

CHANGING URBAN STRUCTURE OF BRATISLAVA AT THE BEGINNING OF 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract: The submitted paper overviews changes of four main attributes of urban structure of Bratislava (economic base, inner spatial structure, population size and its structures and position of the city in Slovakia and Europe) in the time of past fifteen years. After 1989, significant changes have been observed in the size of Bratislava's population as well as in its structures. The main attention is paid to describe the development of the age structure of Bratislava population. Forming of a new hierarchy of settlement system is observable in Eastern Europe, particular cities search for their own position in network of European cities. Enlargement of the EU intensifies relevance of this process. The searching of new position of Bratislava is analyzed from this point of view. To the end of the submitted paper opportunities and threats for further Bratislava development are analyzed enter into relations with conclusions of previous article of the author, where disadvantages and advantages of Bratislava are named.

Key words: economic base, inner spatial structure, age structure, hierarchy of settlement system, urban change, Bratislava

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past fifteen years there have been mainly three facts that caused the transformation of urban structure of Bratislava. First, since 1989 Czechoslovakia has changed from a totalitarian to a democratic one and centralized economy to a market-driven economy. Second, Bratislava became the capital of new independent state Slovakia since January 1, 1993. The establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993, bringing the key function of capital city to Bratislava, strengthened the activities of tertiary and quarternary sectors in the economic base of the agglomeration. Third, after fall of „iron curtain“ between west and east blocks in Europe Bratislava obtained very advantageous position. It lies in the core of Europe right at the border line between west and east European countries. The development of the city after 1989 is under strong influence of internationalization of society and impacts of globalization.

In the time of past fifteen years all main attributes of Bratislava (economic base, inner spatial structure, population size and its structures and position of the city in Slovakia and Europe) rapidly changed. Each city arose and has been developing under diverse conditions, different political and social circumstances, with influence of various impulses. This gives every city a label of individuality and special position in inner urban system and international one.

Built environment and land-use structure development have entered a new evolution period in the beginning of twenty-first Century in Bratislava. Massive development activity begins after previous period of revitalizations and constructions in smaller scale. New wave of development is located at the edge of compact city, in vacant areas along the Danube river adjacent to the city center and in suburban areas. Many authors support the idea of second wave of globalization flowing in Bratislava in the beginning of this Century. Multi-national companies currently establish their regional branches in the city, especially those related with information technologies (Divinský 2002; Valášek 2003; and others). Further enlargement of the space occupied by retail centers network takes place. The networks of financial institutions and other entrepreneurial activities in general do also contribute. Last five years witness a steep increase in dynamics of high-profile residential complexes construction in suburban areas and vacant parts of built-up area of the city. These are the reasons behind the attempt to cover last developments in area although similarly focused paper (Korec 2002) has been published three years earlier.

The objective of the paper is an evaluation of four specific city attributes. The economic base transformation is focused in general deindustrialization process and growing importance of the service sector. We consider the levels of importance of Bratislava's economic activities in the national scale. The transformation effects of spatial additions to the city center and motorway constructions are the main issues observed in study of inner urban spatial structure. Birth levels and relation to ageing of population are the central topics in the study of population processes. Current decrease in pre-productive age structure segment in urban population is alarming. Sixth section of the study deals with position of Bratislava in inter-urban hierarchy of Central European urban network.

2. NEW GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF BRATISLAVA

A series of studies dealing with new possibilities of Bratislava's development have appeared shortly after the breakdown of political and economic barriers between the East and the West in 1989 (Dostál, Hampl 1992, Musil, Illner 1994, Gorzelak et al. 1994, Paulov 1996, Drbohlav, Sýkora 1997 and some others). The unique geographical position of Bratislava and its influence on the further development of the city is analyzed to the very detail in previous papers of the author (Korec, Galasová 1994 and Korec, Smatanová 2000). Among the main features of the (new) geographical position of Bratislava in terms of its development potential, one must pay attention to the following:

- a) Bratislava is situated right at the contact point of eastern and western European countries (former communist and capitalist European countries). The city has got a gateway position between these two different regions.

- b) The high potential of Bratislava's development is related to the new quality of relation between Bratislava and Vienna (Mládek, Buček, Korec 1998). Bratislava is located right at the contact point of Slovakia and Austria. Its cadastral lines are identical with state boundaries. Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic, is located only 65 km from Vienna, the capital of Austria. Such a close location of two capital cities with different political and economic development before 1989 is unique in Europe. Virtually whole overground transport between Slovakia and Austria (Slovakia and western Europe) is led across the territory of Bratislava.
- c) Bratislava has a very good transport-geographical position to the Czech Republic. The only highway connecting the Slovak Republic with the neighbouring Czech Republic comes out directly from Bratislava. Taking this highway, the distance from Bratislava to Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic is about 300 km.
- d) Bratislava has an eccentric position within the territory of the Slovak Republic. It is situated on the southwest margin of Slovakia. Within the short period of fifteen years Bratislava and its surroundings have obtained an extraordinarily dominant position within regional structure of the Slovak Republic (what is seen very negatively in Slovakia). Proximity of Bratislava to West-European geoeconomic and geopolitical centers (to economic and political core of Europe) amplifies this process.
- e) The acceptance of Slovak Republic in NATO in 2002 and in the EU in 2004 has brought further increase of the development potential for Bratislava in relation to the city's extraordinary location. Bratislava has been granted a closer contact to metropolitan region of Vienna. This contact can lead, considering common political and economic interests of these cities, to creation of a conurbation, twin city Vienna – Bratislava.

Due the position of Bratislava Dostál, Hampl (1992) emphasize that the city is about to become a part of East-European geoeconomic zone, which tends to be a core space of this part of the continent. Gorzelak et al. (1994) consider the „Bratislava-Budapest“ region as one of three innovation centers of Eastern Europe. Bratislava is ranked within the top of lucrative places where investors should start up their business for its very advantageous position. According to analyze of the German research institute of Empirica at Bonn that has published in 1993, Bratislava's region belongs to the most perspective ones among the other 471 European regions from point of view of investment returnability. The triangle of Bratislava-Vienna-Győr located on the territory of three states has been evaluated as a „golden triangle“ of production in Europe (Trend 1993).

3. ECONOMIC BASE OF BRATISLAVA

The communism era brought visible consequences for economic base as well as for inner spatial structure of Bratislava (Sýkora, Weclawowicz 1992, Smith 1996, Smatanová 1999 etc.). Exaggerated development of industry, absence of privat entrepreneurial activities, huge housing complexes, functionally and physically underdevelopment the central business district and so on, became typical features of Bratislava as well as other cities Eastern Europe. After 1989, and in particular after January 1, 1993, the economic base of Bratislava has changed. It gained a significant

international dimension. The Table 1 shows the development of economic base of Bratislava after 1989 by individual branches of economy. Practically all large post-communist cities have transformed to centers of trade and services and do not remain exclusively centers of a production. This applies especially to the capital cities that concentrate numerous non-production activities not only for the city and its surroundings but also for the rest of the country and abroad.

Table 1 Employed by economic activity in Bratislava

Number of employed in 1985			Number of employed in 2002		
Section of econ. activity	number	%	number	%	Section of econ. activity
Total	279 122	100.00	310 015	100.00	Total
Agriculture	4 951	1.97	1 405	0.45	Agriculture, hunting and forestry; fishing
Forestry	454				
<i>Total</i>	5 505				
Industry	69 271	26.45	50 439	16.27	Mining and quarrying; Manufacturing; Electricity, gas and water supply
Printing	4 547				Construction
<i>Total</i>	73 818				
Construction	38 348	16.68	17 844	5.75	
Geological Survey	725				Production activities total
Planning	7 475				
<i>Total</i>	46 548				
Production activities total	125 871	45.10	69 688	22.47	
Transport	19 161	8.92	29 699	9.57	Transport, storage and communication
Communication	5 731				
<i>Total</i>	24 892				
Domestic trade	22 852	11.14	64 231	20.72	Wholesale and retail trade; Retail of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods;
International trade	2 956				
Material-technical supply	4 780				
Purchase of agric. products	515				
<i>Total</i>	31 103				
Research and development	15 136	9.46	48 661	15.70	Real estate, renting and business activities, research and development
Commercial and technical services	6 796				
Housing politics/economy	4 479				
<i>Total</i>	26 411				
Accommodation services	745	1.51	7 627	2.45	Hotels and restaurants
Tourism services	773				
Communal services	2 700				
<i>Total</i>	4 218				
Education	23 776	8.52	23 463	7.59	Education
Health	14 129	5.40	17 378	5.61	Health and social work
Social care/security	949				
<i>Total</i>	15 078				
Money/Finance	1 599	0.70	15 021	4.85	Financial intermediation
Insurance	357				
<i>Total</i>	1 956				
Administration, judicial system, prosecutor system, and arbitrage	9 851	3.53	17 470	5.63	Public administration and defense; Compulsory social security
Culture	11 369	5.72	16 777	5.41	Other community, social and personal services
Other activities	4 597				
<i>Total</i>	15 966				
Non-production act. total	153 251	54.90	240 327	77.53	Non-production act. total

Sources:

Statistical Yearbook of Bratislava. City Service of Slovak Statistical Institute, Bratislava 1986.

Statistical Yearbook of Bratislava. Region Service of Statistical Institute of Slovak Republic, Bratislava 2003.

Korec, P. (2002): The transformation of basic functions of Bratislava after 1989: trend and spatial consequences.

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The total number of employees in Bratislava increased by 30,893 over the period of 1985 – 2002. Regarding the fact that the number of unemployed in Slovakia has increased from zero in the year 1985 to almost 0.5 million in 2002 is the increase of employment opportunities in Bratislava interesting. The share of production activities decreased, however, from 45.10% to 22.47% over that period of time. On the contrary the share of non-production activities increased, of course, from 54.90% to 77.53%. A significant decrease in employment took place in industry. While in 1985, there were 73,818 industrial jobs in Bratislava, there were only 50,439 such jobs in 2002. The share of employment in industry out of the total number of employees in Bratislava decreased from 26.45% to 16.27%. The decline in employment did not touch all branches of the local industry equally. The highest decrease is observable in branches like machinery and metal products (12,677 jobs in 1985 and less than 4,000 in 2002), electrical equipment (from 8,809 to 4,543), chemical industry (from 7,194 to 3,127) and oil production (from 7,877 to 4,076). Only three industrial branches increased job opportunities (publishing and printing with an increase of jobs from 2,835 to 4,332, food processing with 4,477 to 7,940 and car industry with 2,045 to 7,832). Clear specialization of industry with dominance of car factory Volkswagen Slovakia, petrochemical plant of Slovnaft, a. s. and companies producing foodstuffs together with printing and publishing activities will take place in Bratislava for the future.

The number of employees in local construction companies decreased from 38,348 in 1985 to 17,844 in 2002. The share of employment in construction out of the total number of employees in Bratislava decreased from 13.74% to 5.75%. The significant decline in construction activity was not only caused by the termination of large scale housing construction in Bratislava as well as Slovakia, but also by a general decline of investment in Slovak economy.

The group of service-orientated activities employed 240,327 people in 2002 comparing to 153,251 in 1985. In sum, the present employment shows in comparison to the one at the peak of the previous regime that the following three branches of services rose quite dramatically: wholesale and retail trade; real estate, renting and business activities; and financial intermediation.

Bratislava's retail sector underwent one of the most dramatic changes after 1989. The main transformation process called „small privatization“ – selling of shops to a new private owners – was one of the first privatization processes leading to private sector formation. Within the whole city, 705 units in total value exceeding 1 bln. of Czechoslovak crowns were privatized by auction sale in 1991 – 1992. In consequence there took place dismantling of former centralized national or regional retail networks in largely all segments of the retail sector. This small privatization was later accompanied by a massive growth of small shops of new small entrepreneurs. Newly established prestigious parts of retailing that were penetrating especially the city center, started to serve rising number of new rich costumers and higher middle class. The development from 1993 to 1998 was typical with rising market concentration observable by presence of new retail chains shops in Slovakia, smaller local retail networks (within the city) and solid position of certain number of independent retailers. From 1999 the building of hyper-markets, super-markets and great shopping centers started in Slovakia. In the time of five years five hyper-markets and thirteen super-markets were opened in Bratislava. Emergence of five great shopping centers (Polus City Centre, Aupark, Avion, Danubia and Shopping Park Soravia) including others four hyper-markets and many specialized wholesale stores (IKEA, NAY Elektrodom, Baumax, Hornbach, Mountfield, Atrium etc.) is also matter of last five years.

Table 2 Selected indicators of position of Bratislava in Slovak Republic (in percentages)

Indicators	1985	2002
Population	8.08	8.30
Employment opportunities	11.64	14.59
Employment in terciar	15.20	20.12
Employment in trade, services, financial intermediation, Research and development	15.89	2.11
Jobs in industry	8.56	8.02
Jobs in construction	15.83	10.52
Jobs in transport and communication	26.96	18.32
Jobs in trade (excl. foreign trade)	10.43	25.11*
Jobs in financing and insurance	21.62	39.22
Jobs in education	15.34	13.89
Jobs in services, science and research	27.62	46.65
Jobs in health and social work	12.59	12.10
Jobs in foreign trade	89.58	
Jobs in jurisdiction	27.20	
Jobs in real estate, renting and business activities	70.64	

* Wholesale and retail; Retail of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods

Sources:

Statistical Yearbook of Bratislava. City Service of Slovak Statistical Institute, Bratislava 1986.

Statistical Yearbook of Bratislava. Region Service of Statistical Institute of Slovak Republic, Bratislava 2003

Statistical Yearbook of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Federal Statistical Office, Prague, 1986.

Statistical Yearbook of the Slovak Republic. Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 2003.

Korec, P. (2002): The transformation of basic functions of Bratislava after 1989: trend and spatial consequences. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae*, XXXVII, 2, Praha, 85-103.

Financial sector has been one of the most important sectors carrying on urban transformation within the city. Its influence has been manifold. It has generated one of the most important increase in employment (in 1985 the sector of banking and insurance had 1,956 employees, in 1989 2,010 employees, while in 2002 it provided jobs for 15,021 employees). This sector has allocated huge investment into physical environment of the city (branches, buildings) and finally it has generated high amount of money through much higher than average salaries of financial sector employees. Bratislava is without any doubt the leading financial center of the country (here is located 39.22% of total Slovak financial sector employment, Table 2), being the seat for 22 from 25 the biggest financial companies in Slovakia in 2002 (Trend 2003). Only 6 from 28 banks, branches of foreign banks and state financial institutions had their headquarters outside Bratislava in 2002 (see for a discussion of basic features of the development of the banking sector in Bratislava after 1989 Buček, Pitoňák 1997). Similar processes have taken place in retail trade and financial intermediation, and also in development of business activities, accommodation and food service facilities, administrative activities and other service activities.

4. INNER SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF BRATISLAVA

The inner spatial structure of Bratislava has been developed in an irregular pattern. Bratislava was developed to northeast and east directions from the city center before 1970. There have been three major obstacles in the physical landscape (the Small

Carpathians mountain range, the Danube river and border with Austria). Spatial development of the city (first of all construction of great housing estates) started in the beginning of the 1970' across Danube and Small Carpathians right close boundary with Austria. Thanks to the impact of institutional and policy factors typical for communist regime, inner spatial structure of Bratislava developed many special features that became barriers of its development after 1989. Particular attention must be given to central directive management of territorial-administrative and economic units, abolition of land market and introduction of administratively determined fixed prices of urban land, long term preference given to industrial and construction sectors in detriment to activities of tertiary and quaternary sectors. These features were associated with nationalization of retailing, small businesses and services, and development of large monopolistic structure in whole service sector. General priorities of public and societal interest in the field of urban planning accompanied city development. Introduction of redistributive housing system, with administrative distribution of flats, control of their exchange and many other regulations distorted flat market in Bratislava.

Developments in inner spatial structure of Bratislava have been in scope of several studies. Published papers study many individual aspects of the spatial structure transformation process during last years (Divinsky 1998, 2000; Korec 2000, 2002; Korec-Kováčiková 2002; Ira 2003; and others).

With respect to the future development of the city, we have to emphasize the following features of its inner spatial structure in 1989: City center was functionally and physically underdeveloped. In fact it was a cluster of devastated buildings, without any signs of reconstruction or suitable exploitation. City center was spread on very small area (1). Large zones of industry with low land-use intensity were located close to the city center (2). Extensive mono-functional housing complexes were built on the margin of the city offering only a very limited spectrum and standard of services to its inhabitants (3). Main road network, which would support local exchange within the city, regional and transit transport, was not built in the city (4). As a consequence of a large-scale integration of surrounding villages (13 villages were joined to the city after 1946), cadastral territory of Bratislava increased from 58,5 square kilometers in 1945 to 367,8 square kilometers in 1989. Large share of territory of Bratislava was covered by agricultural land (approximately 40% of the city area) and forests (21%). There is a great extend of classical village settlements in the city (5).

In opinions of several authors there are four the most important factors of the development of inner spatial structure of post-communist cities: the return of the importance of land rent and increasing number of actors competing for space (1), the return of the self-government, the sift of an ansolute control over the space from central to local institution (2), the transformation of economic base of the city (3), the increase of social differentiation and the changing rules of spatial ditribution of people from political to economic criteria (4) and the substantial transformation of the urban landscape and architecture (Sýkora 1996, 1999; Matlovič 2001, 2004).

By influence of above mentioned factors the inner spatial structure of Bratislava has changed rapidly since 1989. Six most visible processes of urban change have taken place here: a commercialization of the city center and intensification of land use in broader space of city center (1) a revitalization of production areas located within urbanized space of the city (2) an implantation of various business activities into originally mono-functional housing estates (3) a construction of houses with high standard of living (4) a construction of hyper-markets, super-markets, big specialized wholesale stores and

large shopping and services centers (5) and an intensive use of land located alongside the main transport roads of the city (6). All these six processes are associated with radical change of land use patterns in terms of the replacement of existing activities with new and economically more efficient ways of use and, simultaneously, with physical upgrading. For example, during the period from 1990 to 2002 there had been 512 historical buildings reconstructed and 69 new built in the core quarter of Bratislava. From point of view further development of city centre of Bratislava the new period of its development began in 2005. Concerning Bratislava it has to be noted that city centre had occupied relatively small area before 1989. After first phase of centre's transformation, the period from 1990 to 2004 the second phase of construction development started. The first period was typically with redevelopments in existing estate, as well as new construction inside built-up areas of the centre. In this period a highly significant expansion is expected along both Danube water fronts. After this phase will be finished the centre of Bratislava will gain the architectural and functional qualities appropriate for the city of Bratislava's importance (Korec, Ondoš in print, Erick van Egeraat Associated Architects 2003, Ballymore Properties Inc. 2004 etc.).

Extensive housing development with high standard of living (in apartment houses, as well as in family houses of villa type) was largely triggered on by the changing basic functions of Bratislava. Residential requirements of top-managers, employees of diplomatic missions, as well as some other economically well established social groups have been very high. Understandably, the demand for quality housing also has changed under the influence of general transformation of personal values of Slovak citizens. Housing offering high standard of living were built in attractive already built areas (Vnútorne Hory, Koliba, Kramáre, Lamač etc), as well as in attractive „green site“ locations (Záhorská Bystrica, Rača). Due morpho-geographic and climatic conditions north-western part of Bratislava (district Bratislava IV) has been the most attractive for construction of residential areas.

As an example of a direct influence of population potential of Bratislava and its surroundings, advantageous geographical position of the city and great transit transport moving through the city can well serve construction great shopping centres, hypermarkets, supermarkets and big specialized wholesale stores in Bratislava. The construction of shopping centres, hypermarkets and supermarkets started in Bratislava as well as in Slovakia later than in neighbouring transition countries (Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary). However, there is very dynamic development in this sector in Bratislava since 1999. Within last five years, two shopping centers Aupark and Danubia, hypermarkets Tesco and Terno as well as two Billa supermarkets, two Jednota supermarkets, Kaufland supermarket and Lidl supermarket have been opened in city-district of Petržalka, in southern part of the city. In north-eastern part of the city, three shopping centres, Polus, Avion and Soravia, Metro hypermarket, Tesco hypermarket, two Billa supermarkets, two Jednota supermarkets and two Lidl supermarkets have appeared within last five years. In north-western part of the city, which seems to be less important in transit transportation, only one hypermarket Tesco, Jednota supermarket and Billa supermarket have been constructed.

For the future there are expected some tendencies. Further intensifying of the use of the city's built-up area can be expected. This will concern mainly the surroundings of city center (1). Completing the highway system in the city will stimulate a strong request for agricultural areas in north-eastern, north-western as well as in southern territories of the city (2). An intensive construction activities can be expected in southern part of

Bratislava, especially between the highway and state border with Austria. This area is attractive for living (northern part) and development of special economic zones (southern part) (3). Completion of the highways will intensify processes of sub-urbanization and enable absorption of bare areas of the villages annexed between 1946 to 1972 into the urban structure of the city (4). Expansion of Bratislava's influence to Austrian and Hungarian territory for housing as well as business activities (5).

5. POPULATION SIZE AND STRUCTURES

Significant changes during last fifteen years happened also in Bratislava's population development. After 1989, significant changes have been observed in the size of Bratislava's population as well as in its structures. Between 1991 and 2001, Bratislava witnessed the first population decline in between two official censuses after the first historical census in 1869, with index of growth 0.97 (Tab. 3). The 1991 census showed 442,197 inhabitants living in Bratislava but only 428,672 in the 2001 one. The two previous indexes equalled 1.16 (1991/1980) and 1.33 (1980/1970). The Table 3 compares evolution of Bratislava and Prague population during 132 years between 1869 and 2001. In case of Prague, the development of inhabitants number in final decade shows following stagnation process, typical for the city during the post-war period. In case of Bratislava, the year 1989 seems to be a breaking point when the dynamic post-war growth was finished.

Table 3 Shares of Bratislava (Prague) in population of Slovakia (Czech Republic)

Year	Bratislava			Prague		
	Population	% of SR	Growth	Population	% of CzR	Growth
1869	46 540	1.88	–	252 364	3.34	–
1880	48 006	1.94	1.03	329 471	4.01	1.31
1890	52 411	2.02	1.09	414 964	4.79	1.26
1900	61 537	2.21	1.17	534 594	5.70	1.29
1910	73 459	2.52	1.19	640 000	6.35	1.20
1921	93 189	3.11	1.27	700 014	6.99	1.09
1930	123 844	3.73	1.33	899 097	8.42	1.28
1940	138 988	3.92	1.12	976 760	13.10	1.09
1950	192 896	5.60	1.39	999 682	11.24	1.02
1961	241 796	5.79	1.25	1 071 937	11.20	1.07
1970	285 448	6.29	1.18	1 079 526	11.01	1.01
1980	380 259	7.62	1.33	1 182 186	11.49	1.09
1991	442 197	8.38	1.16	1 212 010	11.77	1.03
2001	428 672	7.97	0.97	1 186 855	11.55	0.98

Sources:

Retrospective lexicon of municipalities of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1850 – 1970, Federal Statistical Office, Praha, 1978

Statistical lexicon of the Czech Republic 1982, Federal Statistical Office, Praha, 1984

Statistical lexicon of municipalities of the Slovak Republic 1992, Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 1992

Statistical Yearbook of the Slovak Republic. Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 2003

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Total increase of population decline very quickly from 8,000 inhabitants per year in 1970's and first half of 1980's on 5,000 a year in 1987 and 2,000 a year in 1991. This negative population development of Bratislava continued after the year 1991. An interesting fact in relation to population development after 1991 from a spatial viewpoint is that the four city districts (Bratislava I, Bratislava II, Bratislava III and Bratislava V) registered decrease in the number of inhabitants between the census in 1991 and 2001. Only in the district Bratislava IV situated in the north-western part of the city the population has increased during mentioned period. Morphological and climatic attributes suitable for residential function are important factors of positive population development in this district of the city.

Natural increase in Bratislava started to drop from 1977 yet. During the period of thirteen years natural increase declined from 12.4‰ in 1977 to 7.7‰ in 1989. New economic and social conditions existing during transition period significantly influenced depression in natality. Economic uncertainty, loss of social safety and new value hierarchy were typical signs of first phase of political transformation. Owing to a long-lastingly stable value of mortality (about 9 deaths/per 1,000 inhabitants), natural population decrease occurred in Bratislava in 1995 for the first time.

Migration movement had similar features as natural one after 1989. Number of emigrants was in long-term view stable since 1975 to 2002 with about 3,000 to 4,000 persons a year. However, number of immigrants quite intensively has declined since 1987 and decreased on more than one half to 1997, from 6 – 7,000 a year to 3,000. Number of immigrants has always declined after 1997. Migration decrease as well as total decrease of population in Bratislava were detected here in 1997 for the first time in Bratislava's modern history after World War II. In this year, number of migrants declined by 393, natural decrease (declined by 500 persons) was a little higher than migration decrease. Number of population of Bratislava declined by 893 in 1997. From 1997 population of Bratislava has decreased yearly.

Without any doubts, the most important reason of decline of immigrants has been retreat a great housing construction in Bratislava. At about 6,500 new flats were built in Bratislava before 1985 a year. It was 3,203 new flats finished in 1989, 1,601 in 1990, even less new flats (1,469) in 1995 and surprisingly 348 new flats in 1996 only. From 1997 number of new flats finished a year has stabilized on value between 1,000 and 1,500.

In consequence to described development in natural and migration motion the age structure of Bratislava population has been significantly changed. During one decade from the year 1991 to the year 2001 the number of children (age 0 – 14) decreased from 102,784 to 59,866. The portion on the total population of Bratislava has also decreased from 23.24% in 1991 to 13.96% in 2001. The number of productive age categories of population (age 15 – 59) increased in the same period from 261,343 to 285,846. The portion on the total population of Bratislava increased from 59.11% in 1991 to 66.68% in the year 2001. The number of inhabitants in older age categories (age 60+) increased from 78,070 to 82,960. The portion on the total population of Bratislava has increased from 17.65% in 1991 to 19.36% in 2001. Regarding the population development of Bratislava alarming is above all sharp decline in the youngest category.

6. BRATISLAVA'S POSITION IN SETTLEMENT SYSTEM OF SLOVAKIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Political changes after 1989 enabled launch of globalization of eastern European economic systems. Free cross-border movement of people, information, finances and products brings also significant changes of national cultures. Of course, this development directly involves cities, mainly important state centres facing the crucial problem of their future role and prosperity in general. Important residential and economic centers are no more isolated by distances, political and state borders as well as information barriers from competition with other cities. Cities must cope with a new reality and search for their own position not only in national but at least in continental settlement network (Hall 1993, Musil, Illner 1994, Grimm 1994, Bašovský 1995, Falt'an 1997, Vaishar 2000, Slavík 2000, 2003). Forming of a new urban structure is observable in Eastern Europe, particular cities search for their own position in network of European cities. Enlargement of the EU intensifies relevance of this process. From the aspect of the new position of Bratislava in settlement system of Slovakia and Central Europe, the following reasons are important.

Owing to the geographical position of Bratislava, we can observe an oscillation between co-operation and confrontation around the territory of Bratislava throughout the history. The geostrategical significance of this territory resulted in its permanently high geopolitical value (Buček 1996). The peak of Bratislava's political status was observed probably in the period of the 16th to 18th centuries, when Turkish troops were occupying the territory of Hungarian empire including its capital city of Buda. Most of the functions connected with the role of Hungarian capital were moved to Bratislava which de facto became the capital of Hungary. Even today we can observe a positive impact of this period mainly on the city's spatial development and architecture. At the very beginning of modern history, in the time period after the Czechoslovak Republic arose in 1918, political role of the city was insignificant. Position of Bratislava even deteriorated after 1948, with loss of contacts on Vienna and Austria. In the communist period of Czechoslovak history, Bratislava had no particular role in European political events. This situation remained the same after 1969 when Czechoslovakia became a federal state. A radical change came in 1993 with Slovakia being an independent state. After 1993, growth of the political role of the city has resulted from the status of an independent state's capital as well as from the position of Slovakia in central Europe, assigning the country and especially Bratislava a character of a bridge and contact zone between western and eastern Europe, between Anglo-Saxon and Slavic worlds.

In correspondence with several authors, a factor of settlement hierarchy and a factor of geographical position (macro-position, so-called west-east gradient) can be considered as the two principal factors of regional development in post-communist countries of Visegrad Four after 1989.

The fact that regions of major cities (cities on the top of hierarchy of settlement system) overcome the transformation period more successfully is generally accepted. Big cities have significant economic and social potentials. Their economic bases are diversified with a strong share of progressive activities of tertiary and quaternary sectors. The function of capital of independent state is twofold and gives to capital city an important advantage compared to other even larger cities without such a function. On the one hand, the capital city plays the role of gateway-city for establishing transnational

linkages with other capital cities and states and attracts many international contacts and activities from outside the state. Therefore, in the contemporary era of globalisation the recent developments of the post-communist capital cities – such as Prague, Budapest or Bratislava – show extraordinary dynamics that has to be used in the diffusion of developmental impulses within the national city-systems concerned. On the other hand, the capital city plays the role of dominating centre of state control of the territory of the state.

Transformation processes in Bratislava, we can even say transformation processes in all capital cities of post-communist countries, have been positive influenced by the following location requirements too:

- ◆ a great potential for inter-organizational face-to-face contacts,
- ◆ specialized information provided by business services (financial, legal, advertising),
- ◆ bodies of government and administration having far-reaching competencies, and
- ◆ a high level of accessibility to other (competing) major centers (usually capital cities) of other countries.

The dominant position of Bratislava and its surroundings in regional structure of Slovakia has been growing rapidly just after 1993. They attract most of the foreign capital inflow, subsidiaries of the foreign banks, most of the foreign trade, service and industrial branches and most proposals for an international co-operation. These factors predetermine Bratislava and its surroundings to be an unbeatable elements in regional structure of Slovakia for a far future.

Previous development indicates that Bratislava has an ambition to become only an inland economic heart, though, in some attributes, its importance can be observed far behind the state border. Bratislava does not belong to the group of European economic leaders, as well as Central European economic leaders. It can be rather seen as a city of well-balanced four basic branches of economy, namely business and enterprising, financial activities, industry and tourism. As for the business and financial activities, Bratislava is shaded by three major Central European centres of Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Thanks to natural environment, rich history, cultural values and location, the city of Bratislava has perfect preconditions for tourism, including business, conferential and cultural tourism.

From point of view of future course of the political role of Bratislava, we can expect that Bratislava will become a seat of international political institutions respecting some rivalry with Vienna and Budapest. In a distant future, thanks to its position and certain historical predispositions, Bratislava may happen to be a centre of Slavic territory of Europe.

Discussions on supposable development of Bratislava's region after acceptance of the Slovak Republic into the European Union are very frequent. According to one of the opinions, Bratislava could become overshadowed by Vienna with a simultaneous decrease of its attractiveness for business, services, financial sector, education and some other activities. Mainly inland economic experts recommend to concentrate all development sources of Slovakia into Bratislava county being the most dynamic region of Slovakia. Consequently, this could have a positive effect on the rest of Slovakia's territory by means of various externalities. At the same time, it is necessary to find tools of an effective support for retarded regions to avoid social tensions in the country. Third opinion on development of Bratislava supposes fusion with Vienna urban complex. Prague, Budapest and Vienna contended on leading position Central-Eastern Europe. The chances of Vienna in this contest would be heightened after joining Bratislava.

7. CONCLUSION

To the end of my contribution I would like to state some basic summarizing notes towards the development of Bratislava in the time of last fifteen years as well as towards trends and scenarios of the its next development. On January 1st, 1993, Bratislava obtained the role of the capital of an independent state. This new key function has called for a fundamental transformation of the city's roles and highlighted the prestige of Bratislava in central Europe. Within the last fifteen years, a relevant shift from production towards unproductive activities has been detected in Bratislava. Political and social development after 1989 has exposed Bratislava to a competition of other cities in this part of Europe. Bratislava lies in the shade of Prague, Vienna and Budapest. These cities gain many functions with regard to the whole central and eastern European region. A lot of facts indicate, that for example Prague, Vienna and Budapest happened to be „gates“ for investments to eastern part of the continent. From this but also from other aspects, Bratislava keeps the role of a centre of only the second category.

The cities have to know which league they can and want to play. They have to realistically estimate what are their chances. The new political as well as economic context require a new role for middle-sized cities, such as Bratislava and other capitals of Central and Eastern Europe – to become mediator between the global economy and countries and regions in which they are located.

Bratislava is a capital of state and a important economic centre at international level. Position of „political governing cities“ is more stable in time. Bratislava has a highly favourable geographical position. Bratislava is supposed to exploit existing development potential for occupying a significant position in hierarchy of Central European cities.

Due to further increasing role of transnational functions of the European Union, the function of Bratislava (capital cities generally) can possibly be weakened in future – political control of territory of Slovakia. Today, however, one may draw the conclusion that there is still no evidence on the changing roles of the capital cities in the European Union showing some dramatic decline of their internationalising and state control roles.

Enter into relations with conclusions of article Korec (2003), where disadvantages and advantages of Bratislava are named there are interesting opportunities and threats for Bratislava published by Ivašková (2005). Among opportunities it is necessary to name international development cooperation possibilities, location potential exploitation for trans-border cooperation with Austria, Vienna-Bratislava area, strategic location in the networks nodes gives possibilities for strengthened interconnections with trans-european systems, exploitation of the river port location of the city in the Danube area, city on Danube, profits from the air and river transport traffic, transfer of technologies in sophisticated types of production, exploitation of qualification potential for development of diversified competitive industrial production and services, science-technology parks development, creation of new sophisticated production job opportunities, creation of conditions for intensification of new forms of housing construction and fiscal policy reform and city tax incomes increase.

On other side certain threats for further development of the city are decreasing population of Bratislava, aging of the population, labor outflow abroad, outflow of young labor especially, regional disparities deepening, decrease of industrial production competitiveness, decrease of environment quality and decrease of living standard some social groups, high energetic requirements of „new“ housing estates, overpower of investors' pressure on the areas reserved for technical infrastructure development, high

financial requirements of transport systems construction and inappropriate low support of Bratislava as the capital city from the state.

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Zmeny urbánnej štruktúry Bratislavy na začiatku 21. storočia

Resume

V uplynulých 15 rokoch ovplyvňovali vývoj (funkčno-) priestorovej štruktúry Bratislavy predovšetkým tri skutočnosti. Po prvé, po roku 1989 sa Československo zmenilo z totalitného štátu na demokratický a centrálné riedená ekonomika štátu sa zmenila na trhovo orientovanú. Po druhé, Bratislava sa 1. januára 1993 stala hlavným mestom samostatného štátu Slovenskej republiky. Nakoniec tretou relatívne samostatnou skutočnosťou bol pád „železnej opony“ medzi bývalou západnou kapitalistickou a východnou komunistickou Európou, čím získala Bratislava veľmi výhodnú polohu v stredo-európskom priestore. Leží v strede Európy priamo na bývalej hranici medzi bývalou západnou a východnou Európou.

Vo vývoji ekonomickej bázy Bratislavy po roku 1989 zohráva rozhodujúci význam nová kľúčová funkcia mesta, funkcia hlavného mesta nového nezávislého štátu. Táto funkcia podmienila vznik veľkého počtu pracovných príležitostí v terciálnom sektore na území aglomerácie. Celkový počet zamestnaných v Bratislave sa zvýšil v období 1985 – 2002 o 30.893 osôb. Uvedený fakt je zaujímavý vzhľadom na skutočnosť, že počet nezamestnaných na Slovensku sa zvýšil z hodnoty 0 v roku 1985 na približne 500.000 v roku 2002. Podiel zamestnaných vo výrobných odvetviach Bratislavy sa znížil v hodnotenom období zo 45,10% na 22,47%, naproti tomu v nevýrobných odvetviach stúpol z 54,90% na 77,53%.

Vo vývoji (funkčno-) priestorovej štruktúry Bratislavy po roku 1989 sa najvýraznejšie uplatňovalo šesť nasledovných procesov: komercializácia centra a intenzifikácia využívania územia v širšom priestore centra (1), revitalizácia výrobných zón lokalizovaných v urbanizovanom priestore mesta (2), implantácia rozličných obchodných aktivít do pôvodne monofunkčných veľkých obytných areálov (3), výstavba bytových domov s bytmi vysokého štandardu (4), výstavba hypermarketov, supermarketov, veľkých špecializovaných obchodných domov a veľkých obchodno-službových centier (5) a intenzifikácia využívania územia pozdĺž hlavných cestných komunikácií mesta (6). Z pohľadu ďalšieho vývoja centra Bratislavy nová etapa začala v roku 2005. Pre prvú etapu (obdobie 1989 – 2004) boli typické rekonštrukcie existujúcich budov v centre, resp. výstavba nových budov vo vnútri už zastavaného územia centra. V začínajúcej novej etape vývoja centra sa očakáva veľká územná expanzia centra pozdĺž obidvoch brehov rieky Dunaj.

Podstatné zmeny v uplynulých 15 rokoch sa udiali takisto aj vo vývoji populácie Bratislavy. Významná zmena v tomto období bola zaznamenaná v samotnom počte obyvateľov mesta, ako aj vo vývoji základných štruktúr populácie mesta. Medzi dvomi oficiálnymi cenzami v rokoch 1991 a 2001 zaznamenala Bratislava prvýkrát vo svojej modernej histórii (po roku 1869) medzicenzový pokles počtu obyvateľov. V populačnom vývoji Bratislavy v hodnotených 10 rokoch je alarmujúci predovšetkým prudký pokles početnosti detskej zložky populácie mesta. Počet detí (vo veku 0 – 14 rokov) sa znížil zo 102.784 v roku 1991 na 59.866 v roku 2001. Podiel detí na celkovom počte obyvateľov mesta klesol v tomto období z 23,24% na 13,96%.

Dominantnosť Bratislavy a jej regiónu v regionálnej štruktúre Slovenska sa začala prudko zvyšovať hneď po 1. januári 1993. Je mimoriadne atraktívna pre zahraničné investície, pobočky medzinárodných finančných inštitúcií, firmy zahraničného obchodu, rôzne odvetvia služieb a priemyslu, pričom jej veľkou prednosťou je všeobecná atraktivita v procesoch globalizácie. Tieto faktory predurčujú dominantnosť Bratislavy a jej regiónu v regionálnej štruktúre Slovenska aj v budúcnosti.

Doterajší vývoj indikuje, že Bratislava má ambície byť len domácim ekonomickým pólom rastu, hoci vplyv niektorých jej aktivít pozorujeme aj za hranicami štátu. Bratislava nepatrí nielen k skupine európskych ekonomických lídrov, ale ani k skupine stredoeurópskych lídrov. Mesto je hodnotené ako centrum so štyrmi rovnomerne vybilancovanými odvetviami ekonomiky, menovite obchod a podnikanie, finančné aktivity, priemysel a cestovný ruch. V oblasti podnikania a finančníctva je Bratislava v tieni troch hlavných stredoeurópskych centier, Viedne, Prahy a Budapešti. Vďaka prírodným podmienkam, histórii, kultúrnym hodnotám a geografickej polohe, má Bratislava veľmi dobré podmienky pre cestovný ruch, vrátane obchodného a kongresového cestovného ruchu.

V nadväznosti na predchádzajúci príspevok autora, v ktorom boli uvedené klady a zápory Bratislavy zaujímavé je uviesť možnosti, resp. očakávania ďalšieho rozvoja mesta. Spomedzi nich je potrebné uviesť predovšetkým širšie vtiahnutie mesta do medzinárodnej kooperácie, intenzívnejšia trans-hraničná spolupráca s Rakúskom, predovšetkým s regiónom Viedne, rozvoj mesta ako uzla trans-európskeho dopravného systému, využitie potenciálu polohy mesta na Dunaji, profitovanie z leteckej a vodnej dopravy, transferu technológií v sofistikovaných typoch výroby, všeobecné využitie potenciálu kvalifikovanej pracovnej sily, akcelerácia predností silne diverzifikovanej ekonomickej bázy, rozvoj vedecko-technologických a priemyselných parkov v regióne, kreovanie nových pracovných príležitostí v oblasti IT, vytváranie podmienok pre intenzívnejšiu výstavbu nových foriem bytových domov v meste i v suburbánnej zóne, reforma politiky v oblasti verejných financií a zvýšenie príjmov mesta z podnikania.

Na druhej strane určitú hrozbu rozvoja mesta predstavujú stagnácia počtu obyvateľov mesta, starnutie populácie, odchod pracovných síl za hranice štátu, predovšetkým mladej kvalifikovanej pracovnej sily, prehĺbvanie regionálnych disparít v štáte, možný pokles priemyselnej výroby, zhoršovanie životného prostredia mesta, vysoké energetické nároky veľkých obytných komplexov, zvýšený tlak investorov na územie mesta vo vzťahu k rozvoju technickej infraštruktúry, vysoké finančné požiadavky na rozvoj dopravného systému mesta a nedostatočná podpora Bratislavy ako hlavného mesta štátu.

21世紀初頭のブラティスラヴァ

パヴォル・コレツ

過去15年間のトランスフォーメーション期におけるブラティスラヴァの都市構造の変化は、主につぎの3点である。第1は、1989年以降、チェコスロヴァキアが、全体主義から民主主義へ、計画経済から市場経済へと変化したことである。第2は、ブラティスラヴァが、1993年1月1日に新たに独立国家となったスロヴァキアの首都になったことである。第3は、“鉄のカーテン”の崩壊後、ブラティスラヴァがきわめて有利な位置を獲得したことである。ブラティスラヴァは、東西ヨーロッパの境界というまさにヨーロッパの中心地に位置することになった。

1989年以降におけるブラティスラヴァの発展の経済的基盤は、ブラティスラヴァが新たな独立国家の首都になったことである。このことは、雇用数を増加させ、第3次産業を発展させた。ブラティスラヴァの雇用数は、1985年から2002年までの7年間で30,893増加した。スロヴァキアの失業数の変化、すなわち、1985年にはゼロだったが2002年には50万人になったことを考えると、ブラティスラヴァの雇用数の増加はきわめて異質であり、興味深い。この間に、生産部門の割合は45.47%から22.47%に減少し、逆に、非生産部門の割合は54.10%から77.53%と大幅に増加した。

1989年以降におけるブラティスラヴァの空間構造の発展プロセスは、主につぎの6点にまとめることができる。1) ブラティスラヴァの都市域内に立地していた生産地域が、再び活性化したこと、2) 住宅団地のみだった地域に、さまざまなビジネス機能が流入してきたこと、3) 高級住宅が建設されるようになったこと、4) ハイパーマーケット、スーパーマーケット、大規模な卸売り専門店、大規模なショッピングセンター・サービスセンターが建設されるようになったこと、5) 主要道路に沿って、集約的な土地利用がみられるようになったこと、6) 都市中心部の発展という観点からみると、ブラティスラヴァの新たな発展は2005年に始まったこと。第1の段階(1989~2004年)は、既存の団地の再開発や中心部の新たな建設であったのに対して、第2段階—新たな発展—は、ドナウ川に沿った地域における都市化の拡大である。

また、過去15年間におけるブラティスラヴァの重要な変化は、人口の変化である。特に、人口規模ならびに人口構造において観察される。ブラティスラヴァは、1869年に最初に実施されたセンサス以降、1991年から2001年までの10年ではじめて人口減少を経験した。また、この10年間に、若年層が急減した。すなわち、0~14歳の若年層は、102,784人から59,866人に減少した。ブラティスラヴァ全人口数に対する割合をみると、23.24%から13.96%に減少したのである。

ブラティスラヴァ及びその周辺の地位は、1993年以降急激に高まってきた。この地域は、外国の資本の流入のほとんどを、外国銀行の支店・海外との取引およびサービス・工業部門のほとんどを吸引しており、また、ほとんどの国際的な共同事業の申し込みを受けている。こうした事実は、ブラティスラヴァ及びその周辺地域が、将来、地域構造的にみてスロヴァキアで傑出した地域になることを物語っている。

これまでの発展をみると、ブラティスラヴァは、国内の経済の中心地として貢献しているだけでなく、その重要性は国境をはるかに越えて観察される。しかし、ブラティスラヴァは、ヨーロッパ

における経済のリーダーではなことはもちろんのこと、中央ヨーロッパにおける経済のリーダーでもない。ブラティスラヴァは、むしろバランスのとれた経済部門を有する都市、すなわち、ビジネス、企業、金融、工業、ツーリズムを有する都市とみなすことができる。ビジネスと金融に関しては、中央ヨーロッパの主要都市であるウィーン、プラハ、ブダペストの陰に隠れているが。自然環境、豊富な歴史・文化的価値、そして、立地場所により、ブラティスラヴァは、ツーリズム、ビジネス、会議・文化的ツーリズムの条件を備えている。

ブラティスラヴァの将来の発展を考えると、プラス、マイナス両面が指摘できる。まず最初に、国際的な共同事業の可能性、オーストリアとの国境を越えた共同事業のための立地ポテンシャルの開発およびネットワークの結節点としての戦略的な立地が、汎ヨーロッパシステムとの結びつきを強めること、ドナウ川流域にある都市の港の開発や航空・河川輸送から利益を得る可能性があることを指摘する必要があるだろう。また、多様な競合力のある産業・サービス部門の発展、科学・技術パークの発展、新たな生産部門における雇用口の創設などをもたらす可能性を秘めていることも指摘しておかなければならないだろう。

しかしながらその一方で、ブラティスラヴァの発展は、つぎのような事柄によって阻害される恐れも出てくるだろう。それは、人口減少、高齢化、外国への労働力の流出、とりわけ若年労働力の流出、地域格差の拡大、工業生産における競合力の低下、環境の悪化、生活水準の低下、新たな住宅団地の増加によるエネルギー需要の増大、技術的インフラストラクチャーの発展による地域への圧力、輸送システムの建設による財政負担、国の財政援助の削減等である。