta enote (na primer elaborat, diplomsko, magistrsko ali doktorsko delo), za vejico pa ustanova, ki hrani to enoto. V tretjem stavku se za tiskane enote navede kraj izdaje, za netiskane pa kraj hranjenja.

3. Preglednice in slike v članku

Vse preglednice v članku so oštevilčene in imajo svoje naslove. Med številko in naslovom je dvopičje. Naslov konča pika. Primer:

Preglednica 1: Število prebivalcev Ljubljane po posameznih popisih.

Vse slike (fotografije, zemljevidi, grafi in podobno) v članku so oštevilčene enotno in imajo svoje naslove. Med številko in naslovom je dvopičje. Naslov konča pika. Primer:

Slika 1: Rast števila prebivalcev Ljubljane po posameznih popisih.

Slika 2: Izsek topografske karte v merilu 1 : 25.000, list Kranj.

Za grafične priloge, za katere avtorji nimajo avtorskih pravic, morajo avtorji od lastnika avtorskih pravic pridobiti dovoljenje za objavo. Avtorji naj ob podnapisu dopišejo tudi avtorja slike.

4. Sprejemanje prispevkov

Avtorji morajo prispevke oddati natisnjene v enem izvodu na papirju in v digitalni obliki, zapisane s programom Word. Digitalni zapis besedila naj bo povsem enostaven, brez zapletenega oblikovanja, poravnave desnega roba, deljenja besed, podčrtavanja in podobnega. Avtorji naj označijo le mastni (krepki) in ležeči tisk. Besedilo naj bo v celoti izpisano z malimi črkami (razen velikih začetnic, seveda), brez nepotrebnih krajšav, okrajšav in kratic. Zemljevidi naj bodo izdelani v digitalni vektorski obliki, grafi pa s programom. Fotografije in druge grafične priloge morajo avtorji oddati v obliki, primerni za skeniranje, ali pa v digitalni rastrski obliki z ločljivostjo vsaj 120 pik na cm oziroma 300 pik na palec, najbolje v formatu TIFF ali JPG.

Avtorji morajo za grafične priloge, za katere nimajo avtorskih pravic, priložiti fotokopijo dovoljenja za objavo, ki so ga pridobili od lastnika avtorskih pravic.

Avtorji naj prispevke pošiljajo na naslov urednika:

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5. Recenziranje člankov

Članki se recenzirajo. Recenzijo opravijo člani uredniškega odbora ali ustrezni strokovnjaki zunaj uredniškega odbora. Če recenziji ne zahtevata popravka ali dopolnitve članka, se avtorju članka recenzij ne pošlje. Uredniški odbor lahko na predlog urednika ali recenzenta zavrne objavo prispevka.

POROČILO RECENZENTA

1. Avtor prispevka

2. Naslov prispevka

3. Recenzent (ime in priimek, znanstveni ali strokovni naziv)

4. Pomen prispevka (ali prinaša nova znanstvena spoznanja)
a) da
b) ne
c) delno

5. Primernost prispevkov (ali naslov primerno poda vsebino)
a) da
b) ne
c) delno

6. Uporaba znanstvenega aparata, ustrezno navajanje virov in literature
a) da
b) ne (opozori na morebitne pomanjkljivosti)
c) delno

7. Pripombe in predlogi za izboljšanje besedila (priložite na posebnem listu)

8. Priporočam, da se prispevek sprejme:
a) brez pripomb
b) z manjšimi popravki
c) po temeljiti reviziji (na osnovi pripomb recenzenta)
d) zavrne

Datum: Podpis recenzenta: