Visions for 2030

Urban development trends of the Visegrad4 Region

Contents

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS SEEK CONSENSUS

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(ENG) ABSTRACT
In spatial planning, in an era of globalisation and awareness of its consequences for territories, including negative ones, it is increasingly important to decide where resources and investments will be located. That leads to increased formal and informal linkages between the private and public sector. This shift in perception of understanding the role both sectors can nowadays also be observed in the V4 countries, which is why the debate on the importance of public-private agreements is at the forefront of the minds of politicians and citizens alike. The article describes a new methodology approved by the municipality of City District of Prague 10 which provides rules how to involve both sectors in city development including private sources for public investments.

KEY WORDS: spatial planning, public sector, private sector, contribution, public-private cooperation

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT
V územním plánování, v éře globalizace a uvědomování si jejích důsledků pro území, včetně negativních, je stále důležitější rozhodnout, kde budou umístěny zdroje a investice. To vede ke zvýšení formálních i neformálních vazeb mezi soukromým a veřejným sektorem. Tento posun ve vnímání chápání role obou sektorů lze dnes pozorovat i v zemích V4, a proto je debata o důležitosti veřejno-soukromých dohod v popředí zájmu politiků i občanů. Článek popisuje novou metodiku schválenou zastupitelstvím městské části Praha 10, která poskytuje pravidla pro zapojení obou sektorů do rozvoje města včetně soukromých zdrojů pro veřejné investice.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: spatial planning, public sector, private sector, contribution, public-private cooperation

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT
A globalizáció korszakában, amikor tudatában vagyunk a területtervezésnek az egyes térségekre gyakorolt hatásainak – ideértve a negatív hatásokat is, egyre nagyobb a súlya annak a döntésnek, hogy hová kerüljenek a forrásokat és a beruházások. Ez a magán- és az állami szektorok közötti formális és informális kapcsolatok erősödéséhez vezet. A két szektor szerepének értelmezésének módosulása manapság a V4-országokban is megfigyelhető, ezért a köz-és magánszféra közötti megállapodások fontosságáról szóló vita felkelti mind a politikusok, mind a polgárok figyelmét. A cikk a Prága 10. kerületének önkormányzata által jóváhagyott új módszertant mutatja be, amely meghatározza, hogyan lehet mindkét szektort bevonni a városfejlesztésbe, beleértve az állami beruházások magánforrásokból történő finanszírozását is.

KULCSSZAVAK: spatial planning, public sector, private sector, contribution, public-private cooperation

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

W planowaniu przestrzennym, w dobie globalizacji i świadomości jej konsekwencji, także tych negatywnych, coraz ważniejsze staje się decydowanie, gdzie będą lokowane zasoby i inwestycje. Prowadzi to do zwiększenia formalnych i nieformalnych powiązań między sektorem prywatnym i publicznym. Ta zmiana w postrzeganiu roli obu sektorów jest dziś widoczna także w państwach V4, dlatego debata o znaczeniu partnerstw publiczno-prywatnych zajmuje zarówno polityków, jak i obywateli. Artykuł opisuje nową metodologię zatwierdzoną przez Gminę Dzielnicy Praga 10, która określa zasady zaangażowania obu sektorów w rozwój miasta, w tym prywatnych źródeł inwestycji publicznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: spatial planning, public sector, private sector, contribution, public-private cooperation

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Pri územnom plánovaní, v ére globalizácie a povedomia o jej dôsledkoch pre územia, vrátane negatívnych, je stále dôležitejšie rozhodnúť sa, kde sa nachádzajú zdroje a investície. To vedie k zvýšenému formálnych a neformálnych prepojení medzi súkromným a verejným sektorom. Tento posun vo vnímaní porozumenia úloh v oboch sektoroch, môžeme v súčasnosti tiež pozorovať v krajinách V4, a preto je diskusia o dôležitosti verejno-súkromných dohôd v popredí myslenia politikov aj občanov. Článok popisuje novú metodológiu schválenú miestnym zastupiteľstvom mestského okresu Praha 10, ktorá poskytuje pravidlá, ako zapojiť oba sektory do rozvoja mesta vrátane súkromných zdrojov pre verejné investície.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: priestorové plánovanie, verejný sektor, súkromný sektor, príspevok, verejno-súkromná spolupráca

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INTRODUCTION

"Planning the territory is now not considered to be the prerogative of the state, which governs it in a strictly hierarchical manner using defined competences, but the development of the territory is increasingly discussed among elected bodies, non-elected initiatives, state, non-governmental and private actors, formal and informal institutions that express their interests in a new form of multi-level governance of the territory."

Panagiotis Getimis, Panteion University, Athens

"The holder and guarantor of the quality of the whole concept is the local government. This procedural approach places high demands on the professional skills, customer orientation and self-confidence of every public employee. Substantive commitment is an additional requirement."

Peter Gero, former Director of Planning and City Development Dept., Hamburg

Quotes from leading urban planning experts confirm the extreme importance of the art of municipalities to seek agreement in the territory for the sustainable development of the managed area. The relationship between public and private sector shall lead to win-win model in which each party is to perform to reach the consensus.

APPROACHES TO PUBLIC-PRIVATE COOPERATION

Economic instruments in territorial development have been used by public sector for a relatively short period of time (10-30 years) in Europe. In many countries they are firmly integrated into the legislative system. It should be stressed that they are not only enshrined in the construction acts, but in a number of related laws dealing with, among other things, state administration, the tax system, the powers of municipalities, etc.

In general, it can be observed that there is an increasing transfer of responsibility for the construction of public infrastructure to the private sector in Europe (MoñozGilen and Lenferink, 2018). The public sector is increasingly actively and innovatively seeking new sources to finance public amenities, and private sources

are one of the important and stable pillars. Public finances in all European countries have been in deficit for a long time and public debt is rather deepening. By contrast, private resources, especially in real estate, are in strong surplus and capital is seeking targets for its appreciation.

Almost all EU countries cite the contractual relationship as the optimal instrument for addressing public-private participation. Particularly for large projects, the permitting process moves away from a mere statement contained in the decision of the relevant permit to the active influence of the municipality on the project. In doing so, municipalities generally use the legislative framework. For example, almost all European countries on the continent (i.e. excluding the UK and the Republic of Ireland) use regulatory plans as the basis for agreement and the basis for defining private sector participation. The form and process for the creation of agreements or performance are largely set out in legislation.

FORMS OF COOPERATION

The instruments which set the rules for the consensus of public and private sectors are usually based on construction law or tax laws. The effects are similar for a tax, fee or non-financial transaction (e.g., transfer of a building or part of a building, transfer of land to the public sector, etc.).

As seen in the practice of various countries, economic instruments impose a fee on certain entities, or may provide payments to entities for certain services, allow for the trading of certain rights, or may favour the public sector in land transactions, subject to conditions set by law. Payments may be one-off or recurrent (tax).

Public-private interaction can take several forms:

- negotiated relationships (planning contracts, financial plan, ...)
- non-negotiated relationships (exhaustive approach)
- ad-hoc ("improvisation") negotiation
- public-private partnership (PPP)

Negotiated obligations of builders (consensual approach)

It is an approach based on the building legislation or private law which leads to a voluntary contractual relationship between the municipality and the developer. Municipality and developer commit to the material and temporal performance of the subject matter of the agreement. The builder usually accepts the obligation to make a contribution towards public infrastructure and amenities, and the municipality usually undertakes to build these public infrastructure and amenities.

Non-negotiable obligations of builders (enumeration approach)

It is an approach in which a municipality, by virtue of a relevant law and/or other legislative instrument, may impose obligations on a developer to commit to the development of public infrastructure and amenities. The approach has been used in England (Community Infrastructure Levy, Crook et al., 2016), France (taxed´management, Muñoz Gielen and Lenferink, 2018), Spain (Cargas de urbanización, Muñoz Gielen and Lieferink, 2018) or the Republic of Ireland (Development Contribution Scheme), the Netherlands (Developer Obligations), Finland and others. The scope of use of public infrastructure charges is as follows:

- to cover direct costs at the project site
- to cover local territorial impacts
- in the context of whole or part of the municipality.

Ad-hoc negotiations

It is an approach which can still be observed in some countries (Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Hungary), in which the public sector seeks to involve the developer in the development of the municipality on an individual negotiation basis, depending on the size of the project, the openness of the developer to negotiate or the position of the municipality in the specific project (ownership of land, technical infrastructure, etc.).

Public-private partnership (PPP)

PPP is a very special vehicle to orchestrate the relationships between sectors and is usually not used for standard municipal policy to solve agreements for private projects.

THE METHODOLOGY FOR ENSURING DEVELOPER PARTICIPATION IN FINANCING PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE CITY DISTRICT OF PRAGUE 10 (hereinafter referred to as the "Methodology")

THE AIM OF THE USE OF THE METHODOLOGY
The Methodology is intended for the preparation of such participation, determination of the amount of such participation, and for negotiations between the representatives of the Municipality and private builders and developers preparing land development projects for profit (hereinafter referred to as the "Builder" or "Developers") regarding their cooperation in securing investment projects for public infrastructure as part of the provision of the territory.According to the Methodology, the municipal authorities proceed in the preparation of conditions and resulting contracts with builders for their participation in the financing of public infrastructure projects of the municipality. The Methodology is based on the fact that until now the participation of builders in the establishment of public infrastructures has not been legally regulatedin the Czech Republic, with the exception of planning contracts, the use of which is limited by the link to the regulatory plan. Therefore, municipalities use the so-called innominateagreements, which allow to extend the scope of the agreement according to specific conditions without the limitations given by the Building Act for the planning agreement.However, even in these cases, there are no generally applicable, known in advance and transparent procedures for determining the amount of the developer's participation in the establishment of public infrastructure.

OBJECTIVES
The methodology is intended to unify the municipality's approach to creating the conditions for ensuring the necessary development of public infrastructure within the meaning of the Building Act induced in connection with the development of the municipality through the participation of private sector developers engaged in business for the purpose of profiting from land development.
The methodology is based on the assumption that the municipality and developers have a common interest in creating the necessary quality of public infrastructure in the municipality and that there should be a correlation between the level of public investment and the intensity of development through private investment. The municipality has an interest in improving amenities for existing and new residents, businesses and their employees. A developer doing business for profit from land development has an interest in being able to offer its clients housing or workplaces in a community that provides all the necessary public facilities which are easilyaccessible and have the necessary capacity, thereby creating the conditions for long-term sustainable use.
The Methodology follows these basic criteria:

- is in line with the legal environment,
- creates an environment for voluntary cooperation between the private sector and the municipality (win-win principle),
- sets a level playing field for all participants, relevant to the real estate market situation,
- is easily and quickly applicable,
- does not require the acquisition of data not already collected,
- does not place significant demands on the municipality to update the data.

To meet these objectives and criteria, the Methodology introducesthese principles:

Mutual benefit
The mutual benefit for both parties, i.e., the municipality and the private developer, is that the municipality receives part of the funds or works for the acquisition of public infrastructures that it provides within its jurisdiction, and the private developer knows in advance the municipality's conditions for construction and

for its participation and the required amount. This simplifies the negotiations between the municipality and the builder and thus shortens the time during which these negotiations take place. Saving time in project preparation is an added value for the builder. By entering into a contractual relationship with the municipality, while respecting the methodology, the private developer gains credibility as a partner of the municipality in the development of the municipal area.

It can be expected that the mutual benefit will gradually induce the vast majority of the builders affected by the modification to participate in the co-participation programme.

Predictability and stability of conditions

The municipality will have the opportunity to communicate with the builder in advance – as opposed to a situation where the builder comes in with a permit application for a completed project, and to meet the builder who will be interested in entering into a contract. This allows the municipality, in its independent role, to influence the project to better meet the development needs of the municipality. Awareness of the intentions of private developers included in the program, including the construction volumes and resulting contributions to the municipality for public infrastructure, will allow the municipality to realistically plan the volumes of investment of these infrastructures.

For the builder/developer, the project starts several years before he is able to present a version of the project that can serve as the basis for the contract. However, his financial balance sheet should already include the municipality's requirements at an early stage. Although the inputs to the calculation of the deductible may change from year to year, it can be assumed that there will be continuity in the annual determination of the builder's deductible. This will allow the builder to estimate the amount of the contribution several years in advance.

Transparency

Establishing uniform rules for developer participation, which will be generally known, will remove ambiguity when negotiating city development with private companies. Including planned public investments in the discussion with the private sector will increase awareness of their necessity not only among developers but also among citizens and their future clients.The developer will be prepared for the contract negotiations by knowing the terms in advance, being able to deduce the impact on the project itself and adjusting its next steps accordingly; in particular, it will be able to demonstrate to its clients or the public how its project has contributed specifically to the development of the community. The same and equal conditions will be set for all builders in the municipality included in the participation program.

The municipality will be able to retroactively verify and to document the "past performance" of the investments that will be included in the programme. Fees will be allocated to a separate account and will be traceable for builders upon request.

Simplicity

Participation in the programme is not conditional on the creation of any additional instruments or surveys. The data that will be used for the calculation of the co-payments are based on available sources and are therefore easily accessible and verifiable.

Adaptability to market changes

The level of the builder's participation may be rectified by the municipality according to market trends – in particular, a downturn or a steady increase in demand on the property market for a given purpose. In doing so, however, the utmost caution must be exercised so that the principle of predictability and stability of conditions is not compromised. The methodology therefore provides for a multi-year time horizon (5 years) for the determination of the relevant coefficients.

PARTICIPANTS OF THE PROCESS

The Methodology sets standards for the municipality's procedure within the scope of its independent competence towards the defined developers and for the defined types of public infrastructure. Participants on the municipal side are the municipal authorities with independent competence, including the municipal council. A participant on the builder's side are all private builders (natural persons and legal entities)

applying for a permit to build in the municipality whose investment project is also intended for commercial lease or sale.

SUBJECT OF PARTICIPATION

The municipality shall carefully define and justify the type of infrastructure and amenities to be included into to discussion with the private sector. In case of Prague 10 following investments in public infrastructure are in particular subject to co-financing by the builders for the financing of public infrastructure projects of the municipality, if the municipality is the investor:

- buildings of civic facilities – kindergartens, primary schools, outpatient social care facilities, facilities for the protection of the population, cultural facilities;
- buildings for transport – local roads, pedestrian paths and cycle paths;
- technical infrastructure buildings – water distribution systems, street sewer lines, public lighting;
- public spaces including areas of public greenery;

In the case that the developer's plan will necessitate the rebuilding or strengthening of public infrastructure other than that explicitly listed above, the municipality may require the developer to contribute to the acquisition, rebuilding or strengthening of that induced infrastructure. The amount of the contribution shall not be governed by the Methodology in such a case, but shall be based on the full cost to the municipality of the developer's intention, i.e. the investment induced is over and above the performance under this Methodology and shall in any case not count towards the performance under this Methodology.

Maintenance costs, operating expenses and other overheads for the management and operation of the municipality's public infrastructure are not included in the deductible under this Methodology. The Methodology also does not provide for co-financing of the costs of the construction of infrastructure provided by private entities, such as commercial amenities and buildings.

INPUTS

The methodology basically uses as inputs publicly available data provided by public administration authorities (zoning plan, medium-term budget outlook of the municipality, data of the Czech National Bank, data on the real estate market of the Czech Statistical Office). It is supplemented by published data from organisations involved in monitoring spatial development: for Prague, where the Methodology is being tested, this is the Prague Research Forum[1].

Data	Source	Use
Planned public infrastructure construction projects and an estimate of their investment costs	Medium-term outlook of the municipality's budget for the five-year period	Investment costs of public infrastructure projects

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1Prague Research Forum consists of several real estate agencies providing market reports

Data	Source	Use
Land use plan	Areas for territorial development in the village divided according to the purpose – residential, office, production and warehouse, commercial	Size of the development areas in the municipality according to their purpose - residential, office, manufacturing and warehousing, commercial
Cumulative residential area of residential construction over the previous five-year period	Czech Statistical Authority (CSU)[2], housing construction in the municipality for individual calendar years	Conversion to gross floor area of residential construction by coefficient to be carried out by the municipality[1]; basis for eventual adjustment by market effect coefficient
Cumulative floor area of office and other commercial construction over the previous five-year period	Prague Research Forum, which consists of real estate consultancies CBRE, Colliers International, Cushmann& Wakefield, JLL, Knight Frank	Basis for possible adjustment by the market influence coefficient

Table 1: Data sources for the Methodology. Source: Maier, Rezac, Jablonska, 2019

CALCULATION OF THE ALLOWANCE

The amount of the co-payment is determined by the municipal council on the basis of the supporting data collected for this purpose by the municipal authority departments in advance for each calendar year. The amount of the co-financing will be updated in subsequent years by the municipal council.

The calculation of the allowance is based on very simple consideration: private sector is delivering every year new projects in residential and commercial sectors. This input is represented by total gross floor area of all projects over the past five years. On the other hand, the public sector is to plan and deliver public infrastructure and amenities to meet new employees and new inhabitant's requirements. These plans are represented in total budget for relevant public investment in upcoming five years. When dividing planned public budget by total gross floor area we get public costs incidental to every new square meter of private development. Then the municipality decides the real share of private sector (coefficients) of that cost. In the case of the City District of Prague 10 it was 10%.

The basis for determining the basic rate of contribution applicable to 1m2 GFA (gross floor area) in the following calendar year **R** is the formula.

$$\text{Allowance for 1sqm GFA} = \frac{planned\ public\ investment\ (1)}{gross\ floor\ area\ of\ private\ investments\ (2)} \times \text{share (3)}$$

where it is

(1)   the amount of the municipality's public investment in public infrastructure planned for the next five years
(2)   sum of gross floor areas (GFA) of construction by private builders over the past five years
(3)   the multiplication of the coefficients set by the municipal council for the following calendar year (see below)

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[2]The CSU monitors the area of living rooms, i.e. excluding ancillary rooms of the dwelling and excluding accessories of the dwelling. This figure should be converted to the gross floor area of the HPP, which can be obtained from the documentation submitted for planning permission.

COEFFICIENTS DETERMINED BY THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

The advantage of proposed approach is that the crucial parameters are taken form the market and from the municipal mid-term budget, i.e., there is no space for random political decisions. This increases the predictability of the amount of the allowance for upcoming years.

The municipality sets in the very first year the list of public infrastructure and amenities to be relevant for the methodology and then approves so called basis participation coefficient for the year.

$K_{R,S}$ the basic participation coefficient for year R. This coefficient can take a value between 0 and 1 and expresses the basic level of participation of developers in the municipality's investment in public infrastructure. In the event that the municipal council does not set this basic coefficient of participation for the year R for any reason, the coefficient for the year $R-1$ shall be deemed to remain in force.

R-6	R-5	R-4	R-3	R-2	R -1	R	R+1	R+2	R+3	R+4

Five-year period relevant for the calculation of gross floor area (HPP: housing, office, other commercial areas)

December: approval of coefficients

for the year R

Five-year period for the calculation of public investment expenditure based on the medium-term budget outlook of the municipality
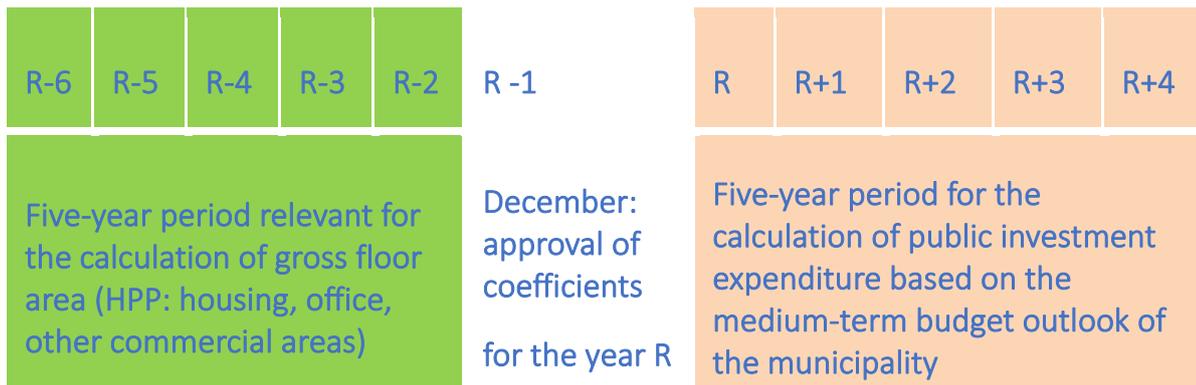
Picture 1: Timeline for determining the relevant five-year series for calculating the base contribution rate for year R. The rate is approved in year R-1 based on data for period R-6 and R-2 for HPP and period R to R+4 for public infrastructure. Source: Maier, Rezac, Jablonska, 2019

ADJUSTMENT OF THE ALLOWANCE FOR DIFFERENT FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF BUILDINGS

The municipality may, of course, encourage or handicap different type structures. There is a wide palette of further coefficients to be considered.

For individual functional types of buildings, the municipal council may further adjust the basic rate of co-payment annually, expressed by the basic coefficient $K_{R,S}$ other coefficients:

$K_{R,F}$ coefficients of functional use for the following year **R –** express the degree of need of individual functional types of buildings for the citizens of the municipality. They are used, for example, in case of a significant imbalance in the development of individual functions.

These coefficients can take values around one. As a rule, they are differentiated according to the basic types of functions:

$K_{R,B}$ Housing coefficient – gives a specific value for adjusting the coefficient of participation for housing projects.

$K_{R,A}$ administrative construction coefficient – gives a specific value for adjusting the participation coefficient for administrative projects

$K_{R,K}$ commercial construction coefficient (retail, services, manufacturing, warehouses...) - indicates the specific value for adjusting the participation coefficient for other commercial projects (retail, services, manufacturing, warehouses...).

Resulting coefficient K_R determining the general rate of participation of the builder in public infrastructures established by the municipality is then determined for the year **R** as the product of

$$K_R = K_{R,S} x K_{R,F} x K_{R,T}$$

ADJUSTMENT OF THE AMOUNT OF THE DEDUCTIBLE FOR SPECIFIC CONSTRUCTIONS

The allowance rate can be further adjusted by additional coefficients for individual specific buildings:

k_Q quality coefficient reflecting the quality of the building in terms of sustainable development. Coefficient k_Q serves to favour environmentally friendly projects. It takes values less than 1. Market-recognised certificates (energy label, LEED, BREAM, etc.) are used to determine the quality criteria for sustainable construction.

k_D the discount factor takes into account the performance in monetary or non-monetary form, which will only be possible at the time of project approval. The coefficient expresses the discount and may include the effect of inflation (inflation premium) from the time the relevant permit becomes legally effective until the time of performance (usually the completion of the construction). If the council does not set a discount factor for the following year, its value shall be set equal to one.

FINAL CALCULATION OF INDIVIDUAL ALLOWANCE OF A PROJECT

To calculate the amount of the builder's allowance**P** ofa specific construction included in the programme on public infrastructures established by the municipality, the formula is then used

$$P = GFA x PRO_R x k_Q x k_D$$

where it is

GFA gross floor area of the project
PRO_R the amount of the allowance applicable for 1m^{2}GFA for the year **R**

For example, assuming that the amount of the allowance applicable GFA is 33 EUR/sqm GFA[3], an office building project of the size of 5 000sqm of GFA of LEED Platinum ($k_Q = 0,9$) shall contribute cash ($k_D = 1$) to municipal fund as follows:

$$P = 5\,000 sqm\ x\ 38\ EUR/sqm_R x\ 0,9\ x\ 1 = 148\,500,- EUR$$

PPRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURE FOR USING THE METHODOLOGY

REGULAR UPDATES

In accordance with the Methodology, the municipal council updates its input annually. Each year, the municipal office departments prepare the input data listed in the **Inputs section** for the municipal Board's consideration of the update. Based on this data, the municipality's departments will prepare the basis for determining the amount of participation of developers enrolled in the public infrastructure program for the following year. The Municipal Council, using the information provided by the departments of the municipality, will adjust the coefficients listed under Calculation of the amount of the allowance for the following year, preferably in the context of the approval of the budget for the following year. The approval

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[3]Theamountoftheallowance in Prague 10 in 2020

of the adjustment of the coefficients for the following year will establish the binding parameters for the negotiations between the municipal authorities and the builders.

CONCLUSION

The case study of the Methodology used in Prague might inspire municipalities to consider the way how to set up a transparent and predictable relationship between pubic and private actors. The story is notabout land betterment value capturing. The key issue of the Methodology is the involvement both public as well as private sectors into the early discussion about the development of the municipality. The aim of the methodology is to illuminate the necessity of understanding goals and targets of the other party. No wonder that the OECD report *Governance of land use in OECD Countries* stressed that a relatively low level of competence of public staff in communicating with private sector is one of the obstacles of competitiveness of central European countries.

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CAUSES OF LOWER AFFORDABILITY OF NEW HOUSING IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

The paper is dealing with the affordability of new housing in the Czech Republic, with the focus on Prague, as a very specific example. On one hand the salaries are rising the highest in capital compared to the rest of the country, on the other hand the prices on the housing market are increasing significantly higher, inappropriately to the wages. This trend forces inhabitants to make decisions, either to stay in the city core in smaller flats, or to move to suburbia and for the same price live in a bigger flat for the same price, or even lower. Due to this, at the moment, the Czech Republic has the lowest affordability of housing among the all EU countries. On the contrary, increased number of new dwellings in the core areas could have a positive effect not only on increased affordability of housing but also on the economy of the country.

KEY WORDS: housing affordability, suburbanization, migration, core city

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Článek se zabývá dostupností nového bydlení v České republice, přičemž se zaměřuje na Prahu jako na velmi konkrétní příklad. Na jedné straně v hlavním městě rostou platy nejvíce ve srovnání se zbytkem republiky, na druhé straně ceny na trhu s bydlením rostou výrazně výše, neadekvátně ke mzdám. Tento trend nutí obyvatele k rozhodování, zda zůstat v jádru města v menších bytech, nebo se přestěhovat na předměstí a bydlet ve větším bytě za stejnou, nebo dokonce nižší cenu. Z tohoto důvodu má Česká republika v současné době nejnižší dostupnost bydlení ze všech zemí EU. Naopak zvýšení počtu nových bytů v jádrových oblastech by mohlo mít pozitivní vliv nejen na zvýšení dostupnosti bydlení, ale i na ekonomiku země.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: dostupnost bydlení, suburbanizace, migrace, jádrové město

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

Az írás a csehországi új lakások megfizethetőségét vizsgálja, különös tekintettel Prágára. A fizetések ugyan a fővárosban emelkednek a legmagasabban az országban, ám a lakáspiaci árak a béreknél sokkal jelentősebben növekednek. Ez a tendencia arra kényszeríti a lakosságot, hogy hozzák meg a döntést: maradnak a városközpontban egy kisebb lakásban, vagy kiköltöznek a külvárosba ugyanazért vagy akár alacsonyabb az áron, egy nagyobb lakásba. Emiatt jelenleg Csehországban a legrosszabb a lakhatás megfizethetősége az EU országai közül. Pedig az új lakások számának növekedése a városközponti területeken nemcsak a lakások megfizethetőségét javíthatná, de az ország gazdaságára is pozitív hatással lehetne.

KULCSSZAVAK: lakhatás megfizethetősége, szuburbanizáció, migráció, városmag

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Artykuł porusza problematykę przystępności cenowej nowych mieszkań w Czechach, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Pragi. Z jednej strony,to właśnie w Pradze odnotowuje się największy i najszybszy wzrost wynagrodzeń, z drugiej strony natomiast, ceny na rynku mieszkaniowym w Pradze rosną jeszcze szybciej, nieadekwatnie do płac. Tendencja ta zmusza mieszkańców do decydowania o tym, czy pozostać w centrum

miasta w mniejszych mieszkaniach, czy też przenieść się na przedmieścia i zajmowaćwiększe mieszkania. Czechy cechuje aktualnie najniższy poziom dostępności mieszkań wśród wszystkich państw członkowskich UE. Większa liczba nowych lokali może mieć natomiast pozytywny wpływ nie tylko na wzrost dostępności mieszkań, ale także na gospodarkę Czech.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: przystępność mieszkaniowa, suburbanizacja, migracja, rdzeń miasta

(SK) ABSTRAKT
Príspevok sa zaoberá dostupnosťou nového bývania v Českej republike so zameraním sa na Prahu, ako veľmi špecifický príklad. Na jednej strane sa tu platy zvyšujú najväčšmi v porovnaní so zvyškom krajiny, na druhej strane sa ceny na trhu s nehnuteľnosťami zvyšujú výrazne vyššie, neprimerane mzdám. Tento trend núti obyvateľov robiť rozhodnutia, buď zostať v jadre mesta v menších bytoch, alebo sa presťahovať na predmestie a tu za rovnakú alebo dokonca nižšiu cenu žiť vo väčšom byte. Z tohto dôvodu má v tejto chvíli Česká republika najnižšiu dostupnosť bývania medzi všetkými krajinami EÚ. Naopak, zvýšený počet nových obydlí v hlavných oblastiach by mohol mať pozitívny vplyv nielen na zvýšenú dostupnosť bývania, ale aj na hospodárstvo krajiny.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: dostupnosť bývania, suburbanizácia, migrácia, jadrové mesto

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INTRODUCTION

Increase of income of residents in Czech citiesis followed by increase of demand for housing. Moreover, higher income attracts new people further increasing pressure on new supply. However, the stringent permitting process limits supply in agglomeration cores resulting in high residential prices. High residential prices make housing less affordable since the apartment prices are rising faster than income due to the low elasticity of the real estate market. Achieving equilibrium between demand and supply is crucial otherwise people will end up paying more for the same amount of housing.

PRAGUE AS AN ECONOMIC ENGINE OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Prague's economy is about 27% of the total Czech GDP and continuously growing. From 1995 to 2018, Prague's GDP rose from 20% to 27% of the total Czech GDP. The average growth rate of Prague's GDP is 3.8% per year, compared to 2.6% for the rest of the Czech economy. GDP per capita in the capital is almost two times bigger than in any other region. Prague has about 1.2 million residents, which is 12% of all residents in the Czech Republic. Prague's importance emphasizes that 18% of all employed people come from the capital. The average salary in Prague is about 22% higher than average salary in other regions of the Czech Republic.
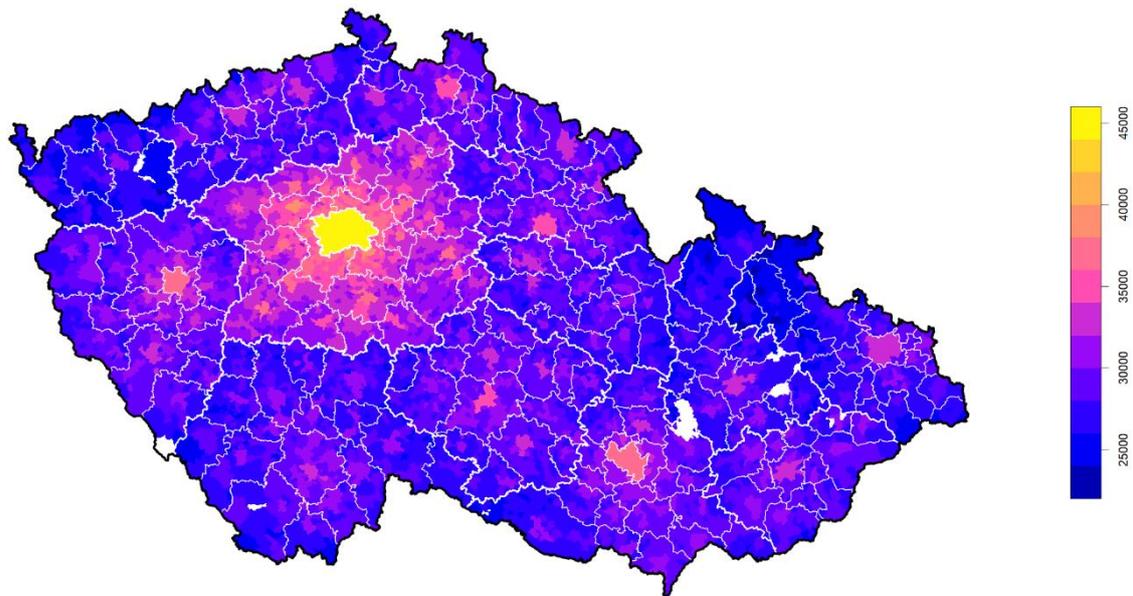
Figure 1: Average gross monthly wages in CZK across Czech Republic, Source: Deloitte CR

MIGRATION PATTERNS

Higher salaries cause the migration of people from smaller municipalities to larger ones with a better developed labour market with the hope of securing a better future. This migration causes an increase in residents in agglomerations. Prague and other county seats are citizens' main targets because of the job market size and higher share of sectors with higher value-added sectors (such as TMT sector, banking sector etc.). A key trend is the migration of people to agglomerations to more developed labour markets, i.e., urbanization, and at the same time the migration of people to the hinterland of these agglomerations as seen on the map below.

Figure 2: Population changes by migration between 2011 and 2020, Source: Deloitte CR

NEW CONSTRUCTION

Before a construction of the project can be commenced, there is a requirement to obtain a permit from the local building authority. To complete this process in the Czech Republic, it may take several years, which is part of the reason why the volume of new offer is limited due to construction restrictions. The length of the permitting process is affected by a lot of reasons, including the number of dwellings in the project, the level of education of the officials at the relevant permitting authority, the presence of commercial and industrial activities, the presence of agricultural and natural land in the immediate vicinity, or the size of the project itself. As map below shows localities with the highest migration surplus and thus the highest demand for housing also has the highest share of appeals against the decision of the building authorities (NIMBY effect).
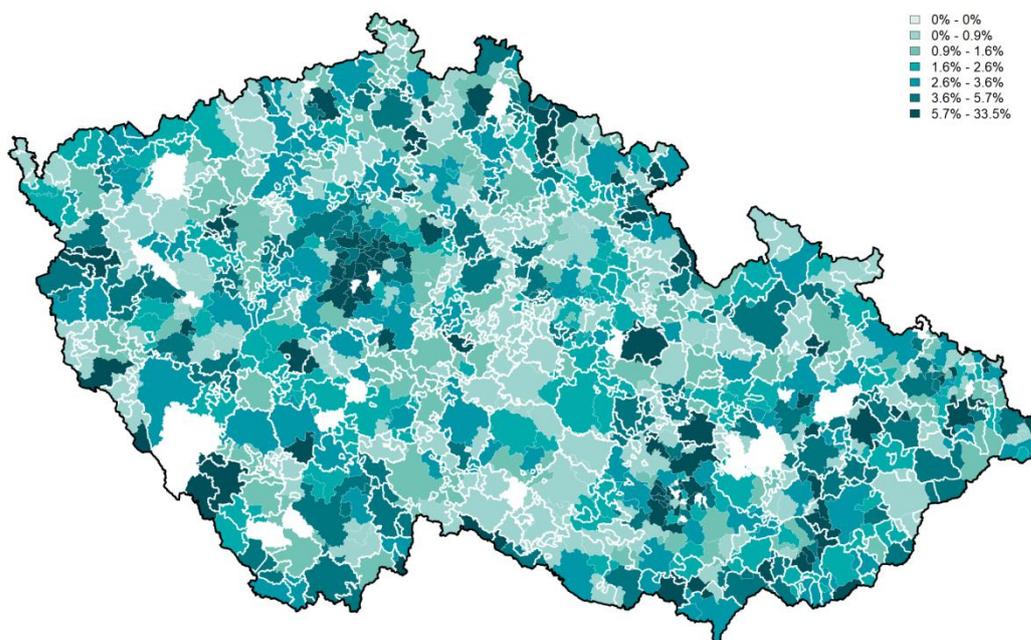
Data: Analýza stavu na úseku stavebního řádu a územního plánování, Ústav územního rozvoje
Mapový podklad – Soubor hranic, 2019 © Český úřad zeměměřický a katastrální, www.cuzk.cz.

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Figure 3: Share of appeals against decisions of the building authority, Source: Deloitte CR

Moreover, municipalities are not motivated to support new construction due to budgetary determination of taxes which is not beneficial to municipalities when comparing benefits and costs of new construction. Analysis shows that an effect of construction of 10,000 new flats on all public budgets in Prague would be in the range of negative 5.5 to negative 9 billion Czech crowns as a direct result of the budgetary determination of taxes which favours the state budget.

WORSENING AFFORDABILITY OF OWN HOUSING DUE TO PRICE INCREASE

In the last few years, the affordability of own housing has decreased by a considerable margin due to the significant increase in the price of dwellings compared to the increase in salaries. It has been noted that Prague's incomes have increased by 40% from 2014 and Brno's by 51%. Even though this increase is significant, it is still insufficient to march the frow of the grow of the residential prices. Prague's average residential transaction price index has increased by 108% since 2014, and in Brno it has increased even more (122%).
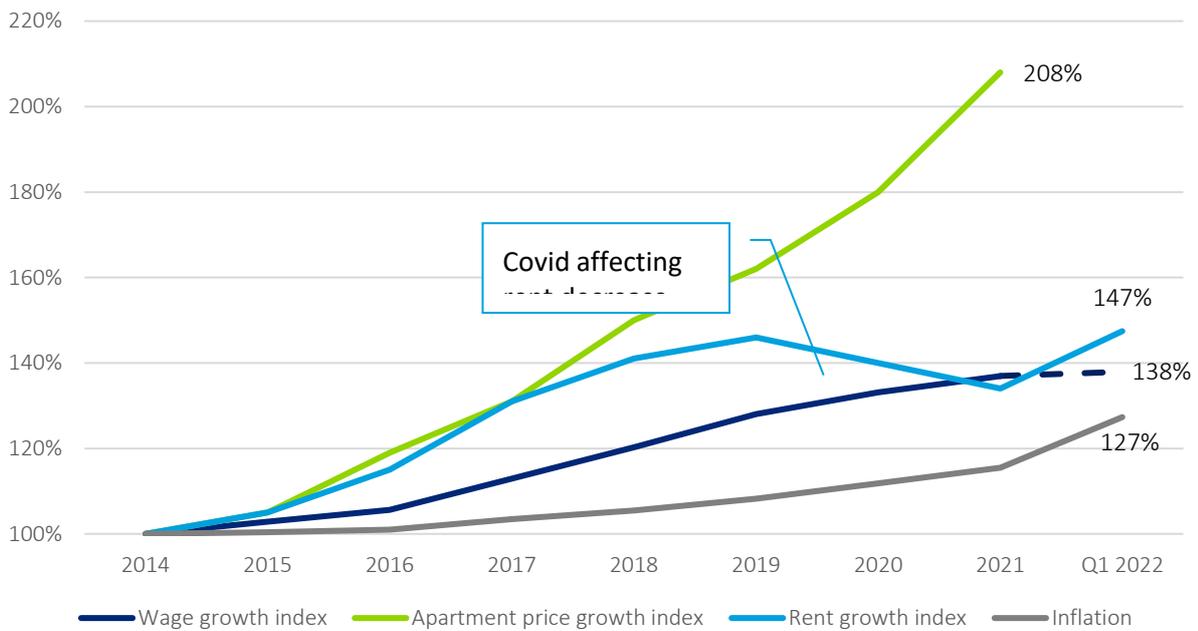
Figure 4: Indices of wage growth, house prices and rents (Prague), Source: Deloitte CR

Based on our calculations 9.65 gross annual salaries was needed to purchase an average apartment (70 m2), whereas in 202114.34 gross annual salaries are required.

Development of average yearly gross wages needed to purchase a new apartment (70 m2)
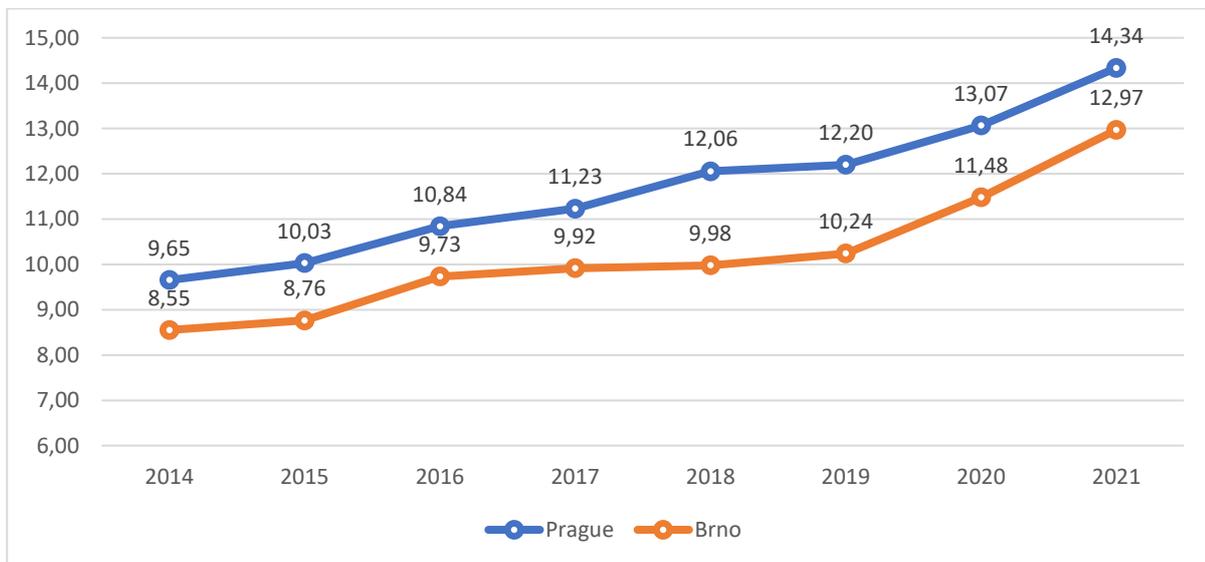
Figure 5: Development of average yearly gross wages needed to purchase a new apartment (70 m2), Source: Deloitte CR

The Czech Republic has the lowest affordability of housing among the EU countries, with an average price for a standardized dwelling of 12.2 gross annual salaries.
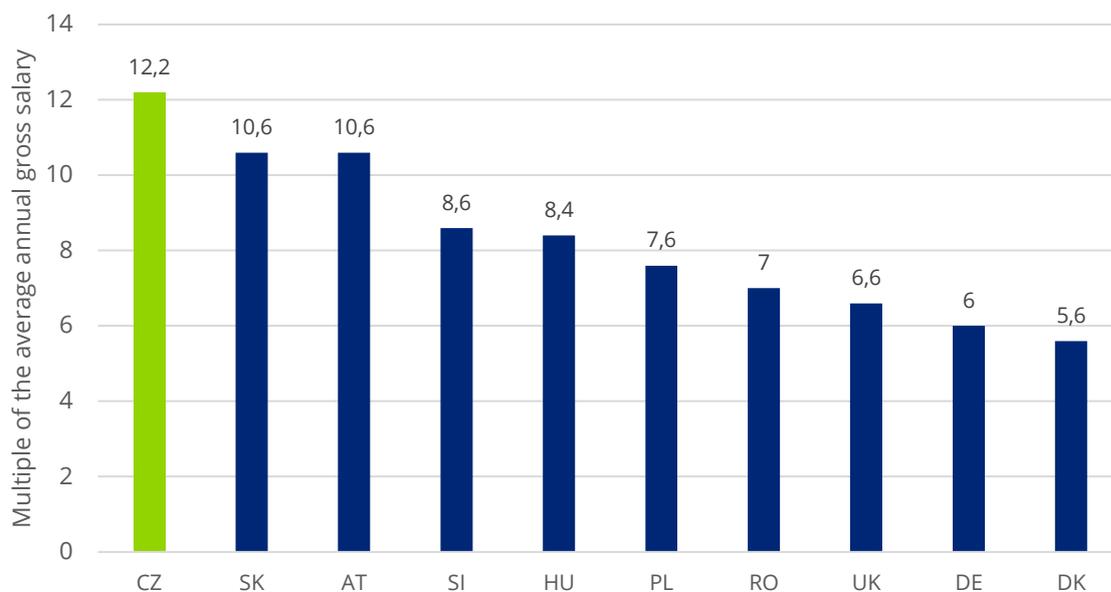
Figure 5: Availability of the average apartment (70 m2) in EU countries, Source: Deloitte CR

SUBURBANISATION AS A NEGATIVE EFFECT OF HIGH PRICES IN AGGLOMERATION CORE

As a result of high residential prices people are moving to agglomeration periphery to have a better standard of living for less money compared to agglomeration core. People in a suburban area can purchase bigger dwellings for the prices of smaller dwellings in the city centre.

On the other hand, people who do not live in centre of city must sacrifice more time due to greater distance from agglomeration core. Another disadvantage of living further from agglomeration core is that people spend more money on transport to work or school. Therefore, people optimise their spending on living and transport subject to their budget.

The daily commute map below shows that growing suburbs have a significantly larger number of vehicle-kilometres per capita. This is due to the fixation of new residents on jobs in the core of the agglomeration, where they commute mainly by car.
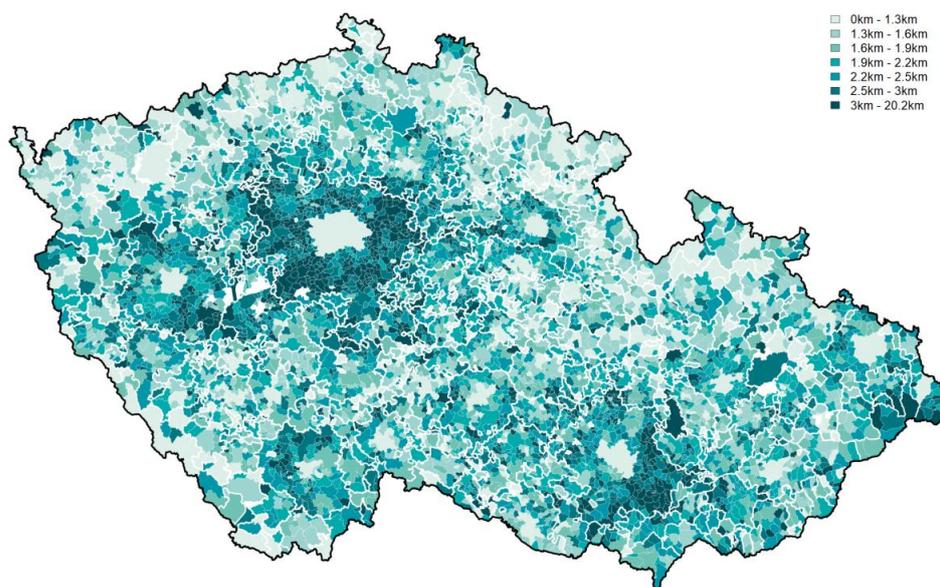
Figure 6: Average daily commute between municipalities, Source: Deloitte CR

STRUCTURE OF REGIONS

As a result, to ensure that all households can have the same benefit and to balance the system, the cost of commuting from more distant locations must be compensated by lower real estate prices. Due to decreasing real estate prices with distance from centre, households optimize the ratio of goods between housing and other goods.

In agglomeration core, where property prices are high, households are likely to reside in smaller apartments, whereas farther away from the city centre, where housing prices are lower, families will tend to live in larger houses. The rising price of real estate in the centre will determine land use intensity that is increasing with decreasing distance to the city centre.
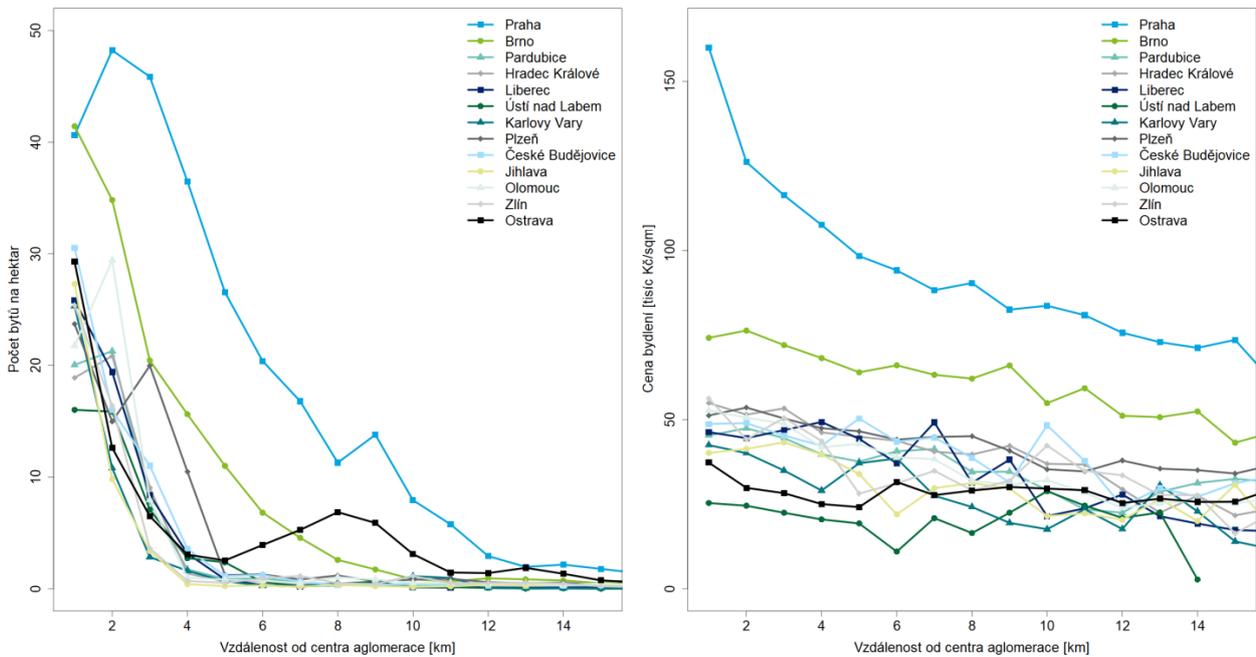
Data: ČSÚ, Budovy s číslem domovním a vchody; realitní webové portály

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Figure 7: *Dependence of density (left, number of apartments per hectare) and real estate prices on the distance from the city centre (right, price per sqm), Source: Deloitte CR*

Lower purchase price in suburbs, higher commuting costs are balanced by the acquisition of larger properties with increasing distance from the centre as seen on charts below. This leads to negative effects such as higher costs for the construction and maintenance of public technical infrastructure, greater occupation of agricultural land and higher energy costs.

Figure 8: Dependence of apartment size (left) and garden size (right) on the distance from the centre, Source: Deloitte CR

EFFECTS OF THE NEW CONSTRUCTION

On the other hand, new construction in agglomeration core could have a positive effect not only on increased affordability of housing but also on economy. As a result of new housing construction, many new jobs are expected to be created, which in turn increases the overall GDP contributes to the creation of wealth.

Due to the size of the city, the city is more productive - companies and their suppliers can specialize more, companies and employees find a good job matching their profile faster, and thanks to stronger interactions, people and companies are more innovative (agglomeration effect).Although there is no clear indication of how much productivity increases with the size of the city (agglomeration), the results in the available literature indicate the following range: if the city has 10% more workers, their productivity will increase by about 0.2 to 0.5%.This means that construction in the core city has a higher positive effect on the overall performance of the economy than construction in the suburbs. Taxes will also be collected at higher rates because of a higher level of economic activity.

CONCLUSION

The attractiveness of the local labour market associated with higher productivity and higher wages is the reason for the migration of residents from smaller settlements to larger agglomerations. New construction is significantly regulated, especially in the core cities, and the supply is therefore less elastic, which in combination with high demand causes the relatively steep residential price increases observed in recent years. Moreover, municipalities are not motivated to support new construction when comparing income from budgetary determination of taxes and all costs related to new construction. Increased prices result into lower housing affordability and also contributes to suburbanisation, which has negative effect on whole agglomeration. The solution of the low housing affordability is very complex and should be very carefully designed and could consist of spatial planning reform, shorter permitting processes, reform of budgetary determination of taxes and by supporting construction in built-up areas of the cities and, conversely, by disadvantaging construction on a green field in hinterlands (e.g., setting property taxes, taking into account the cost of developing, maintaining public infrastructure etc.).

TOOLS FOR REVITALIZATION

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

This article focuses on answering the question of how to revitalize brownfields, namely it deals with tools that enable revitalization projects. The aim of this article is to identify, classify and analyse these tools. The conclusion (stemming from studying tools from various countries with long-term experience with this issue e.g., France, Great Britain, USA, Germany, Denmark, Czech Republic) is that tools can be divided into several categories from different perspectives: Strategic tools, Legislative tools, Spatial planning tools, Economic tools, Construction tools, Organization tools, Information tools, Education tools, Contractual tools, Heritage tools and Rating tools. Article shortly analyses their contribution and the feasibility of their implementation in other countries. The conclusion is that some of the tools (especially the Economic and Legislative ones) are country-specific and cannot be that easily implemented, however some very effective tools don´t require any legislative background and can be therefore rather easily used by any country to help their brownfield revitalization process.

KEY WORDS: brownfields, revitalisation, tools, urban planning

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Článek se zaměřuje na otázku, jak revitalizovat brownfieldy, konkrétně se zabývá nástroji, které umožňují realizaci revitalizačních projektů. Cílem je identifikovat, klasifikovat a analyzovat tyto nástroje. Nástroje lze, jak vyplývá ze studia nástrojů z různých zemí s dlouhodobými zkušenostmi s touto problematikou (např. Francie, Velká Británie, USA, Německo, Dánsko, Česká republika) rozdělit do několika kategorií: např. strategické, legislativní, ekonomické, organizační, nástroje prostorového plánování a další. Článek stručně analyzuje jejich přínos a jejich implementaci v jiných zemích. Některé nástroje (zejména ekonomické a legislativní) jsou specifické pro jednotlivé země a nelze je snadno přebírat, nicméně jiné velmi účinné nástroje nevyžadují žádné legislativní změny, a proto je může kterákoli země poměrně snadno použít k revitalizaci brownfieldů.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: brownfieldy, revitalizace, nástroje, územní plánovaní

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A cikk a barnamezős területek revitalizációjának kérdésére összpontosít, a revitalizációs projekteket lehetővé tevő eszközök vizsgálatával. A cikk célja ezen eszközöknek az azonosítása, osztályozása és elemzése. A következtetés (amely a kérdésben nagy tapasztalattal rendelkező országok, például Franciaország, Nagy-Britannia, USA, Németország, Dánia, Csehország eszközeinek tanulmányozásából fakad) az, hogy az eszközök különböző szempontok alapján több kategóriába sorolhatók: stratégiai eszközök, jogalkotási eszközök, területtervezési eszközök, gazdasági eszközök, építési eszközök, szervezési eszközök, információs eszközök, oktatási eszközök, szerződéses eszközök, örökség-eszközök és értékelési eszközök. A cikk röviden elemzi ezek hasznosságát és más országokban való alkalmazásuk lehetőségét. Következtetése, hogy egyes eszközök (különösen a gazdasági és jogalkotási) országspecifikusak, és alkalmazásuk nem minden esetben egyszerű, azonban léteznek olyan nagyon hatékony eszközök is, amelyek nem igényelnek semmilyen jogszabályi

hátteret, ezért bármely országban könnyen használhatók a barnamezős revitalizációs folyamatok elősegítésére.

KULCSSZAVAK: lakhatás megfizethetősége, szuburbanizáció, migráció, városmag

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Niniejszy artykuł skupia się na odpowiedzi na pytanie, jak rewitalizować tereny poprzemysłowe, a właściwie dotyczy narzędzi projektów rewitalizacyjnych. Celem artykułu jest identyfikacja, klasyfikacja i analiza owych narzędzi. Wniosek (wynikający z badania narzędzi wykorzystywanych wpaństwach o wieloletnim doświadczeniu w tej kwestii, np. Francji, Wielkiej Brytanii, USA, Niemiec, Danii, Czech) jest taki, że narzędzia można podzielić na kilka kategorii, mając na uwadze różne perspektywy. Są nimi: narzędzia strategiczne, narzędzia legislacyjne, narzędzia planowania przestrzennego, narzędzia ekonomiczne, narzędzia budowlane, narzędzia organizacyjne, narzędzia informacyjne, narzędzia edukacyjne, narzędzia kontraktowe, narzędzia dziedzictwa i narzędzia oceny. W artykule przeanalizowano pokrótce poszczególne narzędzia, przedstawiono też możliwość ich wdrożenia w poszczególnych państwach. Najważniejsze jest to, że niektóre narzędzia (zwłaszcza ekonomiczne i legislacyjne) są charakterystyczne (typowe) dla danego państwa i trudno je implementować poza jego granicami oraz to, że część bardzo skutecznych narzędzi nie wymaga żadnego zaplecza legislacyjnego i dlatego możesłużyć wspomaganiu procesu rewitalizacji terenów poprzemysłowych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: tereny poprzemysłowe, rewitalizacja, narzędzia, planowanie przestrzenne

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Tento článok sa zameriava na odpoveď na otázku ako revitalizovať brownfieldy, konkrétne sa zaoberá nástrojmi, ktoré ponúkajú revitalizačné projekty. Cieľom tohto článku je identifikovať, klasifikovať a analyzovať tieto nástroje. Záverom (vyplývajúcim zo štúdia nástrojov z rôznych krajín s dlhodobými skúsenosťami s touto problematikou, napr. Francúzsko, Veľká Británia, USA, Nemecko, Dánsko, Česká republika) je, že nástroje možno z rôznych pohľadov rozdeliť do niekoľkých kategórií: strategické nástroje, legislatívne nástroje, nástroje územného plánovania, ekonomické nástroje, stavebné nástroje, organizačné nástroje, informačné nástroje, vzdelávacie nástroje, zmluvné nástroje, nástroje dedičstva a nástroje hodnotenia. Článok stručne analyzuje ich prínos a realizovateľnosť ich implementácie v jednotlivých krajinách. Záver je, že niektoré nástroje (najmä ekonomické a legislatívne) sú špecifické pre jednotlivé krajiny a nie je možné ich tak ľahko implementovať, avšak niektoré veľmi účinné nástroje si nevyžadujú žiadne legislatívne zázemie, a preto je možné ich pomerne ľahko použiť k pomoci pri procese revitalizácie brownfieldov.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: brownfieldy, revitalizácia, nástroje, územné plánovanie

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INTRODUCTION

Revitalization of brownfields is an important alternative to building on greenfields (land that has never been used). It has many advantages from the point of view of the state and the municipalities, for example minimizing the occupation of valuable agricultural land (which is a finite resource), utilizing the existing connection to the transport and technical infrastructure of the site, using the very often significant position within the city, sealing the "wound" in the urban structure and suppressing the barrier effect and the negative effects of desolate brownfield itself, enriching the image of the city and its genius loci, remediation of contaminated soils and thus improving the environment and so on.

This article deals with tools that enable the revitalization and rehabilitation projects in the area. The aim is to identify, classify and analyze these tools through research of literature, strategic documents and projects it studies tools from several countries with long-term experience with this issue (e.g. France, Great Britain,

Germany, Denmark, Czech Republic). The main result is a structured categorized overview of tools from various countries with brief analysis of their contribution and the feasibility of their implementation in other countries.

TOOLS

We can look at the tools from many points of view, for example from the point of view of spatial planning and urbanism, environment, protection of cultural heritage or new investment opportunities. As a result, the issue of brownfields (or unused areas in general) is addressed by a number of institutions and tools. It is necessary to point out that the best results are always achieved by the combination of tools since many of them work best when they support each other. Some are even downright necessary for the other ones to work (typically Legislative tools).

At this point, it is important to emphasize the need for an active approach of the state and municipalities to the whole revitalization and rehabilitation process. Most of the tools work only as part of a long-term plan and without the active and conscious approach of the competent bodies they can rather easily cease to function properly. The often-repeated mistake is the city's delayed response to the development in the area. Cities sometimes have a rather passive attitude in this matter and they lack a long-term vision and any plans to guarantee its fulfillment, which they would then offer to investors. Instead they are waiting for the investor/developer to submit a plan, and on its basis they try to assert their needs and goals - which is often met with some resistance and for investors it unnecessarily makes the situation more complicated, unstable, unclear and non transparent. Development areas are also often the subject of political struggle and the replacement of politicians or mayors that might have different opinions and visions can cause a complete change of a plan. All of this leads to the uncertainty of developers when and how they can use the land, which logically discourages them in ever trying.

The timely creation of a long-term firm concept of the revitalization of an area, the vision´s transfer to concrete manifestations - for example in a spatial or regulatory planning - and the subsequent economic support of the project, are important prerequisites for the quality of development of the site or elements in the landscape. The complex use of proper tools leads not only to a better and more desirable outcome, but it is also attractive for investors/developers because of the clear setting of the limits which translates to a simpler and faster process of approving their project.

These tools can be divided into the following categories:

STRATEGIC TOOLS

Those could also be called political. Their main aim is to set a clear vision, decide on a policy and to coordinate on a general level all the different point of views. They are further divided into the European (apply to the EU), the national and then the regional ones (for individual regions, municipalities or cities in the form of for example local strategic plans).

Analysis

They are one of the two cornerstones (with the Legislative ones) of all the other tools. They are fairly general in their nature; however, they are the first necessary step on the way to concrete actions. It is not possible to omit them, because then the whole process becomes uncoordinated, non-conceptual, somewhat random and, moreover, badly presentable to the public and all the competent bodies. The clearer the vision, the better the end result. Setting quantifiable goals has its distinct strength since it not only puts the bodies under pressure to achieve them, but it also makes it clearer what is the desirable outcome and what should they do to achieve it. That is the difference between saying: „we will concentrate on brownfield redevelopment" and „60% of all new dwellings will be built on previously used land (case of London)." One is quantifiable, the other is not. In one case it is possible to verify if the goal was achieved, in the other one it is rather debatable and it could get easily muddled. Implementation of those tools in different countries is not very problematic and can be done fairly fast (especially on a regional level, national level gets more complicated), but it has to be tailor-made for their specific challenges and

conditions. They need to be introduced by a body with a sufficient authority and if possible, their goals should be quantifiable and therefore controllable, otherwise it is almost impossible to evaluate if they were achieved.

LEGISLATIVE TOOLS

The aim of the legislative tools is to properly name and define at the state level the issue of unused areas and then to enforce and allow the operation of other tools by their proper and sophisticated anchoring in the state legislation. An example is the possibility of applying and registering pre-emption rights for brownfields that cities or municipalities could take advantage of. Very important is also to define the concept of brownfields (or unused lands, contaminated sites etc.) and implement it in the legislation.

Analysis

Second foundation stone of all the other tools. Legislative tools give the necessary legislative frame to all the other tools which simply can´t function unless they are anchored in the corresponding laws. Implementation in different countries is very difficult since their legal systems vary and changes within it tend to be complex. 1:1 implementation between countries is therefore almost impossible, but the transfer of general ideas (and definitions) and way of thinking can be done. It should be noted that this process is very time consuming, but in long-term it is also crucial.

SPATIAL PLANNING TOOLS

These tools usually take some form of spatial/city/urban/landscape/land-use/zoning/regulatory plans and studies and the corresponding analytical documents that contain findings and evaluation of the state and development of the territory, its values, the limits of the use of the territory, the plans for changes in the territory and the analysis of the sustainable development of the territory. Other possible spatial planning tools include the simplification of procedures needed for acquiring building permit or declaration of specific areas that cannot be build upon (for the time being).

Analysis

Very effective tools that shape the specific form of cities and landscapes. Each country has different planning backgrounds and procedures, so they are not easily transferable and often they must be preceded by the use of Legislative tools. However, it is often the case that the country already has enough effective Spatial planning tools, but it doesn´t utilize them to their full extent. Sometimes knowingly (under the idea of not limiting the options for developers), sometimes possibly because of lack of effort or even insufficient financial background or lack of experts that could manage it. Generally two streams of thinking can be found – regulatory and deregulatory. The regulatory stream thinks that it is better to use land-use plans and regulatory plans to shape the form of the area according to their vision. It gives a set of clear rules and limits for a developer to follow so the city is changing in accordance with the municipality´s plans. The deregulatory stream on the contrary believes that it is optimal to let those areas be open to new investment ideas and be flexible so they can accommodate them quickly and easily. The basic idea is not to scare away the developers with overregulation. Both streams have their pros and cons, but it should be noted that the danger of deregulated development that ignores the city´s vision is very real (lacking public-spaces, inappropriate functions and so on) and the fear of developers moving away because of restrictions doesn´t always seem warranted since the heavy regulation – if handled correctly – can promise developers easy and fast process of getting building permits. Implementation of these tools is rather difficult, because generally they need to enabled through Legislative tools (and should be well integrated in the existing system in the particular country – that can be very complex task).
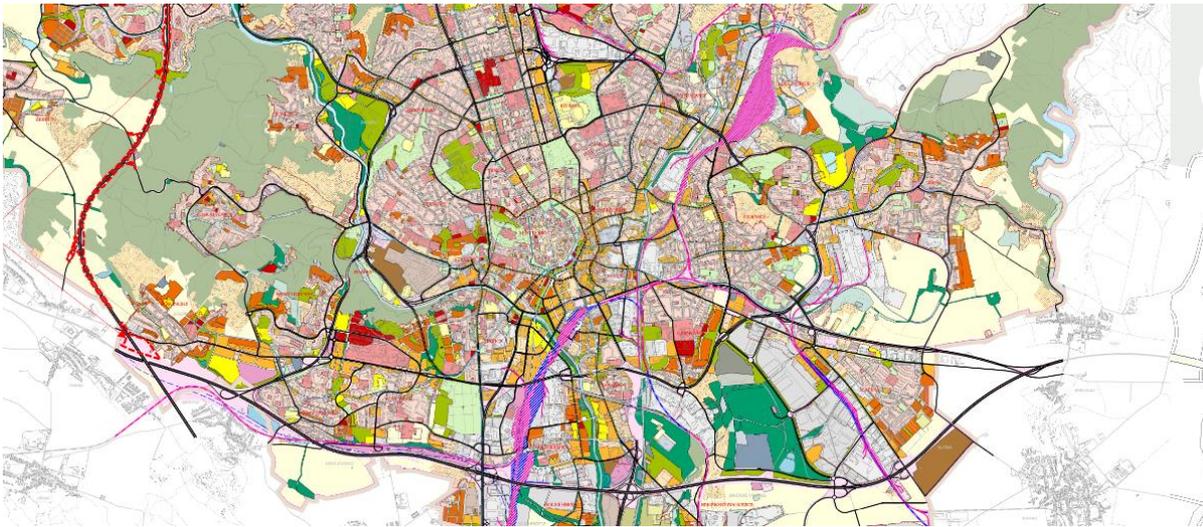
Figure 1: Spatial plan of Brno. Source: Office of the architect of the city of Brno

ECONOMIC TOOLS

Their aim is generally to protect green areas and support the brownfield redevelopment using the finance angle. This category can be further divided into Incentive (subsidies, tax cuts, etc.) and Penalization tools (e.g., land tax, inactivity taxes, etc.). Another example is financing remediation of contamination and removal of damaged buildings from the land. The risk and costs is assumed by the state or city then - optimally with the use of European subsidies or direct subsidies. The land fund tool is also very interesting, the purpose of this fund is to prepare brownfield areas for redevelopment. The fund here plays a role of a developer. Important tool that has the potential to revitalize the business environment is also the support of projects in public-private partnerships.

Analysis

Many countries use Incentive tools, but they are not always sufficient - example being Czech Republic. Penalization tools are not used in the Czech Republic (perhaps because of the communist past and the aversion to penalizations in general), which also leads to an unfavorable situation compared for example to neighboring Germany. Generally it is difficult to significantly strengthen the incentive tool in different countries due to their financial limitations, but it is possible to introduce and strengthen the Penalization tools (such as those forcing passive owners to act and those disadvantaging the greenfields development) following the example of countries like Germany. Implementing these Penalization tools is done using the Legislative tools and therefore takes a long time, but they can really be a very powerful instrument. In the case of Incentive tools, they could be introduced much easier, as it can be done (in the most basic form) at any time only by redirecting the financial support (tools like tax reliefs are more complicated and again need to be introduced through Legislative tools). In any case, these tools have to be strongly linked to Strategic tools to clearly define what and how is supported and penalized. Official state support and emphasis on PPP projects is a necessity, of course, and should be a standard.

CONSTRUCTION TOOLS

They ensure that the demands of the municipality or the state are met using construction of transport and technical infrastructure as an instrument. In general, ownership of the site will be acquired first (which can be a very long process, therefore, it is necessary to have a long-term concrete vision and plan for the area), then it will be divided into parcels and then the roads and all other infrastructure will be built. The resulting plots with finished infrastructure are then usually sold to prospective investors or developers who carry out their projects. The advantage of this approach is the firm control over the

resulting form of the area (since the street and, to a certain extent, the urban structure is already set, as well as the key public spaces) and, ideally, the financial gain.

Analysis

Effective tools that can be very easily utilized in different countries (and cities). They require a certain level of expertise, ability, knowledge and even courage of the people involved - but it leads to a firm control over the outcome. Construction tools often require a fairly large investments and usually long-term commitment (in the case of brownfields it is often the case that the whole site has more than one owner, which makes the process of land and building acquisition significantly slower). For those reasons these tools are still somewhat rarely used in countries like Czech Republic. The advantage of these tools, however, is their ability to be used immediately (using Legislative tools is not necessary) and the fact that they can generate income. With increasing official support for PPP projects, it can be expected that the share of these tools in the successful revitalization and rehabilitation of brownfields is going to be substantially increased in every country.

ORGANIZATION TOOLS

These tools coordinate the partial views of different bodies, bring together experts in the given field, act as an advisor to both public and private sector, aim to achieve changes in the legislation helping brownfield redevelopment projects and ensure the feasibility of projects and sufficient sources of funding, including EU funds. A good model is the English institutional model, which acts as a unified and interconnected unit (the Homes and Communities Agency).

Analysis

Time and effort consuming tools that are worth the investment in the long run though. Necessary to utilize because the fragmentation of the problem can be easily proven deadly. Those tools can be used by different countries very well, they just require building up fairly large knowledge and skill base in competent personal. All those information are transferable though and in the ideal situation it is good practice to invite experts and professionals from other countries that have experience dealing with brownfield revitalization and rehabilitation, which could offer help of a tremendous value.

INFORMATION TOOLS

Mostly take form of a unified nationwide brownfield database which is crucial for enabling the easy search for land, either for the investment businesses, or for the municipality projects. This database should be regularly updated to help process a comprehensive analysis of the situation, work out strategies, and then monitor them. It is essential that this database is up-to-date and that it contains the maximum known relevant data.

Analysis

Essential tools for convenient function of many other tools. Without a good database it is very hard not only to look for new investment opportunities, but also to plan, evaluate and analyze the data and then act accordingly to the findings. The lack of information of the state of brownfields means it can´t be easily assessed what is the situation and if other tools were effective. Those tools are fairly easily implemented (with the exception of mandatory data updates which would have to go through Legislative tools) but it should be noted that countries and cities usually already have some databases, the aim is then to unite and unify them. The ideal situation would be at least EU-wide database unification so the data can be compared between countries, which would mean that their current state and then their effectiveness of revitalization and rehabilitation of brownfields could be studies and further analyzed.

EDUCATION TOOLS

Their aim is to increase the level of knowledge and skills in competent bodies and raise public awareness of the issues. These tools can take form of for example comprehensive educational system of lectures, conferences, courses and seminars in cooperation with experts and specialized educational institutions. They include training projects and training within public administration institutions and universities. This tool also includes the participatory process of the public.

Analysis

Strong tools with big influence, especially over the public. Using them has a lot of advantages which stem from the already mentioned creation of a relationship between the public and the project. The public feels like they are more in control of what happens in the heir city, in their neighborhood. This protects the project in more than one way, for example it ensures the continuity of the project – if it has been already published somewhere, explained and people learnt about it and took part in it, then the public will not as easily accept big changes in the project, for example like when new politician arrives and wants to scrap it or when developer speculates and makes the development denser, higher and with less public spaces then promised. The informed public serve then as some sort of an insurance that can be surprisingly influential. The big advantage of those tools that they can be used anywhere instantly, even by the smallest entities (like towns) and with relatively negligible costs.

Figure 2: Participation planning. Photo by Benoit Colin/EMBARQ

CONTRACTUAL TOOLS

Generally, a good land-use planning agreement between the local planning authority and the investor, which includes transparent ownership and possible repurchases and land exchanges, unambiguous terms, rights and the obligations of all the partners involved, such as the level of decontamination of the site and the solution in the event that another unrecognized burden arises during the construction.

Analysis

As the example of Germany shows, these tools make it possible to be rather creative in tackling the issue of brownfield revitalization and rehabilitation. They are relatively flexible and can therefore be quite easily used in any country (although in their more complex forms they may need to be supported by other tools like Legislative, Economic and Spatial planning ones).

HERITAGE TOOLS

One of the possibilities is to declare particular building or site a cultural monument. Monument protection can have many forms like preservation, restoration, reconstruction, conservation. Cultural heritage programs operate both nationally and internationally. The advantage is the protection against insensitive interventions or demolition, the disadvantage is a certain limitation (but certainly not prohibition) of subsequent conversion and reuse.

Analysis

Various countries have their own ways of cultural heritage protection and support, so those tools can be used fairly easily everywhere, the downside is that Heritage tools have more of a protecting character and they typically don´t lead to creating, motivating redevelopment. Additionally it is necessary to fight a certain stigma amongst developers of declaring building or site a cultural monument where the developers sometimes have a rather negative attitude towards this (although not very warranted). Moreover, the cultural heritage protection of brownfields is in some countries still relatively underdeveloped as the industrial heritage is only slowly being recognized as a valuable and worth protecting.

RATING TOOLS

Rating tools used in evaluation and decision-making can be an important control criterion in terms of sustainable development when assessing the possibilities of investments in certain locations and also a powerful tool for supporting the brownfield redevelopment instead of greenfield one.

Analysis

Those tools play mainly the supporting role. They are fairly easy to use and implement in different countries, but they can be ultimately rather weak unless some support of penalization or support is connected to them (then the process will be complicated and will have to use Legislative and also Economic tools). The downside is the danger of private certification systems which can be used as a marketing tool and have no real value for brownfield redevelopment whatsoever. In this respect it makes more sense to support and use systems created by a country (or by the EU) which will be more in tune with the vision of sustainable development.

CONCLUSIONS

The best results are generally achieved by the simultaneous (or consecutive) use of as many tools as possible, which work together to achieve the same goal and thus support each other. This way there is never too much reliance on one dominant tool, which can be – and often is - circumvented, which may fail or which may not be strong enough in a particular case. By using multiple tools, it is then possible to compensate for the "failure" of one tool by increasing the weight of the other tools. This, of course, requires a experienced and cooperative team, which is also able and willing to follow the long-term vision and work on its gradual fulfillment. It should be noted that many of the tools have to be used together where one precedes the other and enables its function (mostly Strategic and Legislative serve as such cornerstones for the others). It is also important to emphasize the need for an active approach of the state and the municipalities because without a conscious effort and long-term vision those tools can´t be fully utilized. Generally speaking the tools work best when thoughtfully combined and when they form a self-supporting complex system that is then capable of dealing very effectively with brownfield revitalization and rehabilitation. Some of the tools (especially the Economic and Legislative ones) are country-specific and cannot be that easily implemented, however some effective tools (for example Strategic, Organization, Education and especially Information tools) don´t require any legislative background or big financial investment and can be therefore easily used by any country to help their brownfield revitalization and rehabilitation process.

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PLANNING ANALYTICAL MATERIALS – INSTRUMENT FOR ANALYZING STATE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

Starting in 2007, traditional surveys and analyses for preparation of spatial plans got new legal regulation by the Building Act in Czech Republic. Their contents and forms are standardised by this act and related directives. These materials are carried out and regularly updated by the spatial planning officers at three levels – national, regional and local. At the beginning, there were discussions about this new instrument of spatial planning and its usefulness but practice clearly confirmed rightness of this step, which is confirmed in the new Building Act (adopted in 2021). These documents allow us to monitor and evaluate the state and development of territory for needs of spatial planning.

KEY WORDS: spatial planning, analytical materials, state and development of territory

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Tradiční průzkumy a analýzy pro zpracování územních plánů dostaly od roku 2007 v ČR novou právní úpravu v Stavebním zákonu. Jejich obsah a forma jsou zákonem a souvisejícími směrnicemi standardizovány. Územně plánovací dokumentacizpracovávají a pravidelně aktualizují pracovníci územního plánování na třech úrovních – státní, krajské a místní. Zpočátku standardizacepodkladů pro územní plánování vyvolávala diskuze, ale praxe jednoznačně potvrdila správnost tohoto kroku, což potvrzuje i nový Stavební zákon (přijat v roce 2021). Standardizované dokumenty nám umožňují sledovat a vyhodnocovat stav a vývoj území pro potřeby územního plánování.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: územní plánování, analytické materiály, stav a vývoj území

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

2007-től Csehországban az építési törvény újra szabályozta a területtervezési tervek készítéséhez kapcsolódó hagyományos felméréseket és elemzéseket. Tartalmukat és formájukat ez a törvény és a kapcsolódó irányelvek szabványosítják. Ezeket az anyagokat három szinten – országos, regionális és helyi – a területtervezésért felelős hivatalnokok készítik és frissítik rendszeresen. Kezdetben vita folyt az új területrendezési eszközről és annak hasznosságáról, de a gyakorlat egyértelműen megerősítette a lépés helyességét, amit az új (2021-ben elfogadott) építési törvény is megerősít. Ezek a dokumentumok lehetővé teszik a terület állapotának és fejlődésének nyomon követését és értékelését a területrendezési igények szempontjából.

KULCSSZAVAK: területrendezés, elemző anyagok, a terület állapota és fejlődése

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Od 2007 roku tradycyjne pomiary i analizy wykorzystywane do sporządzania planów zagospodarowania przestrzennego uzyskały umocowanie w ustawie Prawo budowlane w Republice Czeskiej. Ich treść i formy

są ujednolicone przez tę ustawę i związane z nią dyrektywy. Materiały te są opracowywane i regularnie aktualizowane przez urzędników ds. planowania przestrzennego na trzech poziomach – krajowym, regionalnym i lokalnym. Na początku dyskutowano o tym nowym instrumencie planowania przestrzennego i jego użyteczności, ale praktyka jednoznacznie potwierdza słuszność jego wprowadzenia, co potwierdza z kolei nowa ustawa Prawo budowlane przyjęta w 2021 r. Dokumenty te pozwalają na monitorowanie i ocenę stanu i zagospodarowaniu terenu na potrzeby planowania przestrzennego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: planowanie przestrzenne, materiały analityczne, stan i zagospodarowanie terenu

(SK)   ABSTRAKT
Od roku 2007 dostali tradičné prieskumy a analýzy pre prípravu územných plánov v Českej republike novú právnu úpravu v podobe nového stavebného zákona. Ich obsah a formy sú štandardizované týmto zákonom a súvisiacimi smernicami. Tieto materiály vykonávajú a pravidelne aktualizujú pracovníci územného plánovania na troch úrovniach – národnej, regionálnej a miestnej. Na začiatku sa viedli diskusie o tomto novom nástroji územného plánovania a jeho užitočnosti, no prax jednoznačne potvrdila správnosť tohto kroku, čo potvrdzuje aj nový stavebný zákon (prijatý v roku 2021). Tieto dokumenty umožňujú sledovať a vyhodnocovať stav a vývoj územia pre potreby územného plánovania.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: územné plánovanie, analytické materiály, stav a rozvoj územia

● ●

INTRODUCTION

Spatial planning involves a wide range of activities with one main goal, which is to achieve society-wide agreement on the future organization of the environment using spatial plans. The basic framework of spatial planning is set out by the Building Act and its decrees in the Czech Republic. Necessary prerequisite for the elaboration of spatial plans is quality data on the current state of the territory, its development, problems and intentions for its changes. bUntil 2007, designers at the local level had to obtain all the information from wide range of data providers as a part of the process so-called "Surveys and analyses". These preparatory works often accounted for a significant part of costs related to the acquisition of spatial plan, obtained data became obsolete during the works, as these were no longer systematically updated. Requirements for modification resulting from work with outdated data made the acquisition of spatial plans more expensive. The related costs were covered by individual municipalities although most of these data were public administration data. Demand on uniform collecting and continuous updating of this data constituted new instrument of spatial planning "Planning analytical materials" in connection with the new Building Act in 2007[4] (Act No. 183/2006 Coll.).

Planning analytical materials are regularly updated documents that should provide quality data on the state and development of the area and identify its problems in coverage for the entire country (on the state / regional / local level). It serves for the designing and evaluating spatial planning documentation. They also have a significant use in subsequent decision-making as a professional background. Finally, yet importantly, they also represent an important output for the professional and lay public.

CONTENT OF PLANNING ANALYTICAL MATERIALS

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[4] The Czech Republic approved a new Building Act in 2021 (Act No. 283/2021 Coll.), Planning analytical materials are also part of this new Act, some legislative differences, especially in the field of sharing data, are described below in the text, but concept as a whole remained the same.

Number of documents:

205 local level (municipalites with extended powers)

14 regional level

1 state level

Figure 1: Procurement of Planning analytical materials is made on three levels – national / regional / local (military areas have got they own materials under the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence). Source: elaborated by authors

The general content of these documents is determined directly by the Building Act, and this content is regulated in more detail in the implementing decree. Planning analytical materials identify the values of the area, limitation of changes due to protection of public priorities, intentions to make changes, evaluate sustainable development, and define problems to be solved in the planning documentation. The basic structure of these documents is determined uniformly, they consist of three basic parts:

- database of monitored phenomena,
- basis for the analysis of area sustainable development,
- analysis of area sustainable development.

Database of planning analytical materials

The continuously updated database is procured by appropriate procurer (spatial planning official) using the survey of the territory and data on the area from providers (public administration authorities and owners of the transport and technical infrastructure). The decree contains a list of monitored database phenomena (more than 100 at local level), but currently there are no uniform requirements for the transmitted data and also providers have got databases in different data models which causes challenges in sharing the data. In connection with the implementation of the new Building Act, the Ministry of Regional Development is preparing uniform requirements for data transmission. At the same time, a central database should be created as a part of the new central information system of spatial planning (National Geoportal of Spatial Planning). The Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre prepares together with other public administration authorities' consolidation of data on public law restrictions in the central register (Register of Territorial identification, Addresses and Real estate). In the future, the Ministry of Regional Development expects to use this register for the needs of the central database of planning analytical materials. In the area of transport and technical infrastructure, digital technical maps of regions are currently being created. This project will also help to consolidate the data from providers (central database will be connected to digital technical maps), which will allow to focus more on the survey of the territory and follow-up analytical activities.

Basis for the analysis of area sustainable development

This part consists of a text and a graphic part. Text is divided into 2 main parts. First part is identification and evaluation of the state and development of the territory, its values and limits, broken down into 13 chapters (wider area relations, spatial and functional arrangement of territory, settlement structure, sociodemographic conditions and housing, nature and landscape, water regime and geology, agriculture and forest land, public services and public spaces, transport and technical infrastructure,

economic conditions, recreation and tourism, security and protection of inhabitants). Second part is identification and evaluation of intentions to make changes in the area. Graphic part contains three plans, which show values, limits and intentions for changes in the area.
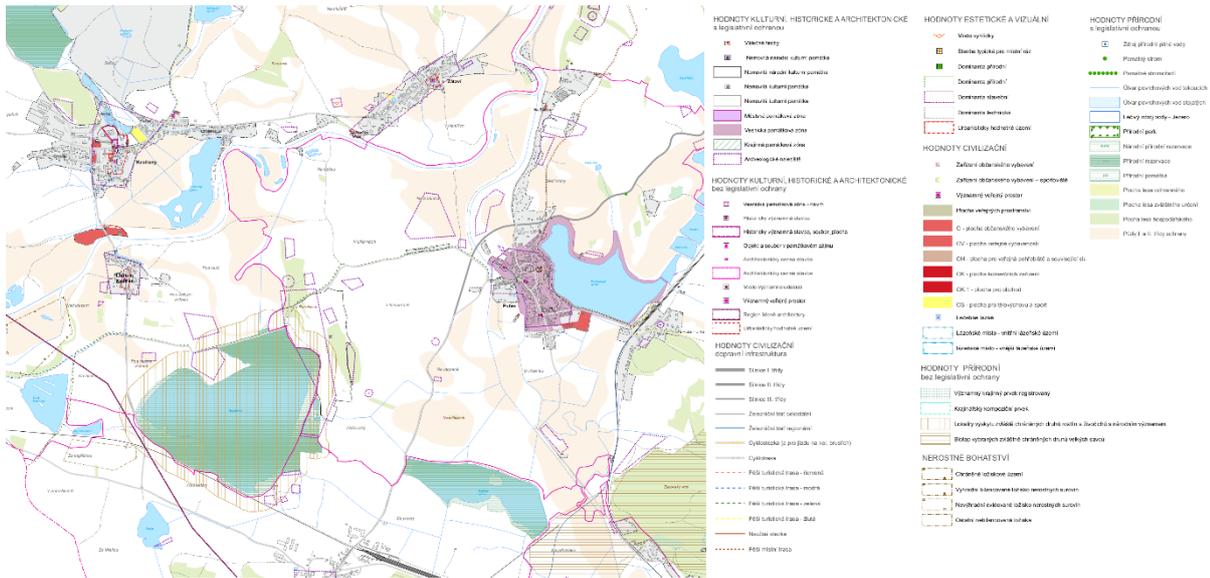
Figure 2. Planning analytical materials at local level (Drawing of values). Source: Spatial planning authority Písek, 2020
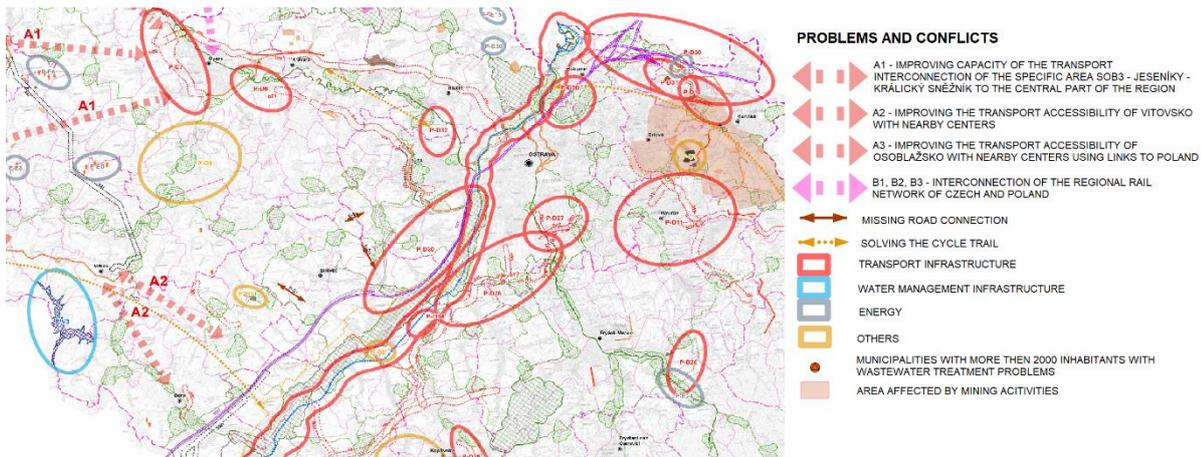
Figure 3: Planning analytical materials at regional level (Drawing of problems). Source: Regional Office of the Moravian-Silesian region 2021

Analysis of area sustainable development

This analysis includes a text part - evaluation of positives and negatives (described in the 13 chapters mentioned above) and evaluation of conditions and potentials of three pillars of sustainable development (environment, economic development and cohesion of the community). The main output is identification of problems to be solved in spatial planning documents, which is also documented in the graphic part - plan of problems.

Whole material can be complemented by other drawings, diagrams, tables, graphs or cartograms.

POSSIBLE CONFLICTS OF TRANSPORT WITH NATURE AND LANDSCAPE PROTECTION LIMITS

LEGEND
- higway corridor (I. class)
- higway corridor (II. class)
- 1st class road
- highway - reserve
- 1st class road - reserve
- national railway
- high speed railway line - reserve
- corridor for waterway
- corridor for waterway - reserve
- area for river port
- area for international airport
- area for transport terminal
- national park
- protected landscape area
- natural park
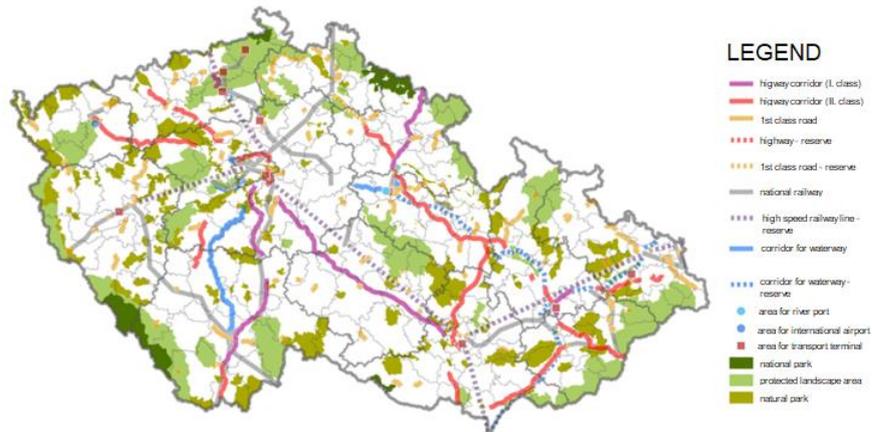
Figure 4: Planning analytical materials at national level (Analysis of possible conflicts).Source: Institute for Spatial Development, 2020

ACQUISITION PROCEDURE

The procurer shall make a full update of the document every four years. Integral part of this updating is a mandatory discussion with municipal and regional authorities. Document is discussed with all municipalities in the relevant administrative district within the scope of determining problems to be solved in spatial plans on the local level. This discussion is very important, because it brings the perspective of those who live in the territory and influences its further direction.

Planning analytical materials are obligatorily published on the websites of procurers, but data from the databases can be used only for the planning activities including activity of the authors of the planning documentation and the planning study. The Ministry of Regional Development plans to provide the maximum amount of data as open data in the future, but with respect to specifics of some data (especially as regards data for the needs of defence and security which can´t be public).

Planning analytical materials serve not only for creating spatial plans, but also for construction offices and investors in follow-up construction activities. However, they have irreplaceable role to play in the continuous monitoring of the application of spatial planning documentation and the assessment of whether the conditions under which it was issued have changed, which means that it needs to be updated.

CONCLUSION

Our world is becoming more and more interconnected. Individual territories (villages, cities, regions) are not isolated islands; they create an increasingly interconnected system of settlement structure. Therefore, it is necessary to solve identified defects, conflicts and problems in the context of whole territory to achieve the objective of spatial planning – sustainable development of the area, consisting of balanced relationship of conditions for the favourable environment, for economic development and for cohesion of the community of inhabitants. Planning analytical materials help to evaluate whether and how we are successful. They give essential continuously updated overview of the state and development of our land.

LITERATURE

Act No. 183/2006 Coll., on spatial planning and building regulations (Building Act), as amended

Act No. 283/2021 Coll., Building Act

Decree No. 500/2006 Coll., on planning analytical materials, spatial planning documentation and the method of recording spatial planning activities, as amended

The mental map of the rapidly changing landscape of urban planning in Hungary since 1989

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(ENG)   ABSTRACT

Hungary has undergone a significant change in planning practice in the last three decades. During this period there have been eight planning instruments introduced into the urban planning practice. Since 1989 the system has been massively changing allowing new planning paradigms to rise. While the first wave of changes in 1997 can be referred to Modernism, the second in 2012 is more a post-modernist experiment that has laid down the foundations of the Strategic Planning paradigm. The change of paradigms is visible in various facets of planning. Throughout the whole period a gap between theory and practice can be observed. This can be eliminated by interactive interplay of re-established connection of theory and practice, based on the re-establishment of theory and methodology.

KEY WORDS: planning practice, change of planning paradigm, re-established connection, theory and practice, theory and methodology

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Maďarsko prošlo v posledních třech desetiletích významnou změnou v plánovací praxi. Od roku 1989 se systém masivně změnil, bylo zavedeno osm plánovacích nástrojů, což umožnilo vznik nových plánovacích paradigmat. Zatímco první vlnu změn v roce 1997 lze spojit s modernismem, druhá v roce 2012 je spíše postmodernistickým experimentem, který položil základy strategického plánování. Změna přístupu je viditelná v různých aspektech plánování. V průběhu celého období lze pozorovat propast mezi teorií a praxí. To lze eliminovat interaktivní souhrou znovunastoleného propojení teorie a praxe, založeného na propojení teorie a metodologie.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: plánovací praxe, změna plánovacího paradigmatu, znovunastolené spojení, teorie a praxe, teorie a metodologie

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A tervezési gyakorlat jelentős változáson ment keresztül Magyarországon az elmúlt három évtizedben; nyolc különböző tervezési eszközt vezettek be a várostervezési gyakorlatba. 1989 óta a rendszer jelentős változáson ment keresztül, ami lehetővé tette új tervezési paradigmák megjelenését. Míg az 1997-es változások első hulláma modernizmusként tekinthető, a második, 2012-es inkább egy posztmodern kísérlet, amely lefektette a stratégiai tervezés paradigma alapjait. A paradigmák változása jól láthatóan jelenik meg a tervezés különböző aspektusaiban. Az egész időszak során megfigyelhető egy szakadék az elmélet és a gyakorlat között. Ez kiküszöbölhető az elmélet és a gyakorlat újra létrejött kapcsolatának interaktív kölcsönhatásával, amely az elmélet és a módszertan újrateremtésén alapul.

KULCSSZAVAK: tervezési gyakorlat, tervezési paradigmaváltás, újra létrejött kapcsolat, elmélet és gyakorlat, elmélet és módszertan

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Węgry przeszły znaczącą zmianę w praktyce planowania przestrzennego w ciągu ostatnich trzech dekad. W okresie tym do praktyki urbanistycznej wprowadzono osiem instrumentów planistycznych. Od 1989 r. system ulegał ogromnym zmianom, umożliwiając powstanie nowych paradygmatów planowania. O ile pierwszą falę zmian w 1997 roku można odnieść do modernizmu, o tyle druga, przypadająca na 2012 r., jest raczej postmodernistycznym eksperymentem, który położył podwaliny pod paradygmat planowania strategicznego. Zmiana paradygmatów widoczna jest w różnych aspektach planowania. Przez całe trzydziestolecie można zaobserwować przepaść między teorią a praktyką. Przepaść tę można zniwelować poprzez połączenie teorii i praktyki, oparte na przywróceniu teorii i metodologii.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: praktyka planistyczna, zmiana paradygmatu planowania, przywrócenie połączenia, teoria i praktyka, teoria i metodologia

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Maďarsko prešlo za posledné tri desaťročia výraznou zmenou v plánovacej praxi. Počas tohto obdobia bolo do plánovania zavedených osem plánovacích nástrojov. Od roku 1989 sa systém masívne zmenil, čo umožnilo vznik nových plánovacích paradigiem. Zatiaľ čo prvú vlnu zmien v roku 1997 možno označiť za modernizmus, druhá v roku 2012 je skôr postmodernistickým experimentom, ktorý položil základy paradigmy strategického plánovania. Zmena paradigiem je viditeľná v rôznych aspektoch plánovania. Počas celého obdobia možno pozorovať priepasť medzi teóriou a praxou. To sa dá eliminovať interaktívnou súhrou znovunastoleného prepojenia teórie a praxe, založenej na znovunastolení teórie a metodológie.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: plánovacia prax, zmena plánovacej paradigmy, znovu nadviazané spojenie, teória a prax, teória a metodológia

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BEYOND POST-MODERN

POST-MODERN

MODERNISM

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY
PUBLIC PARTICIAPTION

314/2012. (XI. 8.) state decree on the urban develeopment vision,
integrated development strategy and the urban planning institutions,
as well as the peculiar legal institutions that supports them *(42 amendments)*

CITY CHARACTER BOOKLET
CITYSCAPE REGULATIONS

104/2017. (IV. 28.) state decree on the preservation of cityscape
(9 amendments)

DEVELOPMENT VISION
CONFIGURATION PLAN
ZONING PLAN
MASTERPLAN

1997. LXXVIII. act on the preservation and development of the built environment *(74 amendments)*
253/1997. (XII. 20.) state decree on the urban planning and architectural requirements *(35 amendments)*

1995   2000   2005   2010   2015   2020   2025   2030   2035   2040

1. *diagram | The mental map of planning measures over the past three decades*

Setting the scene: The rapidly changing institutional context of planning

The institutional context of planning has been in a massive transformation over the past three decades. In three "waves" of measures, altogether eight planning instrument has been introduced into the urban planning practice of Hungary. The first on in 1997, laid down the foundations of the normative planning instruments, aiming to open up the institutional framework of planning to the private and market-led developments. The second one in 2012 introduced a strategic toolkit and a participatory framework that aspired to integrate the different stakeholders into the process of development. And the last one, five years later, aimed to respond to the dissolving cityscapes by an experimental toolkit that provided a point of departure to qualitative decisions in development. It is however a telling fact, that since 1997 the legal

environment of planning has been amended more than hundred times. This pace of change and the ever more complex planning system however, may result in a set of symptoms:

Fragmentation | If the framework of planning becomes fragmented, then it is a recurring challenge to create and maintain coherence among the diversity of planning instruments, created in different times by different planners.

Accessibility | While the system of planning instruments becomes ever more sophisticated, it can be less "user-friendly" and less accessible for the actors of the public and private sector. It has at least two unfortunate consequence:

Democratic deficit | Against the measures that aims to ensure participation in planning, the planning system itself retain its modernist "scientific attitude" discouraging the actors of development to engage in planning decisions, which in turn, raises legitimacy issues regarding the content of plans.

Losing control | If planning processes fail to engage actors then development decisions occur outside the formal framework of planning. The planning institutions this way have less and less control over reality.

Losing focus | Eventually, the overall development goals of a city might seem to dissolve among the numerous planning instruments.

Ineffectiveness | If the aim of development remains blurry and the planning process fails to mobilize the actors of development, then the planning endeavor cannot effectively achieve its initial goal.

Usability | The planning system is designed to respond the scientific demands of urbanism rather than the "end-user of the plan". Thus urban plans does not seem to prove handy in while decision makers, investors and citizens are making their development decisions and choices.

Transitional planning culture | The massive pace of transition results in a diverse planning culture with unreliable qualities regarding its outcomes.

Endless change | Without an understanding of the reasons of this long term legal transition and the direction where it leads to, this process remain endless, and the transition itself becomes the norm.

Against the assumption of the vast majority of urban planners in Hungary, I believe that these symptoms are the natural side effect of an evolution. I believe that until the very foundations of the planning system are not set, the institutional framework planning should not be either. I also believe however, that if we better understand the context of these transformations we can have a better response.

industrial revolution — informational revolution

MODERNISM	POST-MODERN	COLLECTIVE LEARNING
THE KEY ACTOR		
STATE DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT	MARKET DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT	STATE, MARKET AND CIVIL SOCIETY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT
THE KEY INSTRUMENT		
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY	LIVING LAB
THE CLIENT OF DEVELOPMENT		
WORKING CLASS	CONSUMER	CREATIVE CLASS
THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF PLANNING		
RATIONALISATION	WELL BEING	COLLECTIVE LEARNING
INTELLECTUAL INSTRUMENT		
RATIONALITY / IDEOLOGY	EMPIRICISM	EXPERIMENTATION
PLANNING PARADIGM		
RATIONAL COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING	STRATEGIC PLANNING URBAN MANAGEMENT	KNOWLEDGE GOVERNANCE
TOOLS OF PLANNING		
NORMATIVE PLANNING INSTRUMENTS: ZONING PLAN MASTERPLAN	TRANSFORMATIVE PLANNING INSTURMENTS: STRATEGY, ACTION PLAN	NORMATIVE AND TRANSFORMATIVE PLANNING INSTRUMENTS ORGANISED INTO A KNOWLEDGE ACCUMULATION PROCESS

1950   1990   2020   2090

2. diagram | The mental map of planning paradigms

Recreating coherence between the conflicting paradigms within the planning system

From a theoretical perspective this pace of change is not surprising, for the democratic transition - on which Hungary embarked on in 1989 along with its fellow Central European countries - has been massively changing the very foundation of planning giving rise to new planning paradigms. While the first wave of changes in 1997 can mostly be considered as an updated version of the Rational Comprehensive planning paradigm of Modernism, the second in 2012 is more a Post-modernist experiment that has laid down the foundations of the Strategic Planning paradigm. This paradigmatic change can be traced in all aspects of planning.

The first wave of institutional changes in 1997 retained the dominance of the state in development, through the decentralised framework of local governance. The public administration remained the key instrument of development assuming planning as a rationalisation process that aims to redistribute resources equally among "working class" of the city. In line with this framework, plans must be normative - based on the socio-political conception of institutions – and built around the methodology of Rational Comprehensive Planning. In this context, the client of planning is the subject of development.

The new set of planning instruments in 2012 however, implicitly undermined almost all of these presumptions, aiming to respond to the demands of the ever more active citizens due to the democratic transition. These set of planning tools are not built around social institutions, rather the concept collective action, and the methodology of strategic planning[5]. In this paradigm, the economic and social actors are not seen as partners rather than subjects of development. The aim of development is not the equal redistribution of material goods rather to provide the (inter)subjective conditions for the well being citizens. This presumably abstract difference in the theoretical foundations of these different bunch of planning instruments resulted in a set of challenges in the planning community and the culture of planning practice. Our present is still dominated by the shift of approach from modernism to post-modernism and its conflict is clearly visible in another set of symptoms:

I. *Divide in planning practice* | Applying planning instruments of different paradigms require different mindsets, thus we should not be surprised to see that planning professionals with the traditional (modernist) planning education background feel more comfortable with the modernist planning toolkit and have less skills to apply strategies.

II. *Divided planning community* | Since traditional urban planners abandoned the strategic toolkit, a new complementary planning community emerged around the strategic planning tasks, with a diversity of backgrounds. Not much surprisingly the public representation of these professionals is less effective than their traditional counterpart.

III. *Divided framework of planning* | Since the evolution of the planning system crossed paradigmatic lines, we cannot expect a coherent framework of planning unless we develop a paradigm that integrates them into each other.

IV. *Transitional foundations of planning* | As long as the foundations of planning are constantly changing, we cannot expect the institutional framework of planning to rest. The only chance that we have is to make the process of institutionalisation as effective as possible, to ensure that the system of planning is constantly adapted to the dynamically changing context.

I believe that against the backdrop of the ongoing information revolution a new paradigm is raising that in a way allow us to see the dichotomy between modernism and the post-modern in an integral way. I believe that inspired by the theory of structuration[6] and the growing literature on knowledge governance we may find a common ground between these paradigms. Giddens argues that (collective strategic)[7] action and the process of institutionalisation goes hand-in-hand. In this light planning might be seen as a collective and interactive learning process between the different levels and spheres of governance/planning. If it is true, than key instrument of planning is the development community itself and planning is a process of experimentation in a living lab. This theoretical framework allows us to see all the planning instruments as a coherent framework of planning.

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[5]   Peter Hall calls this as a "Political turn" in his seminal book but for methodological reasons I use the term "strategic paradigm" Hall, Peter (17 April 2014) *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*. John Wiley & Sons.

[6]   Anthony Giddens (1986) The Constitution of Society; Polity Press

[7]   I use Caren Levy's term here altering a bit Giddens' argument

PLANNING THEORY

The theoretical framework of what is the scope and goal of planning, how the role of the planner and its partnes perceived and what tools they have to achieve their goals...

PLANNING INSTITUTIONS

Planning institutions define the way the tools and processes of planning are translated into the institutions of society and governance in order to mobilise collective resources and integrate planning into the framework of governance.

METHODOLOGY

Methodology defines how these planning institutions should be used in planning practice. It provides a set of skills and practical instructions that ensures that planning institutions are used correctly.

PLANNING PRACTICE

Planning practice is how planning professionals and everyone else involved in the planning endeavour is using the institutional framework of planning.

How it works in Hungary

An interactive realationship between the levels of institutionalisation

3. diagram | The process how planning paradigms are institutionalisationalised.

Rebuilding the bridge between theory and practice

Due to the modernist attitude of the urban planning community, focus their attention is on the institutional framework of planning rather than the process of institutionalisation[8], that is, the steps and processes by which theory is translated into practice. Theory defines the very framework of planning: its scope and goal, how the role of the planner and its partners are perceived, what tools do they have to achieve their goals etc. Planning institutions in turn define the way the tools and processes of planning are translated into the institutions of society and governance in order to mobilise collective resources and integrate planning into the framework of governance. While methodology defines how these institutions should be used in practice, in order to ensure a coherent practice of planning.

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[8]   Caren Levy (1996) The process of institutionalising gender in policy and planning: The web of institutionalisation; Working Paper 74. University College London, UK

It is important to note here, that the closer we get to practice the easier it is to adapt the system of planning to the ever changing context of reality. While theory can remain intact for half a century, and an institutional framework for decades, different methodological solutions can adapt within years. The more interactive the relationship between these levels of institutionalisation it is, the more coherent the system of planning is and the easier it can adapt to the ever changing context of planning.

In Hungary however the process of institutionalisation fails in multiple ways:

1. *Lack of theoretical foundations* | Against the seminal work András Faludi had done on *rational comprehensive planning*, or László Huszár on *strategic planning*, planning theory is simply missing from the Hungarian planning education and research. For this reason the institutional framework of planning is generally not grounded in theoretical terms and the paradigmatic conflict between the normative and strategic (transformative) planning instruments is not apparent, thus its far reaching consequences persists.

2. *Missing domain of methodology* | Not only the theoretical foundations of planning institutions are missing, but the methodological domain as well, which could define how planning instruments should have been applied in practice. In this light, it is not much of a surprise, that the application of planning instruments may vary significantly.

3. *Too much pressure on the institutional framework* | This two missing domains, put too much pressure on the institutional framework of planning. Planning institutions tends overlap with theory and methodology, but since they cannot replace them, their interpretation and application remains fuzzy. Moreover, these additional roles make the institutional framework of planning much more exposed to changes that could have been resolved otherwise by new methodological solutions.

In this light, it seems to be obvious that in this transitional context it is a failure to focus on the institutional framework of planning, for the key question is the process by which it adapts to the conditions of the ever changing context! It is the process of institutionalisation that matters the most and its failure will cause systemic failures in the adaptation. Rebuilding the bridge between theory and practice requires re-establishing the missing domains of theory and methodology, and developing an interactive relationship between the four domains.

Conclusions and suggestions

I believe the previous chapters explain the symptoms of the Hungarian planning system and turn our attention from the institutional framework of planning to the missing domains and the process of institutionalisation. In order to have a coherent and adaptive and at the same time stable planning system that delivers adequate and effective solutions to our urban challenges we need to

I. Re-establishing the theoretical foundations of planning and develop a theoretical framework that integrates the normative and strategic (transformative) planning instruments into one coherent framework. To do so, we need to re-establish the field of planning theory in education and research.

II. On this theoretical base, we can define a stable institutional framework for planning.

III. We have to develop a methodological domain in order to ensure a coherent culture of planning practice and the adaptability of the planning system.

HOW DOES THE CREATIVE ECONOMY SHAPE THE USE OF SPACE?

QUESTIONS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS ABOUT THE URBAN SCAPE AND ITS CHANGES IN THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

The cities of the Visegrad countries have been significantly transformed and renewed in the last two decades. As a member of the European economic community, it is connected by many threads to Western European cities, but its urban development is somewhat different from theirs. The change in the economy has also brought changes in the habits of the inhabitants, the use of space by the residentials has changed, and they make better use of urban spaces. At the same time, many questions and challenges arise before the further steps of urban development. The support of long-term urban planning is necessary for the development of answers, for the sustainable and liveable development of cities, but it is necessary to understand the changes and renew the methods.

KEY WORDS: cities, transformation, creative industry, urban space

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Města zemí Visegrádu se v posledních dvou desetiletích výrazně proměnila a obnovila. Jako člen evropského hospodářského společenství je mnoha vlákny spojen se západoevropskými městy, ale jeho urbanistický vývoj je poněkud odlišný od jejich. Změna ekonomiky přinesla i změny ve zvycích obyvatel, změnilo se využívání prostoru obyvateli a lépe využívají městský prostor. Před dalšími kroky městského rozvoje přitom vyvstává mnoho otázek a výzev. Podpora dlouhodobého urbanismu je nezbytná pro rozvoj odpovědí, pro udržitelný a obyvatelný rozvoj měst, ale je nutné pochopit změny a obnovit metody.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: města, transformace, kreativní průmysl, městský prostor

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A Visegrádi országok városai az utóbbi két évtizedben jelentős mértékben alakultak át, újultak meg. Az európai gazdasági közösség tagjaiként számos szállal kötődnek a nyugat-európai városokhoz, a városfejlődésük azonban némileg eltér azokétól. A gazdaság változása a lakossági szokásokban is változást hozott, átalakult a lakosság térhasználata, jobban kihasználja a városi tereket. Ugyanakkor számos kérdés, kihívás merül fel a városfejlesztések további lépései előtt. A hosszú távú várostervezés hozzájárulhat a válaszok kidolgozásához, a városok fenntartható, élhető fejlesztéséhez, azonban ehhez a változások megértése, a tervezési módszerek megújítása szükséges.

KULCSSZAVAK: városok, átalakulás, kreatív ipar, városi tér

(PL) ABSTRAKT

W ciągu ostatnich dwóch dekad, miasta państw wyszehradzkich uległy znacznym zmianom. Należąc do europejskiej wspólnoty gospodarczej,są one połączone z miastami zachodnioeuropejskimi, ale ichukład urbanistyczny odbiega od trajektorii ich rozwoju. Akcentowana zmiana przynosi również przeobrażenia w przyzwyczajeniach mieszkańców, zmienia się bowiem wykorzystanie przestrzeni przez osiedla. Jednocześnie nadal pojawia się wiele pytań i wiele wyzwań. Wsparcie długofalowego planowania urbanistycznego jest konieczne dla wypracowania odpowiedzidla zrównoważonego i przyjaznego do życia rozwoju miast, konieczne jest bowiem zrozumienie zmian i odnowienie metod.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: miasta, transformacja, przemysł kreatywny, przestrzeń miejska

(SK) ABSTRAKT

Mestá krajín Vyšehradusa v posledných dvoch desaťročiach výrazne transformovali a obnovili. Ako členovia Európskeho hospodárskeho spoločenstva sú spojené mnohými vláknami so západoeurópskymi mestami, ale ich rozvoj sa od nich trochu líši. Zmena v ekonomike priniesla aj zmeny v návykoch obyvateľov, využitie priestoru obyvateľmi sa zmenilo a lepšie využívajú mestské priestory. Zároveň sa pred ďalšími krokmi rozvoja miest objaví veľa otázok a výziev. Podpora dlhodobého mestského plánovania je potrebná na rozvoj reakcií pre trvalo udržateľný a obývateľný rozvoj miest, ale je potrebné porozumieť aj zmenám a obnoviť metódy rozvoja.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: Mestá, transformácia, kreatívny priemysel, mestský priestor

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THE TRANSFORMING ECONOMY OF CITIES: VARIOUS WAYS VIA CREATIVE INDUSTRY AND (RE)INDUSTRIALISATION

In recent decades, the economies of the Visegrad countries have been characterized by continuous transformation, in which restructuring plays a prominent role. However, significant reorganization can also be observed in industrial areas, especially as part of the response to global processes. Economic change also has many social aspects, which are closely related to the development of cities and the formation of the urban texture.

Before the regimes changed, the Visegrad countries were characterized by strong, centrally controlled industrialization, where a large mass of labour worked, rather concentrated. The central controlled urban planning also primarily served industrialization and the provision of the necessary workforce, e.g., by building housing estates. Living communities, entire cities, were formed during these decades, whose daily life took place under new, radically different conditions from the previous ones, so society also had to "work out" its daily routines and customs. However, the controlled urban planning methods related to planned management were less able to take into account local characteristics and set the limits for creative solutions. The decade following the regime change was spent in the search for a way in the countries of the region, which brought with it a change in urban planning practices, as the needs of the customer side also came to the fore with the abolition of the previous frameworks.

	BEFORE 1990	1990-2010	AFTER 2010
Economic aim	Industrialization	Investments, strengthening of the tertiary sector	Local local, mutually reinforcing sectors, network of cities
Economic impact	Mostly one-sided employment, dependence	Restructuring, new industries	Creative economy, highly added value activities
Social impacts	Working class work-based society	Middle class value-based society	„Creative class" knowledge-based society
Urban impact	Industrial and residence districts; automobile-centric city	Rehabilitation of districts, individual investments	Livable, attractive city Soft factors come into view, green areas
Actors	Governance, authorities	Municipalities, investors	Various actors, inhabitants

Figure 1: Determining factors of each design era. Source: edited by the author

The investments and foreign direct investments as capital that started after the turn of the millennium and the accession of the Visegrad countries to the European Union strengthened the processes of the transformation of the economy, where services came to the fore. After the economic crisis of 2008, the countries of the region rose in value, which also means another dynamically growing step of infrastructure investments. Two trends in the economic restructuring of the Visegrad countries are emerging, which have an impact on the structure of cities and, indirectly, on urban planning as well. On the one hand, with the appearance of a large proportion of jobs in the tertiary sector, a larger part of the population works in the field of services, performing jobs with higher added value. The so-called activities belonging to the creative economy can no longer be closely separated from each other, the economic actors are linked by many threads in a coherent ecosystem. Based on the data, by the turn of the millennium, one fifth of the operating enterprises already carry out some kind of creative and knowledge-based activity in the Visegrad countries, while in the larger cities and capitals this proportion accounts for about a quarter of the enterprises: in 2019, 26.6% in Bratislava, 21% in Prague, 6%, 28.8% in Budapest, 29.3% in Warsaw. IT, research and development, legal and financial, as well as cultural and leisure activities are mainly concentrated in the inner areas of cities, where connections, formal-informal meetings and the places that provide them have a big role. one part of the creative activities is more connected to each other, while the other part is closely related to and cooperates with other segments of the industry.

With the establishment of industrial activities, a kind of reindustrialization forms another process of structural transformation, where industrial areas providing space for classic, large-scale activities are formed on the outskirts of cities. As a result of technological development (Industry 4.0, robotization, connected value chains, etc.), these activities pay a lot of attention to local and global issues, such as climate change, social responsibility, a clean and attractive environment, thus contributing to the liveability of cities.

TRANSFORMING URBAN SPACES AND USAGE HABITS

The transformation of the economic structure also significantly transformed the habits and working conditions of the population. The population's role in shaping the contemporary cityscape is more significant with the effects experienced in earlier periods. The demands of the inhabitants are also changing, better living conditions come to the fore, the population inhabits urban spaces and public spaces. Not only are programs organized in these spaces, but the population uses them continuously, they have become

permanent elements of the daily mental map. Urban spaces have become places for spending free time, which strengthens the relationship of the population to the settlement, the local ties of the population. That is why the cultured, attractive environment of public spaces and the existence of infrastructures related to various activities have become a priority for the population. On the other hand, more and more people are concentrated in cities, and the population's need for space is increasing, which in many cases limits the development of an attractive, liveable environment. Urban planning tools, good practices introduced elsewhere, and their application to local specificities can contribute to the management of ongoing processes. With the growth of industrial activities, the number and extent of sites also expands, large sites are still an integral part of cities. Therefore, it is worthwhile to develop long-term strategies in this field, as these industrial estates define the cityscape of their surroundings for decades, contribute to the growth of settlements and the spread of settlements.

Changes in the structure of the economy, the closer connection of residences and workplaces, geographical proximity, and more flexible management of working hours play a role in the transformation of residential space use. Transformative place of labour activities also provides greater flexibility in carrying out work processes. At the same time, the changes in habits and the ideas related to the city as a liveable environment conflict with the processes that shape urban spaces experienced in practice.

Renewal of the inner districts: By renovating old buildings already embedded in the urban texture, the uniformization of unique, local neighbourhoods continues, which creates a new environment, new milieus. The renovation of old buildings continues to take a back seat, but tourists also like to visit these parts of the city and spend time in them. On the other hand, the conversion of brownfield areas and former industrial districts into residential areas contributes to the increase in the number of apartments.

Compact city: the development of cities is becoming more and more dense, with all its disadvantages. Constant crowding, lack of space, especially for social and leisure activities. In the background lack of privacy raises the question of whether it is worth staying in the city? Suburbanization appears as an alternative; however, the increasing emigration predicts the emergence of a similar trend in these settlements within a short period of time.

Maximal use of space: In parallel with the reduction of free and buildable areas, apartments with smaller and smaller floor areas are being built, which are actually only appearance solutions. The population would go outdoors from these, especially in the vary new "home office" world, when people work at home, in which environment they spend their whole day. Therefore, the value of green areas and public spaces close to the place of residence is increasing, and the demand for them is dynamically growing.

The attractive urban environment, well-being: Recreational and green areas form a separate group of spaces that enable for recreation and active rest: areas suitable for sports, community gardens, playgrounds. Will there be enough, empty and unbuilt space to provide these functions? Are they widely available?

EMERGING QUESTIONS AND CHALLENGES

Many questions arise in the development of our urban spaces through transformational processes and changing habits. Urban planning plays a big role in formulating these questions and developing answers. Are we thinking about answering these needs and providing solutions?

Liveability: The place of work and place of residence are less geographically separated, so empty streets, city centres are not so typical even after working hours. The urban development of the Visegrad countries differs from the Western European type, although there are similarities. Workplaces, residences, and leisure activities are located close to each other, but do we leave enough space for them?

Families: Do cities provide suitable conditions for families? Are apartments of the size necessary for raising children available? Is there enough, easily accessible space for outdoor activities that is safe for children?

Relaxing environment: Are the conditions suitable for ensuring peace? Are quieter, even car-free neighbourhoods with less noise and traffic available?

Security: Do the residents, all groups of the population, feel safe?

Green areas: Is there enough green space? Shaded green areas are an excellent solution for people of all ages during the strengthening summer heat. Are green spaces actively integrated into public thinking, do we take care of them or are they more mandatory due to regulations? Are there opportunities for newly emerging ideas, e.g., for community gardens, more natural green areas, flowered fields for bees?

Climate change: Are cities adapting to climate change and its effects? Do the investments show forward-looking, attitude-shaping examples for the population? Can the covering of the surface, the sudden runoff of precipitation be moderated in order to reduce infiltration (and subsequent irrigation)?

Customer habits: Based on the experience of the last decade, customer habits are also changing. The population is less and less likely to prefer large shopping centres on the outskirts of the city, which can only be reached by car. Instead, they prefer smaller malls that can be reached by public transport. This contributes to more sustainable transport and to an increase in the proportion of public transport.

Brownfield areas: The large-scale industrial facilities built in previous decades still occupy a large area, often hardly or not at all utilized. At the same time, these have now been integrated into the texture of cities, and residential areas have grown around them. Their use, maybe rehabilitations would offer solutions to many challenges, urban planning tools provide a wide range of opportunities for this, so they can be developed for the characteristics of individual locations, the best long-term utilization plans for communities. The utilization of brownfield districts can serve as an example for further developments and for other cities as well.

CONCLUSION

Daily life in cities is never simple and cannot be generalized, the issues cannot be simplified. The question is, do we understand the changes, the changing demands of the inhabitants, and do we have professional answers to them? Can we help and support the locals? Can we help them to form and answer their demands, ideas and questions? Our cities can be more liveable if usable and practical urban planning tools support the inhabitants, investors, and the development of the urban texture. Planning tools ensure long-term strategic planning and present good examples. Introducing good practices is extremely useful and encouraging, but attention must also be paid to their adaptation and adaptation to local conditions.

Joint planning procedures and the creation of long-term urban planning strategies can be implemented both on a small scale, i.e., in the case of one district or just one investment, and at a higher level, too. In this way, the inhabitants, residential communities can be encouraged to think together, and smaller investments can be motivated, which complement, add colours and make the realized plans more complex. In terms of the role of urban planning, getting to know the needs of various actors (residents, investors, companies, etc.) and developing solutions. The cities of the Visegrad countries have developed significantly in the last decade, joined the international co-operation, and have become actors in the European economic ecosystem. They are related to each other, they also learn from each other, the urban challenges and processes that arise are similar. The urban development process of the cities of the Visegrad countries differs from that of Western European cities, they have several peculiarities. Urban planning practices also developed in response to these characteristics. For their wide distribution, it is essential that the urban planning methodology be practical and focus on everyday issues. The toolset of urban planning should be made more understandable, presenting best and less good practices. As a starting point, it is worth considering whether the present, the usual, is the desired state? Surely there is no better, more liveable stage that serves the purpose better?

As an example, it can mention the spread of cities, the population of the outer areas of cities, as well as the growth of suburbanization, the joint planning of cities and their suburbanization can provide a solution to issues that will arise in the future, the solution of which requires a joint movement. Cities are simply connected by so many threads, they influence each other on so many levels, which makes these collaborations inevitable. The much-proclaimed conservation of resources, including free, not yet built-up areas, or the conscious use of barely used brownfield areas also supports long-term urban planning processes.

A deeper understanding of the nature of changes and social needs can be effective through cooperation. Methods of joint urban and strategic planning, the collective learning (e.g., urban labs) are available and

widely applicable. Through the cooperation of the various actors (municipal government, economic actors, population, academia, public institutions, etc.), different aspects can be known and negotiated, and the best local solutions and long-term answers can be developed. In addition to urban planning, it is essential to establish the connection of individual developments and investments with the environment, and to strengthen embedding. Equally important is strategic planning, i.e., the placement of investments in the context of urban subsystems. In the planning of this strategy, the mutual influence of the investments and future development ideas, even the effects of each other and the operation of other infrastructures and subsystems, should be mapped and consulted with the relevant actors. Consultation with the actors of the social groups affected by investments can not only mitigate later problems, not only bring opposing opinions closer to each other, but also contribute to the further development and strengthening of investments. Based on experience, the adoption of plans created with the cooperation of many actors of the cities with different backgrounds, habits, social status and motivation has a wider range of adverse effects on the population, and their connections to the urban subsystems are ensured in the longer term. It is worth striving for a territorial balance of the individual functions within the city districts, taking into account, of course, the infrastructural possibilities, the proportions of preservation and new construction, and green areas. Planning proposals that respond to changes in the economy contribute to the prosperity of the economy. Enforcing sustainability principles and strengthening the environment of a knowledge-based society supports the realization of a flexible economic background and more liveable city concepts. It is necessary to find complementary functions, mutually reinforcing and multiplier effects.

From Europeanisation to integrated urban development

Towards understanding Central-Eastern Europe in the European Union landscape of spatial planning systems

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

The systems of territorial(regional) and urban planning in European Union vary widely from country to country. The international knowledge on planning systems of the Eastern countries of the European Union is still very limited. This paper aims to raise some aspects to support the understanding the characteristics of spatial planning of the Central-Eastern European region in European context. The countriesof this region has common heritage, similar geographical and political conditions and the EU has had important influence on the evolution of their planning systems. The paper reviews European classifications of spatial planning, identify some visible EU influences on planning systems and finally analyse a successful case study of integrated urban development programme in Budapest in light of EU policy messages.

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Územního a regionální plánování se v jednotlivých zemích Evropské unie značně liší. Povědomí o systémech územního plánování východních zemí Evropské unie jsou stále z mezinárodního pohledu velmi omezené. Cílem tohoto příspěvku je upozornit na některé aspekty, které mají podpořit pochopení charakteristik územního plánování středovýchodního evropského regionu v evropském kontextu. Země tohoto regionu mají společné dědictví, podobné geografické a politické podmínky a EU měla významný vliv na vývoj jejich plánovacích systémů. Článek podává přehled přístupů k územnímu plánování v Evropě, identifikuje některé viditelné vlivy EU na systémy plánování a nakonec analyzuje úspěšnou případovou studii integrovaného programu rozvoje měst v Budapešti ve světle politických poselství EU.

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

Az Európai Unió területi (regionális) és várostervezési rendszerei országonként nagyon eltérőek. Az Európai Unió keleti országainak tervezési rendszereivel kapcsolatos nemzetközi ismeretek még nagyon korlátozottak. Jelen írás néhány szempontot kíván felvetni a közép-kelet-európai régió területi tervezési jellemzőinek európai kontextusban való megértéséhez. A régió országai közös örökséggel, hasonló földrajzi és politikai feltételekkel rendelkeznek, és az EU jelentős befolyást gyakorolt a tervezési rendszereik alakulására. A tanulmány áttekinti a területrendezés európai osztályozásait, azonosít néhány szembetűnő uniós hatást a tervezési rendszerekre, végül pedig elemzi a budapesti integrált városfejlesztési program sikeres esettanulmányát az EU-politikai üzenetek tükrében.

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Systemy planowania terytorialnego (regionalnego) i urbanistycznego są bardzo zróżnicowane w poszczególnych państwach Unii Europejskiej. Stan badań na temat systemów planowania w państwach „nowej" Unii Europejskiej jest jednak niepełny. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest omówienie takich aspektów

funkcjonowania owych systemów, które pozwalają na zrozumienie istoty planowania przestrzennego w państwach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w kontekście europejskim. Państwa Europy Środowo-Wschodniej mają wspólne dziedzictwo, podobne uwarunkowania geograficzne i polityczne, a UE wywiera istotny wpływ na ewolucję ich systemów planowania. Artykuł jest omówieniem europejskich klasyfikacji planowania przestrzennego, identyfikuje równocześnie wpływ UE na systemy planowania i stanowi studium przypadku zintegrowanego programu rozwoju miejskiego w Budapeszcie wdrażanego zgodnie z kierunkami polityki UE.

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Systémy územného (regionálneho) a mestského plánovania sa v jednotlivých krajinách Európskej únie značne líšia. Medzinárodné poznatky o plánovacích systémoch východných krajín Európskej únie sú stále veľmi obmedzené. Cieľom tohto príspevku je poukázať na niektoré aspekty na podporu pochopenia charakteristík územného plánovania regiónu strednej a východnej Európy v európskom kontexte. Krajiny tohto regiónu majú spoločné dedičstvo, podobné geografické a politické podmienky a EÚ mala významný vplyv na vývoj ich systémov plánovania. Článok skúma európske klasifikácie územného plánovania, identifikuje niektoré viditeľné vplyvy EÚ na systémy plánovania a nakoniec analyzuje úspešnú prípadovú štúdiu integrovaného programu rozvoja miest v Budapešti vo svetle politických odkazov EU.

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Introduction

The need forplanning in territories (towns, regions, countries) as a social necessity has existed since historical times and will probably always be with us. At the same time, however, the different ways in which planning manifests itself in different countries can evolve over time in response to changes in social formations and dominant political and professional ideologies, and to current (or perceived) socio-economic challenges, to the extent that it sometimes no longer resembles its earlier manifestations. The system of territorial(regional) and urban planning in Europe is not uniform, as its practices and also interpretations vary widely from country to country, even within the European Union. The territorial levels of planning (urban-local, regional, national, etc.), the instruments (e.g. development, regulation, coordination) and even the basic motivations for planning vary widely. The differences can be traced back to differences in the constitutional arrangements, administrative structures, political ideologies and geographical and cultural characteristics of countries, which are reflected in planning policies and practices. Planning is a coordinating governance function within the governance system of a country (region, city), and also reflects the geographical characteristics of the country as a specific spatial function. In the academic international literature and also in European international discourses the dominant Western European understandings and approaches are in the front, while the international knowledge on planning systems of the Eastern countries of the European Union is still very limited. However in the central-Eastern European countries, (Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Slovenia)the common or interconnected historical heritage and geographic conditions and similar political evolution (see. post socialist countries with economic transition from the nineties) provide similar context for urbanisation processes and the evolution of spatial planning systems. After the change of the political system in 1990, in those central-Eastern European (CEE) countries which later joined the European Union, the evolution of planning-development systems has been influenced strongly by the policies and related guidelines of the European Union.

We experience a visible spread of concepts, approaches in the field of spatial planning within Europe planning (typically coming from the core of EU) for which the policies of European Union provide driving force and its programmes provide infrastructure. It is called the Europeanization of spatial planning. Probably the most important influence appeared in the Central-Eastern European countries is the emergence of the new territory based integrated development programmes. By today, integrated development, as advocated by the Leipzig Charter and the Territorial Agenda 2020, has become a widely applied approach also in these countries. During the last decade, in Hungary the integrated urban development strategy has become a new planning instrument regulated in the planning system, which is

obligatory for all cities. However, the use of integrated strategies in some cases in a pilot way had emerged already before the 2007 adoption of the Leipzig Charter, dating back as early as the late nineties.

This paper aims to raise some aspects to support the understanding the characteristics of spatial planning of the Central-Eastern European region in the European context. The study cannot undertake a complete mapping of the planning specificities of the region, but only aims to gather some aspects by reviewing European classifications of spatial planning, identifying some visible EU influences, and finally analysing a success story of integrated urban development programme in Budapest.

Central-Eastern European countries in the classifications of European Planning systems

In fact, even the terms used in Europe for urban and territorial planning have different meanings: The German *Stadt-/Raumplannung* and *Raumordnung*, Dutch *ruimtelijkeordening,* British *planning* or Hungarian *terület-/településfejlesztés területrendezés,,*the Polish *Planowanie Przestrzenne* or the Czech *Územní Plánování*are not really translatable into each other, their meanings can only be described with lengthy explanations. The creation of a common international understanding to the essentially country specific planning approaches was motivated significantly by the European integration process. Based on a European study carried out by the European Commission in the late 1990s, the common European conceptual framework became the new [9]Euro-English[10] concept of *spatial planning*, which has more recently been complemented by the broader term of territorial/urban *governance*"Spatial planning has become a neutral umbrella term that encompasses both the different planning concepts of different countries and, in addition to more traditional urban and regional planning, other public coordination mechanisms that influence territorial (including urban) development (from transport network planning to place-based economic and community development to spatial coordination of sectoral policies), while spatial plans at different geographical scales, from the urban to the national and even transnational regions, are also part of it. (Salamin-Péti 2019)

In certain countries, more complex and sophisticated planning systems emerged, often as a politically also strong policy sector, influencing the practices of other countries, too. In the literature, primarily the Dutch, French and British planning is highlighted which strongly affected the European planning, too (Faludi 2004). The role of the British planning has been definitive in the formation of the science of planning ever since. Planning theory is still predominantly Anglo-Saxon, exerting a strong impact on other countries, too, through scientific discourses. The Dutch pattern of planning is considered the archetype of coordinating, cooperating and integrating planning. (e.g., Faludi 2004, Evers-Tennekes2016). The impact of Dutch planning was determining in the establishment of the European spatial planning, that is, in the 1999 ESDP, too. A major shaper of European spatial planning is **France**. Here the so-called *aménagement du territoire* is a basically economy-oriented appearance form of territorial planning and development which is the traditionally strong tool of the centralised state for the development and management of the country. The French impact is well-reflected in the spread of the regional-economic planning model in Europe in many countries and especially and in the creation of territorial cohesion concept of the European Union, too (Peyrony2009). We can see that while European spatial planning term was translated from German and Dutch planning terms from the 1990s at first, now its keyword is territorial cohesion taken over from French. To understand the very divers planning practices in Europe we can use some classifications made. While Davies (1989) made distinction basically between the groups of British and the continental planning according to the type of planning management examining five countries, Newman and Thorney (1996) determined five European families of planning based on the law and these were the Nordic, British, Napoleonic, German and Eastern European families.In the late nineties the European Commission prepared the first really comprehensivecomparative study on the planning systems of the Member States, published in the document entitled The EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies (CEC 1997). This study based on an extensive survey identified the **models of four planning traditions** among the 15

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[9] CEC 1997.

[10]A concept not originally used in the UK. It emerged in EU discourse.

Member States of that period. Territorial first governance project of ESPON (FARINÓS DASI 2006) lasting until 2006 was to extend the Commission's compendium to Member States which joined the EU in 2004 and 2006 and to further non-EU members of the ESPON programme and to the changes of the period since 1997. Figure 1 illustrates this typology and the assigning of countries based on the results of this project. These four planning models (traditions) are the most determining European spatial planning typologies until these days. Land use-oriented planning focuses on the management of the physical space using mainly the tool of regulation. In the France-rooted territorial (regional) economic model, the focus is on the formation of economic and social relations, paying attention to the territorial differences of the economy, while the tradition of urbanism is rooted in urban architecture, it is rather about urban design and target the controlling of construction and development rights mainly. The comprehensive integrated planning approach deriving mainly from the Dutch tradition covers various tools of space formation and the coordination of various actors of the development of spaces; with vertical and horizontal coordination being important in it.
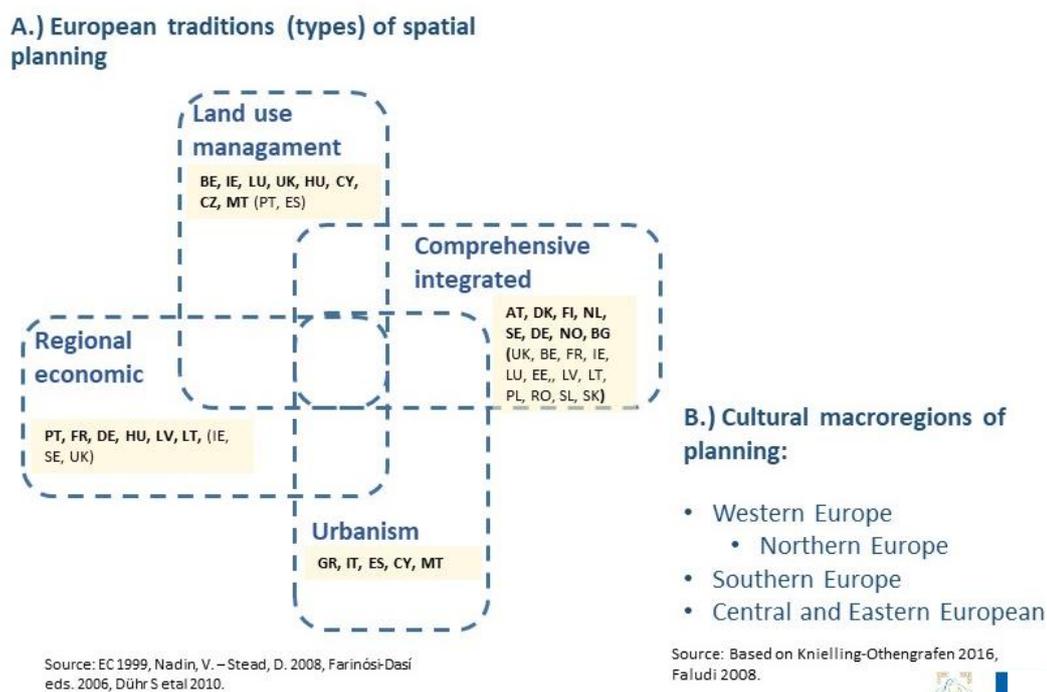

Figure 1.: The four basic models of the planning traditions of Europe and the categorisation of the countries

There are not many works on the spatial planning systems of **Central and Eastern European countries**. Although Farinós Dasí et al. inserted the countries of this region into the system of the Commission compendium, they stated together with Stead and Nadin (2011) that these correspond to the classification that was elaborated mainly for old EU Member States only with certain difficulties. As researchers of the University of Delft, Stead and Nadin (2011) places this Eastern and Central European type in the model of four partially overlapping with the regional economic and the comprehensive integrated categories. (In my opinion, assignment into this latter category can be debated, cf. the Czech, Rumanian, and Hungarian planning systems where land use planning is markedly present.)

The inclusion of the region's planning systems in the planning classifications for the EU15 countries seems uncertain. The classification of the Central-Eastern European countries based on expert contributions would certainly require further examination in terms of regulation, planning instruments and planning methods, because such a clear inclusion of the countries of the region in the overall integrated category in the 2006 classification is at least questionable. (We can assume that for the experts and ministry officials it was attractive to chose the most preferred type.)

As a general characteristic of Central-Eastern European countries, we can state that the beginning of the 1990s saw the quick demolishing of their Soviet-type plan management systems together with the related centralised urban and regional planning replacing it by typically less mature planning practices in various paces, mostly along directions motivated by the European Union. While it seems that the former politically

motivated planning (people's economy planning and its territorial basis) completely disappeared, more technical and regulatory planning systems. In these countries, it is an important phenomenon that urban planning activities which were first restricted to technical and physical planning only were liberalised upon the termination of state planning companies, that is, market-based planning firms and advisory companies were established simultaneously with the reduction of the own planning capacities of public institutions.

At the same time, investment-oriented development planning was established in EU accession countries as early as during the accession process in addition to technical (urban) planning which was not determined by the developments of local municipalities financed by them but by external publicfunds, that is, first national and then, from the middle of the 1990s, EU resources. These latter development programmes are basically socio-economic oriented with their tool being the investment source, for a long time building on the paradigm of strategic planning and programming from the EU, thus highly separated from physical type planning in attitude, approach and, last but not least, professional basis. A certain separation of social-economic strategic and land use- and regulation-oriented systems is known in other countries of Europe, too, but there usually the different plannings are separated by territorial level (strategic planning being on a higher level) and the parallel character of development and physical-spatial planning present on three or four levels in Hungary is not typical in Southern, Western and Northern Europe. (Finland is partly an exception, where the two system exist parallel on the same levels.) Stead and Nadinclaimed that Eastern and Central European countries are lagging behind in having real, "meaningful" planning (2012).

In regard to the above mentioned four planning traditions (types) we can see in Central-Eastern European countries that while the change of the political regime supported the land-use management planning and its regulatory character in the early nineties, the Cohesion Policy funding from the European Union contributed to the emergence of the regional-economic planning system since the pre-accession funds became available for these countries. The comprehensive integrated model is supported by the EU level guidelines (such as Leipzig Charter, ESDP, Territorial Agenda), European Territorial Cooperation programmes, requirements for new governance mechanisms. The implementation of various non-territorial policy fields with increasing importance, such as climate policy, digitalization, sustainable growth, etc. also need the more flexible governance, new spaces of programmes (crossing administrative borders) involving new actors (like business and social actors) in the programmes, which is more realistic in the integrated-comprehensive planning systems. However we can assume that in spite of the EU influences the formal, legislated planning systems are still far from the comprehensive-integrated tradition.

At the same time the idea of place making, the European Baukultur approach and the increasing demand for attractive urban spaces might bring to the front also various urban design approaches, which can fit more to the tradition of Urbanism.

Influences of the European Union on domestic planning systems

In the European Union, spatial and urban development policy remains a competence of the Member States. Nevertheless, EU Community policies and EU directives in the field of territorial (cohesion) and urban policy are now indirectly and effectively influencing the planning practices of Member States, which is quite extensively discussed in the European planning literature as the 'Europeanisation' of spatial planning.[11]Beyond the EU policies and EU strategies the professional scientific cooperation - supported by the various EU programmes - has a significant horizontal Europeanisation effect. The most important of the latter are the European Territorial Cooperation Programmes (formerly INTERREG) (See Dühr et al 2007), which finance and institutionalise cross-border territorial cooperation and are based on mandatory territorial strategic planning. Another source of the Europeanisation of planning systems are the *European strategies and directives* on spatial and urban development, and an implicit *Community urban policy*that has been developing since the early 2000s, which, in the absence of a direct mandate, has not been an objective in its own right, but rather an instrument serving the socio-economic objectives of the Union, often referred to as the urban dimension of cohesion policy or innovation and environmental objectives.

Among the effects on planning practices, we should mention the EU's general requirement terms of strategic planning, programming and feedback mechanisms (evaluation and monitoring), which are

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[11]On its logic, see for example Purkarthofer 2016; Böhme-Waterhaut 2008; on its implementation effects, see Salamin 2018.

expressed in all EU policies towards the Member States participating in them and even towards the candidate countries through the pre-accession funds, in the context of the seven-year budget cycles. This type of planning obligation has a significant impact in the Central-Eastern European countries, being probably the most important impetus to rebuild their spatial planning systems in a new format. In these countries, the Soviet-style system of plan management (national economic plans) and the corresponding centralised urban and regional planning, as a socialist legacy, was largely terminated in the early 1990s and replaced in a number of places by a more technical, regulatory system of territorial and municipal planning, often connected to building administration and based on strong central regulation (spatial and municipal planning plans, building codes under the Building Act). EU accession played a decisive role in the emergence of the development-oriented planning system in these countries by the start of the new millennium. This new EU-motivated planning introduced a strategic planning approach into the basic logic of territorial and municipal development, with a socio-economic orientation and a significant focus on cohesion policy funding from the EU. At the same time, this funding-oriented planning has established a development culture based on external resources, with a system of tendering instruments and its numerous problems.[12]

This Europeanization influence can be perceived in the adaptation of EU themes and topics in domestic planning documents. According to the authors' survey on trends of European planning practices the countries that are 'at the forefront' in the application of the content of European priorities and themes in plans are those that play a dominant role in defining these themes and shaping the European strategic discourse on planning (UK, Germany, France, the Netherlands), and those that receive high per capita EU Structural Fund support for being excellent 'good learners'. The adoption of planning approaches and patterns has been strongest in Member States supported by the cohesion policy over the last decade and a half, as the uptake of these patterns has been strongly encouraged by the expectations of the absorption of the resources, as well as by the adaptive attitude of the beneficiary Member States (Salamin 2018).[13]

The role of EU policies can be significant also in the quick emergence of urban planning approaches, which reflect current issues and policy goals. The climate friendly city model reflect the climate change challenge (e.g. Salamin et al 2011), the smart city model reflecting the technological development trends (e.g. Kocsis-Gere 2021).[14]

The EU's territorial cohesion objective and the so called "urban dimension" of EU policiesfoster the need for spatially integrated planning and implementation of development to make it effective. (see the 2009 Barca report proposing place-based development). In the 2014-2020 period, the territorially integrated investments, which can be optionally applied, emerged as a territorially based development structures, providing a strategic and organisational framework for the integrated development of urban areas and other functional areas, and on a smaller scale, community-led local development (CLLD) structures have been introduced, modelled on the older LEADER rural development action groups. Poland and the Czech Republic were at the forefront of the new EU territorial development instruments in the period 2014-2020, while Hungary is at the forefront in the development of (European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation), which is also connected to long term cross-border strategies and strategies of municipalities and microregions in most cases.

The Leipzig Charter and its influence in Central-Eastern Europe

The German Presidency in 2007 adopted the Leipzig Charter, the most influential European urban policy document to date, which was adopted by all Member State governments. The Charter for Sustainable Urban Development, which was revised last year, has played a decisive role in the spread of integrated urban development strategies in Europe. For example, it also triggered a new planning genre in Hungary, first as a condition of EU urban regeneration funds and later also in law.

As the author's recent European survey shows (2018), in 2002-2018 the process of Europeanisation measured by the changes of policies and planning practice towards the approaches of EU strategies and

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[12]On its drawbacks, see Salamin et al.2014.

[13] Salamin 2018.

[14] As a result of the green turn in the EU during the last couple of years the issue of sustainable development seems to become the main mission of spatial planning. It is important to note that this role of spatial planning has been recognised much earlier (Vf. ESDP and Péti 2011, 2012).

guidelines (e.g. that of Leipzig Charter) was most progressive in Central-Eastern European countries, plus in Portugal due to their general learning attitude and the motivating factor of Cohesion Policy funds. The survey revealed that the strategic policy documents of the European Union relevant to spatial and urban development are directly referred to the most by new EU members, which have a post-socialist background (see EU11 in figure 2.). National, regional and urban plans and strategies of these countries have significantly more direct references included than those of the EU15 countries.
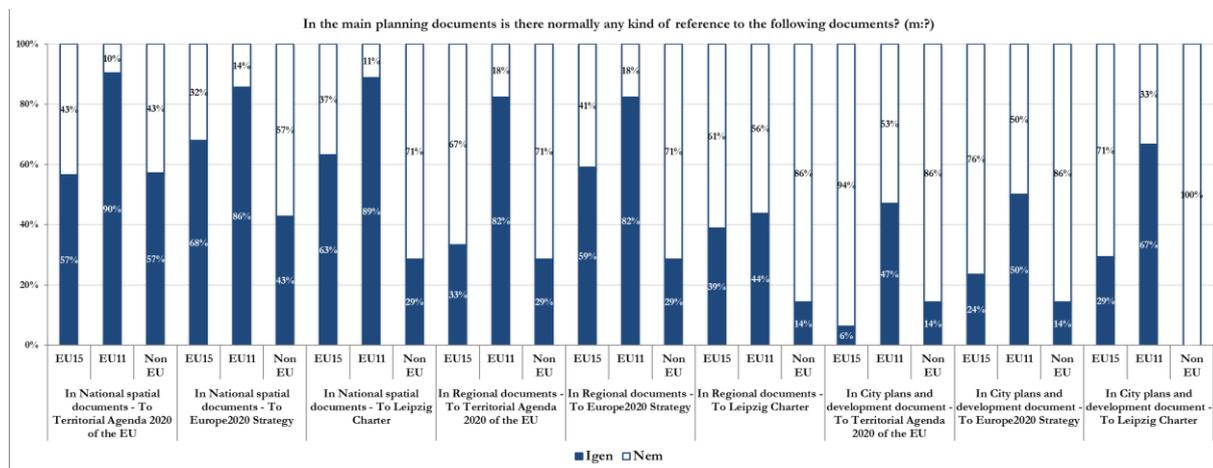

Figure 2.: The direct references to EU documents included in spatial-urban plans and strategies of European countries. Source of data: Salamin G. survey on dynamics of European planning 2018. (M:120)

Legend: EU11: HU, CZ, PL, SI, LV, LT, EE, BG, RO, SK, HR; Non-EU: NO, SRB, CH

In 2007, the adoption of the Charter brought a great deal of political attention to integrated approaches to urban development. The signing ministers committed themselves to use the tool of integrated urban development and to implement the related governance for its implementation and, to this end, establish any necessary framework at national level and. According to the Charter's definition „*integrated urban development policy is a process in which the spatial, sectoral and temporal aspects of key areas of urban policy are co-ordinated. The involvement of economic actors, stakeholders and the general public is essential*" (Leipzig Charter 2007: 2). The implementation-oriented planning tools of integrated development includes the following four components (Leipzig Charter 2007:3):
- describe the strengths and the weaknesses based upon an analysis of the current situation,
- define consistent development objectives for the urban area and develop a vision for the city,
- coordinate the different neighbourhood, sectoral and technical plans and policies, and ensure that the planned investments will help to promote a well-balanced development of the area,
- coordinate and spatially focus the use of funds by public and private sector players and be co-ordinated at local and city-regional level and involve citizens and other partners who can contribute substantially to shaping the future economic, social, cultural and environmental quality of each area.

The most visible impact in Hungary: Emergence of integrated development[15]

The Hungarian context of urban planning and development
As in most post socialist CEE countries, in Hungary the planning system of the socialist era was nearly fully abolished at the beginning of the nineties, as planning was considered a rather socialist exercise. Instead, a very technical, architecture-oriented and strongly regulated planning system emerged in the nineties. The

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[15]This chapter is based on the publication of the Author: Salamin 2019

experienced new ideology of that time was, that urban development should be motivated by market forces and only national and local construction regulation, which limits possibilities of new developments was needed from the state side as public coordination instead of development-oriented planning (See Salamin 2018:33). The central government introduced detailed regulations on construction and urban land use possibilities of the local governments, which had gained - legally - high independence in 1990. However, failed development processes took place, resulting in brownfields, high energy consumptions and a weakening of physical environment in many urban areasEspecially in the inner city, structural challenges called for a new type of urban development and planning, which is more strategic, complex and can integrate various social, economic and environmental aspects too in order to enhance more a balanced and efficient development.

In the socialist era until 1990, the government-owned and managed urban development focused only on quantities by constructing large numbers of prefabricated housing estates, almost exclusively linked geographically to the governmental industrial developments of that time. Other urban areas, especially the old downtowns of Budapest, were almost completely neglected and strong urban decay took place. As a result of a social filtration process, people with a low socio-economic status concentrated there and many of these areas became serious slums, often called as a 'Roma ghetto', or the 'Harlem of Pest'. (See Kocsis 2009a, 2009b, Keresztély et al 2015, Tomay 2007). The most challenging part of this internal residential zone became Józsefváros, where also the poor Roma minority – mainly moving from the countryside – has concentrated. As these neighbourhoods were located in a very central location of Budapest, they posed serious restraints for the development of the entire city. Neither the private sector nor the construction and architecture oriented planning could deal with this issue effectively. This is why the government of Budapest in the late nineties launched a funding initiative to support urban regeneration of the related district local governments[16]. The urban regeneration programmes later were financially supported by the national government and after 2007 by further EU funds.

The case of integrated urban development in Magdolna Quarter in Budapest

After 1989, the 8th district of Budapest (Józsefváros) had the worst social and physical housing conditions in Budapest. It was a symbol of prostitution, crime and a high proportion of Roma residents (Jelinek, 2017). Most of the residents were disadvantaged (elderly, poor and Roma population represented). One of the most problematic areas was, the so-called Magdolna quarter, with 12000 inhabitants on 0,34 km2. Alföldi (2015) describes the social and physical challenges of Magdolna Quarter in 2001 as follows:

- The rate of substandard dwellings was 37,2% (in Józsefváros in 1989 21% of flats lacked toilets and bathroom, Budapest average: 9,5%)
- High rate of municipality owned flats, in the quarter 42,6%, district average: 17,5%, Budapest average: 5,0%.[17]
- Inhabitants above 25 years with college or university degrees within the quarter was only 9,4 % (district average: 16,1%, Budapest average: 23,8 %)
- Population above 15 years without the basic 8 year school education was 10,2%
- Rate of Roma population was 30%.

The concentration of disadvantaged people was constantly increasing over the last few decades. The area's main difficulties were the high unemployment rate, the low educational level, dilapidated housing quality and high crime rates, including drug abuse and trafficking.

The Magdolna Quarter Program started from 1995 by the cooperation of the 8th district (Józsefváros) local municipality and the Budapest government. In Józsefváros, the other important urban regeneration programme is the so-called Corvin promenade project, which is a more radical, business-focused development, in which the complete area has been rebuilt with new business and residential functions.

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[16] In Budapest the local governments of the 23 districts are the local-level municipalities, while the Budapest government forms a sort of regional municipality.

[17]In Budapest typically the poorest residential units had not been privatized until late nineties.

"The Corvin Promenade project, the largest urban development project in Hungary realised with private funding, but in close cooperation with the public sector, was introduced as a result of decentralisation and liberalisation throughout the 1990s. The Magdolna Quarter Programme, an exemplary project regularly cited as a 'best practice' of EU-funded urban regeneration in the country, was presented as a paradigmatic case of Europeanising urban interventions." (Czirfusz et al 2015). In the Corvin Promenade project and in the Magdolna Quarter Programme, Józsefváros has two very different approaches towards urban development, which were designed to complement each other. The first provides opportunities for businesses and attracts new resources to the area, which by developing international functions can contribute greatly to the competitiveness of the district, while the latter provides continuous support for local people to strengthen social cohesion.

The urban regeneration process of Magdolna Quarter is often cited as a 'best practice' of social urban regeneration. It included integrated urban interventions with the involvement of the residents combining social, cultural and technical measures. From the beginning, based on the evaluation of the situation, a strategy was developed, which had three objectives (RÉV8 2007, 2013a): The social aim was to improve the standard of living by ensuring appropriate living conditions. The economic aim was to improve incomes and self-reliance of the area, the development of the local labour market and thereby reduction of the lasting unemployment. The environmental aim was to enlarge the public and green spaces both by size and quality. One of the very first steps was the implementation of a programme management organization, the RÉV8 company, which was empowered to develop a strategy and manage its implementation. RÉV8 played the key role in coordinating the regeneration activities, in facilitating participation with local residents and other actors and monitored theimplementation of the strategy. The programme included activities of very different natures, which are described in detail in the RÉV8 publications (2007, 2013a, 2013b).The building renewal with active involvement of the tenants (in some cases of owners) resulted in 30 per cent (28 buildings) of the municipally owned housing stock being refurbished. Additionally, 20 semi-private condominiums including 570 apartments were renovated at the same time in the Magdolna Quarter neighbourhood. One hundred families have directly participated in the reconstruction work. As a result of these activities, the share of substandard social rental flats has been reduced from 50% to less than 10% in the neighbourhood. The living conditions were improved for 750 families (e.g. indoor toilets, green courtyards, CCTV, insulation). There was no significant displacement of the local community, as the rental buildings are occupied by the same families as before the renovations (RÉV8 2013a, 2013b).

Other components were the so-called Greenkeys, the public space revitalization projects, which have been implemented with increasing innovative participatory methods The projects included the comprehensive revitalization of the Mátyás Square and Teleki Square and the creation of the so-called FiDo, an open-air sport park for local children and adults facilitated with animators and supervisors.

Several actions for the local community have been initiated and implemented (job fairs, cultural programmes, trainings for local people and children, etc.) and a previous factory building was turned into a community house. The community centre 'Glove Factory' at Mátyás square is the main venue for the numerous activities provided for local people. At that time, the programme was pioneering in the sense that it included very different types of action within the same strategy. For example, it included a crime prevention programme, set up by a community laundry for local people, but also the intensification of social services (e.g. family support) provided by the government in this underdeveloped neighbourhood. In the management and funding of the programme, there was a strong cooperation between the different governance levels. The funding framework of the programme represents this multilevel governance (Figure 3).

- **Phase 1. 2005-2008**: Municipality of Budapest (EUR 2,73 million)

- **Phase 2. 2008-2010**: EU (ERDF and ESF) + Budapest +Hungarian government (EUR 5,3 million)

- **Phase 3. 2010-2015:** EU (ERDF and ESF) + Budapest + Hungarian government (EUR 12 million)

Figure 3. The funding of the social urban regeneration programme of Magdolna Quarter

The four components of integrated development identified by the Leipzig Charter (2007) have essentially emerged in the Magdolna Quarter Programme. There was a strategy based upon a realistic analysis of the current situation, it defined consistent development objectives and there was a clear vision shared by many actors (see RÉV8 2007). The programme was pioneering in the continuous struggle to coordinate the different policies, technical plans, and the planned investments to promote a well-balanced development of the area. It integrated social, economic and environmental goals and interventions. The place-based programme with a spatial focus (introducing the term 'action area' in Hungarian practice) was also innovative in the Hungarian urban development and planning context of that time, when usually sectoral programmes and physical – often architecture-oriented design - approaches dominated the practice. The regeneration programmes of Józsefváros coordinated different funds, while the inclusion of private funds was especially dominant in the Corvin Promenade Project. From the very beginning, there was a clear orientation of multi-level governance. The Magdolna Quarter Programme was pioneering in Hungary to encourage citizens to participate in urban development and also to stimulate the launch of local NGOs. In line with the Charter's related principles, the programme involved citizens and other partners who could contribute substantially to shaping the future economic, social, cultural and environmental quality of each area. This kind of participatory planning had no significant precedents at that time, and in the general culture of local government, the participation was rather exceptional in Hungary. Thus, the Magdolna Quarter Programme can be identified as an early case of the integrated urban development identified and promoted by the Leipzig Charter, which resulted in the benefits for the underdeveloped neighbourhood as described above. Magdolna Quarter Programme improved the social, environmental and economic sustainability of the residential area, and significantly increased the districts image and prestige. The attractiveness of the neighbourhood was improved as the shrinking population trend changed in 2012 and the proportion of highly educated people increased from 9,6 % to 13,7%. This innovative programme brought a new, more strategic, cooperative and flexible form of urban governance in line with the Europeanisation trend described above (Salamin 2018). The success of Józsefváros regeneration programmes and of RÉV8 had a strong influence on the introduction of similar urban development agencies of city governments after 2008, when significant urban development resources became available through the Cohesion Policy of the EU.

The integrated approach today is more widely accepted in Hungary and there are several positive initiatives of integrated urban development, which are supported by the national development policy too, e.g. through the introduction of integrated urban development strategy as planning instrument. In spite of the deregulation processes of the last decade, planning and urban development is still too regulated in Hungary, with lots of limits defined by national legislation, and the architecture-oriented rigid regulation of the planning profession[18] is also a serious obstacle for the redefinition of planning.

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URBAN SAFETY AS A SPATIAL QUALITY IN SMART ECO CITIES

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

In the context of growing uncertainty in urban development, aggression in Ukraine developing into the global hybrid war, violence and climate change the problem of urban safety became one of most important issues in urban management. The concept of smart city development as the processual concept and the ecocity concept as substantial concept seems to represent a potential for strengthening the resilience of our cities including improvement of urban safety.

KEY WORDS: urban safety, smart city, eco-city

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

V kontextu rostoucí nejistoty v městském rozvoji, agrese na Ukrajině přerůstající do globální hybridní války, násilí a klimatické změny se stává problém bezpečnosti ve městech velmi důležitým aspektem městského managementu. Koncept smart city jako procesuální koncept a koncept ecocity jako substanciální koncept přinášejí potenciál pro posílení odolnosti našich měst včetně zlepšení městské bezpečnosti.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: urbánní bezpečnost, smart city, eco-city

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A városfejlesztésben tapasztalható növekvő bizonytalanság, a globális hibrid háborúvá fajuló ukrajnai agresszió, az erőszak és az éghajlatváltozás problémájának kontextusában a biztonság a városirányítás egyik legfontosabb kérdésévé válik. Az intelligens városfejlesztés koncepciója, mint folyamat-koncepció, valamint az ökocity koncepció mint tartalmi koncepció, lehetőségek lehetnek városaink ellenállóképességének fejlesztésére, beleértve a városbiztonság javítását is.

KULCSSZAVAK: városbiztonság, okos város, ökocity

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

W kontekście rosnącej niepewności w rozwoju miast, agresji na Ukrainie przeradzającej się w globalną wojnę hybrydową, przemocy i zmian klimatycznych, problem bezpieczeństwa w miastach staje się bardzo ważnym aspektem zarządzania miastami. Koncepcja smart city jako koncepcja proceduralna oraz koncepcja ekomiasta jako koncepcja merytoryczna niosą ze sobą potencjał wzmocnienia odporności naszych miast, w tym poprawy bezpieczeństwa miejskiego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: városbiztonságbezpieczeństwo miejskie, inteligentne miasto, eko-miasto

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

V kontexte rastúcej neistoty v mestskom rozvoji, agresie na Ukrajine prerastajúcej do globálnej hybridnej vojny, násilia a klimatickej zmeny sa stáva problém bezpečnosti v mestách veľmi dôležitým aspektom

mestského manažmentu. Koncept smart city ako procesuálny koncept a koncept ecocity ako substanciálny koncept prinášajú potenciál pre posilnenie odolnosti našich miest vrátane zlepšenia mestskej bezpečnosti.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: urbánnabezpečnosť, smart city, eco-city

▪▪▪

INTRODUCTION

Different concepts on urban development are broadly discussed in the context of climate change, technology development, post-modern society development challenges. One of the dominant at the turn of century was "smart city" concept, mostly interpreted as the concept of use of advanced technologic innovations, especially in the field of information and communication technologies (ICT) to improve the quality of life in the cities, mostly via broader scale of urban services and their accessibility (unfortunately less attention paid to the affordability) and to reduce costs and resource consumption, in some cases to improve the framework for active participation of the citizens.

All these concepts addressing the implementation of new ICT based technologies in transport, energy sector, water and waste management, communication of the citizens, government services are not taking in the consideration the interplay between different aspects of urban life represented by the city as social ecosystem. The architects, spatial planners, and civil engineers as specialists co-responsible for sustainable urban life in many cases followed the wave of excitement overflooding the complexity of functioning city and complexity of the quality of life. The introduction of advanced technologies has not brought expected effects, more efficient functioning of the cities, their resilience, safety and security and first of all of the affordability of the quality of life for all citizens and many of politicians start to perceive the "smartness" as a symbol of luxury.

SMART CITIES CONCEPT

Recent urban and spatial development research and development, being aware about the growing complexity and dynamics of the development in urban socio-ecosystems with their social, functional and physical subsystems in the combination with growing dynamics of unpredictable external changes (natural disasters, economic shocks, social changes…) and about growing uncertainty in the decision making and development processes are on to reassess the former concepts of smart cities reflecting new situation. The war in Ukraine, the economic crisis, the environmental crises linked to climate changes taught us, that the crucial quality of the cities nowadays is the resilience of urban socio-ecosystems (including natural ecosystems, communities, economic sector, services …), closely connected with their ability to respond to challenges properly, in real time and with low transactional costs.

The concept of smart cities became to be much more processual addressing the question how we can achieve target quality in efficient and sustainable ways than substantial addressing the question on target quality itself. To follow this development, combining the dictate of needs the use of advanced technologies in order to improve effectivity and efficiency of the use of limited resources (human, natural, financial) with the dictate to reflect the changes in society, its value systems and demands we need to integrate processual and substantial concepts in urban development. In this context the smart urban concepts developed by the spatial planners have to go behind simple implementation of the information, communication and other technologies into the urban life and development, behind the technology innovations, towards social and institutional innovations and in the same time, they have to go beyond simple "greening

the city" towards complex transformation of cities and their functioning towards sustainable ecocities. Both changes and challenges address the problem of urban resilience, where the smart social, technologic, environmental, organisational, and institutional innovations meet the demands of persistence, robustness, adaptability, flexibility, transformability and orientation on innovations.
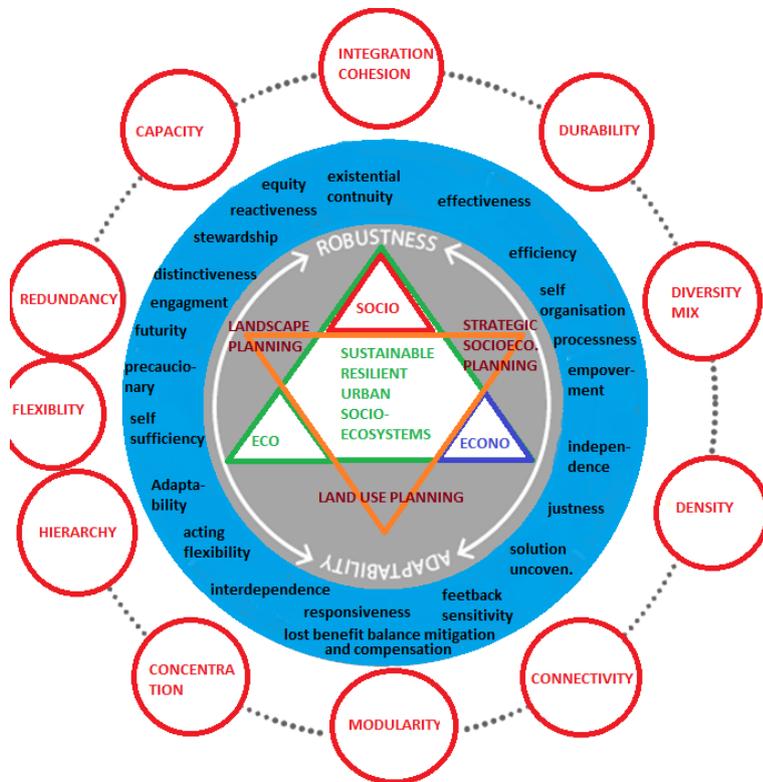

Figure 1: The scheme linking the concept of urban resilience with the 3 pillars of smart concept. Source: elaborated by authors.
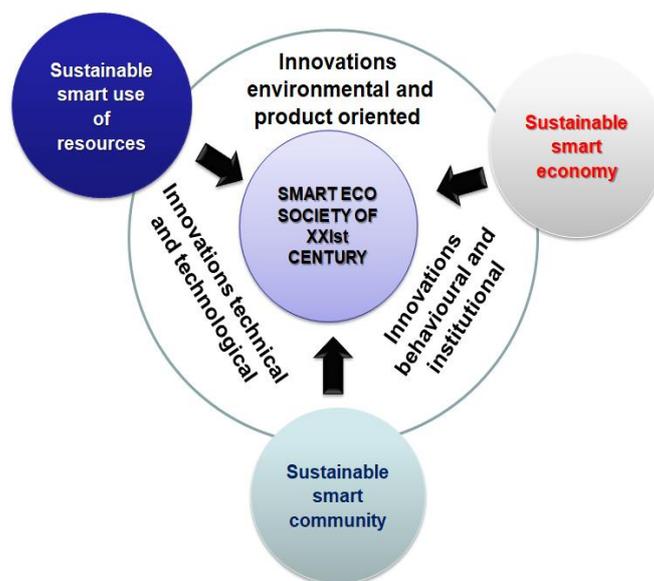
Figure 2: The 3 pillars of smart eco urban society. Source: elaborated by authors

THE 4 MAIN PRINCIPLES

Important part of urban resilience is urban safety as the qualities of urban system addressing physical as well as social and economic environment. Safety belongs to fundamental psychological needs and its absence in the cities is destructive. Basic needs associated with protection against imminent threats resulting from the nature impacts and thus ensuring basic conditions for survival developed via property and environmental protection to the need to ensure the long-term safety sustainable development.

The substantive as well as processual concepts of the city of 21st century have to reflect the fact, that in today's society, where most people live in cities, a man is exposed to high level of uncertainty and is confronted with different kinds of danger every day. This means the extension of the both, the concept of ecocity as well as the concept of smart city reflecting the fact, that the concentration of urban population, human activities, unpredictability of human behavior as well as external shocks by natural disasters and technology failures brought new conflict risks of various functions implemented in urban environment. Different requirements and interests in the field of land user elected in the processes of decision making determined by different value systems of different stakeholders acting on different positions following in many cases contra dictionary goals are multiplied by the conflicts between different dynamics of subsystems in the social ecosystem city. Within this development the problems of increasing anonymity, impeded orientation, dynamics and complexity of interdependencies in the functioning and development of the urban settlements, menace of spreading epidemics, fire hazards, as well as social conflicts are more and more interacting with the problems of divergences between technologic, economic and social subsystems having different level of robustness, flexibility and transformability. The issues of safety have thus not retreated on the contrary; they have become particularly important part of life quality, in many aspects directly connected with urban resilience, less and less manageable using standard concepts, approaches and tools.

Speaking about the interaction between ecocity and smart city concepts in the smart ecocity concept we need to underline 4 principles, which are relevant for the safety as quality in urban social ecosystems. Two of them relate to the substantial question (what?) and another two to processual question (how?).

WHAT?
- **Principle 1.** Quality of urban socio-ecosystems guarantying the equal access to, and synergic quality of the life for citizens, natural ecosystems, economic environment
- **Principle 2.** Efficient and sustainable functioning and using/capitalizing all resources as well as the potential for collaboration and work division between city and its functional area

HOW?
- **Principle 3.** Traditional service networking, more efficient and effective in satisfying the citizens and entrepreneurs thanks to broad use of innovations (incl. ICT, nature-based solutions, ecosystem services).
- **Principle 4.** More interactive, sensitive, reflective urban governance for more safe public spaces and satisfaction of the needs of all citizens, entrepreneurs and other stakeholders across different age and social groups

These 4 principles relate to each of the core elements of the smart ecocity concept as follows:

SMART SUSTAINABLE USE OF RESOURCES– supra-local system safeguarding efficient, sustainable, adjusted use of natural, human, institutional, financial resources including available information/data, know how, high-tech technologies, approaches, processes.

Dominant categories of resources in the focus of smart use are:
- energy,
- land/soil,
- information,
- know-how,

- data,
- building stock,
- infrastructure,
- human and social capital,
- nature,
- space,
- materials,
- institutional and financial capital

The SMART SUSTAINABLE HEALTHY COMMUNITY–healthy community:
- representing smart social environment for its activities, communicating, competing and collaborating
- based on the clearly defined rules, fair, inclusive, equal, transparent, open, multicultural, multiracial, balanced by gender,
- following joint values and goal to optimise their quality of life, including dwelling, work, enterprising, and other activities
- using for it efficiently and sustainable available resources including the high-tech technologies.

Dominant categories in the focus of smart community are:
- smart governance,
- smart participation,
- smart cooperation,
- smart security and safety
- smart education and self-learning,
- smart mobility and
- smart education.

SMART SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY– social ecosystem:
- in which available resources are sustainably used in the production of the high added values/products using and developing regional and local territorial capital,
- knowledge-based, dynamic, competitive, efficient and sustainable, innovation and creativity oriented,

Dominant categories in the focus of smart economy are:
- creative/innovative environment,
- thesquare of science - spinoffs – start-ups – scaleups,
- ecosystem-services as economic expression of the values linked to natural capital,
- creative and cultural economy,
- circular economy,
- smart tourism,
- shared economy and
- social economy

The above conceptual change influences the perception of a man as a basic reference frame for safety assessment in the space from classical via modern to postmodern up to digital age as shown in Figure 3 below:
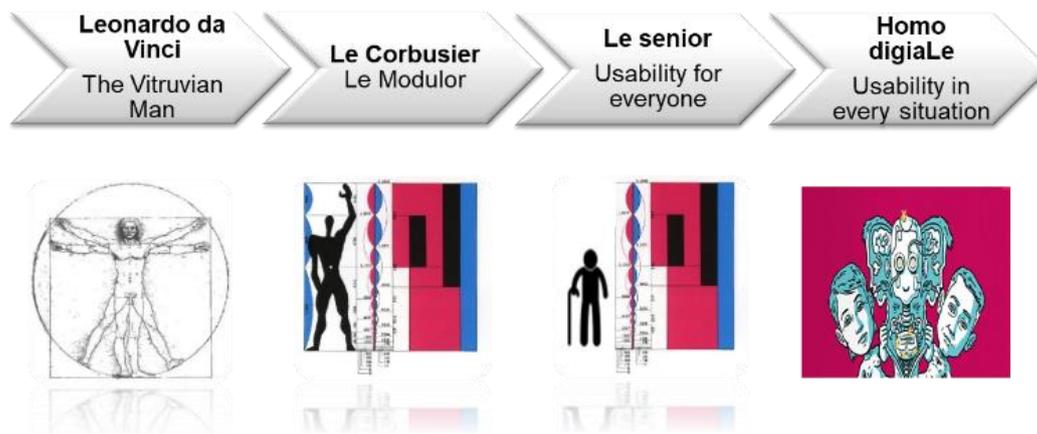
Figure 3: The shift in the perception framework for urban safety in the context of smart ecocity concept. Source: elaborated by authors

Smart ecocity as integration of processual and substantial concepts represents the quality of urban social ecosystems guarantying the equal access and affordability to and synergic quality of life for each citizen via efficient and sustainablee functioning andusing capitalizing all resources as well as the potential for collaboration and work division based on internal capacities of the communities to self-learning and self-organizing which means better resilience as the quality above the safety covering 5 main risks categories :

- A Health risks (endangering human physical condition and/or life);
- B Socio-psycho-pathological risks;
- C Economic risks and losses on property;
- D Energy/resource safety
- E Environmental risks

These 5 main risks categories relate in synergic interaction to the 5 fields of space "features" holders consists of five main categories as follows:

- 1 Physical structure (volume, space, place, territory physical environment)
- 2 Functional structures (space function and management, traffic)
- 3 Man and society (social and economic environment) – a man as a passive or active participant of the environment
- 4 Man as an object of reference (safety for whom)
- 5 Legal and institutional environments.

CONCLUSION

In reflection to new perception of urban safety as integrated part of the concept of smart ecosystem city the innovative methodologies for assessing the urban safety are currently being further developed in the whole complexity and tested in the model cities as a part of the complex concepts of smart urban development. Urban safety embedded into the complex strategies development and management using the system of interrelated smart tools became to be much more complex and interrelated quality. This is the precondition for proper reaction and system flexibility in proposing and implementing appropriate measures for its improvements in the context of such challenges for the cities in the Visegrad countries like climate change, war in Europe or COVID19 pandemics.

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POSITIVE ENERGY DISTRICTS (PED) IN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

One of the main challenges in recent urban development is urban energy transition requiring comprehensive approaches including different kinds of innovations. The synergies between social, technological, organizational, behavioural, and institutional innovations brough by the concept of Positive Energy Districts represents crucial step ahead in this transition.

KEY WORDS: energy transition, innovations, positive energy districts, urban development

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Jednou z hlavních výzev současného městského rozvoje je městská energetická transformace vyžadující komplexní přístupy zahrnující různé druhy inovací. Synergie mezi sociálními, technologickými, organizačními, behaviorálními a institucionálními inovacemi, které přináší koncept oblastí pozitivní energie, představuje zásadní krok vpřed v tomto přechodu.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: energetická transformace, inovace, pozitivní energetické čtvrti, rozvoj měst

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A közelmúlt városfejlesztésének egyik fő kihívása a városok energetikai átalakítása, amely átfogó megközelítést igényel, beleértve a különféle innovációkat is. A társadalmi, technológiai, szervezeti, magatartási és intézményi innovációk közötti szinergiák, amelyeket a „pozitív energiakörzetek" koncepciója eredményezett, döntő lépést jelentenek ebben az átalakulásban.

KULCSSZAVAK: energetikai átállás, innovációk, pozitív energia-negyedek, városfejlesztés

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Jednym z głównych wyzwań w ostatnim rozwoju obszarów miejskich jest transformacja energetyki miejskiej wymagająca kompleksowego podejścia obejmującego różnego rodzaju innowacje. Synergia między innowacjami społecznymi, technologicznymi, organizacyjnymi, behawioralnymi i instytucjonalnymi, jaką wnosi koncepcja Okręgów Pozytywnej Energii, stanowi kluczowy krok naprzód w tej transformacji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: transformacja energetyczna, innowacje, dzielnice pozytywnej energii, rozwój miast

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Jednou z hlavných výziev súčasného mestského rozvoja je transformácia mestskej energetiky vyžadujúca komplexné prístupy vrátane rôznych druhov inovácií. Synergie medzi sociálnymi, technologickými, organizačnými, behaviorálnymi a inštitucionálnymi inováciami prinášané konceptom pozitívnych energetických štvrtí reprezentujú kľúčový krok na ceste k tejto transformácii.

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INTRODUCTION

The European Commission has supported the energy transition towards the renewable energy sources in different ways already several decades. Recent situation accelerates multiple processes focused on different aspects of complex transition of the energy sector starting with research and development, via development of new public energy transition policies across different levels, planning, programming up to the implementation. The REPowerEU plan - Joint European action for more affordable, secure and sustainable energy (European Commission, 2022) has ambition to be the catalyser and integrative element in these processes. Cities with their economic and other activities at their territory are essential actors not only as the largest consumer of energy and territorial units with larger potential for energy savings but in fighting climate change as well. According to the COP21 Paris Agreement (United Nations, 2015), cities around the world needs to take steps to promote renewable energy, support electric vehicles, change streetlights to energy-saving LEDs, slash emissions from buildings and address the climate change in comprehensive form. In 2016, the organization's "Deadline 2020" report2 indicated that cities alone can reduce 5% of the world's global emissions, contributing to meet the Paris Agreement, and in concert with other tiers of government and the private sector, they can potentially contribute to reduce 46% (C40, 2016) This paper is showing some of the outputs of the MAKING-CITY Horizon 2020 project (Making City, 2018) as large-scale demonstration project aiming at the development of new integrated strategies to address the urban energy system transformation towards low carbon cities, with the positive energy district (PED) approach as the core of the urban energy transition pathway and proper reaction to the recent challenges. The term energy transition designates a significant change for an energy system at long-term, that could be related to one or a combination of changes related to structure, scale, economics, and energy policy, but most of all referred as a change in the state of the whole energy system in opposition to individual changes in energy technologies or fuel sources
[https://www.agc-yourglass.com/agc-glass-europe/gb/en/positive_energy/hikari/project.html],
historical energy transitions can be mentioned.

THE PED CONCEPT

The Making-city project is intensively focused on achieving evidence about the actual potential of the PED concept, as foundation of a highly efficient and sustainable route to progress beyond the current urban transformation roadmaps. Although in principle a PED approach seems a solid and ambitious strategy, this should be complemented with long term urban planning to ensure upscaling and fostering higher impacts. Currently city energy plans are starting to be designed with a 2030 horizon, according to the standard city commitments. Project is addressing methodologies to support cities in their long-term urban planning towards an adequate energy transition, paving the way of the planning, implementation and up-scaling process. Cities of Groningen (Netherlands) and Oulu (Finland) act as lighthouses. These cities have been working intensively in ambitious transformation planning whose approaches fit perfectly with the

project objectives for years. Both have committed to deploy a demonstration of at least one positive energy district. León (Spain), Bassano del Grappa (Italy), Kadiköy (Turkey), Trenčín (Slovakia), Vidin (Bulgaria) and Lublin (Poland) are the follower cities. All of them have assumed a huge commitment to develop a solid execution project of Positive Energy District and foster high level of replication of the solutions demonstrated in Groningen and Oulu.

This project of special importance for Slovakia as one of the most affected countries by the restrictions against Russia in the context of its aggression in Ukraine due lack of real public interventions to support the transition towards renewable energy resources and improvement of energy efficiency in the combination with lack of integrative view in regard on implementation of complex solutions. Unfortunately, the voice of spatial planning, underlying the necessity to offer such solutions has been only recently amplified by the geopolitical situation in Europe and the sudden awakening of European politicians regarding the energy dependence from sources outside of European Union.

The topics of energy transition as focused in the Making-city projects shifts the ratio of renewable energy sources and lowering the energy consumption by technical means towards strengthening the process of changing the energy consumer behaviour in the combination with the imperative to increase security, safety, and sustainability of energy supplies or the importance of social responsibility.

The spatial planning approaches shifted the scope much more towards integrated solutions with broader public involvement, towards change of energy consumption and mobility habits, change of split of costs of living reflecting purchasing power in the context of high rate of the inflation and unstable market. Regardless of all the limitations and setbacks, current situation creates unique chance to boost the energy transition towards renewable energy sources even faster, than the EU anticipated and could bring the Europe to an evolutionary step towards so called Energy 2.0.

As mentioned above The European Commission promptly reacted to the situation through the REPowerEU plan underlining not only the need for the increase of environmentally friendly energy, its sustainability and security, but also the importance of local communities and their roles in the energy transition. The spatial planning plays an important role in the activation of communities providing different tools addressing all aspects of the transition process as defined by new EU energy policies (Fit to 55, Winter energy package, Energy 2.0, etc.). Especially the concept Energy 2.0 means also the paradigm shift of the roles in the core of the energy network, in which the role of the local communities or individuals shifts from the passive energy consumers towards active actors with different possibilities of energy creation, effective usage, its storing, exchange and even profit generation. This fact also opens new possibilities for the municipalities, which should be viewed not only as important energy consumers and also as an important stakeholder and actor within the local communities.

Common approach to work from the scale of buildings, where this micro-level can be properly addressed by new concepts to foster and support the energy transition needs to be combined within larger scale of districts and cities, where the idea of Positive Energy Blocks, has to be perceived as a fully scalable way to progress in the city transformation in systematic way, but not covering the complexity of the transition of urban energy sector. A rational further step seems to be the consideration of "positive energy districts (PED)" considered by the MAKING-CITY project. These districts represent delimited areas of buildings and public spaces where the total annual energy balance (the energy taken from outside the district against the energy delivered on-site by whatever the energy carrier) is positive, therefore they deliver, in average, an energy surplus to be shared with other areas of the city or its functional urban area. This requires an intensive energy generation on-site, where renewable energy resources (e.g., water, wind, solar, geothermal, …) play a key role together with smart generation equipment (e.g., heat pumps, CHP...) producing the energy in very efficient way.

Important part of the transition and creation of PED in which the lowering the consumption is critical, are retrofitting actions for the buildings in the combination with innovative designs of new high-performance

buildings. This high performance is linked not only to direct energy consumption for heating, cooling, and lighting but in much broader understanding as total energy consumption for processes in the building as well as in regard to embodies energy integrating advanced materials, control systems, energy storage, etc.

Absolute dominance of renewables on site in the combination with low consumption in many cases goes beyond the norms codified by buildings codes or traditional urban economy normative and concepts used by urban planning. Positive Energy Districts use to be innovation-pushing "seeding points" to innovative businesses and community actions highly concentrating and integrating all aspects describing net–zero- energy/emission districts.
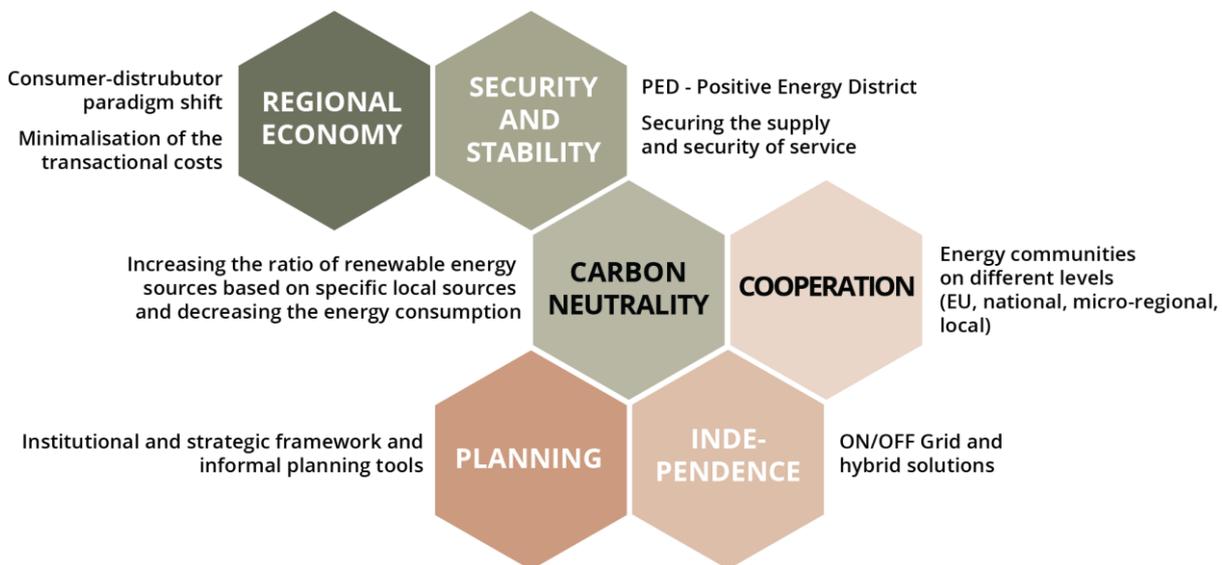
Figure 1: Current energy challenges, Source: authors

THE CONTEXTS OF PED IMPLEMENTATION

In this context it is clear, that the energy transition including the development of PED is not automatically implementable by formal instruments, although it requires significant changes regarding the legislation, of formal planning processes. It needs further development of social capital using different supporting tools, and also changing a perception towards energy as a mean of economic and social benefit generation.

Therefore, the Making-city projects offers the solutions in following aspects:

1. Although urban energy planning at different time horizons (mainly short and medium terms) is widely implemented, the Making-city project offers innovative concepts of urban planning, on one side to close the existing gap in between the action plans and the real implementation and on the other side to reach higher decarbonization achievements at medium and long term and involving seamless the new transportation needs, in particular those related with electric mobility.

2. As urban energy transformation affects changes in structure, society, economy, technologies and policies of the cities, the Making-city projects develops further the promising PED concept towards introducing the change of paradigm, affecting all abovementioned aspects. Pilot cities represent large scale demonstrations, offering the possibility to evaluate the benefits of this very specific strategy and to decide if this is a valid approach. The Making-city projects shows how the European building codes are rigorous, and how commonly accepted norms promising to achieve an early energy transformation in line with the climate change adaptation need to be much more ambitious and in the same time how the communities can benefit from their going beyond current standards.

3. The Making-city project capitalizes a number of existing initiatives to foster up-scaling and replication of successful solutions as a way to ensure going further than pilots and demonstrations. The concept of follower cities together with other so called observer cities supports the replication of best practices delivering real chance for up-scaling and replication plans in the short term.

4. Being aware that the market in general is reluctant to accept early innovations and it is quite fragmented, due mainly to the associated risks perceived that commonly cannot be assumed by public authorities in charge of major changes the Making-city project provides evidences the benefits and cost-effectiveness of innovative solutions for public procurement as they are essential to ensure replication and to reach a deep transformation reducing the timeframe.

5. The Making -city project built-up at the fact, that the society is more and more aware about the impact of the human activities in climate change providing the concept for integration of different initiatives are currently on going in order to convince people that a more sustainable behaviour is needed to mitigate climate change effects. Anyway, a step forward could be made, deploying more effective strategies for citizens engagement in the urban transformation process, by means of co-creation activities, dissemination actions and incentives to foster the acceptance of innovative and breakthrough solutions from the demand side.

6. The Making-city project integrate the know-how form different European projects (lighthouse projects, FP7, H2020 NBS and ICT programmes) and existing cooperation frameworks, knowledge about the barriers, main achievements and best practices dealing with nearly zero energy districts (nZED) or zero energy emissions districts (ZEED) approaches at the platform of new concept of positive energy districts (PED).

7. The concept of lighthouse, follower and observer cities is going beyond standard demonstration projects improving the penetration of the main messages in the society, from public to professionals, without forgetting specific audiences as public authorities, public servants or academia. The Making-city project goes in deep in specific actions of coaching and mentoring for decision makers and improves the real application of the knowledge transferred.

8. The Making-city project provides the frameworks for integration and management of data available thanks to different systems for Data Monitoring creating the city-level Urban Platforms, which allow not only collection of a big amount of valuable data from demonstrative projects but their analyses and exploitation by using performance indicators (KPIs). These treated data not only deliver one of the main project outcomes, the evaluation of the effective performance of the solutions deployed but also support the process of fostering replicability, dissemination and communication activities. However, some legal barriers as the new GDPR are constraining the insights that can be gained with this available information. It is necessary to establish new ways of data use compatible

For many stakeholders, even the professionals, local governance, entrepreneurs and citizens, is the vision for local energy communities unrealistic and unachievable. There are arguments commenting the unpreparedness, lack of experience, absence of social and financial capacities, or the willingness towards realisation of the required municipality management changes, or the change of the individual behaviours and habits. Such arguments must be taken into consideration, but the Slovakia has capacities not to be just a follower of principles and approaches created elsewhere and could be a leader and active player with own idea generation and experimentation. This could be based on the willingness of the municipalities to alter its modus operandi and adopt and generate innovations, and the existence of professional capacities not only in the field of energy, but also the field of spatial planning and regional innovations. Intensive cooperation, knowledge exchange and mutual support are also important aspects of the energy transformation and therefore the existence of common platforms and cooperation clusters is crucial.

There is evidence, that the capacities of Slovak professionals for implementation of REPover EU plan are available, including their collaboration and networking with the municipalities and regions. The Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava (STU), as the member of Slovak Smart City Cluster, takes the role of active player in the field of energy transformation, supported by several projects such as the MakingCity, that is realised within the excellent European research programme Horizon2020. The project focuses on the definition, creation, testing and implementation of so-called Positive Energy District concept (PED), that can be understood as positive energy areas, that produce more energy from the local renewable sources that they consume, and that are built on the activity of the local energy communities. Through the cooperation of 34 partners (9 cities, 5 universities, 4 research centres, 4 reality managers, 7 energy companies and 1 construction company) from different parts of Europe and through the analyses, identification, and implementation, a PED concept have been proposed. A concept that respects the local specifications and potentials, different scales and scalability as well as the local specific cultural and legislative conditions. This approach was designed on purpose to demonstrate the universality, transferability and functionality of the PED concept throughout the EU in different contexts or scales.

TRENČÍN AS A MODEL AREA

Since the 2018 the city of Trenčín with the support and cooperation by the SPECTRA EU Centre of Excellence at STU in Bratislava and Slovak Smart City Cluster, prepares the implementation of the PED concept for the local communities in its municipal area. The implementation preparation consists of comprehensive spatial and functional analysis of the urban systems with the use of geo information systems (GIS) tools, identification of the appropriate PED areas within the scale of an urban block, and the identification and mediation of the cooperation between the local actors such as the municipality, inhabitants, NGOs or local companies and entrepreneurs.

Figure 2: Example of the functional analysis of the PED area in Trenčín, Source: Alpagut, Beril; Montalvillo, Cecilia Sanz; et all., 2022

The detailed analysis and definition of suitable PED area is followed by the modelling of energy needs, identification of local renewable energy potentials and appropriate effective technology suggestions, as well as by the focus on the innovation generation, community building and management and engagement of local stakeholders, with an aim to create an active and responsible energy community.

For this reason, the city of Trenčín conducted public engagement activities, such as interviews, surveys, meetings and discussions, to map out the stakeholders and to educate the public of the projects vision and its benefits. The Making-city project in this way fosters a mixed top-down and bottom-up approach for the consolidation of the energy transition. The top-down approach based on impact-based tools that define scenarios considering the demand-side and supply-side characterization at different time-frames is combined with the bottom-up strategy providing monitoring and evaluation procedures.

Figure 3 International student teams on a field trip in the city of Trenčín, Source: Authors

CONCLUSIONS

The example from Trenčín shows that a city can play an important role in tackling the impact of climate and in order to fight against it, that the long-term planning strategies can be not only developed but implemented in Slovak and Central European cities reflecting the EU policies that are defined with a much longer time-horizon (EU climate action policies by 2050) in existing legal environment and planning system. On the other hand, the Trenčín experience underlines the need for new structural organization at the upper levels of planning and policy making in order to ensure a continuous stability, avoiding uncertainty (changes in regulatory framework, short term view due to elections, etc.) and ensuring a seamless application of the plans in between the different sectorial governance structures. The methodology for long term planning developed in the Making-city project is in harmony with the Central European planning culture, which

allows its broader implementation in the Visegrad countries (V4). These scenarios combining modelling procedures to define the demand-side (city needs) and supply-side (technology offers) in combination with impact estimation procedures to reduce uncertainty can be broadly used as a part of sectorial as well as comprehensive land-use or socio-economic development planning. The methodology validated in the eight participant cities (Oulu, Groningen, Kadiköy, León, Bassano, Lublin, Trenčín and Vidin) with the creation of 8 long term urban plans in each city is an offer and challenges for replication in other V4 cities as:

- the concept of energy communities could potentially become a driving force of the V4 energy transformation towards the co-called Energy 2.0, even if the state institutions and respective ministries realise the much-needed changes very slowly (legislation), in small scales (even with the accessibility of the European structural and investment funds). It is paradoxical that even though the municipalities are owners/administrators of large portion of buildings and spaces throughout V4 cities, are responsible for social problems such as energy poverty, and are significant consumers of energy and important actors in energy transformation, the state and its institutions do not engage the municipalities into the creation of important tools and mechanisms (mostly financial). This endangers the Slovak responsibilities towards the EU, especially regarding the positive impact in the respective areas and its effects on the local communities.
- Slovakia takes a role of excellent player in the field of energy transformation ideas and concepts generation, has its own professional academic capacities (for example the Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava) as well as capacities in the tertiary sector, with possibilities to build new capacities within the municipalities, where the potential of innovation realisation is the highest.
- The municipalities understand the need and the potentials connected to the energy transformation, especially through the concept of energy communities, and are willing to become the driving force and initiators of their creation and management.
- The energy communities concept enables active participation of the public into the energy transformation, and their shift from passive energy consumers to the role of active players on the energy market, which enables them to participate also on the beneficiary side of such transformation.

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THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION SHAPING THE URBAN DIMENSION OF EU POLICIES – TOWARDS THE CATALOGUE OF URBAN CHALLENGES?[19]

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(ENG)   ABSTRACT
The aim of the article is to illustrate the transformations of the European Commission's approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies in the functioning of the European Union. The conducted research, based on the use of content analysis and elements of comparative analysis and institutional analysis, proves that these transformations are evolutionary and are based on the so-called milestones in a form of documents, mainly communications and reports. The result of gradual changes is a catalogue of challenges related to the functioning of cities, which emerges from the assumptions of these documents.

KEY WORDS: city, urban policy, European Union, European Commission, document

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT
Cílem článku je ukázat proměny přístupu Evropské komise k definování role měst a městských politik v Evropské unii. Provedený výzkum, založený na využití obsahové analýzy a prvků komparativní analýzy a institucionální analýzy, dokládá, že tyto proměny jsou evoluční a vycházejí z tzv. milníků v podobě dokumentů, především sdělení a zpráv. Výsledkem postupných změn je katalog výzev souvisejících s procesy odehrávajícími se ve městech.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: město, městská politika, Evropská unie, Evropská komise, dokument

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT
A cikk az Európai Bizottság megközelítésének átalakulását mutatja be a városok és a várospolitikák Európai Unión belüli szerepének meghatározásában. A tartalomelemzésre, valamint az összehasonlító elemzés és intézményelemzés elemeire épülő kutatás azt bizonyítja, hogy ezek az átalakulások evolúciós jellegűek, és ún. mérföldköveken alapulnak dokumentumok formájában, elsősorban közleményekben és beszámolókban. A fokozatos változások eredménye a városok működésével kapcsolatos kihívások katalógusa.

KULCSSZAVAK: város, várospolitika, Európai Unió, Európai Bizottság, dokumentum

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(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Celem artykułu jest zilustrowanie przeobrażeń podejścia Komisji Europejskiej do definiowania roli miast i polityk miejskich w funkcjonowaniu Unii Europejskiej. Przeprowadzone badanie, oparte o wykorzystanie analizy treści oraz elementów analizy porównawczej i analizy instytucjonalnej, udowadnia, że wspomniane przeobrażenia mają charakter ewolucyjny i osadzają się na tzw. kamieniach milowych w postaci dokumentów, głównie komunikatów i raportów. Rezultatem stopniowych zmian jest katalog wyzwań związanych z funkcjonowaniem miast, który wyłania się z założeń owych dokumentów.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: city, urban policy, European Union, European Commission, document

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Cieľom článku je ilustrovať premeny prístupu Európskej komisie k definovaniu úlohy miest a mestských politík vo fungovaní Európskej únie. Realizovaný výskum, založený na využití obsahovej analýzy a prvkov komparatívnej analýzy a inštitucionálnej analýzy, dokazuje, že tieto transformácie sú evolučné a sú založené na takzvaných míľnikoch vo forme dokumentov, najmä komunikácií a správ. Výsledkom postupných zmien je katalóg výziev súvisiacich s fungovaním miest, ktorý vyplýva z predpokladov týchto dokumentov.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: mesto, mestská politika, Európska únia, Európska komisia, dokument

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INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to disagree with the statement that cities are important, if not completely key, "links" in the complex, multi-subject and multi-faceted process of satisfying the collective needs of urban communities. It is determined by a number of different factors, among which the decisive role is played by their special development potential, incomparable with other spatial and administrative units. As Michael Bloomberg notes, 'Cities have played a more important role in shaping the world than empires' (ESPAS, 2019, p. 1). For this reason, a number of public institutions, including intergovernmental and transnational ones, are interested in the functioning of cities. The activity of the European Union (EU), and even earlier - the European Community[20] can be an example. It has been aimed at "inclusion" of cities - not only their undisputed potential, but also their growing aspirations and expectations - in the process of formulating and implementing European policies[21].

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[20] The use of the European Community term is an author's deliberate attempt. The article focuses only on the European Economic Community which was created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957 and renamed the European Community in 1993 by the Maastricht Treaty.

[21] When writing about European policies, the author focuses on the public policies focused on defining and then meeting the needs of citizens, which are manifested in many different sectoral (problematic) areas. Moreover, unless otherwise indicated, the wording of European policy applies to both the European Community and the European Union acquis (see Zahariadis, Buonanno 2020).

RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS

The aim of the article is to illustrate the approach of the European Commission (EC) to defining the role of cities and urban policies in the functioning of the EU[22]. The hypothesis formulated for the purposes of the article is: the development of the EC approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies is of an evolutionary nature and is based on the so-called milestones in the form of documents of urban provenance[23] (see Peterson, Bomberg, 1999). Although the author is interested in the activity of key EU institutions[24], special attention is paid to the activities of the European Commission (EC) (formerly: Commission of European Communities, CEC). The importance of the European Commission for the process of forming the urban dimension of European policies is undeniable. It results not only from the EC's right of legislative initiative, but also from its right to initiate a European discussion on sectoral (problem) policies, and thus also the so-called urban issues. For this reason, the key research material used by the author of the article comprises the source materials from the collections of the Historical Archives of European Union (HAEU) of the European University Institute (EUI), obtained in the course of the query (Leeuw, Schmeets, 2016). This, obviously, does not diminish the importance of analysing the content of other documents supplemented with elements of comparative analysis and institutional analysis (Lichbach, Zuckerman, 1997; Beckmann, Padmanabhan, 2009).

The article consists of four parts. Apart from (1) the introduction and (2) the part devoted to the organization of the research procedure, (3) 'The European Commission on urban matters' is of key importance. It is an attempt to reconstruct the process of forming the EC approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies. The part (4) 'Towards the catalogue of urban challenges' European Commission on urban matters' is a reflection dedicated to the most important urban challenges which emerge from the assumptions of the documents resulting from the legislative activity of the EC. The (5) conclusion, which is a summary, also needs to be emphasized.

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION ON URBAN MATTERS

The dynamic development of cities is reflected in the activities of the EU - its institutions, EU Member States, city governments and those private (commercial) and social (non-governmental) entities that operate at the local level. It is difficult to disagree with the statement that the Urban Agenda for the EU established under the Amsterdam Pact of May 30, 2016 is a culmination of these actions. Defining twelve priority themes, the pact outlines the framework for the cooperation focused on the urban dimension of EU policies (Pact of Amsterdam, 2016, pp. 7). This cooperation, carried out not only vertically but also horizontally, should, according to the assumptions of the authors of the pact, result in modifications and improvements to EU policies in those areas where they relate to urban issues and urban policies (De Frantz,

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[22] For the purposes of this article, it is assumed that urban policies cover a wide range of activities aimed at stimulating the development of cities and ensuring the well-being of their inhabitants. Although municipal self-government administration bodies are primarily the subjects of these activities, it should be noted that the central government administration also plays an important role, as it defines the legal, organizational and financial framework for the functioning of cities and actors operating at the urban level (see Van Den Berg, Braun, and Van Der Meer, 1998).

[23] The author of the article has already analyzed the issue of shaping the Urban Agenda for the EU, e.g. urban-oriented documents, in one of his earlier publications (Glinka, 2020, pp. 60-69). The presented considerations refer to the main themes described in the above-mentioned publication, they modify, update and expand these themes. A key role is played by determining whether the EC undertook legal activities focused on urban matters even before the establishment of the EU and what is the current state of such activity.

[24] The author's attention focuses not only on the European Commission, the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament, but also about city-oriented: (1), Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, (2) meetings of EU ministers responsible the so-called municipal affairs, (3) the Urban Intergroup, which was set up in 2005 in the European Parliament.

2021). Therefore, one can be tempted to say that the proposed cooperation is dispersed and networked, i.e. as it 'responds' to the turbulent transformations of the modern state, referred to as 'hollowing out of the state' (Rhodes, 1994, 1996; Keating, 2009; Jessop, 2013). As Joel Kotkin notes, these are the transformations related to the growing aspirations of municipalities as political actors which are active not only at the local level, but also at the regional and national, and even transnational level (Kotkin, 2005, see Brenner, 2004; Van der Haiden, 2010; Lackowska, 2014).

The genesis of urban 'thinking' about EU politicians is, obviously, incomparably richer. It dates back to the 1950s, i.e. the period when the European Economic Community was created, transformed under the Maastricht Treaty into the European Community (OJ EC, 1992). Tomasz Majda and Izabela Mironowicz draw attention to the essence of the urban"' shift in European politics and note:

'(...) It is somewhat paradoxical that European political bodies take the opposite path in defining the city model than professional bodies, that is, they move from a larger scale to the problems of the cities themselves (...)' (2017, p. 8).

Considering the above, it may be tempted to say that the urban dimension of European policies is of a secondary nature to what experts in the field define as the process of shaping the *acquis Communautaire* (Alter, 2000; Fjelstul, 2019).

As shown in the data presented in Table 1, the 1990 'Green paper on urban environment' was the first 'milestone' in defining the role of cities and urban policies. It was significant as it initiated a formal discussion dedicated to 'location' cities in European politics, provoking the preparation of subsequent documents (Urban Environment, 1990). It should be emphasized that the 'soft' nature of all the analysed documents, i.e. communications and reports (the so-called soft law), is non-binding.

Bearing in mind the special role of the message 'Green paper on urban environment" of 1990, one fundamental reservation should be made. Namely, it is about a clear disproportion between the 'size' of interest in the affairs of cities and urban policies after 1990 and before 1990.

While in the first case, this interest continued to grow, which is confirmed by subsequent legal acts (nearly twenty items in Table 1). Before 1990, it had only a rudimentary and very limited character. Table 1 proves that before 1990 very detailed issues were raised, often related to only one Member State. Moreover, it should be clearly emphasized that the so-called urban issues were often only a secondary thread of the discussed and then regulated problems. Thus, the legal acts adopted at that time 'affecting' cities and urban policies were not of a general character. They were individually oriented, dedicated to specific cases.

As mentioned, the catalogue of issues that were of interest to the Commission was very diverse.

The first group consisted of problems related to European funds. As an example, one can mention the issue of using the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for the implementation of infrastructure projects aimed at the development of urban areas (HAEU, 1983).

The second group consisted of the arrangements related to the conduct of European projects (eg EUREKA) requiring detailed additions between the Commission and the Member States (HAEU, 1990a).

The last, third group concerned the so-called urban issues only in an indirect way. In this case, the spectrum of the problems raised was the widest and included i.a. implementation of infrastructure investments, principles of the organization of the public transport system, conditions for the functioning of enterprises (SMEs), service delivery frameworks, rules for the movement of employees, etc.

However, it is worth to mention that each discussed problem had an urban 'origin', as it concerned entities operating in a specific city or a specific urban functional area. One may be tempted to say that the urban perspective (in the spatial sense) set the framework for the discussions that engaged the Commission and the interested Member States (HAEU 1973; 1974a; 1974b; 1975, 1976; 1982; 1985; 1990b; 1990c; 1990d; 1991a; 1991b; 1991c; 1991d; 1991e; 1991f).

Year	Author (European body)	Status	Document	Period
1972-1990 (1)	Commission of European Communities/ /European Commission	various types	Detailed documents relating to urban matters	Pre-Urban Agenda period
1990 (2)		green paper	Green paper on urban environment	
1992 (3)		working paper	Urbanization and the functions of cities in the European Community	
1997 (4)		communication	Towards an urban agenda in the European Union	
1999 (5)		report	European Spatial Development Perspective. Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union	
2004 (6)		communication	Towards a thematic strategy on the urban environment	
2006 (7, 8)		communication	Cohesion Policy and cities. The urban contribution to growth and jobs in the regions	
		communication	Thematic strategy on the urban environment	
2007 (9)		green paper	Towards a new culture for urban mobility	
2008 (10)		green paper	Green paper on territorial cohesion: Turning territorial diversity into strength	
2009 (11)		communication	Action Plan on urban mobility	
2010 (12)		guide	The urban dimension in Community policies for the period 2007-2013	
2011 (13)		report	Cities of tomorrow. Challenges, visions, ways forward	
2014 (14, 15, 16)		report	Cities of tomorrow: Investing in Europe	
		communication	The urban dimension of EU policies - Key features of an EU urban agenda	
		report	Scenarios for Integrated Territorial Investments	
2016 (17)		report	Quality of Life in European Cities 2015	
2017 (18)		report	Report from the Commission to the Council on the Urban Agenda for the EU	Urban Agenda period
2019 (19, 20)		brochure	Online Brochure on 'the state of play of the Urban Agenda for the EU - Multi-level governance in action'	
		report	Assessment Study of the Urban Agenda for the European Union (UAEU)	

Table 1: Evolution of the Commission approach to cities and urban policies - the so-called milestones.
Source: author's own work on the basis of: Glinka, 2020, pp. 60-69; EUR-Lex, 2022; Publications Office, 2022.

When analysing the above list, one may be tempted to state that the process of forming a European approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies is by no means a finite process. This is evidenced by the subsequent problem-oriented documents and thematic studies prepared by the EC, or rather the Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy[25].

TOWARDS THE CATALOGUE OF URBAN CHALLENGES

Each of the documents listed in Table 2 presents at least several key components of what can be defined in the catalogue of urban challenges. Taking up the difficult task of answering the question of what are the exact challenges, it was decided to analyse several, seemingly, most important regulations for shaping the urban dimension of European policies. They are: 'Green paper on urban environment' (1990), 'Towards an urban agenda in the European Union' (1997), 'Green paper on territorial cohesion: Turning territorial diversity into strength' (2008) and 'The urban dimension of EU policies - Key features of an EU urban agenda' (2014). The selection of the studied cases is not accidental. It is possible to risk a statement that they are a 'measure' of the condition of the urban dimension of European policies over the course of nearly twenty-five years. This does not, of course, diminish the importance of other documents, which also, to a lesser extent, defined the directions of European thinking about cities and urban policies (see Wiktorska-Święcka, 2016, pp. 98-106).

The comparison of the assumptions of the four documents proves that the EC approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies has changed significantly. The initial, quite general phrases gave way with time to the postulate of creating the Urban Agenda for the EU.

Year	Document and its most important assumptions
1990	**Green paper on urban environment:** • City and Urbanization: (1) The spread of urbanization, (2) City as a project, (3) The essence of European approach, (4) The role of cities, (5) Creativity; • The Urban Environment: (1) The complexity of urban environment, (2) Urban pollution, (3) Built environment, (4) Nature in the city; • The Root Causes of Urban Degradation: (1) Functionalism, (2) Production and organization of work, (3) Distribution and conceptions, (4) Hotels, restaurants and housing, (5) Tourism, (5) Communication and mobility; • Areas of Actions: Urban planning, (2) Urban transport, (3) The protection and enhancement of the historical heritage of European cities, (4) Protection and enhancement of the natural environment within our towns and cities, (5), Water management, (6) Urban Industry, (7) Urban energy management, (8) Urban waste, (9) Comparative information on the state of the urban environment, (10) Information initiatives, (11) Social Initiatives, (12) Interregional co-operation.
1997	**Towards an urban agenda in the European Union:** ▪ Current actions at EU level related to urban development: (1) Promoting competitiveness and employment, (2) Policy in favour of economic and social cohesion, (3) Transport and trans-European Networks, (4) Promoting sustainable development and the quality of life in cities; ▪ Directions for the future: (1) The need for an urban perspective in European Union policies, (2) Services of public interest and urban development, (3) Contribution of the Structural Funds.
2008	**Green paper on territorial cohesion: Turning territorial diversity into strength:** ▪ A territorial perspective on economic and social cohesion;

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[25]It is worth mentioning here such studies that are a response to such current problems as uncontrolled migrations or the pandemic crisis caused by the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus (see Urban Agenda, 2021).

	▪ Towards more balanced and harmonious development: (1) Concentration: overcoming differences in density, (2) Connecting territories: overcoming distance, (3) Cooperation: overcoming division, (4) Regions with specific geographical features; ▪ Territorial cohesion in debate and practice at community and national level: (1) Territorial cohesion in the programming of EU policies..., (2) ... and in the debate in and between the Member States; ▪ Question for debate: (1) Definition, (2) The scale and scope of territorial action, (3) Better cooperation, (4) Better coordination, (5) New territorial partnerships, (6) Improving understanding of territorial cohesion.
2014	**The urban dimension of EU policies - Key features of an EU urban agenda:** ▪ Challenges and potential of an urban Europe: (1) An urbanised EU with cities driving growth and resource efficiency, (2) Sub-optimal performance and persistent challenges in European cities, (3) A fragmented urban system; ▪ Urban policy in Europe: (1) National urban policies, (2) Intergovernmental cooperation on urban development, (3) A shared understanding of urban development in Europe, (4) EU urban policy today, (5) Urban potential can be better used; ▪ Calls for an EU urban agenda: (1) A long recognised need an EU urban agenda, (2) calls for an EU urban agenda; ▪ The global dimension on urban development; ▪ Taking the reflections on urban agenda forward: (1) Why do we need an EU urban agenda? (2) What should the EU urban agenda be? (3) Defining the scope and focus, (4) Strengthening cities' engagement and ownership of EU policies, (5) Better understanding of urban development processes, (6) Ensuring the implementation of the EU urban agenda.

Table 2: Urban challenges - in search of the constitutive components. Source: author's own work on the basis of: Glinka, 2020, pp. 60-69; EUR-Lex, 2022, Publications Office, 2022.

Each document combines two orientations. The first one can be described as structural orientation. It can be distinguished by the imperative of adapting European institutions and policies (the internal structure of institutions and European legislation) to the challenges faced by municipalities and city dwellers. The second orientation, referred to as functional one, focuses on those problems of urban origin, the solution of which is a sine qua non condition for the development of the EU (cf. Herbut 2002). Each of these orientations, both structural and functional, is a specific distinguishing feature of urban challenges which emerge from the assumptions of the analysed documents. When attempting to systematize them, it is worth pointing to five conventionally separated groups (cf. Glinka, 2020, pp. 60-69).

As mentioned, the intensification of work on the Urban Agenda for the EU is a key urban challenge. Although this is a postulate of absolutely fundamental importance, accompanying the preparation of all four documents, it determines, in its entirety, the assumptions of the last of them.

The second group of urban challenges concerns the problem of the activity of local communities, their needs, expectations and aspirations. The growing role of cities, which are becoming more and more attractive places of work, education and leisure, results in their progressive empowerment. It is understood through the prism of striving to influence decisions about urban provenance, also at the transnational level.

The third group consists of challenges related to spatial planning, taking into account the needs and expectations of various types of municipal acts: not only entrepreneurs, investors and tourists, but also, and perhaps above all, residents, both present and future. Such planning must be an expression of a balanced approach to urban spaces and the functions they perform.

The fourth group consists of the challenges resulting from progressive climate changes. These changes necessitate the protection of the natural environment. It covers a wide range of activities, such as: saving water, taking care of air quality, effective waste management and, finally, energy transformation.

The urban development understood as stimulating local development is the next, fifth, urban challenge. In this case, one talks about such a combination of activities that, on the one hand, stimulate local economies and create jobs, and on the other, allow municipalities to provide public services.

CONCLUSION

The formation of a European 'response' to the challenges related to the functioning of cities, as the gaining in importance centers of political, social and economic life, was a heterogeneous, and at some points difficult, process characterized by various dynamics. As it has been proved, for many years there was no legal and organizational framework for the reflection on the so-called an urban issue that would involve not only European institutions but also the Member States, municipalities and all private and social stakeholders. Despite these undeniable deficits, the importance of cities for the functioning of the European Community, and then the European Union turned out to be so important that it was reflected in the activities of the EC.

The change in the approach of the EC to defining the role of cities and urban policies observed in the second half of the 1990s was enormous. As it has been shown, over the course of more than twenty years, legal acts of a general nature were adopted, referring to all EU Member States, addressing a wide range of problems of urban origin. They merely replaced the 'rickety' discussion of merely selected and individually oriented problems of urban provenance. Therefore, it has been proved that the research hypothesis formulated for the purposes of this article can be confirmed.

The achievements developed by the EC constitute a 'signpost' of thinking about programming and implementing European policies, especially taking into account the constantly expanding catalogue of challenges that require intervention from EU institutions (Olejnik, 2017). The pandemic crisis caused by the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus is a key example of such a challenge (see Glinka, 2021). Challenges of this type 'force' the EU, including the EC, to take further actions aimed at strengthening the urban dimension of European policies understood through the prism of its institutionalization. One can risk a statement that efforts in this area will be dominated by the EC's activity calculated on cities and urban policies. The EC has the ability to create these topics and problems that are in the field of interest for the entire EU and and this is EC's undeniable potential.

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FROM URBAN DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY´S POLICY TO URBAN AGENDA FOR THE EU – IN SEARCH OF THE IMPACT OF COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION[26]

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(ENG) ABSTRACT

The article deals with shaping the urban dimension of European policies. The main aim of the research is to illustrate the role of the so-called government factor in this process. The conducted analysis proves that the activity of the Council of the European Union (CEU) has a significant impact on the European approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies. This is evidenced by the rich achievements developed during a series of informal meetings at the ministerial rank.

KEY WORDS: city, urban policy, European Union, Council of European Union, evolution

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Článek se zabývá utvářením názoru na roli měst v evropských politikách. Hlavním cílem výzkumu je ukázat vliv tzv. vládního faktoru v tomto procesu. Provedená analýza dokazuje, že činnost Rady Evropské unie má významný dopad na evropský přístup k definování role měst a městských politik. Svědčí o tom pokrok v oblasti plánování měst dosažený během řady neformálních setkání na úrovni ministrů.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: město, městská politika, Evropská unie, Rada Evropské unie, vývoj

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A cikk az európai politikák városi dimenziójának alakításával foglalkozik. A kutatás fő célja az ún. kormányzati tényező szerepének bemutatása ebben a folyamatban. Az elemzés bizonyítja, hogy az Európai Unió Tanácsának (CEU) tevékenysége jelentős hatással van a városok szerepének meghatározására és a várospolitikákra vonatkozó európai megközelítésre. Ezt igazolják a miniszteri szinten megtartott informális találkozók során elért gazdag eredmények.

KULCSSZAVAK: város, várospolitika, Európai Unió, Európai Unió Tanácsa, evolúció

(PL) ABSTRAKT

Artykuł porusza problematykę kształtowania się miejskiego wymiaru polityk europejskich. Celem artykułu jest zobrazowanie roli tzw. czynnika rządowego w tym procesie. Przeprowadzona analiza udowadnia, że aktywność Rady Unii Europejskiej (RUE) wywiera niebagatelny wpływ na sposób definiowania tego, co można określić mianem europejskiego podejścia do definiowania roli miast i polityk miejskich. Świadczy o tym bogaty dorobek wypracowany w ramach szeregu nieformalnych spotkań w ministerialnej randze.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: miasto, polityka miejska, Unia Europejska, Rada Unii Europejskiej, ewolucja

(SK) ABSTRAKT

Článok sa zaoberá formovaním urbánnej dimenzie európskych politík. Hlavným cieľom výskumu je ilustrovať úlohu takzvaného vládneho faktora v tomto procese. Vykonaná analýza dokazuje, že činnosť Rady Európskej únie (CEU) má významný vplyv na európsky prístup k definovaniu úlohy miest a mestských politík. Dôkazom toho sú bohaté úspechy dosiahnuté počas série neformálnych stretnutí na ministerskej úrovni.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: mesto, mestská politika, Európska únia, Rada EÚ, vývoj

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INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to disagree with the statement that the functioning of the political system of the European Union (EU) is a complex and time-varying process. It is determined not only by the multitude of problem (sectoral) areas which are the subject of a number of agreements, but also, and perhaps above all, by the activity of EU institutions striving to achieve different goals (Best, 2016). The Council of the European Union (CEU) - the former Council of Ministers (CM) and the Council of Ministers of the European Union (CMEU) - treated as the main decision-making body with extensive legislative and budgetary powers is one of the institutions. The specific position of the CEU in the EU political system raises the question of its impact on the arrangements, the final result of which is the Urban Agenda for the EU, adopted for the assistance of the Amsterdam Pact agreed in 2016 (Pact of Amsterdam, 2016). This question seems to be important and justified as it is the European Commission (EC) that not only implements, but also constructs and submits to CEU voting all types of legal acts, including those relating to the urban dimension of European policies[27]. In this sense, it is the EC, not the CEU that can be seen as the key architect of the European approach to defining the role of cities and urban policies (cf. McCann, 2015; Fedeli, Lenzi, Briata, Pedrazzini, 2020).

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The aim of the article is to illustrate the impact of the so-called government factor - the Council of the European Union (CEU) - on the process of shaping the urban dimension of European policies[28]. The

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[27] Writing about European policies, the author of the article refers to the policies, programs and activities aimed at identifying and satisfying such needs that are manifested in problem (sectoral) areas. Urban policies are defined in the same way (see Tofarides, 2013).

[28] The author of the article has already analyzed the issue of shaping the Urban Agenda for the EU, e.g., urban-oriented documents, in one of his earlier publications (Glinka, 2020, pp. 60-69). The presented considerations refer to the main themes described in the above-mentioned publication, they modify, update and expand these themes. A key

hypothesis formulated for the purposes of this article is as follows: CEU is a key architect of the urban dimension of European policies, despite the fact that its legislative activity is soft, and therefore legally non-binding. The hypothesis is accompanied by the following research question:

- what CEU documents regulate the urban dimension of European policies?
- do these documents formulate the EU's 'response' to the challenges related to the functioning of cities and local communities and their role in the development of Europe? If so, what exactly are the instruments of such a 'response'?

The hypothesis is verified through the use of several different, though complementary, research methods. The key role is played by: analysis of the content of documents, analysis of the content of materials, comparative analysis and analysis of existing data (statistical data). The sources used include, first of all, the documents in the collections of the Historical Archives of European Union (HAEU) of the European University Institute (EUI) which were made available to the author as part of the query. Namely, the regulations dedicated to the so-called urban issues, resulting from the work of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities (CMEC).

The article consists of several parts, with the key role being played by the third part 'Steps towards the Urban Agenda for the EU'. It presents, firstly, the influence of the CEU on the formation of the urban dimension of European policies. The important role is also played by the part 'In search of the instruments of urban-oriented policies' focused on the instruments which, according to the CEU, should serve to use the urban potential in the functioning of the EU and its Member States.

STEPS TOWARDS THE URBAN AGENDA FOR THE EU

CEU activity focused on the so-called urban issues reflects the growing role of cities in the development of the EU and its Member States. It is worth noting that the progressive processes of urbanization and, related to it, the concentration of financial, organizational and human resources which are characteristic of them, force, in a 'natural' way, a reaction on the part of the EU. However, this reaction is informal. This is due to the deficit of appropriate solutions at the treaty level[29].

Due to the analysis of the most important documents dedicated to the so-called in urban issues one may state that the main burden of legislative activity falls at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. It was then that the reflection on the location of cities in the political, social and economic system of the EU gained a new formal form. This does not mean, obviously, that cities were not of interest to the CEU in the earlier period. It seems justified to say that they were the subject of European debate as early as in the 1980s.

'European Spatial Development Perspective - Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union' was the first document that set the framework for the discussion on the urban dimension of European policies. It was adopted during the informal meeting of the ministers for spatial planning of EU Member States in Potsdam on November 3, 1999. Apart from the already mentioned Pact of Amsterdam, the 'New Leipzig Charter. The transformative power of cities for the common good' is of key importance. It was adopted on 30 November 2020, also during the informal meeting of ministers of the EU Member States. The document updates the assumptions of the 'Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities' adopted during a similar meeting which took place in 2007. It can therefore be treated as a 'response' to the challenges faced by cities: municipalities and residents at the threshold of the next decade. In

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role is played by determining whether the CEU undertook legal activities focused on urban matters even before the establishment of the EU and what is the current state of such activity.

[29]It is worth noting that the Treaty of Lisbon, like earlier treaties, does not give urban policy the status of a separate policy, as it is in case of e.g., agriculture and fisheries, social policy or culture (see OJ EC 1992; 1997; OJ EU 2007).

addition to the progressive climate change and migration movements, the authors of the document also point to pandemic threats, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, which had a huge impact on the functioning of municipal governments (see Glinka, 2021). The 'Ljubljana Agreement and its Multiannual Working Program' of 2021 is the last document of interest to the author. The document is an expression of a new approach to the Urban Agenda for the EU (Ljubljana Agreement, 2022).

As can be seen from the data presented in Table 1, all documents "concerning" the role of cities in the development of Europe and their importance for European policy are an expression of general agreements, and not of hard legally sanctioned regulations. They take the form of conclusions (sometimes officially referred to as declarations) accompanying meetings of the ministers of EU Member States who are responsible for issues related to the broadly understood development of cities.

The regulations developed in the 80's and 90's of the last century are also soft. Contrary to the documents listed in Table 1, there are few of them and they do not directly concern cities and urban policies. In other words, although they concern the so-called urban issues, it is a kind of 'background' for other problems. Here one can mention some of the examples of such documents being the regulations relating to such problem areas as:

- public transport (HAEU, 1978, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999a),
- education and research (HAEU 1984),
- spatial planning (HAEU, 1986),
- public safety (HAEU, 1972),
- cooperation with local communities of other countries (HAEU, 1999b).

It is worth emphasizing once again that the interest in the matters of cities and urban policies in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s is of a residual nature. It is difficult to talk about regulations that directly refer to this issue and, hence, form a formal foundation for the process of creating the urban dimension of European policies. Therefore, one may be tempted to say that this is an initial period preceding the formation of the urban dimension of European policies.

Year (-s)	Author (EU body)	Status	Document	Period
70-s, 80-s, 90-s (1)	Council of Ministers	various types	Detailed documents relating to urban matters	Pre-Urban Agenda period
1999 (2)	Informal Council of Ministers/ /Informal Ministerial Meeting	declaration	European Spatial Development Perspective - Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union (Potsdam)	
2000 (3)		declaration	Lille Action Program	
2004 (4)		declaration	Urban Acquis (Rotterdam)	
2005 (5)		declaration	Bristol Accord	
2007 (6, 7)		declaration	Territorial Agenda of the European Union. Towards a More Competitive and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions (Leipzig)	
		declaration	Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities	
2008 (8)		declaration	Marseilles Statement	

2010 (9)		declaration	Toledo Declaration	
2011 (10)		declaration	Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020. Towards an Inclusive, Smart and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions (Gödöllő)	
2015 (11)		declaration	Riga Declaration. Towards the EU Urban Agenda	
2016 (12)		declaration	Amsterdam Pact. Urban Agenda for the EU Agenda	Urban Agenda period
2019 (13)		declaration	Bucharest Declaration. Towards a common framework for urban development in the European Union	
2020 (14)		declaration	New Leipzig Charter. The transformative power of cities for the common good	
2021 (15)		conclusion	Ljubljana Agreement and its Multiannual Working Programme	

Table 1. CEU towards urban dimension of European policies - a review of documents. Source: author's own work on the basis of: Glinka, 2020, pp. 66-69; EUR-Lex, 2022; Publications Office, 2022; Presidencies' list, 2022

The answer to the challenges related to the functioning of cities which 'emerges' from the analysis of the assumptions of the document's "contrasts" with their soft nature. It turns out that, starting with the 1999 'European Spatial Development Perspective - Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union', these documents indicate specific instruments aimed at using the 'potential' of cities: municipalities, residents and all types of private and social entities that operate at the local level.

IN SEARCH OF THE INSTRUMENTS OF URBAN-ORIENTED POLICIES

Table 2 is an attempt to systematize the catalog of these instruments based on the content analysis of nearly fifteen conclusions and declarations. The reference to the already existing and, consequently, successfully used institutional and legal solutions should be emphasized.

Year	Document	Main instruments	Period
80-s (1)	-	-	Pre-Urban Agenda Period
1999 (2)	European Spatial Development Perspective - Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union	• TERRA, RECITE, PHARE, TACIS, MEDA, LIFE • INTERERG II C • ARCHI-MED - Southeast Mediterranean, Northern periphery, Alpine Space/Eastern Alps, Mediterranean "Gateway",	
2000 (3)	Lille Action Programme	• Cohesion Policy	
2004 (4)	Urban Aquis	• Cohesion Policy • URBAN • URBACT	

2005 (5)	Bristol Accord	• Cohesion Policy • URBACT	
2007 (6, 7)	Territorial Agenda of the European Union. Towards a More Competitive and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions	• Cohesion Policy • URBACT, URBAN, ESPON • Urban Audit	
	Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities	• JESSICA, JEREMIE	
2008 (8)	Marseilles Statement	• European Urban Knowledge Network • ESPON, URBACT • Urban Audit • European Environment Agency • European research programmes	
2010 (9)	Toledo Declaration	• Cohesion Policy	
2011 (10)	Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020. Towards an Inclusive, Smart and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions	• Cohesion Policy • INTERREG IVC, INTERACT, URBACT • European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) • **European Environment Agency** • ESPON	
2015 (11)	Riga Declaration. Towards the EU Urban Agenda	• EU European Territorial Cooperation programmes • Urban Audit, URBACT, ESPON, EUKN	
2016 (12)	Amsterdam Pact. Urban Agenda for the EU Agenda	• Cohesion Policy • Partnerships	Urban Agenda period
2019 (13)	Bucharest Declaration. Towards a common framework for urban development in the European Union	• Cohesion Policy • URBACT, ESPON • EUROCITIES, CEMR	
2020 (14)	New Leipzig Charter. The transformative power of cities for the common good	• Cohesion Policy • European Urban Initiative • URBACT	
2021 (15)	Ljubljana Agreement and its Multiannual Working Programme	• Cohesion Policy • European Urban Initiative	

Table 2. CEU towards urban dimension of European policies - a review of legal and organizational instruments. Source: author's own work on the basis of: Glinka, 2020, pp. 66-69; EUR-Lex, 2022; Publications Office, 2022; Presidencies' list, 2022.

The Cohesion Policy and its funds: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF)[30] are of key importance. They can be treated as a fundamental element of RUE's 'response' to the challenges related to the functioning of cities.

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[30]The significance of the Cohesion Policy results from the fact that its imperative aim is to eliminate disproportions in the socio-economic development between the regions of the EU, and thus to strive for the sustainable development of the entire EU. Moreover, it is worth paying attention to the fact that the 'structure' of the EU sectoral policies determines that the regional policy, which is an integral part of the Cohesion Policy, 'coexists' with the urban policy. It can therefore be concluded that, with regard to the Cohesion Policy, the development of cities and regions is inextricably linked (see McCann, 2015).

In addition to Cohesion Policy, the authors of the documents emphasize the importance of specific programs and initiatives. Using the chronological criterion, one can distinguish a wide range of instruments. The formulated catalogue do not include all of them, such a task goes beyond the limited scope of this article. In this sense, the catalog of instruments has a working character and can be divided into the four groups (cf. Glinka, 2020, pp. 66-69).

The first group includes programs and initiatives treated as the first, in a sense, pioneering instruments for the development of cities and urban areas. It is worth to mention such instruments as follows:

- TERRA, RECITE, PHARE, TACIS, MEDAand LIFE - development and cooperation programs between EU Member States and non-EU states(ESDP, 1999, pp. 76);
- ARCHI-MED ('Southeast Mediterranean', 'Northern periphery', 'Alpine Space/Eastern Alps', 'Mediterranean "Gateway"') - pilot programs focused on transnational spatial development (ESDP, 1999, pp. 78);
- URBAN- an initiative established to support the projects submitted by the EU Member devoted to the socio-economically deprived cities and urban areas, implemented in the period 1994-1999 as URBAN I and 2000-2006 as URBAN II (URBAN, 2022).

The second group reflects the development of instruments. The presented programs and initiatives are more extensive and, what is important, more urban-oriented. The group therefore includes:

- URBACT- an exchange and learning program promoting sustainable urban development and aiming at the cooperation of local self-governments administrations, implemented in the period 2002-2006 as URBACT I, 2007-2013 as URBACT II, 2014-2020as URBACT III and 2021-2027 as URBACT IV (URBACT, 2022);
- ESPON- a research program devoted to the issues of spatial development in Europe, implemented as ESPON 2006, ESPON 2013and ESPON 2020 (ESPON, 2022);
- JESSICA - cohesion policy program implemented by EC in cooperation with banking institutions (European Investment Bank and Council of Europe Development Bank) aiming at supporting EU Member States and the investments implemented within their urban areas, implemented in the period 2017-2013 (JESSICA, 2008).

The next, third group consists of instruments constituting the Urban Agenda for the EU. Their impact range is the widest, which is supported by the financing level. It is worth to mention the instruments as follows:

- Partnerships- introduced on the basis of the assumptions of the Pact of Amsterdam of 2016, the partnerships are formed within the framework of twelve priority themes[31]. It is worth emphasizing at this point that the results of cooperation implemented in a specific priority theme are monitored and published, which, as it seems, determines the desired direction of thinking about the urban dimension of European policies[32] (Pact of Amsterdam, 2016);
- European Territorial Cooperation (ETC)-established in 2006, creates the possibility of transnational cooperation within four models: cross-border (as Interreg A), trans-national (as Interreg B), interregional (as Interreg C) and outermost regions' cooperation (as Interreg D) (ETC, 2022):
- European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)- a legal form of transnational cooperation between EU Member States and local governments, established in 2006 (EGTC, 2020);
- European Urban Initiative (EUI) - established in 2020 and financed by ERDF, the EUI offers the support for the implementation of initiatives, programs and instruments within Cohesion policy,

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[31] The Partnerships was launched within the four steps: (1) the 'Amsterdam Partnerships' (focused on migrants and refugees, housing, air quality, urban poverty; (2) the 'Bratislava Partnerships' (oriented on local economy, digitalization, jobs and skills and urban mobility, (3) the 'Malta Partnerships' (concentrated on climate, energy transition, public procurement, sustainable use of land as well as nature-based solutions) and (4) the'Vienna Partnerships' (including culture and security issues) (Urban Agenda, 2022).

[32] It is worth to mention that this purpose is served by Action Plans (Action Plans, 2022).

and in particular, the program URBACT IV (EUI, 2022). The main aim of the EUI is '(…) to strengthen integrated and participatory approach to sustainable urban development and provide a stronger link to EU policies and cohesion policy in particular (…)' (EUI, 2019, p. 2).

The fourth group includes the instruments whose use, although important, is nevertheless subsidiary to the goal of urban development. The functioning of the European Urban Knowledge Network (EUKN), the European Environment Agency (EEA) as well as achievements of the Urban Audit should be therefore mentioned (see more EUKN, 2022; EEA, 2022; Urban Audit, 2022). Similar character is applied to the activities conducted by EUROCITIES and CEMR[33].

CONCLUSIONS

As proven, CEU is a key architect of the urban dimension of European policies. The soft and therefore legally non-binding nature of the regulations agreed by the CEU does not diminish their contribution to the development of the European discussion on the role and significance of cities in the functioning of the EU. On the contrary, it is the CEU, drawing on its strong government legitimacy, that sets the framework for thinking about cities and city politics. In this sense, the formulated research hypothesis can be confirmed.

The catalog of instruments aimed at 'responding' to urban challenges faced by the EU, Member States and local self-governments is an important element that results from the analysis of the content of documents agreed by the CEU. It is worth paying attention to the fact that the illustrated catalog has undergone changes. The direction of transformations was determined by the need for a kind of 'specialization' understood as an orientation towards cities: municipal governments and municipalities, and the related efforts to meet their needs effectively and efficiently. This issue sets the direction for further in-depth research on the impact of CEU on the shaping of the urban dimension of European policies.

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CIVILISING THE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PRACTICE IN POST-TRANSITION COUNTRIES

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(ENG)   ABSTRACT

The concept of public participation is present within the theoretical considerations and planning practice already for many decades. But for the Central- and Eastern-European countries it is relatively new and introduced in the planning practice only since socio-political transformation of early 1990-ties. At the same time, the new situation spurred community expectations regarding their influence on the shape of the local development processes. Within this article the Author tries to define the possible new model of planning practice which should include the opinion of local community as well as ways and methods of making this process effective.

KEY WORDS: Urban planning, public participation; post-transition countries

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT

Koncept účasti veřejnosti se v teoretických úvahách i plánovací praxi objevuje již po mnoho desetiletí. Ve středoevropských a východoevropských zemích je však relativně nový a v územním plánování se praktikuje až od společensko-politické transformace na počátku 90. let. Nový fenomén zároveň zvýšil očekávání občanů, jaký budou mít vliv na podobu procesů projednávání rozvoje obce. V rámci článku se autor snaží definovat možný nový model plánovací praxe, který by měl zahrnovat názor místní komunit, a také způsoby a metody, jak tento proces zefektivnit.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: veřejná prostranství, vnímání městských prostorů, modely rozvoje

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT

A közösségi részvétel fogalma már évtizedek óta jelen van az elméleti megfontolásokban és a tervezési gyakorlatban. A közép- és kelet-európai országok számára azonban ez még egy viszonylag új gondolat, és csak az 1990-es évek elején végbement társadalmi-politikai átalakulást követően került be a tervezési gyakorlatba. Ugyanakkor az új helyzet felkeltette a közösségi elvárásokat a helyi fejlesztési folyamatok alakulására gyakorolt hatásukat illetően. A cikkben a szerző megpróbálja definiálni a tervezési gyakorlat egy lehetséges új modelljét, amely magába foglalja a helyi közösség véleményét, továbbá a folyamat hatékonnyá tételének lehetőségeit és módszereit is.

 KULCSSZAVAK: várostervezés, közösségi részvétel, rendszerváltás utáni országok

(PL)   ABSTRAKT

Pojęcie partycypacji społecznej jest obecne w rozważaniach teoretycznych i praktyce planistycznej już od wielu dziesięcioleci. Jednak dla krajów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej jest to stosunkowo nowa i wprowadzona do praktyki planistycznej dopiero od transformacji społeczno-politycznej na początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych. Jednocześnie nowa sytuacja rozbudziła oczekiwania społeczności co do ich wpływu na kształt lokalnych procesów rozwojowych. W niniejszym artykule Autor stara się zdefiniować możliwy nowy model praktyki planistycznej, który powinien uwzględniać opinię społeczności lokalnej oraz sposoby i metody urzeczywistniania tego procesu.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Planowanie urbanistyczne, udział społeczeństwa; kraje po transformacji

(SK)   ABSTRAKT

Koncept participácie verejnosti je prítomný v teoretických úvahách a plánovacej praxi už mnoho desaťročí. Pre krajiny strednej a východnej Európy je to však relatívne nové a zavedené do plánovacej praxe až od spoločensko-politickej transformácie začiatkom 90. rokov. Nová situácia zároveň podnietila očakávania komunity týkajúce sa ich vplyvu na podobu procesov miestneho rozvoja. V tomto článku sa autor snaží definovať možný nový model plánovacej praxe, ktorý by mal zahŕňať názor miestnej komunity, ako aj spôsoby a metódy zefektívnenia tohto procesu.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: Verejné priestory, vnímanie mestských priestorov, modely rozvoja

▪▪▪

INTRODUCTION

Public participation is nowadays commonly understood as the key issue in contemporary planning theory and practice. This relates especially to the well-developed planning systems and democratic cultures of the so-called Western World. But with the political, social and economic changes of the 1990-ties this practice has become a part of the global planning agenda. And also, the societies of the so-called post-transition countries started to ask for including this into their planning systems.

Although, it can be noted that the local communities in post-transition countries are much more demanding in this respect that societies that were enjoying this practice for decades. In result, new tools and approaches regarding organization of public participation had to be developed. This was due to rapid increase in social demand for organizing massive participation processes and also in relation to the change of the opinion of the politicians regarding the phenomenon itself. In short, from the position of the denial the local politicians have switched to the position of appreciation and promotion of such practices. Same relates to the central governments, which started to consider the public participation processes a regular and obligatory part of the urban planning and development processes.

The main aim of this paper is to discuss the emerging every-day practice of public participation in the so-called post-transition countries and to present current models of its organization and execution. Since the Author of this paper has extensive experience in leading the participation processes, most of the conclusions presented within the paper (including the case studies) are based on His own experience and real-life cases.

THE PHENOMENON OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The phenomenon of public participation is not so new to both planning theory and practice. In fact, involving local community in the decision-making process regarding local urban development directions is widely discussed and a number of various forms of these are being introduced. Some of the innovative initiatives associated with this were also promoted by ISOCARP (as i.e., the WikiCity initiative of the City of Amsterdam – 2008). Moreover, developing various forms of public participation in this matter has become a standard planning practice in many countries and communities.

But it has to be noted that public participation may play different roles and – depending on the level of development of the public discourse on development issues as well as on the specifics of local democratic control mechanisms – may be regarded as just an addition to the regular planning procedures or as some sort of substitute to them [Miessen, Schumon, 2006].

TRADITIONAL VS. MODERN APPROACHES TO CITY PLANNING

Although public participation is not a novelty and is widely used in urban management, in the urban planning processes it is still to be grounded. In fact, in many cases we can still observe the presence of the "traditional approach", based on the so-called "command-and-control system", associated with allocating the decision power in the hands of the government. In this scenario all planning activities are performed by highly-skilled professionals, in many cases in coordination and discussion of city officials. Due to this fact this is also named the "technocratic approach", since the planning debate is performed only within the relatively closed circle of urban development technocrats. Of course, in this case there is no public involvement in discussion on the principles and directions of local urban development, and the general public is usually informed about the solutions only after the decision is made.

Described above traditional approach is frequently contested due to an emerging array of possible issues and concepts associated with the traditional planning questions. Also, there is a growing number of stakeholders interested in solving these in line with their interests and expectations. In addition, some representatives of local communities – frequently named as "urban activists" – are also keen on taking floor within all these debates.

In result, one can state that the "technocratic approach" – based on expert-made decisions – is not valid any more. Moreover, it is also possible to conclude that each of the planning problems and issues may be considered and solved in many ways, which means there is no single "correct" and "best" solution to it. This is also associated with a major paradigm shift – nowadays, the modernistic city planning paradigm (as expressed in the Athens' Charter) is not the only one source of ideas about urban form and mode of development; on the contrary, many ideas regarding the future of cities compete and many urban development paradigms may be considered while talking about planning of the future city.

In these realities the new planning approach shall be developed. It may be different in case of each of the cities, or even in case of each of the planning problem that has to be solved. Therefore, urban development stakeholders – instead of focusing on the predefined, "blue-print type" solutions – should adopt a flexible method allowing developing the most viable – in given realities – decision. Therefore, it should be based rather on **revised planning method** allowing defining local solutions to local problems, taking local community and local stakeholders' opinions into account as well as allowing planners to deal individually with particular local problems. This approach asks for the new planning methodology. It should be based on:

- Safeguarding public participation in planning;
- Adopting the different approaches to different types of planning exercises;
- Understanding that planning goes far beyond just policy making and includes both design for high quality of space as well as implementation methods;
- Understanding the differences in methodologies used for developing the "structure", "regu-latory" and "action" plans.

As can be derived from above mentioned list, one of the key issues is safeguarding the "public participation in planning" which means including the local community in the planning process.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ACTION

As discussed in the previous parts of this paper, public participation may be part of both urban planning as well as of the decision-making processes regarding particular urban development initiatives. At the same time, it may be used in the process of defining both the character of the large–scale urban development projects (also referred to as Large-Scale Urban Interventions – LSUI-s) and the new architecture of particular public spaces and sites. Also, it may be employed in the process of shaping the solutions for larger scale planning exercises, like i.e. urban centers and sub-centers, housing districts, regeneration sites etc.

What is important in these cases is that public participation can both mitigate problems which appear along with planning and development of the particular interventions (both large- and small-scale) and help solving them BEFORE they actually appear. This last feature is especially important in case the proposed development or planning initiative is expected to generate a number of issues for local

community and stakeholders. What is also important is the fact that properly designed public participation process – which involves all possible stakeholders but does not allow "capturing the participation process" by the so-called "wanna-be stakeholders" – helps in building community and stimulating partnership between key actors on the stage [Miessen, 2013]. *(One can define here three major groups of stakeholders: "real stakeholders" (meaning – people and institutions really affected by the proposed action and willing to participate in the participation process), "silent stakeholders" (also affected but do not willing to participate) and "wanna-be stakeholders" (not affected directly but asking to be part of the participation process).*

As discussed above, the necessity of discussing the key decisions regarding spatial development with local community is obvious and part of contemporary planning and management practice. But what has to be stressed is the fact that it may take very different forms, depending on the level of involving the community. And, according to the so-called "participation ladder", these forms include:

- Informing – based on simple presentation of the solution adopted; in fact, this form of participation does not allow community to influence the decision;
- Consulting – based on presenting the possible solutions to the particular problem and selecting the best possible one (according to the stakeholders' opinion); in fact, in many cases the outcomes of this process may be in conflict with the opinion of local government or investor willing to implement the cheapest possible solution;
- Participation – based on the direct involvement of the local community in shaping the possible solution to the particular problem / issue; in this case the stakeholders' group is frequently confronted not with possible and pre-defined solutions but with the problem itself. In these cases, the planning group is asked to solve the problem in dialogue with other decision makers, which allows both parties understand each other and work out the joint proposals;
- Co-investing – based not only on the public dialogue regarding the particular problem or issue, but also on involving the stakeholders (and their resources) in the implementation process; in this case particular stakeholders not only discuss and decide about the shape of the particular decision, but they are part of the implementation process. *(The best illustration of this process is the situation when the local stakeholders not only discuss the solution but also participate in its implementation, i.e., mobilizing their own resources in order to facilitate the urban regeneration process.)*

As one can note, discussed above forms of participation can be used in different contexts and situations. In fact, not all of them can be employed to each case, and also not in each case it is possible to identify the proper group of stakeholders. This may create the situation that – instead of the real ones – the so-called "wanna-be stakeholders" take the floor. *(This is the case of various post-industrial sites.)*

INCLUDING THE LOCAL COMMUNITY INTO THE PLANNING PROCESS

Involving local community and stakeholders in public participation process – and in this case by participation I mean real involvement of the stakeholders in the decision-making process – may take different forms. Of course, it can be used only in selected cases, but in case it is decided to employ public participation into the planning process the following key steps should be included in its preparation:

- starting the planning process with the group of local leaders, constituting the planning group;
- carefully drafting the plan of the participation process, including various forms of possible community involvement (workshops, site visits, public discussions etc., which allow stimulating the discussion on key components of the project) as well as a number of sociological

surveys (which allow gathering the opinion of the wider scope of stakeholders – including the so-called "silent" ones);

- involving local mass media and asking them to convey information about the process;
- making outcomes of the process available for local community via different forms of publication and announcements.

In case planning process is undertaken directly by the representatives of the local community, it has to be supported professionally. Therefore, it must be coordinated and supported by the competent expert group – responsible for the final success of this undertaking. Otherwise, the process may not bring the results as expected and even finish in a not expected way.

POST-TRANSITION COUNTRIES

In case of so-called post-transition countries (which include post-socialist states as well as countries facing just economic transformation without the political change) the demand for public participation is extensively and rapidly growing. It has to be noted that just a few years ago involving local community into the urban development decision-making process was regarded as a kind of novelty and rarely treated seriously [Pawłowska, 2008].

But along with development of the democratic societies, understanding by the people that their opinion matters as well as growing mistrust to the local planning and municipal management elites completely changed the situation. Local communities started not only to question the development and planning decisions but also to demand more participation in the decision-making process. In many cases this has led to the situation that no planning or development decision could be made without a public consent, which – in realities of diversified opinions and interests represented by different groups of stakeholders – had led towards stopping any development and not making any decisions at all. This means that development of the civil society – in realities of the lack of political and democratic culture – led to the paralysis of the decision-making process, which especially relates to the most disputable projects and plans. And one has to note that in many cases lack of the democratic tradition led to the situation within which anyone whose ideas were not included in the final solution / decision was contesting it and protesting loudly. Also, planning professionals and local government officials started to be accused of lack of professionalism as well as – in some cases – of being corrupted by developers or particular groups of stakeholders [Pawłowska, 2010].

Of course, this issue has not been left unnoted by both central governments and by local municipalities. Also, various groups of local activists have understood that negation of any plans and decisions made (especially) by local governments is not a solution and can lead towards stagnation. Therefore, various programs and initiatives leading towards making public participation part of the "civilized" planning and development decisions-making process were introduced. One can mention here a number of different forms and initiatives of different magnitude, which are currently changing the decision-making procedures. This relates especially to the issues associated with urban and spatial development as this is the key area of potential conflict [Siemiński, 2017]

One of the most interesting is the Polish case, which is due to rapidly increasing demand for participation (rise of the so-called "city movements" – groups of urban activists representing various ideas and concepts regarding local urban development processes), diversity of forms of public participation introduced, an array of practices tried and tested, and – finally – due to making this a part of the formal urban regeneration planning process [Żylski, 2016].

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION METHODS IN POST-TRANSITION COUNTRIES

In case of the post-transition countries, and having in mind the specifics of the public participation processes in these, it was necessary to search for the method allowing – on one hand – full participation of

the local community in the planning process and – on the other – getting the process completed in a predictable time. Therefore, the strategic planning methodology was chosen. This method, developed for business management, later on was adapted for the purposes of managing the socio-economic development of the municipalities. It is associated with three basic steps, responding to key questions:

- Where are we now? – meaning, in what situation the particular project / area is right now;
- Where we want to get? – meaning, what is the vision of the future state of the site / project that we want to achieve;
- How to make it? – meaning, how can we implement the conceptualized solution in the given realities.

This method may be implemented in various ways. Having in mind the specifics of public participation in planning / urban development process it seems that the best work methodology is associated with crafting the design workshops – "charrette style" – which allows fulfillment of the following objectives:

- Defining of the basic assumptions and concepts regarding proposed planning solution / project development BEFORE the design is ready;
- Defining – on this basis – a number of possible solutions / scenarios, as well as various priorities;
- Selecting the most appreciated solutions of the ones discussed;
- Developing the final concept – accepted by local community – to be furtherly elaborated.

In this case a number of techniques had to be employed, including public discussions, group works, general presentations as well as voting.

Figure 1: Discussing and selecting development priorities during the workshop process. Photo credit: Piotr Lorens (2006-2010).

CONCLUSIONS

As it can be derived from this paper, public participation is one of the possible tools used nowadays in order to discuss the possible planning solutions. It is associated with direct involvement of the local community in the decision – making process. In case the "solid" results are needed as well as an array of stakeholders has to be involved, participatory process should be based on the methodology of strategic planning. In these cases, good results can be achieved through organization of the „planning / urban workshops". This was especially important in case of the "post-transition" countries like Poland.

At the same time Polish experience in this matter proved that there is a need of so-called "strategic approach" in public participation processes. Otherwise, there is a danger of wasting the efforts made and finishing with no substantial results – meaning no decisions and no points made. Results discussed and presented in this paper shall allow discussion of the possible inclusion of the Polish experience in the planning practice of other countries and regions, with a special focus on countries in transition.

Finally, experiences analyzed also proved that both the scope of participation process, results expected as well as group of stakeholders involved have to be defined locally, as there are no two similar situations. This means that also outlining the participation process should be crafted individually and that there are no "blueprints" that can be used.

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CONTEMPORARY MODELS OF PRODUCTION AND UTILISATION OF THE COMMON URBAN AREAS.

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(ENG)   ABSTRACT
Public spaces have been at the center of interest for scientists and experts in urban planning and urban development for many decades. However, only recently have new models of their formation appeared, which is related to the need to redefine the concept of public space as such. In the framework of the article, the author tried to give a current definition of public spaces and discuss numerous issues connected with their formation. These considerations are embedded in the ways in which we perceive public spaces today, as well as the importance they have for the identity of cities and local communities. The author also provides an overview of current models of creation and use of common urban spaces.

KEY WORDS: public spaces, perception of urban spaces, development models

(CZ)   ABSTRAKT
Veřejná prostranství jsou již po mnoho desetiletí v centru zájmu vědců a odborníků na urbanismus a rozvoj měst. Teprve v poslední době se však objevují nové modely jejich utváření, což souvisí s potřebou nově definovat pojem veřejného prostoru jako takového. V rámci článku se autor pokusil podat současnou definici veřejných prostranství a diskutovat četné otázky spojené s jejich utvářením. Tyto úvahy jsou zakotveny ve způsobech, jakými dnes vnímáme veřejná prostranství, a také v tom, jaký význam mají pro identitu měst a místních komunit. Autor poskytuje také přehled současných modelů tvorby a využívání společných městských prostor.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: veřejné prostory, vnímání městských prostorů, modely rozvoje

(HU)   ABSZTRAKT
A közterületek évtizedek óta a várostervezés és városfejlesztés tudósai és szakértői érdeklődésének középpontjában állnak. A kialakításukra azonban csak a közelmúltban jelentek meg új modellek, ami összefügg a közterület újrafogalmazásának szükségességével. A szerző igyekszik megadni a közterek aktuális definícióját, továbbá áttekint számos, azok kialakításával kapcsolatos kérdést. Megfontolásai azon alapulnak, ahogyan ma érzékeljük a köztereket, valamint hogy milyen fontossággal bírnak azok a városok és a helyi közösségek identitása szempontjából. A szerző áttekintést ad a közös városi terek létrehozásának és használatának jelenlegi modelljeiről is.

 KULCSSZAVAK: közterületek, városi terek érzékelése, fejlesztési modellek

(PL)   ABSTRAKT
Veřejná prostranství jsou již po mnoho desetiletí v centru zájmu vědců a odborníků na urbanismus a rozvoj měst. Teprve v poslední dobe se vsak objevuj nowy model jej utváření, což souvisi s potřebou nowy definowat pojemněj věřejného prostoru jako takového. V rámci článku se autor pokusil podat současnou

definici veřejných prostranství a diskutovat četné otázky spojené s jejich utvářením. Tyto úvahy jsou zakotveny ve způsobecch, jak dnes vnímáme vnímáme veřejná prostranství, a také v tom, jaky význam mají pro identitu měst a místních komunit. Autor poskytuje také přehled současných modelů tvorby i využívání společných městských prostor.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: przestrzenie publiczne, postrzeganie przestrzeni miejskich, modele zabudowy

(SK)   ABSTRAKT
Verejné priestranstvá sú už dlhé desaťročia stredobodom záujmu vedcov a odborníkov na urbanizmus a rozvoj miest. Len nedávno sa však objavili nové modely ich formovania, čo súvisí s potrebou nanovo definovať pojem verejný priestor ako taký. V rámci článku sa autor pokúsil podať súčasnú definíciu verejných priestorov a diskutovať o mnohých problémoch spojených s ich formovaním. Tieto úvahy sú zakotvené v spôsoboch, akými dnes vnímame verejné priestory, ako aj v dôležitosti, ktorú majú pre identitu miest a miestnych komunít. Autor tiež poskytuje prehľad súčasných modelov tvorby a využívania bežných mestských priestorov.

KĽÚČOVÉ SLOVÁ: verejné priestranstvá, vnímanie mestských priestorov, modely rozvoja

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The importance of public spaces. Contemporary definition, identity and perception of public space.

In every city there are places and spaces which inspire pride and others that are cause for shame. Most frequently, the place that is the object of particular interest, and thus receives the most attention and care from authorities and citizens alike, is the center – the community and cultural heart, a meeting place, a symbol of the city's prime and prosperity or of its decline [Szczepański, 2003a]. At the same time, the places we find ourselves in on a daily basis and those we visit as tourists elicit reflection, arouse emotions, and comprised a mosaic rather than a uniform image of our world [Jałowiecki, 2003]. A particularly important role here is played by urban public spaces. They become the characteristic "urban genetic code" according to which they can be regenerated following degradation or destruction. Its primary conveyor is indeed culture, which strengthens the shape of these spaces [Bielecki, 1996].

Many places that have been given varied and rich significance by subsequent generations include historic city centers and their principle public concepts. These are singular, unique places with firmly-grounded identities. Despite this, the buildings that are most meaningful to us are those of a symbolic character such as city halls or important townhouses; the power of their impact, that which influences the aesthetic experience of being in these spaces, stems from the cohesion of a given work of architecture and its context, thus not just from a building but from its surroundings as well [Staniszkis, 1995]. Such ties are particularly strong with regard to the communities inhabiting a given city. Cultural uniformity and the proximity of the architecture that surrounds residents impart them with a sense of continuity, integration, and membership in the social group to which they belong. Occasionally, in large metropolises, architectural forms permit finding one's own ethnic, religious, or cultural identity. Examples of this are the ethnic neighborhoods in various cities of the world; Chinatown in San Francisco is probably the best known [Wallis, 1977].

Historic and contemporary public spaces are both presently undergoing processes of rapid changes, the consequences of which are often worrying. These spaces are significant elements of every city structure, as it is within their confines that the variety of activity and the model of the community life of its residents are manifested most strongly. They also represent the specifics of the city as a creation of culture and spatial frames within which culture originates and develops [Kochanowski, 2002a]. They are, thus, areas that are most strongly associated with conducting an urban lifestyle, which, it follows, stems from the particular scheme of interdependencies between the size and density of the city structure as well as the

intensity, variety, and permanence of its utilization [Hassenpflug, 2003]. Public spaces are, thus, that structural element of the city which, in the opinion of Walter Benjamin,[34] embodies the potential of both "conformity and utopia, the world of material choice, and the world of dreams" [Zukin, 1993]. The beauty of a place, which is often perceived subjectively, is also not without significance as it has become an objective economic category. Currently, this designates the price of space and the market price of locations [Kochanowski, 2002a].

Contemporary interest in the issues surrounding urban public space was not as evident in the era of modernism. This was so despite awareness of its significance and the multifaceted functions it performed. Although a modernist paradigm for shaping the structure of the city was implemented, public space remained a place for meetings and exchanges (trade and services) and, finally, of transportation [Gehl, Gemzoe, 2001].[35] The contemporary trend,[36] which is based on transforming space that is alive into cities devoid of life and residential areas, has meant that cities have become increasingly dull and monotonous. Thus, another social need has been pushed to the forefront–the need for stimulation. This is related to the need for contact with other people. In contrast to looking at buildings, being among people offers a rich variety of sensory experiences. This is also why such importance is assigned currently to public space; it stems from attempts to enliven cities and render them more attractive. Lively cities are those which stimulate multifaceted interactions among people. It follows that "its inconsequential how colorful and diversified the buildings are; if they cannot offer the opportunity for human interaction, they remain boring and monotonous" [Gehl, 2001]

The contemporary definition of urban public space

In the opinion of Diane Ghirardo, public space was defined in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries too optimistically as community space, with the understanding that it belonged neither to a given group nor class, but to the human community as a whole. Discussions of this issue also include the contemporary debate on the topic of the public sphere as public space is where it is realized [Ghirardo, 1999]. According to Jürgen Habermas, the public sphere is the place where citizens join and participate in political events. It is, thus, related to places with a time-honored tradition of various activities including political ones. Its value lies in the fact that it is accessible to everyone regardless of financial status or origin [Amin, Thrift, 2002].

The character of contemporary public space is not similar to that presented in the literature of the nineteenth century, and it has lost the universal character that permitted identifying it with the public domain. The contemporary city has become a mixed collection of loosely connected elements, including public spaces of diverse characters. The "traditional" city, which is usually the historic center of a contemporary metropolis, has become just one of a wide range of components that comprise the contemporary urban body. In addition, we can identify a wide array of specialized spaces for production, consumption (including housing), authorities, exchanges, and, finally, those with symbolic significance [Jałowiecki, Szczepański, 2002]. It thus becomes necessary to differentiate between urban "space" (including public space) and "place", which is rich in meaning, memories, cultural connotations, etc. Such "places", in the opinion of Auge, are characterized by a particular identity, social relationships, and history, while "non-places" lack identity and are difficult to define in social or historical categories. Since they are of a private character and lack authenticity, they are often subjected to theming [Auge, 1995].

In the present day, public space is that which attains a certain level of autonomy and complex compositional and functional relationships with the structures that form this space and is, at once, a significant element of the city structure as well as one that integrates the urban fabric [Zuziak, 2002]. In practice, the concept of public space is often disfigured as its public dimension disappears and is replaced by an alternative form of

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[34] In the author's description of the late nineteenth century city.

[35] These functions developed to varying degrees in different cities. One example is the categorization by Jan Gehl into "traditional" (in which space is used equally for meeting place, marketplace, and traffic), "invaded" (whose structure is dominated by automobile transportation), "abandoned" (in which space and public life are dying), and "reconquered" (where steps are being taken to return equilibrium to the uses of space for meeting place, marketplace, and traffic purposes).

[36] This is particular to the industrialization process, segregating various urban functions and the dependence on the automobile.

its utilization. Currently, the "publicness" of space lies not in the formal characteristics of questions of ownership or the way it is shaped. What is significant, rather, is that it affords different social groups, including those with different lifestyles or from different cultural circles, the opportunity of making contact [Hołub, 2002]. At the same time, these are the only areas where membership in a given social group does not exclude people from mixing freely, and this means that we can meet them [Zukin, 1995].

Currently, traditional public space is being replaced by substitutes, which are referred to by Chmielewski as "private spaces with public access". This includes, among others, shopping centers, supermarkets, and entertainment centers. A characteristic trait of these places is their closed architectural concept that consciously limits the use of exterior space in favor of creating a seemingly multi-functional interior that imitates the exterior space.[37] This is why many of these places, in the opinion of Diane Ghirardo, should be described rather as social spaces than public ones. She also observes that contemporary public space is sometimes interpreted in two ways that differ fundamentally from the nineteenth century concept, which is "as space dedicated to consumption and as space where visitors are subjected to a very specific type of segregation – they are observed and monitored".[38] This occurs when the users of public space are seeking such qualities as comfort, convenience, a relaxing time, various ways to participate in all that is happening, new experiences, etc. [Carmona, Heath, Tiesdell, 2003]. Often, only such "private spaces with public access" can realize this in a safe manner. This is also why we can speak of these spaces in terms of defined cultural identity as well as physical safety [Zukin, 1995].

The realization of the requirements listed above is becoming increasingly important for contemporary society. This stems from the huge development in many forms of indirect communication coupled with fully controlled access to some urban spaces which eliminates a range of groups and individuals who are not desirable to the owners or who lack authorization to be in these spaces. However, one of the keenest social needs is that of being in direct contact; thus, the development of these forms of immensely attractive communication has effectively eliminated the possibility of direct interaction between the individual and the surroundings. The information society has thus given new meaning and range to the city as a meeting place [Gehl, Gemzoe, 2001]. Significantly, the ownership structure and management of these spaces is no longer important; what is key is the possibility of realizing in these spaces a wide range of social needs.

Based on the preceding discussion, it is possible to define the contemporary concept of public space and to describe its traits in social, ownership, and formal categories. According to these, public space is a fragment of urban space that, through the manner in which it is managed and its location within the urban structure, is dedicated to the needs of realizing <u>direct contact among the members of the community</u> as well as fulfilling other social needs of this community. Simultaneously, this space must remain <u>physically accessible to all interested parties</u>. Physical accessibility can be limited temporarily in the interest of safety or if the utilization of the space requires it.

Accepting such a definition carries with it a range of consequences. The most significant characteristic of public space remains its publicness, not in terms of ownership, but in the possibility it affords of making direct interpersonal contacts, including those between people who were previously strangers. In light of this and the question of ownership and management, it is possible to describe a privately held space as public. With respect to formal aspects (including the architectural forms that are associated with this), there are also an entire array of possibilities ranging from historic spaces to concepts realized today, including those related to a given theme.

Shaping contemporary public space is, therefore, a complex and multifaceted task. Three fundamental types of activities can be identified: modernizing and supplementing the existing urban fabric, creating new spaces from scratch that are integrated with existing old town structures, and locating significant consumer-oriented investment projects outside of the city limits [Kochanowska, 2002]. Simultaneously, with regard to the type of area, it is possible to discuss activities undertaken to transform existing public spaces in the city center, and in residential and recreational areas, as well as a variety of post-industrial spaces [Paszkowski, 2003].

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[37]   For more on this topic see, among others: Safdie M., 1997, *The City After the Automobile*. Westview Press, Boulder.

[38]   Cited in: Ghirardo D., 1999, *Architektura po modernizmie*. Wydawnictwo VIA, Toruń, p. 43

The perception of public space

Urban public spaces are perceived variously by those who use them. The impression made is determined by many different factors, the foremost being the degree to which social needs can be met. Naturally, issues such as its physical form, including the type and character of detail, are not without significance [Hall, 2003]. These spaces determine the cityscape and the legibility of its structure, and thus the harmony between function and form [Staniszkis, 1995].[39]

In every instance, it is necessary for this space to be defined culturally. This leads to the continuous production of meaning, the creation of spheres of interest, and topics [Hajer, Reijndorp, 2001]. However, every culture has its own way of organizing space; this is expressed in the specific limits of personal space, the way people behave in public space, etc. There is no universal model of ideal space, which is different in every culture. Copying patterns from other cultures creates the impression, whether intentional or not, of foreignness. This stems from the connection between spatial forms and specific social content. For example, the size of buildings, their decoration, and their state of repair provide information regarding the social status of the residents. However, street space can also be viewed as an image of encoded history of the space as architecture expresses the evolution of changes in styles, tastes, or fashion, and as such communicates the history and culture of a given space [Jałowiecki, Szczepański, 2002].

Public culture develops primarily in public space. Sharon Zukin suggests that these areas are even "windows to the soul of the city", and as such are an important in determining the vision of community life in a city [Zukin, 1995]. Therefore, we can assume that the way public space is shaped reflects the characteristics of a given stage in the development of a city. What is important here are the types of formal space as well as the way in which they function in social and economic life. Consequently, public space is one of the more important determinants of the cultural form of the city [Zuziak, 2002].

Urban spaces are organized, connected, and situated within the city structure in accordance with a particular social logic. This also reflects the logic of political and economic leaders, and the structure of the system of spatial connections often becomes the principal means for emphasizing the particular system of that leadership [Harvey, 1985]. For example, the quality of medieval cities stems from the fact that they were shaped by their users and not designers working on behalf of one or another magnate or powerful investor. This is why so few spaces realized in later times are characterized by a similar quality [Gehl, 2001]. However, the combination of all these historical processes led to a certain shift in the atmosphere of the street and how it is perceived by both its residents and visitors. Transformations in the functional sphere were accompanied by shifts in architectural decoration.[40]

The public spaces in city centers or downtown areas are of key significance in designating the cultural landscape of the city. According to Roland Barthes, since its inception, western culture has valued the meaning of the central point of the city. This is also why the most important structures and institutions in our civilization are grouped in these areas. The contemporary concept of the city center not only designated by the spatial expression of the urban community, but also through the concentration here of the economic leadership as well as tourist attractions, entertainment and conspicuous consumption. Nevertheless, the most important function of the city center is its role as the symbolic catalyst for the integration of the members of the urban community, which, thanks to the city center, identifies with the city as a whole [Jałowiecki, Szczepański, 2002]. Aleksander Wallis presents a slightly different definition of the city center; he believes that "the center is a relatively small part of the city, which, in comparison to others, is spatially distinct in terms of institutional infrastructure, urban planning composition, and architectural values. It is the most accessible area of the city and is of fundamental significance to the functioning of the urban community and the wider region. Finally, it is also identified by the community as the place in which the most important processes of public life occur".[41]

How the public space in the city center is shaped is of key significance to how the city is perceived as a whole. Concurrently, certain coded signals can steer the behavior of those who use the space. This occurs when our activities in a given space depend on the image of it and the limitations this imposes as

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[39]   According to Magdalena Staniszkis, this includes landscapes of various characters – generally urban, local, or elite.
[40]   For more on this topic see: Chojnacki M., 2002, *Trwałość i zmienność struktur przestrzennych miasta historycznego na przykładzie Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku*. [in]: Bogdanowski J. (ed.) Miasto historyczne w dialogu ze współczesnością. Nadbałtyckie Centrum Kultury, Wydział Architektury Politechniki Gdańskiej, Gdańsk.
[41]   Cited in: Wallis A., 1979, *Informacja i gwar*. PIW, Warszawa, p. 19

well as those of our own minds. The perception of space is not, therefore, a mechanical reaction as was observed during the modernist period. Above all else, it must be considered to be a cultural process in which the individual interprets their surroundings in accordance with their own culture [Drzewiecki, 2003]. This means that the synthesization of experiences is crucial to human discovery. In the opinion of Hall, "…in people, seeing is learning, while what is learned impacts what is seen". Works of art or architecture are interpreted within the categories of contemporary scenery despite incomplete knowledge of the experiences and culture of our ancestors. Thus, "…the most serious reservation regarding numerous attempts made to interpret the human past is that the structure of the contemporary visual world is projected onto the visual word of the past".[42] This principle is also applied in the ways the contemporary world is presented in photography, for example. This is why the image of the city is a joint creation of the exits and the viewer, which means that the image of the city is as varied as the people who inhabit it.[43]

The discussion of the perception process and the repeated synthesis of the image of the city explains the phenomenon of the development of new social behavioral patterns at the moment a specified type of public space is created.[44] This process also occurs contemporarily. Sharon Zukin mentions the Disney theme parks, which, according to her, are among the most significant examples of public space. They are meant to combine ethnic, class, and regional identity in order to offer a national public culture based on the aestheticization of differences and controlled fears [Zukin, 1995].

The conditions and development of contemporary public space.

Models of shaping and utilization of the common urban areas.

As an element of the city structure, public space is subject to the same laws and processes that rule transformations in urban forms and patterns of urban life. Public space is, however, the most sensitive of the city elements to these cultural phenomena that alter life and spatial forms. This means that we can refer to public space as cultural space. These phenomena include, among others, transformations in civilization and interactions between the space itself and the surrounding urban fabric [Zuziak, 2002]. This is also why the character of our public space is increasingly influenced by the shift in emphasis from local to global cultural icons, from public to private institutions, and even from ethnic and racial homogeneity to multiculturalism [Zukin, 1995]. The character of these relations is, however, twofold since the way the city is built, including its public space, determines the type and quality of life and the activities that take place outside of its buildings [Gehl, 2001].

The wide variety of human activity possible in public spaces should be borne in mind. Jan Gehl refers to these elements as necessary activities (functional)[45], possible activities (recreational),[46] and social activities.[47] It is generally believed that the character of social activities is widely varied and depends on the context in which they happen. Social activity is often spontaneous as an immediate consequence of people moving and existing in the same space. This means that the occurrence of such activity depends largely on the degree to which public space is adapted to these various activities. Gehl reminds us also of the various forms of contact that exist between people, which range from passive relationships to close friendships. In

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[42]   Cited in: Hall E.T., 2003, *Ukryty wymiar*. Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie MUZA S.A., Warszawa, p. 88-107

[43]   See also: Miles M., 2003, *Strange Days*. [in]: Miles M., Hall T. (ed.) Urban Futures. Routledge, London; Nyka L., 2003, *W kierunku zmiennej metafory miasta – miejsca, zdarzenia, krajobrazy*. [in]: Urbanistyka – Międzyuczelniane Zeszyty Naukowe Rok VII. Akapit-DTP, Warszawa.

[44]   One example is the rebuilding of Paris by G. Hausmann in the 1853-1869 period which led directly to the creation of a new kind of public space. Similar results were achieved with the plans by I. Cerda for Barcelona or H. Hobrecht for Berlin and Szczecin. The movement and din of these cities motivated the emerging middle class to conduct their lives intensively outside of the home and also provided new opportunities for making interpersonal contacts. For more on this topic see, among others: Chmielewski J.M., 2004, *Rola miejskich przestrzeni publicznych*. [in]: Urbanista nr 4/2004. Urbanista, sp. z o.o., Warszawa.

[45]   For example, the journey to work or school; this group includes most daily activities.

[46]   These include activities that are undertaken when there is a desire to do so and the time and place to do them, for example taking a walk, tanning, etc.

[47]   These are activities that depend on the presence of others in public space, for example children playing, meeting with friends, etc. These can also be referred to as "resultant activities".

his opinion, public space encourages making the most passive type of contact. This does not preclude the possibility of establishing other forms of contact, only that this requires more initiative from the interested parties themselves [Gehl, 2001].

Regardless of the impact social needs have on the form of public space, other factors also have a great influence; foremost is the development of motorization and the spread of individual automobile transportation. Thanks to the automobile, it has been possible to create numerous service complexes that are separated from the traditional multifunctional systems of urban space and connected to them only through various transportation systems [Kochanowska, 2002]. Changes in the form and role of the individual elements of the system of public space were heavily impacted by the division of various functions, which is also accompanied by an increasing awareness of a lack of safety [Hołub, 2002]. Changes in lifestyle that stem from the development of multimedia technology, political climate, and the growing complexity of cities as well as changes in socio-demographic and employment structures must be mentioned at this point. The reaction to these phenomena is the development of many new types of public space or that which is described as public, including themed space. [48]

A single, dominant pattern for public space is also disappearing. This occurs even within the confines of one cultural circle when people of different histories, races, ages, class membership, etc. have different ideas regarding public space. Often they create their "own" kind of public space with the aim of reinforcing their identity as individuals and citizens. In effect, spaces that have different purposes, functions, meanings, and connotations are created within the city. Each plays a specific role and has its own clientele, which is sometimes of a fairly varied character. Depending on the situation, we require spaces where we can experience otherness or similarity [Borden, 2003].

One of the crucial elements in the shaping of public space is the necessity of providing a safe environment for its users. The problem of safety in the public space of highly-developed countries stems from the fact that since the 1970s they began to be the domain of the homeless, beggars, and other social outcasts. At present the control of violence and crime is one of the key issues in the expansion and transformation of cities. This is due to the fact that personal safety, which can also be interpreted within the social dimension as public safety, is seen as an extremely significant parameter of the quality of life [Czarnecki, Siemiński, 2004]. Traditional urban spaces cannot guarantee safety due to growing social exclusion, narcotics abuse, and other social pathologies.

Difficulty in providing safety for the users of public space leads them to abandon it. The problem of safety in public spaces is closely related to the evolution of how trade is conducted; according to Gehl traditional street life is limited drastically as small shops and services are pushed out by increasingly larger competitors [Gehl, 2001]. This has dramatic consequences for the vivacity of these spaces since the effect of the consolidation of retail and services is to limit the diversity of their forms, and this impacts the functional richness of the street space.

The void of community life in public spaces was quickly filled by a myriad of alternative social activities, including criminal activity. It was this fear of criminals that contributed to the development of private police forces, gated communities, and the movement to design public spaces that permits maintaining maximum control over them. The threat to safety that occurs in public spaces thoroughly destroys the principle of open access. This results in either the community being severely penalized or the privatization and militarization of public space, which renders streets, squares, and stores safer but less open. Alternatively, spaces such as malls or theme parks are created, but these only appear to be public spaces since so many people use them for their daily errands. The ever increasing need of people for a variety of contacts and social activities contributes to the popularity of these places since one of the biggest attractions of public space is the possibility it provides of seeing, hearing, and meeting others.

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[48]   For more on this topic see: Loukaitou-Sideris A., Banerjee T., 1998, *Urban Design Downtown. Poetics and Politics of Form.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. See also: Grochowska E., 2004, *Negatywne przekształcenia placów warszawskich*. [in]: Urbanista nr 4/2004. Urbanista, sp. z o.o., Warszawa.

Models of development in new forms of public space

Public spaces are subjected to continuous transformations that change their character, and sometimes they even lose or regain their public significance.[49] The crisis of the traditional public space might stem from adapting its character to the paradigm of the industrial city. In wider terms this refers to its more modern genesis, which must undergo change in the day of postmodernism.

The postindustrial turning-point has thus sparked interest in traditional spaces as a specific type of accepted patterns, at the same time extorting, through such phenomena as globalization or new ways and meanings of consumption, new methods for creating them, locating them within the urban structure, and different purposes. Many critics refer to these spaces as substitutes for traditional structures.[50] Yet these are creations of a new epoch; they fulfill its needs and employ its "technology" for the organization of space. It is indeed true, however, that they are often formally patterned on traditional, sometimes even historical, space. They recall the public utility buildings of the late nineteenth century in which modern construction, technology, and contemporary function went hand-in-hand with historicizing forms. In effect, the available palette of ways to shape public space has grown substantially, and this refers to both the type of urban program as well as to the way urban planning development strategy is built [Lang, 2005].

This contemporary new space, which is really new-old in the formal sense, is often prepared from the fabric of the city and satisfies the more or less common needs of the contemporary urban community. These are characterized by a particular spatial organization that is its own kind of replica of urban space (also referred to as quasi-public space). Nothing in these spaces is accidental. They are "programmed" to inspire a definite, desired consumer reaction, and the peak of development is achieved when the space is a value in and of itself. Usually, this is connected with a particular spectacle that is played out within its confines that is designed to attract the attention of customers and consumers. This is when the creation of the city as a spectacle is fully realized. The observation of the development of "city entertainment" may lead, however, to disturbances in the relationships between public and private spaces in the city of the future [Hannigan, 1998].

Building new forms of public space is based on three fundamental principles: theming, concentration, and strictly connected spaces [Hołub, 2002]. First and foremost, these promote the development of tourism, retail, and other forms of consumption. At the same time, this leads to the rapid gentrification[51] of chosen urban spaces and to the alienation of the poor [Roschelle, Wright, 2003]. Already, a full range of typology can be defined that includes the modernization of existing complexes and designs, the realization of new structures in various types of undeveloped urban space or even new building, and the recreation of historic plans [Załuski, 2002]. Polish cities, due to the observed atrophy of their historic centers, are particularly susceptible to the development of these new forms of public space. This atrophy results from retarded urban development that originated in the nineteenth century when many cities were unable to concentrate significant groups of functions in the center. This void was not filled during communist times either, and, in effect, the predominant function of Polish city centers until the 1990s remained residential. Changes in this have only become apparent in the last few years [Jałowiecki, Szczepański, 2002]. However, a new type of shopping center–the mall generally located in the suburbs-began to appear in the early 1990s. They are often a substitute for the city center; actually they are a kind of "anti-center" as they are devoid of the cultural or symbolic content typical of the traditional city.

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[49] This thesis is confirmed by J. M. Chmielewski, who wrote "…industrialized production was accompanied by spontaneous processes of urbanization which led to the revaluation of commonly used space and a significant portion of it lost its original, social character and was transformed into generally accessible public space that was regulated by state law (...) Public space, in accordance with its contemporary understanding, clearly stands apart as the industrial city takes shape. The urban community is enhanced at this time by the middle class, which reinforces both social and cultural life. To meet their needs, public spaces that reflect urban culture (the urban lifestyle) are created. A relict of the first phase of industrialization is the traditional "downtown" where the most valuable spaces are located. The street, square, or park belong to the most characteristic of these forms and they have become patterns for their contemporary replicas". Cited in: Chmielewski J.M., 2004, *Rola miejskich przestrzeni publicznych*. [in]: Urbanista nr 4/2004. Urbanista, sp. z o.o., Warszawa, p. 13-14

[50] The work of D. Ghirardo, S. Sassen and S. Zukin must be mentioned here as well as that of E. Rewers.

[51] This process refers to the rehabilitation of a given area that increases its attractiveness to a group, such as the middle class, that is wealthier than the long-term residents.

The numerous examples of newly created public spaces can be separated into two fundamentally different groups: "**closed**" **spaces** which are entered by crossing a border into a building or possibly by purchasing a ticket, and "**open**" **spaces** that are of a formal, traditional, urban character. The creation of the latter is specifically (although not always) connected with measures taken to rebuild the historic city centers destroyed during WWII. Due to their character and the possibility of perceiving the city as a whole, they require much deeper analysis.

"Open" public space

Open public space (that which is universally accessible and not located inside buildings such as retail-service megastructures) can be divided into two basic types: traditional – city quarters with varied types of structures, and modernist - a group free-standing pavilions. Currently, there is a trend to return to traditional patterns. The shape these spaces assume is derived from contexts that range from local to global and from market to regulatory [Carmona Heath, Oc, Tiesdell, 2003]. It should be remembered, though, that the architecture and urban planning of public space are the cultural products that most directly impact the landscape of a place. They shape both the city and our perception of it, which is why they are of both material and symbolic value [Zukin, 1993]. In the age of globalization, above all else the context of the local form is experiencing a return to grace. Often the principles for creating forms or architectural-urban interiors are derived from regional compositional patterns [Kwiatkowska, 2003].

Regardless of formal questions, the leading issue in shaping contemporary "open" space is being able to guarantee the public safety of its users. Other important issues include the aesthetic quality of spaces, minimizing the negative and exploiting the positive aspects of the weather, and, lastly, defining a "sense of place", which refers to how "characteristic visual expression instills people with the feeling of a particular place and inspires them to spend time in it" [Gehl, 2001]. The exceptional or remarkable character of a space is achieved through this as well as in precisely how its positives and negatives are shaped, but above all through the considered application of urban planning details [Kłosiewicz, 2004]. This, which is also referred to as architectural detail, is an integral, scenic element of public space even if it is subject to changing styles and trends [Wallis, 1971]. The placement of barriers and the creation of distances that are appropriate in a given culture must not be neglected. This recipe does not, however, guarantee success in every instance.

"Closed" public spaces

As mentioned above, the traditional freedoms enjoyed by different social groups to congregate or express their views in public space has resulted in threats to public safety that are presently on the rise in classic social spaces such as streets. Certain defensive reactions are natural, including the rehabilitation process of the social and "property" aspects of the street to render it a relatively safer place.[52] This phenomenon is considered to be a possible remedy for, in the words of Mike Davis, "the escalation of the cold war of the streets". In the opinion of many authors, at the same time the process of cleaning up the streets is conducted on the ruins of traditional, open urban public spaces. The most striking example of this is the erection of "defensive citadels of great corporations that are separated from the poor neighborhoods surrounding them" [Lees, 1998].

Regardless of the question of social renewal, other elements of what is regarded as traditional social life are also undergoing transformation. Many activities that were formally performed publicly are currently confined to the household. Many members of the most diverse social groups view the streets as spaces that are inhospitable, unpredictable, and possibly even terrifying. Those who can afford to try to protect themselves from these dangers by escaping to enclaves of safe, friendly space, even if it they are not quite as "public" as the traditional streets [Loukaitou-Sideris, Banerjee, 1998].

A trend has been noted in recent years to create a particular type of public space that is often oriented towards the inside of a building. Examples of this are private shopping arcades that cut through city blocks, underground pedestrian walkway systems, and the "courtyards" of hotels. From the point of view of the

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52   This is also referred to as gentrification.

developer, this trend may signal very interesting perspectives, but for the city as an integral structure it causes clientele to disperse, social activities to disappear, the abandonment of public spaces by people and the loss of attractive functions and activities. People abandon the city and it becomes boring and unsafe [Gehl, 2001]. However, at the present moment, these functions are not disappearing totally; they are just being re-located in closed retail-service centers.[53] These contemporary "closed" centers and the forms of consumption associated with them are replacing the traditional open access square where the political activities and public gatherings that are manifestations of public life took place. Despite the fact that these centers are private property that is subordinated to the needs of the consumer, they are viewed by many, especially a wide range of consumers, as a fully democratic form of space. Moreover, they are often seen as a revolutionizing factor in city centers that opens up space and imparts them with new significance. This occurs although, according to the character of the contemporary market and to modern economic logic, these structures attempt "not only meet the disclosed needs of postindustrial society but to create these needs as well…"[Kochanowska, 2002].

In contemporary realizations, designers try to connect retail with entertainment and play; the aim of this is to put customers into a good mood while attempting to meet a wide variety of needs. This occurs in the economic interests of the owners. These shopping centers are built so people can buy continuously, and the gastronomic and other services offered are often relegated to a role that is secondary to the principle function.[54] Nothing in these places prompts us to make any social contacts; and the product available in them is not limited to the available goods and services, but includes the space itself. In this case, the space must also be viewed as a product. It often takes on the form of traditional downtown patterns; however, the "urban audience", or average city residents, prejudged this in their clear response to the traditional urban form usually represented by the city center space and other quarters with long histories. In revealing their preferences en masse, they made it understood that, as consumers of city space, they will choose products that are of the traditional character found in its streets, squares, and built-up quarters. The choice made by the consumer in the era of globalization is the supreme verdict and is synonymous with the economic profitability of a given undertaking".[55]

Conclusions

Contemporary urban public spaces have undergone a significant transformation whose genesis can be found in the phenomenon of globalization, the development of the consumer society, and new types of co-operation between the public and private sectors. In effect, it is necessary to redefine the concept of public space itself. The definition of it as a traditional area under public rule such as openly accessible streets or squares that usually fulfills a variety of social and economic functions is losing sway. The new definition of public space accents an understanding of the public role of the space as a place where various interpersonal contacts can be made, regardless of its ownership structure, control, or spatial organization. This is also why both "open" (those which recall the traditional urban structure) and "closed" (enclosed within a cohesive structure) solutions must be considered as contemporary public urban space. This type of space (understood in the material sense) can also be separated from the public domain (which can be located in virtual space).

The general accessibility to public spaces such as these will no longer be a measure of attractiveness; this will be defined by visual and functional desirability as well of the level of safety offered. This means that if they maintain these conditions, such spaces will attain a measure of autonomy and will often be eliminated from the city structure. However, the traditional city spaces are forced to compete with new complexes often on unequal terms. This is related to the weakness of the public sector and the inability of city officials

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[53]   This type of space is often related to the creation of space that is totally isolated from the outside world. Interestingly, it also appears as inner atria in buildings where it also plays a multifaceted social role. For more on this topic see: Pachowski J., 2002, *Atrium. Przestrzeń społeczna w budynku wielofunkcyjnym*. PPiP, Izabelin.

[54]   Despite this, the infrastructure often allows many social needs to be met; one example might be the new trend of youngsters spending their free time at shopping centers.

[55]   Cited in: Kochanowska D., 2002, *Śródmiejskie przestrzenie publiczne – współczesne przekształcenia*. [in]: Kochanowski M. (ed.) Przestrzeń publiczna miasta postindustrialnego. Wydawnictwo Politechniki Gdańskiej, Gdańsk, p. 34

to recognize the cultural significance of these traditional spaces. As the needs of various social groups crop up, so too will spaces dedicated to particular groups; at the same time, traditional (in every meaning of the word) "public" space that is open to all will disappear.

It can be postulated that in the future the quality of the public domain will not be measured by accessibility or the character of space, but by the answers to the following questions: To what extent does it impact the shaping of the surroundings of particular places? Does is create an attractive urban environment? Is it possible to realize social needs in it? Is it significant what the space looks like or who the owner is?

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