

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN COMPARISON OF TWO CITIES (HALLE – OSTRAVA)



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PREFACE

The publication by Detlef Baum, Kamila Vondroušová and Iva Tichá of *Characteristics of Socio-spatial Segregation in Comparison of Two Cities (Halle – Ostrava)*, was created as an output of the project of *Enlargement and Development of the Research Team of the University of Ostrava, the Faculty of Social Studies CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0080*, therefore a few following lines are devoted to a presentation of the project as such.

The project of *Enlargement and Development of the Research Team of the University of Ostrava, the Faculty of Social Studies CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0080* (<http://fss.osu.cz/>) is a three-year project implemented at the Faculty of Social Studies of the University of Ostrava in Ostrava during the period from 1st June 2011 to 31st May 2014 (i.e. 26 months), co-financed by the European Social Fund and the state budget of the Czech Republic. The project was formed under the call No. 20 of the Operational Programme Education for Competitiveness, Priority Axes 2 – Tertiary Education, Research and Development, Support Areas 2.3 – Human Resources in Research and Development. (<http://www.msmt.cz/file/17231>) Call No. 20 (2010) aimed at supporting creation of quality teams in research and development with an emphasis on internationalization and multidisciplinary, while enabling involvement of key scientists from abroad as a tool for strengthening and development of teams' expertise. It was a permanently ongoing task of improving the staffing in science and research, including improvement of professional training of top researchers with a high research potential and managerial experience, i.e. a task corresponding to the objectives of *the National Policy for R&D for the years 2009 – 2015* and *the National Research Programme*.

The VEDTYM Project – *Enlargement and Development of the Research Team of the University of Ostrava, the Faculty of Social Studies CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0080* aimed at making good use of the existing experience in scientific research activities of the current so-called “senior” team of workers of the FSS UO, at contributing to its strengthening (among others by inviting a significant foreign expert with rich experience in managing international research teams), at enlarging the current “senior” team by new recruits from young researchers and students of PhD studies and subsequently at maintaining the newly acquired quality of a top expert team with regard to the issue of social impacts of modernization processes, new social risks (or social exclusion) in future publication and project endeavours of the faculty's workers.

The Faculty of Social Studies of the UO took advantage of its rich international experience gained by active participation in ERIS – European Research Institute of Social Work of the UO and experience in solving a number of projects under domestic grant agencies (especially GA CR). An important role in identification and specification of the VEDTYM project research in the field of social exclusion (tying on *the Directives for Development of Science and Research at FSS UO for the Years of 2011–2014*) belonged to prof. PhDr. Jan Keller, CSc., a leading Czech sociologist, doc. PaedDr. Oldřich Chytil, Ph.D., the Dean of the FSS UO, and doc. PhDr. Dana Sýkorová, Ph.D., the expert guarantor of the Project in 2011–2012.

A publication by J. Keller *Exclusion as a Social Problem and a Methodological Issue* dealing with theoretical reflection of the exclusion issue, can be perceived as a theoretical framework for elaboration of the exclusion issue in the three following publications:

- SÝKOROVÁ, D., NYTRA, G., TICHÁ, I. 2014. *Housing in Old Age and Poverty*. Ostrava: UO. 80 p. ISBN 978-80-7464-556-3;
- BAUM, D. H., VONDROUŠOVÁ, K., TICHÁ, I. 2014. *Characteristics of Socio-spatial Segregation in the Comparison of Two Cities (Halle – Ostrava)*. Ostrava: UO. 76 p. ISBN 978-80-7464-554-9;

- GOJOVÁ, A., GOJOVÁ, V., ŠPILÁČKOVÁ, M. (Eds.). 2014. *On the Ways of Coping with Poverty from the Perspective of Families – Incentives for Social Work*. Ostrava: UO. 140 p. ISBN 978-80-7464-555-6.

The monograph by D. Baum, K. Vondroušová and I. Tichá of *Characteristics of Socio-spatial Segregation in Comparison of Two Cities (Halle – Ostrava)* presents research and evaluation of the process of socio-spatial segregation taking place in post-socialist cities using the example of Ostrava in the Czech Republic and Halle (Saale) in Germany. The core is elaboration of a comparative case study focusing on description and evaluation of selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation, comparison of identified segregated localities and approaches to their solution. The text contains a comparison of logics and dynamics of the process of socio-spatial segregation of population in residential areas of both selected European cities. In Ostrava, as well as in Halle, it is possible to identify localities with socio-demographic differences which lead to certain forms of socio-spatial segregation in these cities. On the basis of external factors (national and legislative specifics), socio-spatial segregation in both cities gains different characteristics, as described in the research results.

Jelena Petrucijová

Expert Guarantor of the Project for 2013–2014

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is an output of the research project of Enlargement and Development of the Research Team of the University of Ostrava, the Faculty of Social Studies CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0080. The aim of this intent was research and evaluation of the process of social segregation taking place in post-socialist cities using the example of Ostrava in the Czech Republic and Halle (Saale) in Germany. The priority is elaboration of a comparative case study focusing on description and evaluation of selected indicators of social segregation, comparison of identified segregated localities and approaches to their solution. The monograph also concentrates on evaluation of the mechanisms leading to segregation, the causes of formation, development and potential extinction of segregated localities, including specific problems and tools applied when addressing them.

In the preparatory phase of the research, demographically similar cities in two European countries were chosen by purposeful selection, i.e. Czech **Ostrava** and German **Halle (Saale)**. Both selected cities have undoubtedly common features arising in the context of historical and structural development. After the World War II, Ostrava as well as Halle (Saale) developed in specific socialist societies as important industrial centres. After the fall of the communist regime both cities have been struggling with developmental problems in the process of deindustrialization (e.g. unemployment and depopulation), brought about by transition of advanced industrial societies into a post-industrial society. Basic parameters of the surveyed cities were compared as for the following characteristics: historical development and structural changes, problems during the transformation, population number, expected similar social problems and occurrence of segregated localities.

1 RESEARCH PROJECT FOCUS

The project aims at comparing the logic and dynamics of the process of social segregation of population in residential areas of two selected European cities. In Ostrava, as well as in Halle, it is possible to identify localities with socio-demographic differences which lead to certain forms of socio-spatial segregation in these cities. On the basis of external factors (national and legislative specifics), socio-spatial segregation in both surveyed cities gains different character.

In this piece of work, we also allow for the differences ensuing from different processes of political and social transformation in the Czech Republic and Germany. During the transformation of the Czech Republic from a socialist society into a capitalist society, significant social problems were noted which the socialist policy was unaware of and for which there were no legislative and structural arrangements.

With reunification of Germany, the socialist society was “confronted” with the social-political and social system of the capitalist “West”, which originated within the historical development, involving individual cities into the process of changes. The cities were forced to formulate their own municipal social policy.

Building of social housing (i.e. building of financially acceptable housing for families in difficult social and economic situations) has been present in Germany since the period of the welfare state development in the Weimar Republic in the early 20ies of the last century. In the vast majority of cities in Germany, there are municipal companies for housing construction which are responsible for the area of housing for poor and needy families. These municipal housing companies usually belong to cities and play a part in arranging social housing. Halle (Saale) has a similar company for housing construction, too.

The Czech Republic launched its social housing policy at the beginning of the 20th century in connection with industrialization, trying to tackle the problem of ensuring housing for labourers. Labourers’ settlements were established in the vicinity of industrial plants, but their construction was chaotic and without any regulatory plans. Industrial premises often intermingled with residential buildings. In the socialist era, especially in the 60ies and 70ies of the last century, precipitous rise of housing estates, hard to distinguish one from another, was typical of industrial cities. For the spatial structure of these cities, primarily economic factors were important, in particular the predominance of production activities over the non-production ones, a key role of the secondary sector and limited development of the tertiary sector. Only the collapse of the communist regime and the processes of political and economic transformation brought major changes for the development of the cities. They consisted mainly in restoring market mechanisms, privatization, changes in the housing system or increasing the role of local self-governments.

Age and poor quality of housing stock, overcrowded flats, inhabiting of flats without tenancy agreements, lack of legal protection of tenants and poorly enforceable claims of the owners of the housing stock are the biggest problems encountered in segregated, socially excluded localities.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Socio-spatial segregation is not a new concept of the present age. Already in ancient times, towns were divided into territories inhabited by the privileged society and the urban poor. The privileged part of society concentrated in inner districts of cities, while the poor population settled down behind the walls of the inner city.

The term “segregation” as such comes from the Latin word “segregare” which in its original meaning meant to separate, move away or exclude. Nowadays, this term is used in a number of scientific disciplines. In social sciences this term denotes uneven distribution of diverse population groups in a territory, usually by the place of their permanent residence. Thus, if the term is used in relation to residence, we refer to residential or also settlement segregation (Temelová, Sýkora, 2005).

Development of towns took place continually and distribution of the population in a territory has always reflected historical connections of the development of urban space. The first source of socio-spatial disparities in most European cities was historically inherited inequality of residential zones (Steinführerová, 2003).

During the development of cities, numerous approaches examining their internal structure have originated. In simplified terms, these approaches can be divided into four basic directions: socio-ecological, neoclassical, institutional and political- economic. Each of them is based on a different theory of society: human ecology, neoclassical economics, Weberian sociology and historical materialism. The differences among the individual approaches are characterized by emphasizing various aspects by asking different questions and different interpretation of facts (Sýkora, 1993). However, despite the wide spectrum of these ideological currents, the only comprehensive (though heavily criticized) school of urban sociology was human ecology, whose principles were formulated in the 20ies and 30ies of the last century by members of the Chicago school, and which already then had dealt with spatial distribution of various categories of the population and individual components of the social structure in Chicago at that time.

In 1926, a member of the Chicago school R. E. Park pronounced a thesis about existence of a close connection between spatial and social distance. According to it, persons belonging to the same social layer try to stay “among one’s own people”. In Chicago, already in Park’s days it was possible to determine a particularly strong residential (spatial) segregation in higher and lower layers of society. Park can be considered as the founder of research on socio-spatial segregation.

In following years, this concept was discussed by a number of experts, which led to development of theoretical approaches to research on socio-spatial segregation. The most important representatives include Walter Firey (1945), J. Rex and R.S. Moore (1969), R. Pahl (1969).

In Europe, research on socio-spatial segregation began to develop in the 70ies of the last century, when there was a change in perspective on social ecology as part of the socio-spatial system of society, dealing with social and spatial organization.

Ideas of the socio-ecological approach were developed in the Czech Republic especially by Jiří Musil (1967, 1968, 1977, 1987, 1991), L. Sýkora (1993, 1996, 2005, 2010), M. Ouředníček (2005), J. Temelová (2005), A. Burjanek (1997) and others.

From a present-day perspective, residential segregation is seen as a result of interaction of economic, social, political and cultural factors in the society. After the fall of the communist regimes in 1989, significant political, economic and social changes occurred in Central and Eastern Europe. During the communist period, the society was strictly levelled, based on minimum income differences and minimum differences in the field of housing.

Newly implemented principles of market economy started to generate social problems such as unemployment and poverty associated with it, which in the socialist society had been artificially suppressed. These changes in society led to changes in social stratification, value orientations of the population and their uneven allocation in a territory.

Priorities at the time of transition to the market economy were primarily rectification of property rights in all economic spheres, including restitution and privatization of the housing stock. It mainly concerned dilapidated apartment buildings in town centres, inhabited by population which already in this period could be identified as threatened by social exclusion. New or old-new owners of houses tried to maximize their profits and minimize costs by increasing the rent for residents of their houses, offering new more or less favourable tenancy agreements or on the basis of an “agreement” they arranged housing in non-attractive localities with low-price rents. This resulted in a gradual outflow of the original tenants into less attractive parts of towns in which socially segregated localities began to emerge.

Socio-spatial segregation is to some extent natural and functional. However, if this level is exceeded, it becomes a serious social problem. It disrupts social cohesion, leading to polarization and deepening of inequalities between socially excluded population and the rest of the population. People and space influence each other mutually. A high concentration of socially excluded inhabitants in localities leads to stigmatization of the area and to creation of new excluded urban areas. On the other hand, exactly such a stigmatized area degrades all those who live in these localities, thereby affecting their life chances, and the vicious circle of intergenerational reproduction of poverty closes. Understanding the nature and dynamics of the residential segregation development and detection of conditions, causes, mechanisms and consequences of segregation in a particular locality can bring a key to prevention and solution possibilities of this universal society-wide problem (Sýkora, 2010).

For this reason, it is necessary to find the causes of social inequalities giving rise to segregation, especially differences based on socioeconomic status, race, ethnic or national identity of the population, differences based on demographic characteristics and cultural specifics of the population. Politicians, academics as well as experts-practitioners have started to address the issue of social segregation.

For an analysis and assessment of the extent of socio-spatial segregation, it is necessary to identify social differences associated with the emergence of social inequalities leading to spatial differentiation. Most often, they are represented by the following types of differences, or their combination (Sýkora, 2010):

- differences based on socioeconomic status (profession, education, income, property),
- differences based on racial, ethnic or national identity,
- differences based on demographic characteristics of the population (age, life cycle stage, family size and number of dependent children),
- differences based on cultural specifics (religion, lifestyle, cultural habits).

Identification of segregated localities consists in defining the territory with concentration of selected social groups distinguished by essential features in terms of segregation. An important indicator for identification of segregated localities is homogeneity of the given territory. When determining the level of socio-spatial segregation of population, a variety of research methods and tools can be applied.

According to Sýkora and Temelová (2005) evaluation of spatial differentiation of population can be approached in two basic ways. The first method consists in ethnographic studies and description of the social climate of individual parts of the city, focusing on their specifics in the context of the city as a whole. An important source of information for this type of qualitative research is field research, interviews, observations, questionnaire surveys, etc. This method is considerably demanding in terms of time, staffing and finance, and in case of large territorial units almost

unfeasible. Many authors dealing with the issue of social segregation therefore point to the need of working at the lowest possible scaling level of the surveyed locality (Macešková, Ouředníček, Temelová, 2009).

The second approach is based on a quantitative statistical evaluation of socio-spatial differentiation, where the aim is to find regularities, generalization of the found facts and creation of models of spatial organization. The main sources for a statistical analysis are data from censuses, social and migration statistics, or housing statistics, regardless of the size of the surveyed area (from large territorial units up to basic settlement units).

Although research on socio-economic inequalities is a frequent topic of socially oriented research, there is no single methodological approach to measuring and quantifying socio-spatial differentiation (Netrdová, Nosek, 2009). However, the research objective of socio-economic disparities should not be only quantification of differences between individual localities, i.e. the structure polarization, but particularly an evaluation of polarization in space (Novák, Netrdová, 2011).

Selection of a suitable method for description and evaluation of social segregation in a territory depends on the choice of appropriate indicators of this process. Using selected indicators, it should be possible to characterize the process of social segregation of a selected locality in all its stages and areas. The most important items are mainly spatial definition of the locality, identifying the causes of formation of the socially excluded locality, its transport and public amenities, a description of important socio-demographic indicators of the local population, characteristics of the housing situation, or strategies of the housing stock owners, migration trends in the given locality and specific local problems (Kvasnička, 2010).

When selecting the indicators to be applied, researchers are limited by the nature and accessibility of data. Most of the statistics does not record the basic information necessary to identify socio-spatial segregation and it often cannot be obtained through a local survey, either. This is mainly information regarding income of households or individuals, illegal activities (crime, black labour market, addiction, neglect of schooling or other duties, etc.). Therefore, descriptive indicators are usually chosen as indicators of socio-spatial segregation, which can be divided into several groups (e.g. according to Friedrichs, 1978). Nevertheless, this breakdown is not binding; there is a number of other approaches not constituting the subject of this study.

1. Indicators of Physical and Geographical Urban Structure:

are the morphological structure of urban space, the physical condition of buildings, structures and other premises. Its basic elements are streets, pieces of land and buildings making up complex systems. Thus, we talk about districts of apartment buildings, villas and houses or housing estates, consisting of high-rise prefabricated buildings. It is possible to include here activation and sports spaces for children (playgrounds, public spaces, sports and social facilities), or traffic engineering links to the city centre, too.

2. Functional Indicators:

are represented by distribution of individual activities (functional components) in the territory of the city and the resulting different way of using premises, pieces of land and the territory. The basis is distinction between built-up and open spaces with residential and non-residential function. It is therefore necessary to follow the mutual relations among the basic functional units of the city in relation to population (home – workplace – services – leisure time – transport) and to define the basic components of territorial spatial organization of the city (city centre, service areas, areas with concentration of employment opportunities, residential areas, recreational and other areas).

Access to educational facilities (schools) and social facilities (either in the given locality or within a reachable distance) is important as well.

3. Social Indicators:

are linked to the function of housing and the characteristics of permanent inhabitants. To capture socio-spatial segregation, it is possible to use either a verbal description of the social climate in individual parts of the city, or a quantitative analysis of the socio-spatial structure, for which the following characteristics are usually used:

- a) demographic status:* age structure, size of households, number of children,
- b) socio-economic status:* educational structure, occupational structure, housing stock quality,
- c) ethnic status:* nationality and ethnic composition, religion,
- d) socio-pathological phenomena:* incomplete families, divorce rate, abortion rate.

3 COMPARATIVE STUDY METHODOLOGY

In the comparative case study, two selected cities will be compared – German Halle (Saale) and Czech Ostrava in view of the socio-spatial segregation process. In both case studies, the causes, the current state and the consequences of this process will be described and explained. The subject of the case study is the two cities as for their administrative structure of individual municipal districts or boroughs. In Ostrava the process of segregation is assessed on the level of 23 districts and in Halle on the level of 43 boroughs.

3.1 Research Methods and Techniques

The research intention used a combination of methods of quantitative and qualitative research. It is elaborated as a comparative case study which examines two selected cities and makes their comparative analysis.

For quantitative research, data from the available censuses for the city of Ostrava and Halle (Saale) of 2011 were used. For the description and evaluation of social differentiation, selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation by Friedrichs (1978) were used from the census surveys – see Chapter 2.

In the preparatory stage of the research, also theoretical “desk research” was carried out, as well as a secondary analysis of available sources of information (professional articles, monographs, research reports, websites, legal standards, etc.). In the stage of studying of documents, it was necessary to resolve the question of different zoning of the selected cities, both in terms of their internal structure and the extent of powers of local self-governments.

Data from the statistical censuses were obtained or purchased from the relevant institutions possessing the required data. Here, it was necessary to resolve availability of comparable valid data, especially at the local level in Halle (Saale). These data were provided by the Municipal Authority in Halle (Saale), the Department of Territorial Planning for 2011¹. As for Ostrava, it was possible to rely on the results of data from the Population and Housing Census which took place in 2011.

In the qualitative survey, the method of semi-structured interviews with the participants taking part in solving the issue of social segregation and field investigations were used. The qualitative data were collected during the autumn of 2013 in the cities of Ostrava and Halle (Saale).

3.1.1 Applied Methods of Quantitative Research

Within the quantitative approach, the following methods were used:

- a) data transformation,
- b) statistical data analysis,
- c) cartographic data processing.

a) Data Transformation

During the transformation process, it was necessary to adjust the selected data from statistical censuses so as to enable their subsequent conversion into the desired format, usable for statistical analysis. Individual tables of the available censuses had to be simplified to a form in which each

¹ The source of data was the publication: Fachbereich Einwohnerwesen der Stadt Halle (Saale), Abteilung Statistik und Wahlen 2011 (*Department of Population Administration of the City of Halle (Saale), Division of Statistics and Elections 2011*).

variable represented a separate column and each borough a separate line. A file modified in this way could be transferred to a data matrix of the IBM SPSS statistical software, in which the data were subsequently analyzed. Yet prior to the analysis, it was necessary to create background materials for the data matrix, which was a time-consuming activity. Absolute values of censuses had to be converted to relative frequencies and for the need of cluster analysis they were also standardized (Z-scores). The adjusted data in a tabular format were used as a basis for cartographic processing.

b) Statistical Data Analysis

In statistical processing, mainly the cluster analysis method was applied, as a representative of multidimensional statistical methods. This approach was used for data analysis of both Ostrava and Halle (Saale) and served as a source of information for subsequent cartographic processing. Using cluster analysis, boroughs are grouped into natural groups based on their mutual similarity or dissimilarity. On the basis of the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation, typological distances among individual boroughs are identified, allowing to determine the ideal number of clusters (accumulations, groups of urban districts), which are the most similar to one another (also Hendl, 2004).

c) Cartographic Data Processing

For cartographic incorporation of data, it was necessary to ensure a base map for each city in a format supporting the cartographic software of ArcGIS, which is commonly used in the Czech Republic and Germany, too. Then, it was necessary to modify the base maps to the desired territorial units which were compared within the individual cities. From the selected obtained data (indicators of socio-spatial segregation) cartograms were created, showing the distribution of the given indicator in municipal districts of Ostrava and Halle (Saale).

Cartographic data processing was performed using the geographic software of ArcGIS, version ArcMap 10. Based on the results of the cluster analysis, also cartograms were subsequently elaborated, showing the typology of urban districts by the input variables. The scale of cartograms was created by means of Jenks' method of natural breaks. Thanks to this method, boundaries of individual classes on the scale of cartograms are defined in places with large differences in the data (Krtička a kol., 2012).

3.1.2 Applied Methods of Qualitative Research

To understand socio-spatial segregation, it is necessary to supplement the quantitative methods by a qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research was based on the study of available written documents on selected segregated localities in Ostrava and Halle (Saale). An analysis of these sources enabled specifying the formulation of the research objectives and specifying the research problems. Through study of the documents and conducted interviews, localities for subsequent local observations were selected. Available official, public and personal documents were used. An important source of information for this research was also semi-structured interviews with experts.

As for the interviews in Halle (Saale), 3 semi-structured and structured interviews with representatives of academic circles and the local self-government were conducted. The interviews focused on questions of perception of the notion of socio-spatial segregation in German conditions, on characteristics of its manifestations, localization of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale) and on tools used to tackle this issue. Thanks to the implemented interviews, access to the required socio-demographic data and map documents, necessary for the statistical analysis and processing of cartographic outputs, was obtained. All the implemented interviews were recorded as audio outputs

in English, but their transcripts are due to their extensiveness not included in this monograph. Information originating from these interviews is continuously incorporated into the text of the case study of Halle (Saale). The semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following experts:

- Prof. Dr. R. Sackmann (Martin Luther University of Halle – Wittenberg, Department of Philosophy, Institute of Sociology)
- Dr. Susanne Knabe (Martin Luther University of Halle – Wittenberg, Institute of Geosciences and Geography, Social Geography)
- Konstanze Mally (Stadt Halle (Saale) Stadtplanungsamt) (*City of Halle (Saale), the Municipal Planning Office*)

In Halle (Saale), several field surveys in the localities recommend by the above-named experts were carried out, too.

As for the interviews in Ostrava, several semi-structured interviews with experts in the field of local self-government and academic circles were implemented. The interviews were focused on specifying perception of the concept of socio-spatial segregation, its manifestations in individual segregated localities and tools used to tackle this issue. For the needs of this publication, the described problematic localities were selected based on qualitative research (see Chapter 5.6).

The interviews were conducted with the following experts:

- Mgr. Anna Krausová, Ph.D. (University of Ostrava in Ostrava, Faculty of Social Studies; a member of the Board of Directors of the non-profit organization Life Together, public benefit association - Vzájemné soužití o.p.s.)
- Mgr. Jan Chytil (Coordinator for Roma Issues, Ostrava City Authority)
- Mgr. Zdeněk Matýsek (Head of Department of Social Affairs, Authority of the Municipal District of Slezská Ostrava)
- Bc. Jan Lasevič (professional social counselling, Low-threshold and Counselling Centre of Ostrava-Kunčičky)
- Mgr. Helena Balabánová (Together, civic association – Společně – Jekhetane, o. s.)

4 CASE STUDY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY– HALLE (SAALE)

4.1 Influence of German Reunification on the Process of Socio-spatial Segregation

East and West Germany had in the period before reunification a quite different socio-economic character. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, rapid changes on both sides occurred, in political, economic as well as social areas. East Germany underwent an entirely different structural development than other post-socialist countries, as almost overnight purely capitalistic principles of West Germany were entrenched there. At the same time, also the constitutional-legal system of West Germany was taken over and thus the eastern part of the country did not have to experiment politically as governments in other post-communist countries. This transformation was accompanied by significant economic assistance to the former GDR. In the reunified country, it was necessary to carry out major social and economic reforms which had been unprecedented. At the same time, in May 1990, “Western” Deutschmark was determined as a single currency in the GDR. As of 1st June, salaries of East German citizens were converted with an unrealistic ratio of 1:1, although labour productivity in the eastern part was definitely lower than in the west. The reunification concerned the currency, salaries and even social benefits. Hundreds of billions of marks streamed to East Germany which, however, were not destined to support structural changes in industry, as up to 80% of these funds was absorbed by social benefits and unemployment benefits. Unemployment in the new federal states grew dramatically, today still exceeding the values of the old federal states (Junek, 2006).

In East Germany, the transformation also involved privatization of industrial enterprises. In most cases, companies from the West in the same line of business became their owners. However, these companies had mostly no interest in growth of competitiveness of the East German firms, and therefore they did not invest into them, but rather limited their production, or closed them down straight away. Thus, especially unemployment became a fundamental problem of East Germany. This led to heavy migration of East Germans to the old federal states, as there were higher chances of getting a better job for a higher salary. Gradually, around 5 million East Germans left for the old federal states (Lander, 2004). However, the old federal states were not able to employ all the newcomers, either, and unemployment began to grow in the west of Germany as well. The reunification of Germany brought about for East Germans also a relatively generous social welfare system of West Germany which hardly motivated citizens to work activity.

Thus, in East Germany reforms on the democratic and market economic principles took place much faster than in other post-socialist countries, but its residents got very quickly used to the massive financial assistance from the West (Junek, 2006). Such development became unsustainable for German economy, so it was necessary to proceed to significant reforms in the field of social welfare and labour market.

A fundamental reform affecting the process of socio-spatial segregation was adoption of the “Acts of Modern Services on the Labour Market”, known as Hartz I – IV² (Junek, 2006).

² It is a concept of acts which became known nicknamed after the chairman of the Commission for Modern Services on the Labour Market, Peter Hartz

4.1.1 Hartz I - IV Reforms

Far-reaching reforms were continually prepared from 2002. The basic principle of these reforms consisted in simplifying the system of benefit disbursement and reducing expenditures on social benefits.

The first newly adopted Acts (Hartz I and II) changed the labour market only minimally, only the Hartz III and Hartz IV Acts were of crucial importance. (Junek, 2006).

The Hartz III Act, adopted in 2004, ordained mainly the starting conditions for adoption of the Hartz IV Act. Its cornerstone was transformation of the Labour Office (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) into a newly conceived Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit - BA). The main purpose of this transformation was centralization of all participants in the labour market (including the Social Welfare Office - Sozialamt) into so-called Employment Centres (Job-Zentren), whose staffing was increased so as to reduce the number of unemployed persons per clerk more than fourfold (from 350 to 75 unemployed persons/clerk). The newly established Employment Agency was no longer subject to the self-government and the federal state administration, but came under the central control of the country and the whole system is now controlled by centrally announced objectives (Nigrin, 2006).

Hartz IV involved in particular simplifying of the three-level system of benefit disbursement, where an unemployed person was gradually entitled to unemployment benefits (Arbeitslosengeld), unemployment allowance (Arbeitslosenhilfe) and social benefits (Sozialhilfe) to a two-level system, in which the unemployment benefit (Arbeitslosengeld I - ALG I) is followed by a so-called second unemployment benefit (Arbeitslosengeld II - ALG II), (Nigrin, 2006).

ALG I is a benefit for the unemployed which is automatically allocated to them after registration with the Employment Agency. This reform meant a major change especially as for the length of its disbursement (from 32 to 12 months, or 18 months in case of citizens aged over 56).

ALG II is a novelty in the whole package of Hartz Acts. It is a benefit for the long-term unemployed who are no longer entitled to disbursement of ALG I. In addition to the unemployment benefit, the long-term unemployed are newly entitled to further social benefits, such as for costs of housing and heating. However, the housing costs are reimbursed only up to the statutory dimensions of flats which the benefit recipients can inhabit. For a four-member family (2 + 2), the maximum flat size is determined as 120 m² (if it is in private ownership), for rental housing the maximum dimensions are determined by each municipality as 85 m² on average. In families with minor children, each adult member of the household can also own a car (worth up to 5000 EUR) despite receiving social benefits. These significant reforms thus contributed mainly to simplification of the system of disbursing unemployment benefits and social benefits in one joint benefit, but they have not contributed to active support of employment in newly unified Germany, resulting in a permanently higher unemployment rate (Junek, 2006).

4.2 Influence of History of Halle (Saale) on the Process of Socio-spatial Segregation

Halle (Saale), formerly *Halle an der Saale*, is the largest city in the state of Saxony-Anhalt. The city covers an area of 135 km² and has a population of 232 535 (as of 31.12.2012). There is no significant proportion of foreigners or other ethnic or national minorities in the city. It is administratively divided into five large urban districts (Stadtbezirk Mitte, Stadtbezirk Nord, Stadtbezirk Ost, Stadtbezirk Süd, Stadtbezirk West) which are divided into 43 boroughs.

The first mention of the town (named Hala Saxonum) dates back to AD 806. In the 10th century, it became a part of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. Between the 11th and 13th century, salt mining was important and characteristic for development of the town, as salt became a major trade commodity of that time (salt mining in the 13th century amounted to ca. 10 000 tons per

year). In 1280 Halle is mentioned as a member of the Hanseatic League (Walossek, 2006). Extraction of salt continuously was increasing until the 16th century up to 20 000 tons per year. Another significant development is associated with establishment of educational institutions. In 1694, University of Halle (*Alma Mater Halensis*) with four faculties was founded there and in 1695 an educational foundation of *Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle*. In 1783, the city walls were demolished, allowing further substantial development of the town, and in the place of the walls a backbone road was created which has been playing an important role in the city development until today.

In the early 19th century, surface mining of brown coal was commenced to the north of Halle (Saale), marking the beginning of the city industrialization. In this period it was also possible to note partial attenuation of salt mining (the last salt mine in the territory of the city was closed in 1964). In the first quarter of the 19th century, residential structures developed in a significant way, after five urban districts formed one territorial administrative unit with 20 000 inhabitants. In the mid 19th century, the city of Halle (Saale) was connected to the railway network. From 1872 Halle was an important railway hub, too. This process of industrialization brought along a demand for workforce and a related demand for housing. From 1850 to 1890, new residential districts were founded, with the number of inhabitants rising to ca. 100 000. At the beginning of the 20th century, 11 new urban districts were created, especially for inhabitants working in industry. In 1903 electrification of mining processes took place, followed by development of chemical industry in the region. Before the World War I, the population had already increased to 170 000 (Walossek, 2006).

At the end of the World War II, the town was bombed twice due to its extensive chemical industry (31st March and 1st April 1945) and subsequently occupied by U.S. troops (17th April 1945). After the World War II, Halle (Saale) was subject to the sphere of influence of the USSR.

In 1948, the economically active population amounted to roughly 90 000, of whom 42% worked in industry or craft production. Traditional mechanical engineering was represented by approximately 6 000 jobs in 68 plants. Industrial compounds in the east and south also served as administrative borders of the city. Priority industrial sectors were mechanical engineering and food industry in the southern part of inner Halle (Saale).

In 1950 the region was promoted as the centre of chemical industry of the German Democratic Republic, which led to construction of 15 000 new flats mainly in the southern and northern parts of Halle (Saale) in the following twenty years. Halle Süd was the first housing estate compound in the city, dominating the district with its high-rise buildings.

Later, a new housing area of Halle Nord was built, too. This was followed by extensive construction of flats in the suburbs, while the original built-up area of the historic inner city was neglected in the long term. The industrial area of Halle Nord specialized in wholesale, power industry and storage.

In 1963, political leaders decided on construction of “a town for workers employed in chemical industry” of Halle West. Foundation of the town was part of the development of chemical industry in the region. Cornerstones of the district were laid in June 1964, given that upon finishing the construction, about 70 000 inhabitants should live there. In 1967, the residential areas in the west of the city were administratively separated as “a socialist model” town of Halle Neustadt. Due to the development of industry and the increasing demand for flats, this area turned into a “town” with 115 000 inhabitants. In 1972, foundations of another housing estate were laid, and two years later, construction of the housing estate of Halle Süd II began where ca. 8 000 residential units were built. In 1979 construction of a large housing estate of Silberhöhe began in the southern part of the city. However, the locality was not very attractive mainly because of its position between barracks and tram tracks. Ca. 10 000 housing units were built within an area of 580 hectares. (Walossek, 2006)

The largest socialist industrial area of Halle Ost was equipped with very good infrastructure. Apart from construction, trade and transport industry, also mechanical engineering, slaughterhouses, processing and food industry were located there.

The industrial area of Halle Süd specialized in construction of railway vehicles, chemistry, furniture manufacturing, building materials, and supplying. The industrial area of Halle Neustadt developed simultaneously with construction of the socialist town. It concentrated mainly on food industry, transportation and wholesale. In addition to these aforementioned industrial sites, smaller industrial premises were found within the administrative borders of the city, too.

At the end of the socialist period, the most important chemical production (around 40% of production of the GDR) was concentrated in the area of Halle (Saale), representing ca.14% of the national export (Walossek, 2006).

After the reunification of Germany, the development of the city experienced major turns. Apart from structural changes in industry which caused a sharp increase in unemployment, also significant changes in housing of the residents occurred. Since 1990, new residential areas on the outskirts of Halle (Saale) have been coming into existence. There are mainly single-family houses, row houses and smaller urban houses there. It was one of the reasons why residents from the unattractive parts of the inner city and from prefabricated houses started to move away. In the north-western part of Halle (Saale) a university complex was gradually formed, and generally, economic priorities have shifted to the sector of education and services.

After 1990, older residential houses, especially in the inner city and its surroundings, were restituted and privatized, and almost all the houses were reconstructed. The housing and flat stock is currently not perceived as a space inducing the process of social segregation in the negative sense. Here, a greater role than the type of buildings belongs to the image of the area and its distance from the inner city. A typical example of continuous long-term revitalization is the urban district of Glaucha, situated outside the city centre border, which after reconstruction of the housing stock has become a popular locality for middle-class residents (Schmahl, 2008).

Problems related to socio-spatial segregation concentrated primarily in localities adjacent to industrial compounds whose construction rested on the idea of a model socialist city. This idea consisted in very rapid construction of many housing units with minimal costs. The result is prefabricated large-capacity housing estates with high-rise buildings with a minimalist public space. These large-capacity housing estates were being built continuously from the 60ies of the 20th century until the fall of the communist regime in 1989. The oldest and at the same time largest housing estate is Halle Neustadt, which was a separate city between the years 1967 and 1990. The time when these flats were handed over to tenants was subsequently strongly reflected in the processes of socio-spatial segregation (Schmahl, 2008).

4.3 Main Factors of Socio-spatial Segregation in Halle (Saale)

The main factors of the process of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale) can be primarily seen in processes associated with the transformation after the reunification of Germany, ensuing unemployment, depopulation and the housing market.

The city of Halle (Saale) with its surroundings used to be an important industrial centre of East Germany with minimally diversified industry, focusing mainly on chemical production and surface mining. With the reunification of Germany, privatization and restructuring, the industrial history of Halle (Saale) ended at the beginning of the 90ies of the last century. Large industrial enterprises were privatized or collapsed, which was connected with a significant increase in unemployment. For people without work it was very difficult to find new jobs which were slowly emerging especially in the sector of services. Nevertheless, the offer was for the masses of unemployed people from

the closed industrial plants completely insufficient, both in terms of capacity and professionally. In particular, many young people took the opportunity to seek employment in the old federal states or in other regions less affected by restructuring. In the 90ies, the issue of unemployment constituted a key topic to address, as the unemployment rate in Halle (Saale) reached up to 30%. In the new federal states the average unemployment rate reached ca. 20% at that time. Currently, the average unemployment rate is in Halle (Saale) ca. 10%. The largest employer is now the sector of services, food industry, mechanical engineering and logistics. A major employer is also Martin Luther University of Halle and other research institutions.

The high unemployment rate in the 90ies resulted in massive depopulation, meaning that Halle (Saale) during the last twenty years has lost nearly 100 000 inhabitants, making the city began to shrink. The outflow of inhabitants from Halle (Saale) was not balanced by an influx of new residents, e.g. immigrants and other ethnic and national minorities. The depopulation was also associated with surplus of flats notable specifically in the areas of housing estates. Thus the city of Halle (Saale) had to deal with unattractive, depopulated sites, giving rise to involvement of Halle (Saale) in the initiative “Stadumbau Ost” (Urban Redevelopment of the East). Thanks to this initiative and with financial support by the Federal Government, the least attractive housing estate in Halle (Salle) could be demolished. Other parts of housing estates owned by municipal housing companies could be redeveloped³, thus ensuring sufficiency of quality housing for residents.

The third major factor of socio-spatial segregation was the ownership structure of the housing stock in Halle (Salle) and the related housing market after 1989. Mainly municipal housing companies have been the majority owners of the housing stock in areas with manifestations of socio-spatial segregation since the time of its construction. In Halle (Saale), GWG and HWG can be considered as the most important of them. HWG asserts its property rights throughout the city of Halle and GWG was the owner of houses in originally separate Neustadt. HWG⁴ is a municipal housing company owning most of the housing stock in the urban area with prefabricated houses. After the reunification of Germany by virtue of privatization and the “Act on Assistance with Old Debts”⁵ this municipal company was forced to privatize at least 15% of the area of its housing stock into the hands of tenants or other housing companies, and it privatized primarily flats in the inner city area, not flats in the housing estates. The company HWG implemented during the 90ies of the last century mainly external rehabilitation of its housing stock (in Silberhöhe and Südstadt), while minimizing investments into changes in the internal layout of flats. Currently, it focuses on rehabilitation of its housing stock in the inner city. Nowadays the company owns 2 types of housing stock:

- not renovated (partly renovated) housing units,
- attractive, fully renovated flats.

The amount of rent and socio-economic composition of tenants are derived from the quality and type of the housing stock. Not renovated flats are sought especially by low-income households. At present, these are mainly households of individuals or couples. This housing company faces the problem of renting larger flats (3+1 and larger), so it has opted for the following strategy. For example, a three-bedroom flat is rented for the price of a two-bedroom one, whereas the third room in the flat is available for the tenants, but without heat supply which is covered for the tenants from social benefits (interview with K. Mally).

By contrast, the attractive, fully rehabilitated flats in housing estates are sought by the “middle class” of the city inhabitants. However, this offer cannot compete with the partly renovated flats in the inner city.

³ In German literature, a term “Sanierung” is commonly used in the context of housing stock reconstruction.

⁴ Hallesche Wohnungsgesellschaft mbH

⁵ Altschuldenhilfegesetz (Act on Assistance with Old Debts)

GWG⁶ used to be a municipal housing company based in the separate town of Neustadt. It is now one of two municipal housing companies operating in the territory of city of Halle (Saale). The housing company chose a different strategy for rehabilitation of its housing stock. Due to the large group of inhabitants permanently living in housing estates of Neustadt, it proceeded even to inside renovation as well as changes of internal layouts of flats (e.g. creating larger living kitchens and built-in wardrobes). Although this step meant an increase of rent in such rehabilitated flats, residents with a strong emotional attachment to this place accepted this step (Schmahl, 2008).

The same way as the other municipal housing company HWG, it also has in its housing stock only partly rehabilitated flats in which economically weaker population is concentrated. The biggest problem is high-rise blocks of flats where social segregation is most obvious, yet without focal points of social tension. The municipal housing company tries to prevent this e.g. by having introduced a so-called flat service in these high-rise buildings monitoring safety and order in the given house. Even though it presents the cheapest offer of flats, prefabricated high-rise buildings remain largely unoccupied and therefore GWG is forced to remove parts of its housing stock continually (Schmahl, 2008).

In addition to the two municipal companies, also housing cooperatives function in housing estates in Halle (Saale). As a representative of this group e.g. HNWG⁷, owning around 3500 flats in prefabricated housing estates, can be mentioned. In flats of these housing cooperatives social segregation does not manifest itself as strongly as in flats of the municipal companies, since they have the possibility of rejecting an unwanted person interested in housing (as opposed to municipal companies which must arrange housing for all applicants). To improve the image of the environment of anonymous housing estates, HNWG has been organizing a variety of additional services in the form of trips and social events for its tenants (Schmahl, 2008).

4.4 Characteristics of Socio-spatial Segregation in Halle (Saale)

The present state of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale), as well as in all the new federal states, ties on the “heritage” of socialist urban planning. This model of integration of various socio-demographic groups (when e.g. technicians, managers and labourers lived together in one house), wiped off social differences and did not allow space for possible deepening of the process of social segregation before the reunification of Germany. For post-war Halle (Saale) with a lack of flats, industrial construction of standardized prefabricated housing estates presented an affordable alternative of relatively quality housing for all people. After the World War II, prefabricated construction took place in both German states, but the west continuously abandoned this type of construction. Prefabricated housing estates in West Germany had always been considered as unattractive because from the beginning of their existence, socially weaker families, being allowed to obtain state-subsidized housing, were concentrated there. In Halle (Saale) this type of housing construction was gaining its dynamics from the 60ies. Forms of housing for the vast masses of population coming to the town with a growing industry were created. The socialist programme of housing construction until 1989 was supposed to guarantee the same housing standard of a young socialist city to all people. The newly built housing estates with their flats furnished “in a modern way” presented a lucrative offer for their residents compared to the old neglected buildings in the inner city. The flats in housing estates were equipped with all modern conveniences – i.e. hot and cold running water, district heating and other basic housing facilities (built-in kitchen unit, toilet and bathroom). In this period, no forms of socio-spatial segregation were observed in Halle

⁶ Gesellschaft für Wohn-und Gewerbeimmobilien Halle – Neustadt mbH

⁷ Halle – Neustadter Wohnungsgenossenschaft

(Saale), especially due to the fact that place of residence was for inhabitants of the apartment buildings involved in various professions not an issue to address (interview with S. Knabe).

The end of the socialist era and the related reunification of Germany presented major problems in the field of housing on both sides of the “Iron Curtain”. Attractive federal states of West Germany experienced a significant influx of migrants from East Germany and were forced to deal with an increasing demand for cheap “social” flats. The situation in the new federal states and Halle (Saale), too, was the opposite. Massive deindustrialization and privatization led to high structural unemployment, which in turn caused that residents moved away primarily from prefabricated housing estates. Socio-economic status and quality of the housing stock played an important role in the outflow of residents. Young qualified people left these housing estates to go to the old federal states, to suburbia or inner parts of the city, where privatization⁸ restitution claims were made and also extensive redevelopment of the housing stock took place. The privatization process in Halle (Saale) focused on two groups of participants: individual privatization for tenants living in the given flats (it was only a marginal part of the privatized flats), privatization of large packages for investors and new housing companies (representing a substantial proportion of the privatized flats). Elderly and socially weaker residents remained in prefabricated housing estates, mainly due to a lack of financial means for obtaining another type of housing. Another group of residents who stayed there was represented by the ones with a strong tie to the locality which they developed to this place during the existence of the housing estate. This step marked the beginning of the process of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale), starting to emerge primarily in large-capacity prefabricated housing estates with high-rise houses, distant from the inner city. Over time, residents with the same socio-economic status started to arrive at these localities, specifically: low-income households, recipients of social benefits and people in a problematic social situation (e.g. divorced, single seniors and single mothers, etc.). All these people obtained housing in this locality based on a request at a municipal housing company, given that housing allocation still rests on a system similar to the system used before 1989 (interview with S. Knabe).

The steady decrease in the number of population motivated the city to revitalize the housing stock in housing estates quickly, with a view to limiting further migration of the inhabitants seeking better housing. The first step was outer rehabilitation of the prefabricated housing estates, e.g. replacement of windows. However, after ten years of continuous modernization, it emerged that the revitalization process did not curb the ongoing processes of social segregation, and therefore the second phase of much larger redevelopment was launched, such as changing the internal layout of flats, insulation of houses, demolition of the upper floors of buildings, etc. A group of original residents with a good socio-economic status stayed in the prefabricated buildings renovated in this way (interview with K. Mally).

Nevertheless, socially weaker residents still sought low-cost housing in prefabricated houses whose reconstruction had not taken place yet. A typical example of this form of housing was mainly 11-storey high-rise buildings. Despite the low price of rents, many flats in these buildings remained empty and their number was growing unacceptably due to the permanent depopulation.

This situation incited further steps by the federal government and the federal state of Saxony - Anhalt which together began to fund the initiative “Stadtumbau Ost”⁹ (Urban Redevelopment of the East). The aim of this initiative is to mitigate the consequences of the demographic and economic changes in East German cities. To achieve these objectives, Stadtumbau Ost applies 2 strategies:

⁸ Act on Old Debts (1993). Available at: <http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/altsgb/BjNR098610993.html>.

⁹ The programme “Stadtumbau Ost” was initiated in 2002 as a long-term programme of regeneration of housing estates of East German cities, with the performance deadline until 2016. Since the beginning of the programme, ca. 3 billion EUR have already been invested. The programme involves more than 450 cities and municipalities with more than 1000 redevelopment areas. During its implementation, the focus of the programme is gradually modified, in 2010, a new priority of this programme was approved - revitalization of buildings built before 1948.

- financing of demolitions of building abandoned for a long time,
- supporting reconstruction of the housing stock.

This programme is also focused on investments into infrastructure and green spaces in the area of housing estates (Busch-Geertsema, 2004). It basically consists in strengthening the inner cities and preservation of old buildings, reducing the number of unoccupied flats, as well as valuation of the housing stock and reduction of the process of city shrinkage.

In regard of socio-spatial segregation, in Halle (Saale), not redeveloped or only partly redeveloped housing estates are most problematic, into which socially needy residents moved because these flats have the lowest rents in the city. The municipal companies allocate these flats primarily to socially needy households whose proportion in these districts with housing estates amounts to almost 10%. This applies namely to the urban districts of Silberhöhe, Südstadt and Halle Neustadt. Individual landlords are trying to mitigate the effects of social segregation through various social projects and supporting social services. 11-storey high-rise houses appear to be the least attractive buildings. Unattractiveness of these houses led to the decision to remove the upper floors in many of them or to demolish them directly. This step has partially improved the “image” of these settlements, as five-storey buildings do not seem as anonymous and unaesthetic as the uniform high-rise buildings. Even so, it is a problem for housing companies to find tenants for the top floors of these houses.



Figure 1 Demolition of empty prefabricated houses in Halle Neustadt¹⁰

¹⁰ Source: Tichá, Vondroušová (2013)

Because Halle (Saale) experienced significant depopulation (the same way as other East German cities) after the German reunification, there are plenty of vacant flats owned by the city and thus the city does face problems of homelessness or poor quality dormitories for socially weak population.

4.5 Model of Socio-Spatial Segregation in Halle (Saale) by the Surveyed Indicators

Based on the above theoretical backgrounds and the obtained data, it was possible to identify the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation within the urban area of Halle (Saale). However, for cartographic elaboration and cluster analysis, only 39 boroughs were processed. Four boroughs (Planena, Gewerbegebiet Neustadt, Dölauer Heide and Gebiet der Deutschen Reichsbahn) were excluded from processing due to the minimum number of their population (also Wallosek, 2006). Low population led to extreme relative values of certain parameters, which resulted in impairment of the outcome of the socio-spatial segregation model of Halle (Saale).

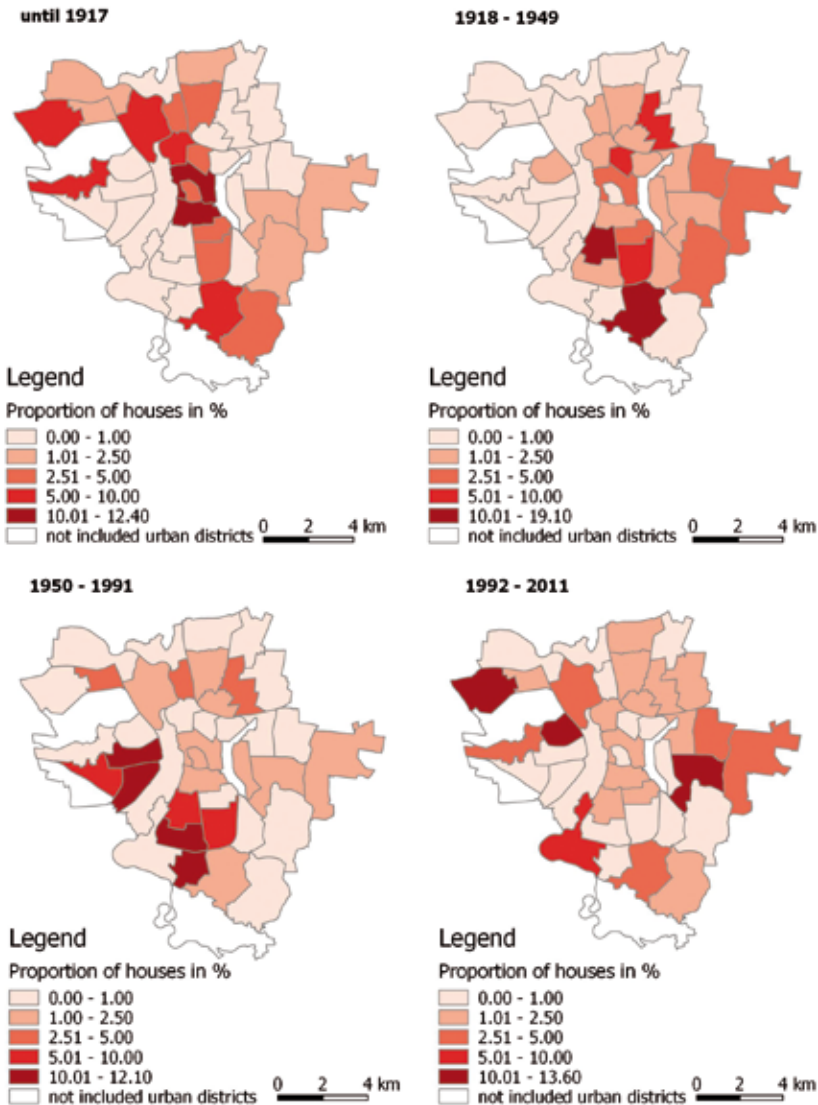
For this model, the following set of indicators, valid as of 2011, was used: proportion of houses built before the year 1917, proportion of houses built in the years 1918-1949, proportion of houses built in the years 1950-1991, proportion of houses built since 1992, the total population, the average area in m² per flat, the average flat area (m²) per person, proportion of industrial areas, proportion of children aged 0-14, the rate of economic activity, unemployment rate, proportion of foreigners and proportion of inhabitants receiving social benefits (Sozialgeld).

Before summarizing the data into a cluster analysis, the most important of these indicators were individually elaborated into cartograms which provide a better idea of the spatial distribution of the selected indicators of social segregation in the city.

4.5.1 Selected Indicators of Socio-spatial Segregation

Proportion of houses built during certain periods of the development of the city was chosen as an indicator of the physical structure of the city.

HALLE (SAALE) – PROPORTION OF HOUSES BUILT OR RECONSTRUCTED IN MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS OF HALLE (SAALE) IN THE DEFINED PERIODS UNTIL 1917



Source of data: Department of Population Administration of the City of Halle (Saale), Division of Statistics and Elections 2011.

Figure 2 Halle (Saale) – Proportion of houses built or reconstructed in municipal districts of Halle (Saale) in the defined periods until 1917¹¹

¹¹ Source: own elaboration

Individual periods of construction (or reconstruction) of residential houses show the processes of “settling” of urban districts of Halle (Saale). In the first defined period, mainly construction of the inner city and its immediate vicinity was prevalent, until today representing the historic centre with the corresponding type of construction. In the second defined period, residential construction especially in the eastern part of the city prevails, near the newly emerging industrial plants and compounds. The third period is characterized by construction of prefabricated housing estates after the pattern of the socialist model town in the south-western part of Halle (Saale). During the last twenty years, construction has been particularly concentrating in the inner city area or, on the contrary, on the outskirts, mainly due to suburbanization tendencies or renovations of the housing stock in the city centre.

As a functional indicator of the socio-spatial structure of the city, a cartogram showing the distribution of industrial areas in individual urban districts of Halle (Saale) was made.

PROPORTION OF INDUSTRIAL AREAS IN URBAN DISTRICTS OF HALLE (SAALE) SITUATION OF 2011

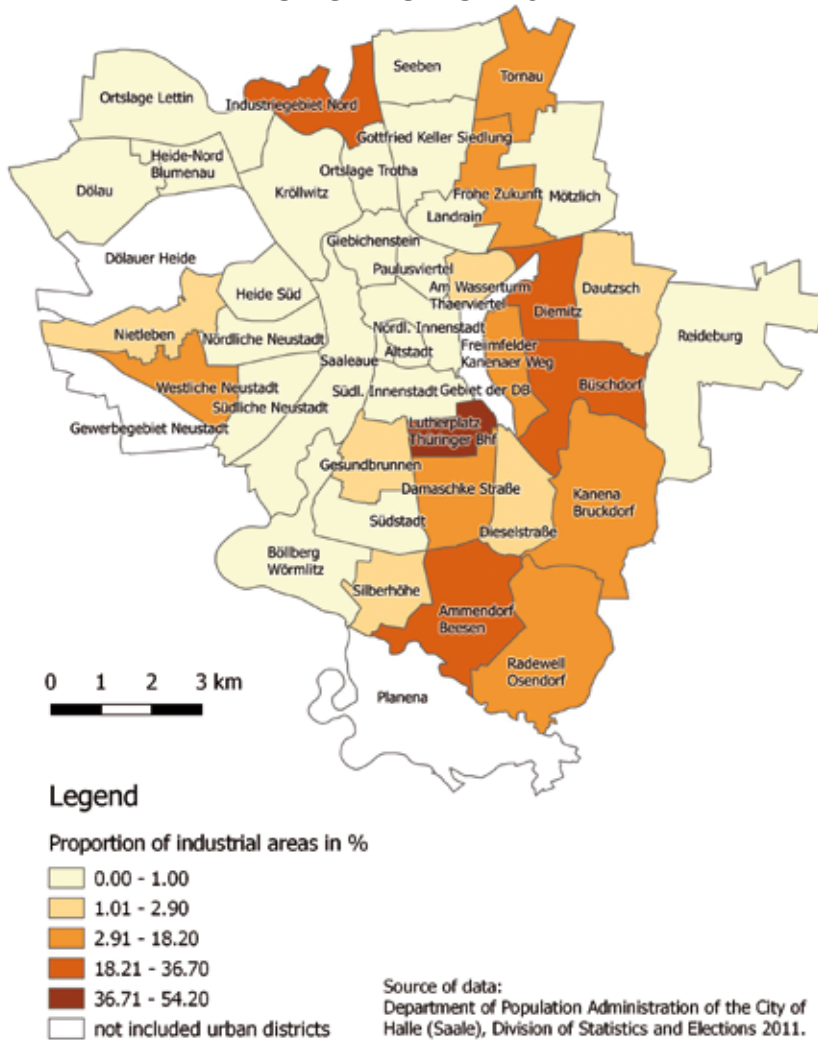


Figure 3 Proportion of industrial areas in urban districts of Halle (Saale), situation of 2011¹²

Most industrial areas in Halle (Saale) are concentrated in a north-south strip along the railway line whose existence indirectly separates nearly the whole industrial part of the city. The inner city and the western part of Halle (Saale) remain almost untouched by industry.

For the group of social indicators, three cartograms were made showing the unemployment rate, the proportion of foreigners and the share of people receiving social benefits (Sozialgeld).

¹² Source: own elaboration

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN URBAN DISTRICTS OF HALLE (SAALE) SITUATION OF 2011

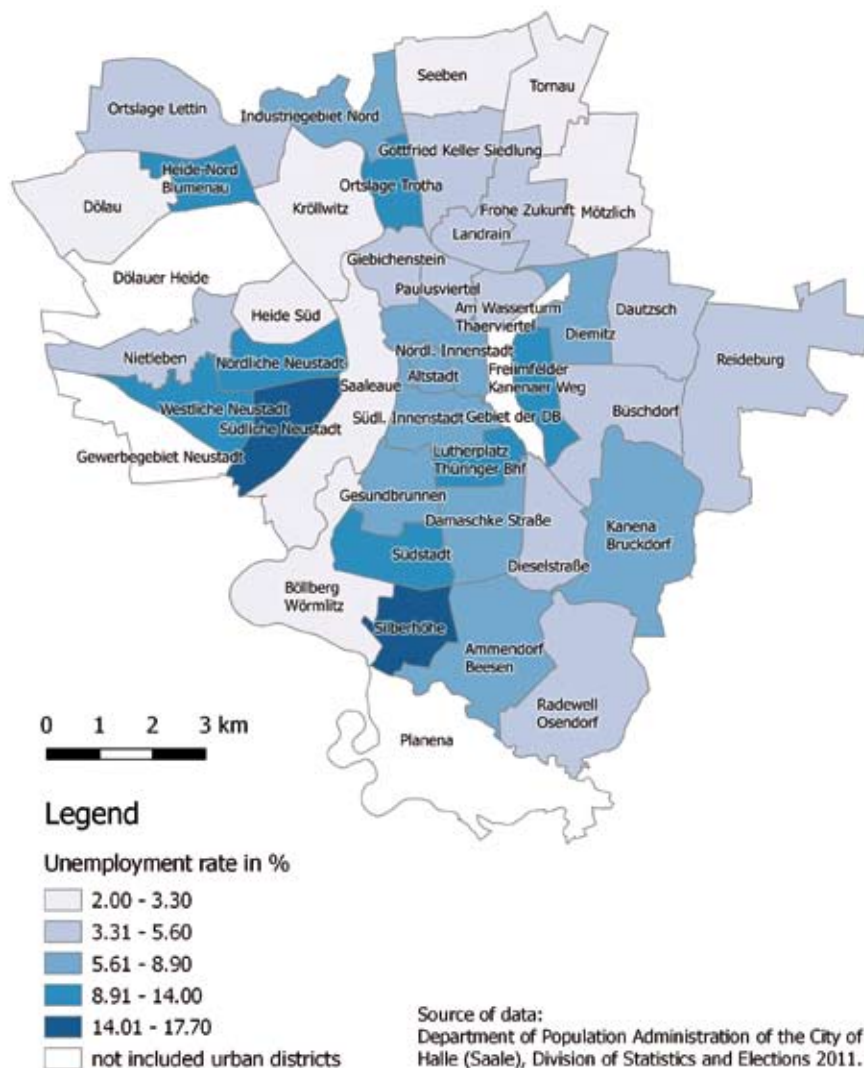


Figure 4 Unemployment rate in urban districts of Halle (Saale), situation of 2011¹³

The most significant rates of unemployment can be found in the socially weakest parts of the city – that is, in the areas of housing estates (Silberhöhe, Südstadt and Neustadt), or in industrialized districts. By contrast, the lowest rates can be measured in the peripheral parts of the city which offer a comfortable way of living in detached single-family houses.

¹³ Source: own elaboration

PROPORTION OF FOREIGNERS IN URBAN DISTRICTS OF HALLE (SAALE) SITUATION OF 2011

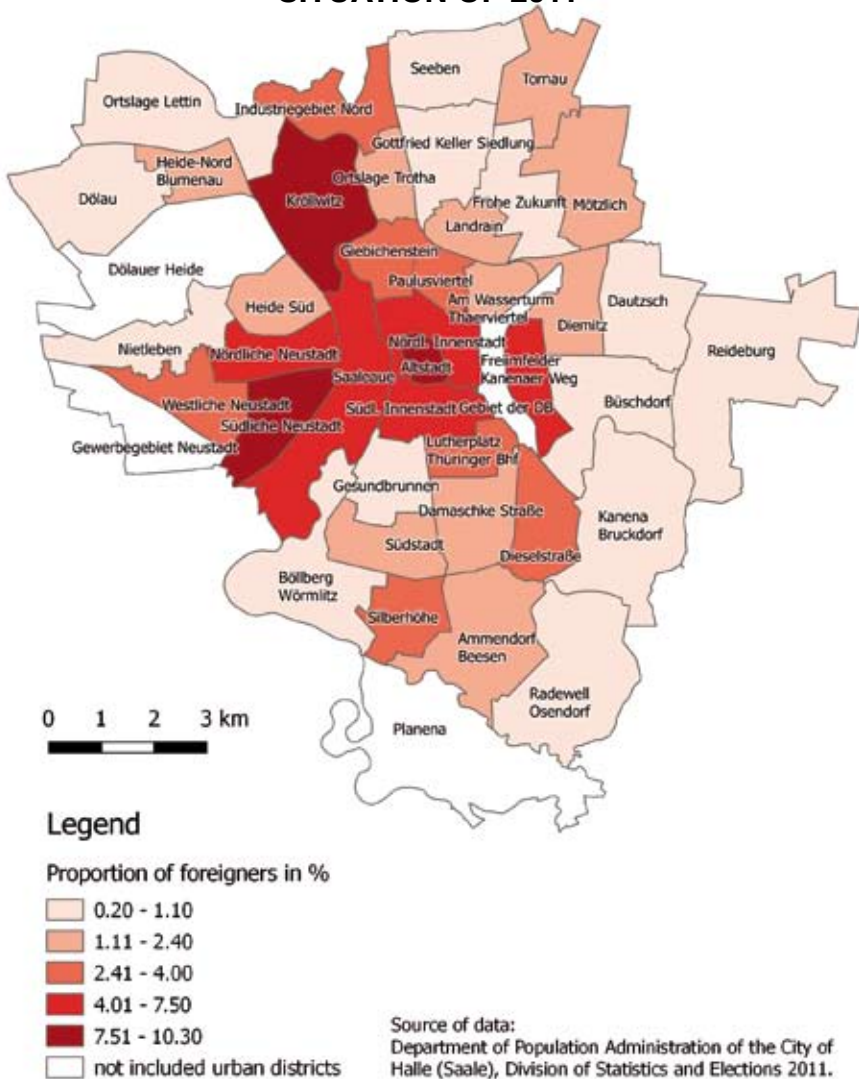


Figure 5 Proportion of foreigners in urban districts of Halle (Saale), situation of 2011¹⁴

Generally, the city of Halle (Saale) has a low proportion of foreigners in its cadastral area (as compared to other German cities). The highest proportions of residents of foreign nationality can be seen primarily in Neustadt (population using communal housing), in Kröllwitz (mainly due to the nearby university and research institutions) and the in inner city which is an attractive place to live for “wealthier” foreigners. In other urban districts, foreigners are represented only minimally.

¹⁴ Source: own elaboration

PROPORTION OF PERSONS RECEIVING SOCIAL BENEFITS (SOZIALGELD) IN URBAN DISTRICTS OF HALLE (SAALE) SITUATION OF 2011

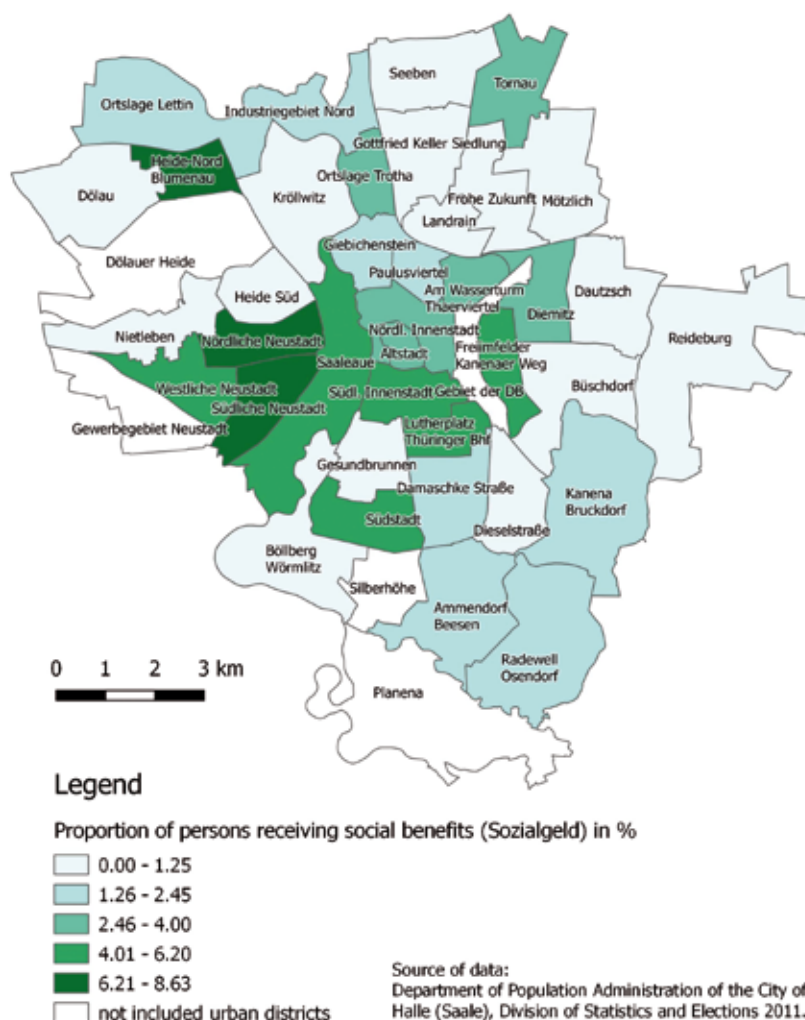


Figure 6 Proportion of persons receiving social benefits (Sozialgeld) in urban districts of Halle (Saale), situation of 2011¹⁵

The proportion of people receiving social benefits (Sozialgeld) almost correlates with the map of proportion of foreigners. Yet it is rather concordance in distribution of the phenomena under study (in terms of the type of construction and socio-demographic composition of the population) than a conditional dependence between foreigners and the number of disbursed benefits. A significant difference is found only in case Kröllwitz and Dieselstraße. Generally, however, it cannot be claimed that in case of Halle (Saale) foreigners are the cause of occurrence of socially weak localities.

¹⁵ Source: own elaboration

4.5.2 Characteristics of Individual Groups of Urban Districts of Halle (Saale)

Based on quantitative evaluation of the statistical indicators of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale), also a model of its spatial arrangement by the 39 surveyed boroughs was subsequently created. The model was developed using a multidimensional data analysis (cluster analysis) which provided a spatial pattern of social segregation in individual parts of the city of Halle (Saale).

For elaboration, Ward's method (based on the principle of minimizing the variance within groups) using the Euclidean distance was applied. By means of this method, urban districts of Halle (Saale) were divided into five homogenous groups with similar characteristics of the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale).

1st Group

- It consists of **13 boroughs**: **Seeben, Dölau, Mötzlich, Tornau, Ortslage Lettin, Nietleben, Radewell/Osendorf, Gottfried-Keller-Siedlung, Saaleaue, Kröllwitz, Böllberg/Wörmlitz, Heide-Süd, Büschdorf.**
- These are rural areas of the city with the lowest incidence of indicators of social segregation.
- Here we find the highest proportion of houses built after 1992, with an above-average area of m² per flat. A high level of economic activity is measured here, too. In this locality, we can observe the lowest unemployment rate and a below-average proportion of people receiving social benefits. Low values are also indentified as for the proportion of industrial areas and presence of foreigners.

2nd Group

- It consists of **9 boroughs**: **Am Wasserturm/Thaerviertel, Damaschkestrasse, Dautsch, Dieselstrasse, Frohe Zukunft, Gesundbrunnen, Kanena/Bruckdorf, Landrain and Reideburg.**
- These are urban districts with a low incidence of indicators of social segregation.
- In this area, there is a high proportion of houses built in the years 1918-1948, with an above-average area of m² per flat, and a high level of economic activity. In these parts of the city we can observe below-average values of almost all indicators of social segregation, such as low unemployment, low proportion of foreigners as well as persons receiving social benefits. However, there is also a below-average proportion of children under 14 years of age and a smaller number of inhabitants.

3rd Group

- It consists of **5 boroughs**: **Diemitz, Ortslage Ammendorf/Beesen, Industriegebiet Nord, Lutherplatz/Thüringer Bahnhof and Freiimfelde/Kanennaer Weg.**
- These are urban districts located in the vicinity of industrial areas, with an average incidence of indicators of social segregation.
- This area is mainly characterized by the highest proportion of industrial areas of all parts of the city of Halle. Other indicators of social segregation are represented by their average occurrence

here. Higher proportions can be observed in case of unemployment rate and the proportion of people receiving social benefits, while lower as for the proportion of foreigners and children under 14 years of age.

4th Group

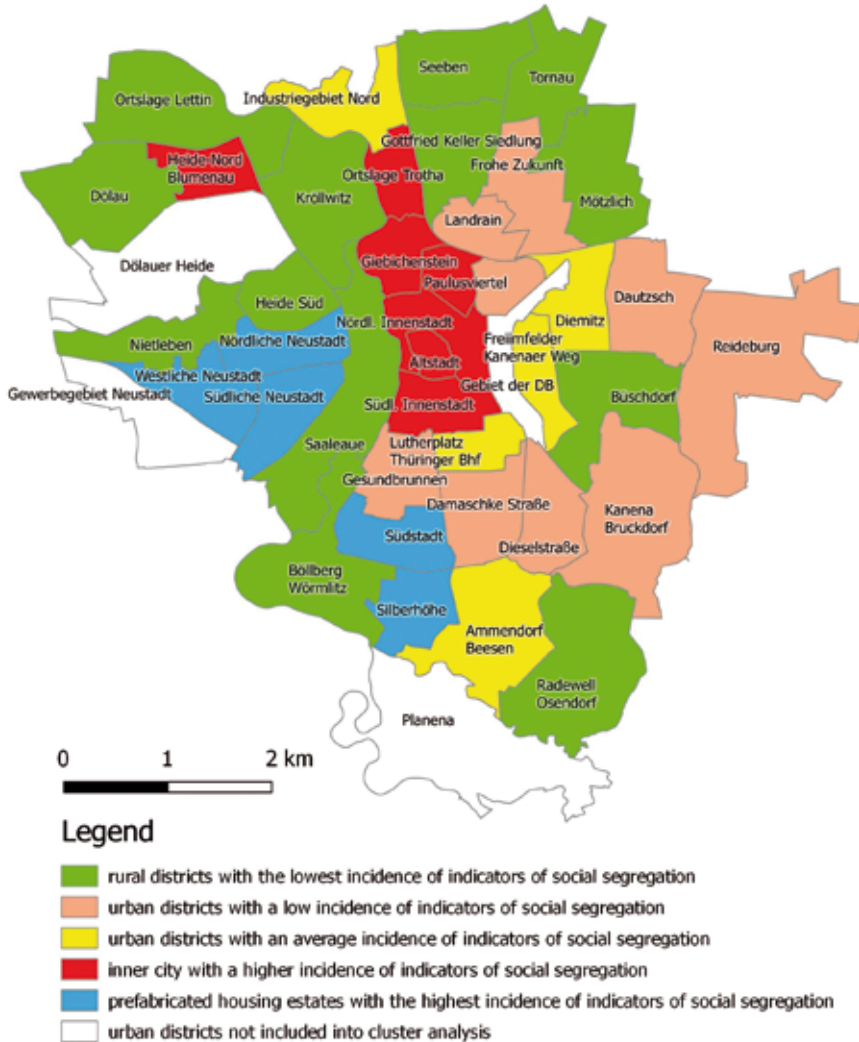
- It consists of **7 boroughs: Altstadt, Giebichenstein, Nördliche Innenstadt, Paulusviertel, Südliche Innenstadt, Ortslage Trotha and Heide-Nord/Blumenau.**
- It is the historic, inner part of the city, with a higher incidence of indicators of social segregation.
- Here, we find the highest proportion of buildings built until 1917 with a slightly above-average number of m² per person and with a relatively high number of inhabitants. In this part of the city, there is a high proportion of foreigners and an above-average proportion of children under 14 years of age, an above-average proportion of people receiving social benefits and above-average unemployment. On the contrary, it is a group of urban districts with a relatively low level of economically active population and a minimum proportion of industrial areas.

5th Group

- It consists of **5 boroughs: Silberhöhe, Südstadt, Nördliche Neustadt, Südliche Neustadt, Westliche Neustadt.**
- These are prefabricated housing estates with the highest incidence of indicators of social segregation.
- Here, we can observe the highest incidence of all negative indicators of this process: the highest unemployment rate and the highest percentage of people receiving social benefits. This group is characterized by the highest number of inhabitants and proportion of houses built between 1950 and 1991. Foreigners are represented here by a high proportion, too. There are flats with a below-average area of m² per flat as well as below-average area of m² per person. In these urban districts, there is a low rate of economically active population and a below-average proportion of industrial areas.

According to the results of the cluster analysis elaborated based on the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation, a cartogram of typology of urban districts of Halle (Saale) was created.

MODEL OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN URBAN DISTRICTS OF HALLE (SAALE) SITUATION OF 2011



Method applied: cluster analysis.

Source of data: Department of Population Administration of the City of Halle (Saale), Division of Statistics and Elections 2011.

Figure 7 Model of socio-spatial segregation in urban districts of Halle (Saale), situation of 2011¹⁶

¹⁶ Source: own elaboration

The model of socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale) forms almost a distinct mosaic in the territory. Peripheral parts of the city (either with rural or urban character of buildings) represent a ring with the lowest incidence of indicators of social segregation, except for housing estates in the south-western part of the city which were built purposefully on the outskirts (mainly due to their size). On the contrary, the inner part of the city, along with areas of light industry in its vicinity represent a mixture of residents of various professional and social backgrounds, which has been confirmed by an average or slightly above-average incidence of indicators of social segregation.

4.6 Localization of Socio-spatial Segregation in Halle (Saale)

On the basis of the facts ascertained through interviews with experts, by statistical data and text analysis, two areas with significant manifestations of socio-spatial segregation can be localized in Halle (Saale). In both cases, these are urban districts with prevalent prefabricated buildings in which flats are owned mainly by municipal housing companies. These companies are obliged to allocate housing to residents reliant on Hartz IV social benefits as well. These facts are also confirmed by the above presented model of socio-spatial segregation.

4.6.1 Silberhöhe

It is a housing estate built after 1979 on the southern outskirts of the city owing to the need for further housing construction. The long distance from the city centre, despite establishment of tram connection in the early 80ies of the 20th century, increases the unattractiveness of the locality. Already in the period of socialism, this part had had a bad image. This housing estate (the same way as Halle Neustadt) was built for workers in chemical industry. In this locality, however, flats were also allocated to people who worked in chemical industry involuntarily, such as people released from serving prison sentence. Employees of a housing cooperative report (Schmahl, 2008) that this locality, there were higher rent debts, more disorderly conduct and petty crime. The housing estate was not completed even after the reunification of Germany its entire planned extent. The housing estate was home of a great many young residents who during restructuring of industry lost their jobs and thus left the housing estate quickly. For this reason, already in 1991-1992 there were up to 30% of empty flats in Silberhöhe. In this housing estate, (despite the massive demolition of the housing stock) a bad image has persisted to this day and rents are very low here. This is the reason why the locality represents an area of social segregation. Silberhöhe has still been an urban district with the largest proportion of socially needy population and the highest unemployment rate of the whole city. Because of that, this place is considered as socially segregated by the city administration itself as well as housing companies, similarly to Halle Neustadt (interview with R. Sackmann).

For the above-stated reasons, this part of the city is the locality in which most houses were removed under the “Stadtumbau Ost” initiative (ca. 50% of the housing stock was removed). Thanks to its demolition, large gap sites originated which have been continuously planted with trees and under the “Stadtumbau Ost” initiative, planting of an urban park is implemented in this part of the locality. Silberhöhe is now referred to as a future “Waldstadt” (forest town) of Halle (Saale). Nevertheless, the population of the city continues to perceive this locality negatively (Sackmann, Sackmann, 2013).



Figure 8 Not rehabilitated and rehabilitated (in the background) prefabricated house in Silberhöhe¹⁷

4.6.2 Südstadt

Housing estate construction continues also to the north of the urban district of Silberhöhe in the urban district of Südstadt. But this locality has a different urbanization structure than neighbouring Silberhöhe because prefabricated buildings mingle here with the older brick structures of low-rise apartment buildings and single-family houses built after the World War II. Construction of prefabricated houses took place here from 1974. Therefore, unlike Silberhöhe, this district has never had such a bad image. Because flats in the prefabricated buildings remain the property of the municipal housing companies, flats in this part of the city are allocated to socially needy households as well (Schmahl, 2008).

Therefore, there is a high proportion of socially needy population and a high unemployment rate, yet lower than in neighbouring Silberhöhe. Thanks to its location closer to the city centre and diverse character of residential buildings, Südstadt has for residents of the city a better image than Silberhöhe.

4.6.3 Halle Neustadt

Halle Neustadt was built in the 60ies of the last century as a separate “model socialist” town for workers in chemical industry. Based on this model status, more financial resources were invested in Halle Neustadt than in other large-capacity housing estates (both in the period before 1989 and after that). It is administratively divided into 4 parts (Westliche Neustadt, Nördliche Neustadt,

¹⁷ Source: Tichá, Vondroušová (2013)

Neustadt and Südliche Gewerbegebiet Neustadt), while Gewerbegebiet Neustadt is inhabited only minimally. Other parts of Neustadt have a similar structure, but the residents themselves perceive each part differently. In terms of socio-spatial segregation, it is possible to regard the whole area of Neustadt as problematic (interview with R. Sackmann).

Apart from construction of prefabricated buildings, attention was also paid to construction of comprehensive related infrastructure and public amenities. In the urban district of Halle Neustadt, head offices of authorities, shops, medical facilities, cultural centres, cinemas and sports facilities (swimming pool) were built, too. Before 1990, Halle Neustadt represented a fully equipped self-functioning town with a complex socio-economic status of the population and comprised ca. 100 000 inhabitants. The downside was that it was a completely unified prefabricated housing estate (there were only 3 different housing models), which, however, was fully revealed only after the reunification of Germany (Walossek, 2006).

After the fall of the communist regime, as part of the restructuring, most people were dismissed, which was reflected in rising unemployment and emigration of residents out of this locality. The migration of population could be divided into two categories:

- migration for work, usually to old federal states,
- migration for more quality housing outside the city or to more attractive parts of the city.

As a result, the following two groups of inhabitants remained in flats in the housing estate of Halle Neustadt:

- older residents with a strong tie to the locality (original residents from the 60ies),
- socially weaker groups of residents having no possibility of financing alternative housing in other parts of the city, but without any emotional bond to this place.

Original residents with strong ties to the locality had a limited possibility to privatize their flats, but they did not want to leave this locality. Because of this, the flat owners were made to renovate the housing stock internally in an extensive way, even at the cost of increased rent. Therefore, in the urban district of Halle – Neustadt, the largest complete rehabilitation of the housing stock took place. This relatively large group of residents in this part of the housing estate consists in older population, without any significant manifestations of social segregation. These residents are concentrated in lower buildings¹⁸ in localities with revitalized public spaces.

Residents without a tie to the locality are represented primarily by a large group of socially weaker citizens, whom housing companies allocate flats in the prefabricated blocks of flats due to the low prices of rents. These people are placed to only partly rehabilitated houses where no internal renovation has taken place. Many of these residents are socially needy, which gives rise to a potential for social conflicts. This category also includes a group of foreigners whose number, though, is in Halle (Saale) lower than in other German cities. For example, so-called “Russian Germans”¹⁹ belong with this group; they are officially not considered as foreigners (they have German passports) but bear all the characteristics of migrants. Communities having different social and cultural habits are perceived as a disparate element in localities, which can cause and deepen social conflicts (interview with K. Mally).

Housing companies responded to the intensified process of social segregation by supplementing their services with social programmes aimed at improving relations and the tense atmosphere in the localities.

¹⁸ The lower buildings originated by removing the upper floors of high-rise buildings and then they underwent full rehabilitation

¹⁹ The term Russian Germans (Russlanddeutschen) denotes all emigrants who were born as German nationals in former German territories and moved as Germans after 1945 into the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) or the former German Democratic Republic. Migrants who moved into the Federal Republic of Germany after 1st January 1993 are referred to as late emigrants.

Currently, the urban district of Halle Neustadt can be regarded as a socially segregated locality in the city, yet in the perception of the residents, city officials as well as the housing companies having a better image than Silberhöhe. The positive role is mostly played by the unproblematic old residents in fully rehabilitated housing units, which are dispersed in various localities of Halle Neustadt. Socially weaker citizens with an allocated flat are considered by the city and housing companies as a problematic segregated group (Schmahl, 2008). However, this very large group is not concentrated in confined locations. Therefore, we cannot speak of one segregated locality (or several of them), but of an overall negative perception of this prefabricated housing estate as a whole.

4.6.4 Heide-Nord

Another part of the city offering flats for living in prefabricated housing estates in its territory is Heide-Nord. Conceptually, however, it differs from the other prefabricated housing estates, because of the absence of high-rise buildings. This part of the city has a better “image” also thanks to its location close to detached single-family houses and the university campus.

The housing estate in the urban district of Heide-Nord was built between the years 1986–1991 as the last project of prefabricated constructions in Halle (Saale). Unlike the housing estates in Neustadt or Silberhöhe, its maximum population at the time of its growth amounted to 11 000. Two large residential compounds were created in this locality, situated in the immediate vicinity of detached houses. Up to 20 000 flats were designed to be built in this housing estate, but its construction was terminated after the reunification of Germany. The construction termination interrupted the completion of the related infrastructure (shops, medical facilities, infrastructure, etc.) The location of the housing estate is quite attractive, at a distance of ca. 6 km from the city centre. Its negative is a missing tram connection to the city centre.

This housing estate has not undergone rehabilitation, as for a long time its purchase by a potential U.S. investor was planned, but the sale has never taken place. Houses in this locality were not renovated and people began to leave them, moving to rehabilitated houses in other housing estates. It was therefore necessary to implement supportive measures to maintain the residents in this locality. For instance, the municipal housing companies condoned rent payments for a period of 6 months. This made the locality more attractive, but caused problems to other housing companies in other parts of the city which could not allow for such a support programme. This problematic situation incited the city to create a separate development concept for Heide-Nord. The surrounding of the housing estate is currently an attractive place where single-family houses have been constructed in recent years. Thus, this urban district is not considered as a socially segregated locality but as one having features of an attractive inner city (interview with S. Knabe).

4.7 Approaches to Solving Socio-spatial Segregation in Halle (Saale)

The main tools influencing the process of socio-spatial segregation in Halle can be seen at the state and local level. Substantial assistance comes from the federal government in the form of grants, focusing on the impact of the process of German reunification. “Stadtumbau Ost” can be considered as the core initiative covering a whole range of activities associated with transformation of East German cities.

For this reason, the city of Halle (Saale) has sufficient financial resources for repairs or demolition of the housing stock, moving of residents, including an allowance for establishing a “first home”, incentive measures for owners of apartment buildings, etc. A number of projects are also dedicated

to revitalization of public spaces and the overall image, thanks to which the inner part of the city today represents a lively attractive centre.

At the local level, housing companies opt for complementary activities in an attempt to prevent possible manifestations of socio-spatial segregation. In residential buildings, a house service is established, facilitating contacts between the housing company and the house residents. Thus, pertinent problems can be resolved before their escalation occurs. Also support of social activities aimed at improving relations among local residents (joint cultural programmes, trips, etc.) can be included into these additional programmes.

Despite the above-stated facts, based on interviews conducted with experts we can claim that in Halle (Saale), there are no localities socially segregated in a significantly negative way. Neither the city administration nor experts dealing with social issues perceive the process of social segregation as a question to be addressed. Experts do not see socio-spatial segregation as a state, but merely as a natural process of the city development. Regarding this topic, no studies of professional or scientific nature have been elaborated in the city of Halle (Saale). In all the interviews, the above-described prefabricated housing estates of Silberhöhe and Neustadt were mentioned in the context of socio-spatial segregation.

4.8 Conclusion

The city of Halle (Saale) is currently an ethnically homogeneous unit, without a significant proportion of foreigners living in the territory of the city. Only the areas of large prefabricated housing estates can be considered as localities of socio-spatial segregation, concentrated into two parts of the city (Silberhöhe + Südstadt and Neustadt – divided into three urban district of Westliche, Nördliche, Südliche Neustadt).

Socio-spatial segregation in Halle (Saale) is therefore primarily a result of historical development and transformation processes after the reunification of Germany. Consequences of this transformation, such as unemployment, depopulation and a newly arranged housing market can be considered as the main factors of its formation. German reunification brought along serious economic problems for uncompetitive East German enterprises which in most cases subsequently ceased to exist. Halle (Saale) had to face one of the highest unemployment rates in post-socialist Europe, reaching the level of 30%. This primary problem was reflected in massive depopulation and on the housing market.

An important role in the process of social segregation also belongs to legislation concerning the labour market and social support which is formulated especially in the “Acts of Modern Services on the Labour Market” (Hartz I – IV). With this legislation, every citizen is entitled to an appropriate form of housing, which is assigned to them following an application and registration with the Employment Agency. The unemployed and socially weak residents do not have to solve the issue of housing as their fundamental existential problem. Housing, including the supply of heat, is covered for these residents from the social benefit of ALG II. If the socially needy citizen does not own an apartment, an apartment is assigned to them by a municipal housing company which is obliged to provide every citizen with a suitable housing unit.

Due to continuous depopulation starting in early 90ies of the last century, the city of Halle (Saale) struggled with a large number of empty housing units in prefabricated housing estates. Despite the fact that a large part of these houses is used as a certain form of “social housing”, the city of Halle (Saale) had to face a constantly rising number of empty flats. For this reason, the city of Halle (Saale) has been involved (as well as other East German cities undergoing transformation) in the “Stadtumbau Ost” initiative through which it was possible to reduce the number of unoccupied housing units, especially in large prefabricated housing estates and thus to eliminate the localities in which negative manifestations of social segregation could occur. This step curbed space with a natural predisposition to crime, such as illegal occupation of residential or non-residential

premises, gathering of persons committing offences and criminal activities, etc. The remaining housing stock and public spaces are under the initiative constantly rehabilitated, repaired and revitalized, while representing an important developmental direction of the contemporary city.

Therefore, specific socially segregated localities of a small scale cannot be identified in Halle (Saale) because of the clearly defined ownership rights to the housing stock. A major player in solving the problems in the field of housing is the city administration which is actively involved in the process of revitalizing the housing stock in both communal and individual housing. Municipal housing companies own almost completely houses in large prefabricated housing estates which were not intended for demolition and which represent an entirely sufficient supply of housing for all residents of Halle (Saale), including socially needy families who cannot afford to finance their own housing. Thanks to this sufficient capacity of available flats, there are no alternative forms of housing in the city (e.g. dormitories with inadequate quality, etc.).

5 CASE STUDY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC – OSTRAVA

5.1 Influence of Transformation on the Process of Socio-spatial Segregation

Under the centrally planned economy implemented in the socialist countries of Europe, Czechoslovak economy had a relatively high gross domestic product per capita and a balanced state budget (Měchýř, 2001). The state ensured full employment and through its policy it sought targeted assimilation of various minority population groups. Even back then, however, there were social differences which were strongly evident especially in the housing allocation policy (into newly built housing estates, which at that time represented a high standard of living, young families or perspective citizens working in a growing industry were placed, while the population described as problematic, particularly Roma people, were concentrated in flats of lower category, mostly in old residential areas, far from the central part of towns). Yet segregation was not such a touchy issue as it is today, either due to lack of information or political concealment of the problem. Social policy of the state was based on an obligation to work whose non-performance was considered as a criminal offence of parasitism (it could be punished with imprisonment of up to three years). The non-existence of employment offices was substituted by Departments of Labour Forces at National Committees. Citizens were disbursed social benefits globally, regardless of the actual costs of household and livelihood. Social policy of the state was aimed primarily at families with children, in which only mothers who cared for two or more children did not have to go to work and the obligation to work did not apply to them. On the contrary, parents neglecting their work duties were punished by being withdrawn child benefits. These, however, were not disbursed by the state, but by the employer being able to “control and sanction” their employees. In this way, the “employers” (or individual companies) played a significant role in social policy of the state, because for their employees, they represented a provider of employment, of a certain type of social benefits and often housing, health care and cultural matters, too.

The Velvet Revolution in November 1989 brought along fundamental changes in the political, economic and social field. The centrally planned economy was replaced by a market economy with related significant legislative changes. For example, the obligation to work was abolished and a possibility of private entrepreneurship came about. As in other Eastern European countries, companies (especially industrial ones) began to face economic problems. Their focus did not correspond to the requirements of the newly opened markets and they gradually lost their competitiveness. Many of them had to be restructured or subsequently closed down. Thus in 1992, industrial production in Czechoslovakia fell by almost 40 %, real wages were decreased, inflation rose and mainly unemployment, which had been zero until then, emerged, having become a major issue of social policy of the state. Employment Offices²⁰ were founded and they took over record keeping of the unemployed and disbursement of some social benefits (Měchýř, 2001).

Transformation processes in Czechoslovakia after 1989 led to significant changes in the field of housing and housing policy as well. Within a short time there was a series of transformations which completely changed the legislative conditions and basic principles for provision of housing. The system of public housing construction and administrative allocation of flats under conditions of the centrally planned economy was replaced by a market system with predominant private

²⁰ The Employment Office was established by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic on 17.09.1990 by virtue of a legislative measure of the Czech National Council No. 306/1990 Coll.

ownership, when the price is determined by supply and demand and its functioning is ensured through a system of regulations and support of the public housing policy (Sýkora, 1996).

Housing policy was to some extent shifted to an independent scope of authority of municipalities which used different approaches to its application. In the 90ies, the main objective of municipal housing policies was privatization of the housing stock (Sládek, 2011), although the extent and rate of progression in individual municipalities differed significantly (ÚÚR, 2011). Some towns used the possibility of privatization to privatize its housing stock completely and rapidly, e.g. Teplice (already in the first half of the 90ies, all its municipals flats had been sold) or other cities (Brno) retained a significant part of its housing stock in their ownership, although in these municipalities constant and gradual privatization has been underway, too. The privatization process significantly increased the importance of home ownership and reduced the share of households living in rental housing. In this respect, the Czech Republic distinguishes itself markedly e.g. from Austria or Germany which retain a significant proportion of rental housing owned by municipalities (Matznetter, 2002). Through their policy of allocating housing to selected social groups (especially Roma people), local self-governments in certain localities contribute to segregation processes. This results in a higher concentration of Roma and socially excluded inhabitants for instance in declining housing estates, in apartment buildings near railway lines or industrial sites in inner-city districts of low-cost housing or in settlements of bare flats intended for rent non-payers. Due to the composition of population and structure of settlements in our country, there has been no segregation of whole social groups so far, but as a rule it only concerns a small part in a few selected localities (Sýkora, 2010).

A missing definition at the national level presents the basic problem in the field of municipal housing (in other countries serving primarily to provide housing for low-income or otherwise disadvantaged citizens) in the Czech Republic. Generally, we can say that in the field of social housing, no legal regulations of this issue have been adopted since the transformation period until today. The decision on whether a part or all of the housing stock of a municipality will be used as social housing (including a definition of recipients of social housing, conditions of its allocation, amount of rents, etc.) is not directed anyhow from the national level. Provision or non-provision of social housing and the definition of the target group of recipients or the criteria for its provision continues to be dependent on political decisions at the local level (Matoušek, 2013). Thus, municipal rental housing remains attractive especially for low-income groups and Roma people (being the group most threatened by social segregation), but ceased to be one of the main forms of provision of housing for households entering the housing market. Promotion of building society savings and mortgages increased attractiveness of home ownership. Another problem is that municipal rental housing may not be “social” in terms of price advantageousness or price affordability as compared with market housing. In most cases, these are flats in the old housing stock into which socially weak residents were concentrated upon active contribution of the town, or as a result of the self-government policy (Matoušek, Sýkora, 2011; Vašečka, 2003). Therefore, localities of municipal housing often begin to overlap with socially excluded Roma localities (Gabal a kol., 2006; Vacková, Galčanová, Hofírek, 2011).

According to expert estimates (Gabal, 2006) in 2006 there were more than 310 segregated Roma localities in the Czech Republic, arising on the edges of society. However, current estimates by non-profit organizations point out that this number has increased to more than 400 (Gabal, Víšek, 2010). A negative factor appears to be primarily the fact that in excluded localities, a generation of Roma people is born who have never seen their parents working in permanent employment. They know only life on social benefits, or occasional extra income from “moonlighting” or collection of scrap metal. Living in dormitories or in Roma ghettos leads to development of antisocial behaviour and pathological phenomena, which is a characteristic feature of the culture of poverty, not only in our country but worldwide. This creates a vicious, negatively closed circle of social exclusion of Roma people, constantly growing and offering no possibility for the Roma population to break out of it. Mutual coexistence of this minority part of the population with the majority

population can be characterized as more than problematic. The majority society labels them as “socially maladjusted citizens”.

An important factor of socio-spatial segregation in conditions of the Czech Republic is also social policy which after 1989 underwent complex changes. Global disbursement of benefits was abandoned and policy of examining the real household incomes was introduced. On this basis, a newly regulated system of social benefits developed, being changed and particularized several times during the transformation period. Presently, benefits are divided into several groups and paid through the Employment Office which disburses not only unemployment benefits but also social benefits. They are divided into several categories (benefits of state social support, benefits of help in material need, benefits for people dependent on assistance of another physical person, allowances for persons with disabilities and foster care benefits). As regards socio-spatial segregation, benefits of help in material need and housing allowances (state social support) are particularly important. Recipients of benefits of help in material need are quite attractive tenants of houses in “unattractive” locations because landlords of these properties receive a regular payment of rent directly from the state. Yet the amount of rent is not regulated by the state depending on the flat size per person. It often happens that due to the lack of social housing, large families get accommodation only in a dormitory which offers to such a large family, e.g. of six people, a single room without toilets and running water, at a price exceeding the market rent of a three-room flat in the same locality or district. The amount of rent is sent through the Employment Office directly to the landlord's account. Many business entities have capitalized on this possibility, making use of the generous welfare system at the expense of socially needy families.

5.2 Influence of History of Ostrava on the Process of Socio-spatial Segregation

Ostrava is the seat of the Moravian-Silesian Region and with its 304 136 inhabitants (as of 01.01.2014) it is the third largest city in the Czech Republic. Ostrava covers an area of 214 km². The city is administratively divided into 23 municipal districts.

Until the discovery of coal and industrial revolution, the trajectory of historical development of Ostrava was not much different from developmental trajectories of other towns and villages. The first written mention dates back to 1269 and is found in the will of Bishop Bruno of Schauenburk. A favourable period for Ostrava was the first half of the 16th century, when crafts, especially weaving and cloth making developed and guilds were established in the town (Jiřík a kol., 1993).

The second half of the 16th century and the whole 17th century did not bring favourable times for Ostrava. It was a period characterized by poverty, recurring drops in population and other problems caused mainly by fires, the Thirty Years' War, diseases and plague. In the first half of the 18th century, Ostrava was still an insignificant small town, with less than a thousand inhabitants. After the end of the Austro-Prussian War (in which Austria lost a part of Silesia), an old trade route from Saxony to Opava, Ostrava and Těšín was discontinued. A revival of economic growth in the region of Ostrava followed the discovery of coal in 1763, in the valley of Burňa in Polish Ostrava. Regular mining was commenced by the domain owner Franz Josef, Count of Wilczek in 1787 (Jiřík a kol., 1993).

Rapid development of agglomeration was launched in 1828 by establishing ironworks in the village of Vítkovice and a railway link to the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway connecting Vienna and Cracow from 1847. Because of this, in the second half of the 19th century, Ostrava became one of the most important industrial regions in the whole Austria-Hungary. The development of industry and plenitude of job opportunities also caused an inflow of population and changes in the social structure of the town. The city centre remained the seat of the upper and middle social classes, while miners and labourers settled down on its margins. At the same time, the ethnic structure changed, too. The influx of population unprecedented until that time instigated a lively building

boom, though still without any orders and regulatory plans. Construction was concentrated in three main focal points: the former suburbs of Vítkovice (the area of the former coking plant of Karolina, the Palace Hotel and Antonín Dvořák Theatre), in the area of today's Nádražní Street, and between the mines of Šalamoun and Hlubina (the area between the railway station of Ostrava-Střed and Frýdlant bridges). This chaotic development resulted in mingling of residential and production premises, division of the town by railway lines as well as neglected construction of municipal facilities. Labourers' settlements began to emerge in the city, eventually becoming home of up to a quarter of the population of Ostrava. The same was true for miners' settlements, too, in which in the territory of Silesian Ostrava almost 70% of its population (in 1880) lived. Hence Ostrava had a distinctive working-class character which also in the surrounding municipalities such as Přívoz, Vítkovice or Silesian Ostrava amounted up to 80%. The class of business bourgeoisie was absent here, as most owners of mines and factories resided outside the town, mostly in Vienna. Serious disproportions occurred in the development of the town because the town was building its industrial potential, but millions in profits were flowing to Vienna. There was almost nothing for the benefit of the residents of Ostrava, only insufficient residential development, absence of basic social and sanitation facilities, environmental pollution by industrial activities, absence of educational, cultural and administrative institutions, and harsh working conditions transmitted to interpersonal relationships in civic life. All this gave rise to a specific lifestyle of an industrial city, unfavourable for development of the human personality. From the end of the Industrial Revolution until the First World War, new construction concentrated in the villages surrounding Moravian Ostrava, still in the immediate vicinity of coal and industrial plants. Growing demands for internal transport began the era of transport in 1894 by constructing the first line from Přívoz to Moravian Ostrava and Vítkovice. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and establishment of the independent Czechoslovak state meant for Ostrava, an industrial suburb of Vienna, interruption of its traditional orientation and contact in the post-war years (Jiřík, 1993).

After formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, thanks to industrialization and mines, Ostrava retained a significant economic position and slowly transformed itself into an administrative, social and cultural centre. This was also connected with development of construction and in the period of the First Republic, Moravian Ostrava turned into a city. The New City Hall, as well as a city savings bank, department stores, banks, offices and schools were built.

The previously dynamic development of Ostrava was significantly affected and slowed down by the global economic crisis in the years 1929-1934. After 1939, the largest industrial enterprises, such as Vítkovické horní a hutní těžířstvo (Coal, Iron and Steel Works of Vítkovice) or the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway came under the administration of plants of Reichswerke Hermann Göring (an industrial conglomerate of Nazi Germany) and changed their focus in respect of war production. The air raids by Anglo-American allies in 1944 seriously damaged the industrial city.

After 1945, Czechoslovakia concentrated on developing coal mining, steel industry and other fields of heavy industry. In 1949, construction of the largest industrial compound in Czechoslovakia – Nová huť Klementa Gottwalda (Klement Gottwald's New Steel Mill, now Arcelor Mittal) in Ostrava-Kunčice was started, put into operation in 1960. Massive support of coal mining and heavy industry also meant an influx of population (labour force) to Ostrava and the surrounding towns and villages. The strong industrial character of the town was also reflected in the demographic composition of the population, not only in terms of age (newly coming labour force), but also in terms of education – employment in heavy industry offered a higher amount of jobs with lower qualifications required.

Roma people moved to Ostrava in the 50ies of the 20th century as low-skilled workforce for the coal mines, steel mills, heavy industry and construction industry. Despite long-term efforts of the socialist governance, full integration of the Roma population into the majority society was never achieved. The issue of the Roma ethnic group returned after the end of the socialist period with increasing intensity (Davidová, 2000, 2004; Pavelčíková, 1999; Janků, 2007).

Construction of miners' settlements was from the 50ies replaced by construction of housing estates in the oldest part of Poruba, the southern urban districts of Zábřeh, Hrabůvka, Výškovice and eventually the housing estates of Dubina and Bělský les in the 80ies of 20th century.

The Velvet Revolution in 1989 meant for Ostrava (formerly the steel heart of the republic) a major change in the trend of development. In 1994, coal mining was terminated and also steel production and other branches of heavy industry were continually reduced, which led to rising unemployment. All this, along with strongly polluted environment, was reflected in decreasing attractiveness of the city and the number of its inhabitants. To the present day, Ostrava has lost about 10% of its population (Kuta, 2001).

In recent years, socio-spatial segregation in the region of Ostrava has been a topic of several studies (Horák a kol., 2009; Kvasnička, 2010; Gabal, 2006), seeking to map the current situation in the territory. However, it is necessary to say that the segregation process can be very dynamic and a lot of information ascertained a few years ago is no longer relevant today. Generally, we can claim that localities most vulnerable to the negative manifestations of social segregation are found near old industrial sites which were built in the period of rapid industrial growth in Ostrava. For this reason, in many urban districts small socially segregated localities, predominantly inhabited by Roma people and socially weak citizens, can be identified.

5.3 Main Factors of Socio-spatial Segregation in Ostrava

Industrialization and the subsequent housing construction (with the associated quality and ownership structure), changes in the field of social policy and the Roma population living in the territory of the city can be considered as the main factors of socio-spatial segregation in Ostrava.

The industrialization process in Ostrava led to an expansion other branches of heavy industry in the region, primarily represented by ironworking industry, coking plants, electrical and power industry and so-called heavy chemistry. Industrialization of the territory of the city had a crucial impact on the urban structure of the city which was particularly determined by location of mining sites founded depending on the occurrence of coal deposits, but regardless of the current settlement system which was greatly disrupted. In the vicinity of the shafts, owners of the mines then built miners' settlements for the employees, consisting of several residential buildings, or settlements of single-family houses with gardens. Thus, a new type of settlement was formed, with a character different from both town and village. It did not have the features, functions or number of inhabitants of a town, but it did not require agricultural land or facilities typical for a village, either. The settlements had a very regular ground plan similar to barracks because they were built purposefully (Kovář, 2012). They were built mainly in the districts of Hulváky, Heřmanice, Muglinov, Michálkovice, Lhotka or Radvanice.

Apart from labourers' settlements, also settlements for office workers were built, which were distinctly different. For office workers, multi-storey houses, duplex houses or villas with flats with three or more rooms, with a kitchen and a flushing toilet were built. Bathrooms started to be part of the office workers' flats only around 1900. In the houses, there were mostly flats with one living room or a kitchen, too. There were no bathrooms and dry toilets were placed in a separate smaller building in the garden, serving also as a fuel depot and a smaller shed for livestock. To a smaller extent, also ground-floor residential buildings with several separate entrances were built. Later, multi-storey residential labourers' houses with arcades began to be constructed (with bathrooms at the ends of the arcades to be used by several flats), or with a central staircase and toilets on landings on mezzanine floors. Sometimes even in the multi-storey labourers' houses, toilets were placed in solitary buildings utilized as a fuel depot as in the case of the above duplex and quadruple houses (Zdaňlová, 2006).

The original miners' settlements were mostly demolished in the second half of the 20th century. Some, however, have been preserved. This is the case of the so-called (wooden) Finnish houses

with a brick retaining wall, which were built shortly after the Second World War. These settlements are now found mainly in the southern part of Vítkovice (Jeremenko settlement) or in the cadastral area of Hulváky (Bedříška settlement). Both the Jeremenko and Bedříška settlements are currently considered as problematic parts of the city, or more specifically as localities with attributes of social exclusion (interview with J. Chytil).

Further housing construction was taking place in Ostrava from the 60ies to 90ies of the 20th century. In the 60ies, housing estates were built mainly in Poruba, Hrabůvka and Zábřeh (Ostrava – Jih). In the 70ies, construction of housing estates was underway in Hrabůvka, Výškovice (Ostrava – Jih) and Fifejdy (Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz). In 1984, in connection with construction of a housing estate, a new urban district of Dubina was formed, with houses in a very densely built-up area. Exactly this density of buildings, lack of green areas and poor quality of the housing stock decreased attractiveness of this locality.

With the construction of housing estates, a number of inhabitants who had been allocated flats in the newly built prefabricated housing estates abandoned the old, poor quality housing stock. Because of low investments, the above-described old buildings began to decay and district authorities allocated the poor-quality housing stock to non-payers, socially maladjusted citizens and the Roma ethnic group living in the territory of the city (interview with Z. Matýsek).

In the socialist era, housing stock was divided into several forms of ownership: state flats (after 1989 they were transferred to municipal ownership), cooperative flats (after 1989 the ownership structure remained unchanged), company flats (used to stabilize the employees of enterprises) and flats in private ownership (concerning mainly single-family houses on the city outskirts).

State apartments were in 1993 transferred to ownership of municipalities, in Ostrava they were entrusted to management of municipal districts. Many houses (especially older buildings) were under restitution of the housing stock returned to their original owners. These new owners often had different ideas about the use of their housing stock, so they tried to evict the “undesirable” residents living in the flats. Privatization of the housing stock of the Statutory City of Ostrava took place in individual municipal districts according to the Principles which were approved by the individual municipal districts, but without a broader conceptual and strategic consideration. Tenants were strongly interested in privatization of the individual flats because they were sold at a price significantly lower than the market price. Within a short time, the new owners usually began to implement repairs (replacement of windows, insulation, replacement of pipes, roof insulation, etc.). Some municipal districts, such as Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz encouraged the new owners to repair the housing stock by returning them a part of the purchase price in case of deadline compliance. Thus, most housing estates underwent a renovation during a short time and further renovations have been taking place continuously until today. However, massive privatization, especially of the municipal housing stock, led to a shortage of housing for socially weak and maladjusted citizens who did not have the opportunity or sufficient funds to buy their own flat. Out of the 23 municipal districts, a concept of housing policy has been developed only in Slezská Ostrava, Vítkovice (Housing Concept of the Statutory City of Ostrava, 2010), and by the end of 2013 also in Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz.

A significant portion of the housing stock in Ostrava is represented by former company flats of OKD, today RPG Byty, s.r.o. The housing stock of this company is localized in many districts. The revitalization process of the housing stock of the company proceeds at a much slower pace. Many RPG flats have not been revitalized yet, which, along with the relatively high rents, causes their unattractiveness. These flats are offered to socially weak citizens whose higher rents are paid through social benefits. Most residents who are able to purchase their own or cooperative flats leave these flats in which especially older residents (with a strong tie to the locality) remain to live, as well as those who do not have the opportunity to move out. Because of this, the company RPG Byty, s.r.o. is in Ostrava an important participant in the process of social segregation, although in some areas, it supplements its business activities with social services in collaboration with non-profit organizations (interview with A. Krausová).

Changes on the housing market deepened the process of socio-spatial segregation by the fact that individual municipal districts did not offer sufficient capacities of their housing stock to socially needy inhabitants anymore, and therefore the question of housing has become an issue especially for the Roma population. Private owners of housing stock made use of this opportunity, while becoming the very partakers in creating socially segregated localities. They selected a locality of their housing stock where residents are placed by virtue of receiving social benefits and ethnicity.

The city of Ostrava solves the insufficient capacities of the housing stock for socially needy households by means of social services. In the field of housing it is primarily support of shelters and other forms of temporary housing. Also dormitories, usually in private ownership, are often used, which are located in socially excluded localities or creating themselves such a locality with time. Surrounding of these dormitories is very unattractive, which reduces the price of properties in their vicinity, and they become the target of attacks by right-wing radicals or other extremist groups. Localities of this type are found mainly in the vicinity of old industrial sites or behind a significant spatial barrier (railway line, motorway, industrial premises, mining dumps, etc.). Therefore, the emergence of socially segregated localities is not bound to particular districts of the Statutory City of Ostrava, but in some parts of the city, the negative manifestations of socio-spatial segregation are more pronounced (see also Model of socio-spatial segregation in municipal districts of Ostrava).

An important factor of socio-spatial segregation in Ostrava is the existence of a numerous Roma community in the territory of the city. The first huge wave of immigrants was observed after the Second World War, when Roma people came to Ostrava for work. Later, these employees were followed by their large families (mainly from Slovakia) moving to them, which led to overcrowded flats, criminality and other social problems. The Roma issue became a frequently discussed topic in social policy of the city which started to focus on them by establishing Departments of Care for Gypsy Inhabitants. The city tried to concentrate Roma families into lower-category flats, which was the basis for creation of today's socially segregated localities. The image of these localities was very poor and due to a high birth rate and unceasing migration, the proportion of Roma ethnic group was constantly increasing. An important milestone was the division of Czechoslovakia, when a part of the Roma population returned to Slovakia while another group of Roma people moved to Ostrava. The problem was that many socially segregated inhabitants missed deadlines which the Czech Republic determined for them to handle matters related to the break-up of Czechoslovakia²¹. This fact was followed by problems with disbursement of social benefits persisting until the second half of the 90ies. Presently, the proportion of Roma ethnic group in socially excluded localities of Ostrava ranges in values of 70-100% (Gabal, Víšek, 2010; Report on the Situation of the Roma Minority in the Czech Republic for 2012, 2013).

5.4 Characteristics of Socio-spatial Segregation in Ostrava

The current situation of socio-spatial segregation in Ostrava arises out of the industrialization processes and the related construction of residential buildings. The former only housing possibility for new employees of the booming industry finds itself today in the form of dilapidating housing stock, into whose repairs (due to construction of new residential buildings or prefabricated housing estates) no investments have been made for decades.

Already in the socialism era, flats in these localities were allocated to newly coming Roma people who thus formed the basis of socially segregated localities. The process moving Roma people into these localities has been continuing in the post-socialist period as well (interview with Z. Matýšek).

Individual municipal districts apply varied approaches to socially segregated localities in particular districts of the city. Some districts approach these issues with the philosophy of "zero tolerance"

²¹ This issue was regulated by the Act on Acquiring and Losing Citizenship.

of their existence and through their competences (in the fields of education, housing, social, investment policy, etc.) they seek to encourage these residents to move out. The other part of municipal districts tries to deal with the existence of socially segregated localities within their territory for example through cooperation with the non-profit sector. Cooperation between the public and non-profit sectors is needed primarily because of the low legal awareness and low confidence of the population in socially segregated localities in institutions such as authorities, police or courts. In practice, often a combination of both methods is used, depending on the size of the locality, number of inhabitants in the locality, owners of the properties, technical condition of buildings, etc.

The basic features of socially segregated localities in Ostrava include the majority Roma ethnic group, a high long-term unemployment rate, a high proportion of people dependent on social benefits, large indebtedness, petty and organized crime, usury, procurement, non-payment of rent and removal of children and their placement in institutional care. A number of social phenomena which may be the cause of criminality (such as alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.) often occurs directly in families.

5.5 Model of Socio-spatial Segregation in Ostrava by the Surveyed Indicators

Based on the above-described theoretical background and the obtained data, it was possible to identify the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation within the urban space of Ostrava. All 23 municipal districts of Ostrava were included for cartographic processing and a cluster analysis.

The following set of indicators from the 2011 Population and Housing Census was used for this model: proportion of houses built before 1919, proportion of houses built in the years 1920-1970, proportion of houses built in the years 1971-1990, proportion of houses built since 1991, the total population, the average area in m² per flat, the average flat area (m²) per person, proportion of industrial areas, proportion of children aged 0-14, the rate of economic activity, unemployment rate, proportion of foreigners, proportion of Roma population and proportion of inhabitants receiving social benefits in material need.

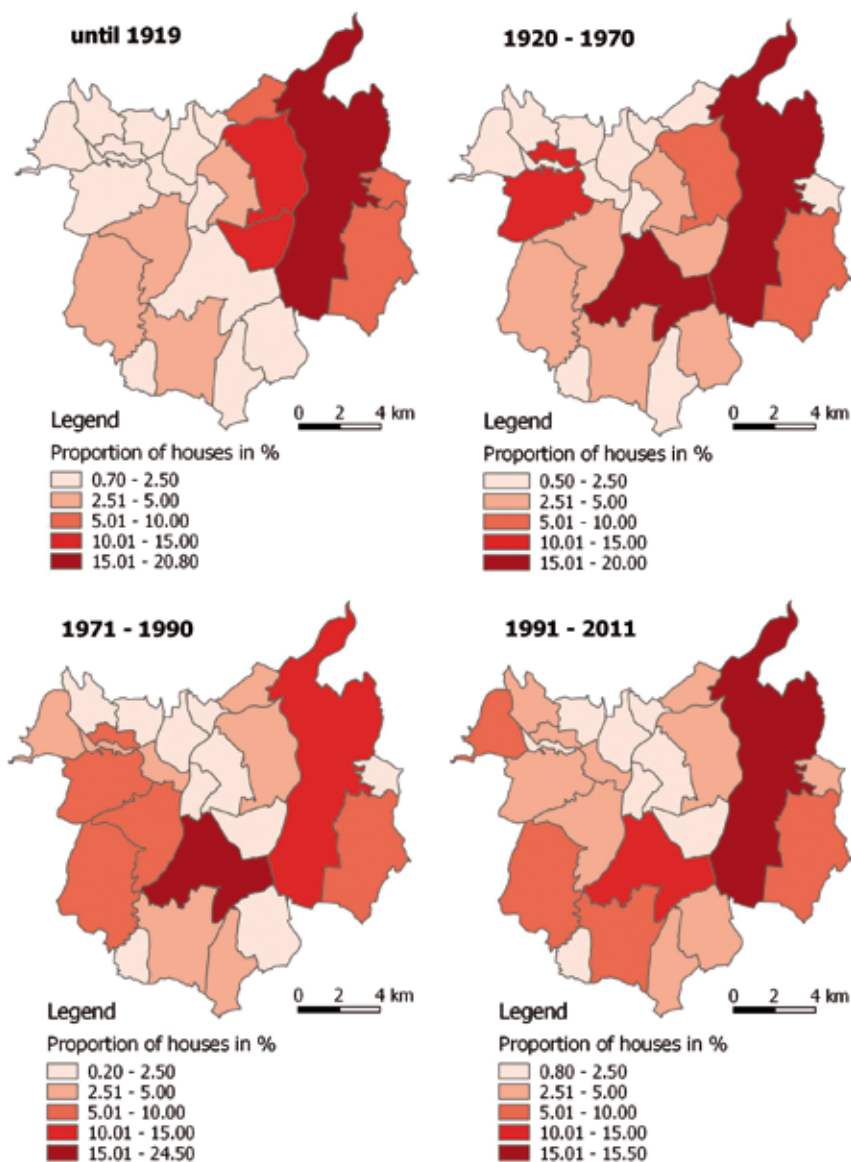
Before summarizing the data into a cluster analysis, the most important of these indicators were individually processed into cartograms providing a better idea of the spatial distribution of the selected indicators of social segregation in the city.

5.5.1 Selected Indicators of Socio-spatial Segregation

The proportion of houses built in certain periods of the city development was chosen as an indicator of the physical structure of the city.

Individual periods of construction (or reconstruction) of residential buildings show the processes of “settling” of urban districts of Ostrava. In comparison to Halle (Saale), the city is divided into substantially larger territorial units which due to their area misrepresent detailed information concerning the localities of a smaller scale. Within Ostrava, it is therefore very difficult to talk about “typical” features of individual districts, because most districts further divide their cadastral areas into so-called basic settlement units (hereinafter BSU) whose similarity is much clearer. Yet in the city of Ostrava, BSUs could not be considered as areas suitable for analysis of this dimension, since the total number of BSUs in the cadastral area of Ostrava amounts to 263. From this perspective, the district of Slezská Ostrava can be regarded as the most heterogeneous municipal district which thanks to its size merges 56 BSUs of different character. Despite this fact, our analyses are based on the above-mentioned 23 districts but it is necessary to reflect this in all the partial results of this piece of work.

PROPORTION OF HOUSES BUILT OR RECONSTRUCTED IN MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS OF OSTRAVA IN THE DEFINED PERIODS UNTIL 1919



Source of data: Census 2011

Figure 9 Proportion of houses built or reconstructed in municipal districts of Ostrava in the defined periods until 1919²²

²² Source: own elaboration

The first defined period was dominated by construction in those districts of the city which represented territories of the most dynamic industrial growth – i.e. areas in the vicinity of mines and the accompanying heavy industry. The second period was most evident in urban districts with massive construction of housing stock which are mainly districts with prefabricated housing estates and buildings of mass housing. The third, late socialist, period shows the area with finishing construction of housing estates and apartment buildings near existing buildings. In the period of the last twenty years, the outskirts with rural character have been of particular importance, mainly due to suburbanization trends which are strongly present in Ostrava.

However, it must also be emphasized that e.g. construction in Slezská Ostrava is considerably represented in all the defined periods, but the “centres” of construction in different periods vary exactly by BSUs. For illustration, construction in the individual periods in Slezská Ostrava with its BSUs is presented below (similar results can be expected in other indicators of social segregation, too).

PROPORTION OF HOUSES BUILT OR RECONSTRUCTED IN THE MUNICIPAL DISTRICT OF SLEZSKÁ OSTRAVA IN THE DEFINED PERIODS UNTIL 1919

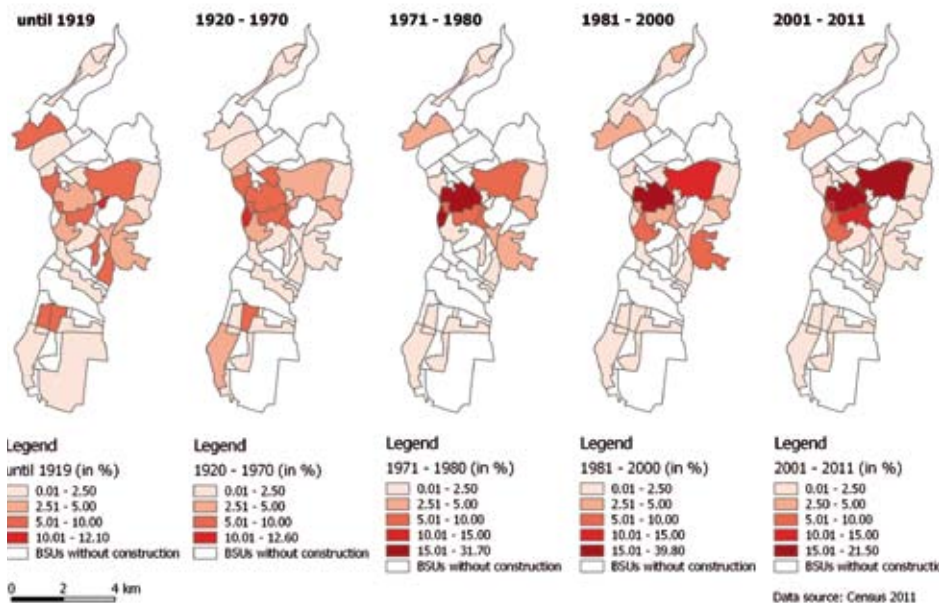


Figure 10 Proportion of houses built or reconstructed in the municipal district of Slezská Ostrava in the defined periods until 1919²³

As a functional indicator of the socio-spatial structure of the city, a cartogram showing the distribution of industrial areas in individual municipal districts of Ostrava was made.

²³ Source: own elaboration

PROPORTION OF INDUSTRIAL AREAS IN DISTRICTS OF THE CITY OF OSTRAVA SITUATION OF 2011

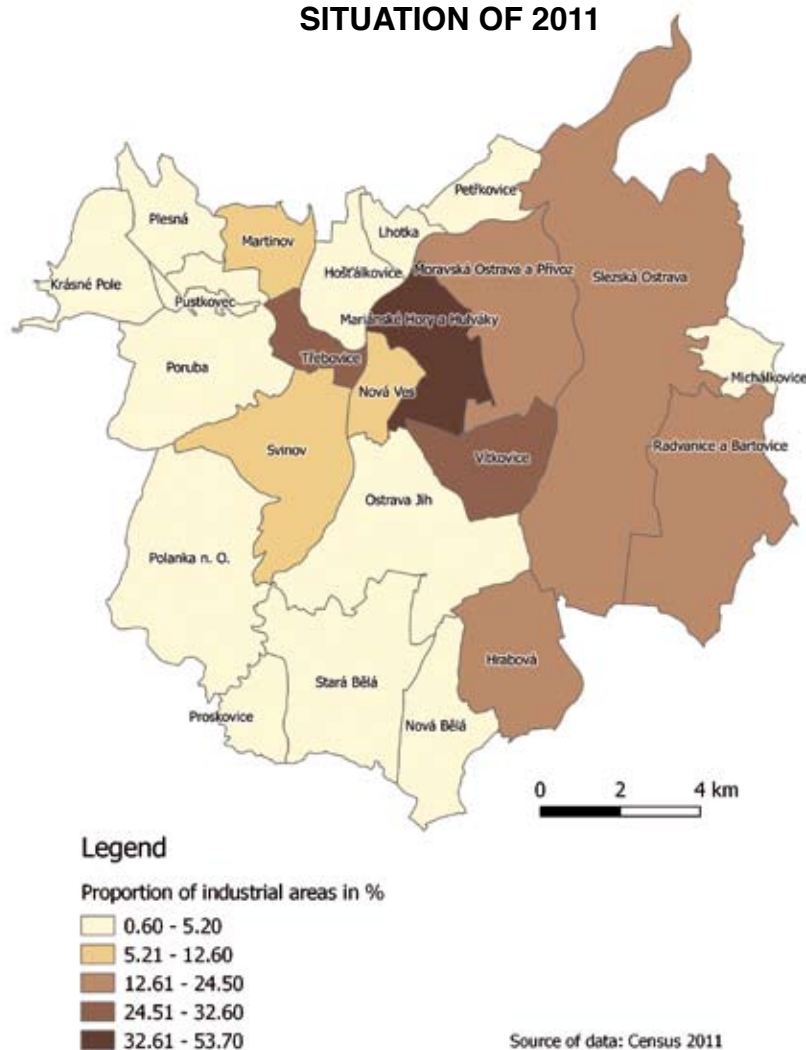


Figure 11 Proportion of industrial areas in districts of the city of Ostrava, situation of 2011²⁴

Most industrial areas in Ostrava are concentrated in the central and eastern part of the city, depending on the presence of coal deposits and the related industry. The western part of Ostrava comprising rural municipal districts remains almost untouched by industry.

For the group of social indicators, four cartograms were made showing the unemployment rate, the proportion of foreigners, the proportion of Roma people and the share of people dependent on social benefits in material need.

²⁴ Source: own elaboration

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN DISTRICTS OF THE CITY OF OSTRAVA SITUATION OF 2011

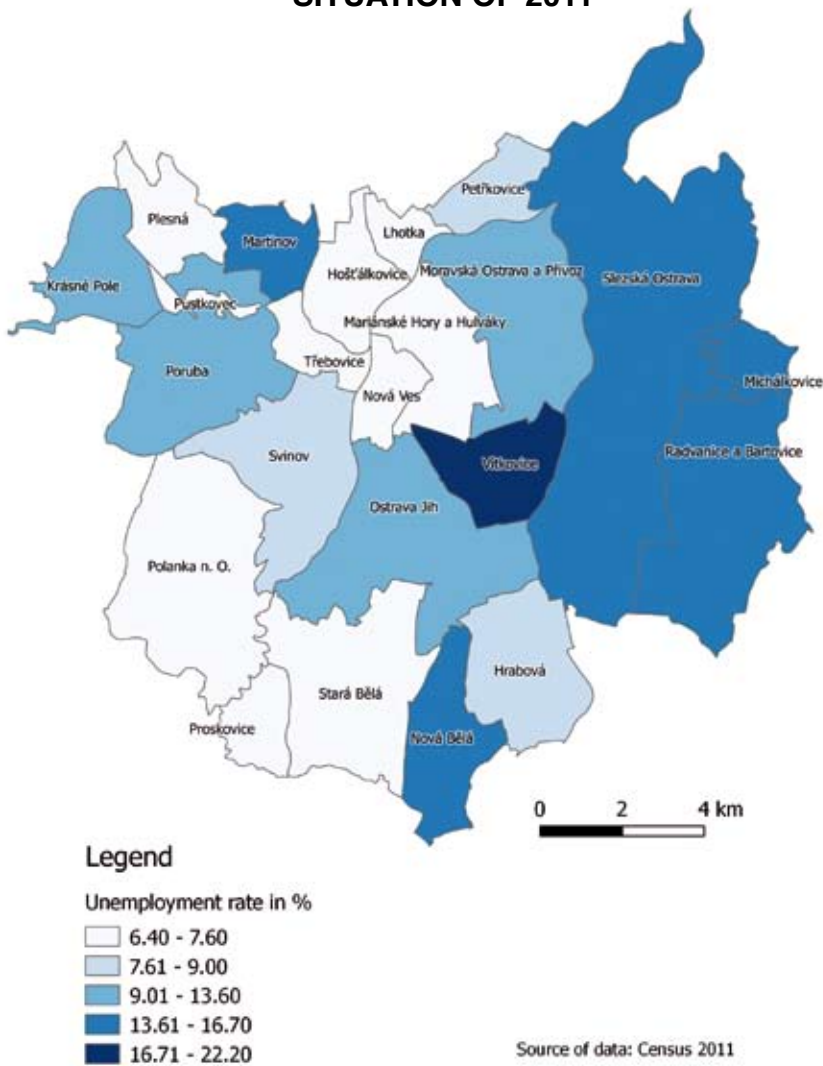


Figure 12 Unemployment rate in districts of the city of Ostrava, situation of 2011²⁵

The most significant rates of unemployment can be observed in the socially weakest parts of the city – it means in areas of the former industrial premises, in the vicinity of coal mines or industrial sites. It is especially the urban district of Vítkovice which is within Ostrava considered as “socially segregated”. By contrast, the lowest levels can be measured in the western peripheral parts of the city which offer a comfortable way of living in detached single-family houses

²⁵ Source: own elaboration

PROPORTION OF FOREIGNERS IN DISTRICTS OF THE CITY OF OSTRAVA SITUATION OF 2011

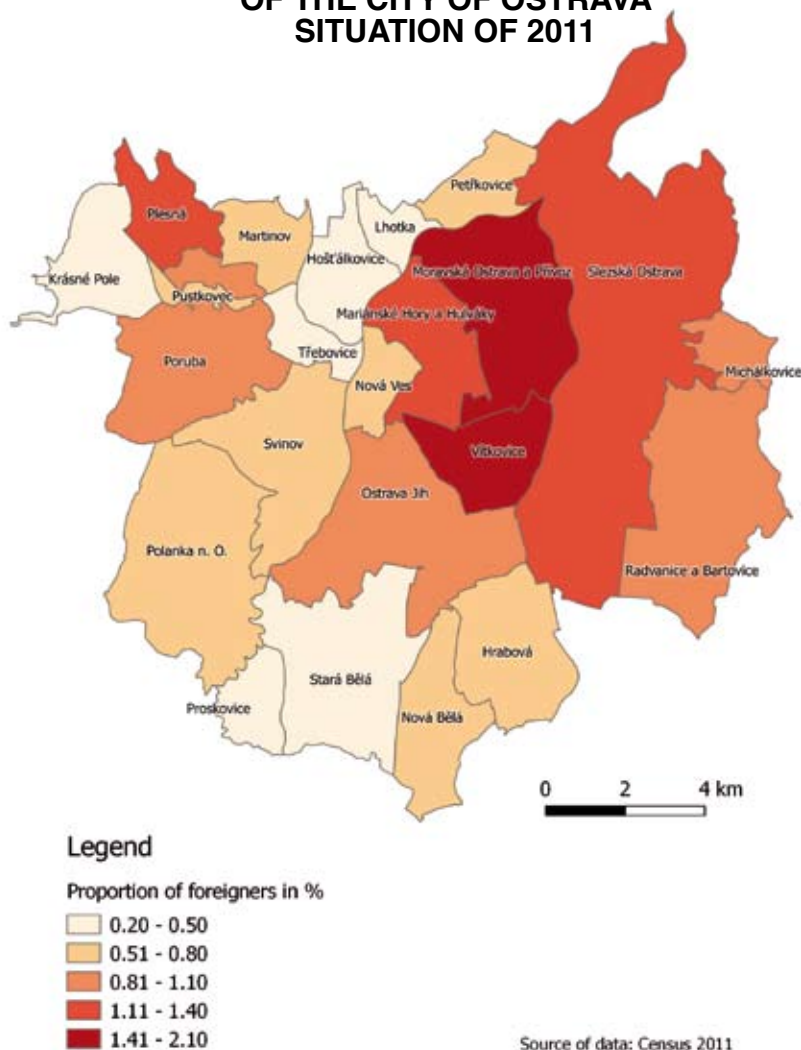


Figure 13 Proportion of foreigners in districts of the city of Ostrava, situation of 2011²⁶

The question of ascertaining national composition of the population belongs to the most problematic ones in terms of detecting such information from hard statistical data. In most cases, the reality corresponds up to several multiples of the values stated in the Census databases (which also applies to Roma nationality). In the territory of Ostrava, only one national minority is represented significantly and that is Slovaks (ca. 3.5% of the population of Ostrava) who, however, also include a considerable part of the Roma people who came to Ostrava for work. The highest proportion of these people is in the district of Vítkovice, Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz, Mariánské Hory and Slezská Ostrava.

²⁶ Source: own elaboration

PROPORTION OF ROMA POPULATION IN DISTRICTS OF THE CITY OF OSTRAVA SITUATION OF 2011

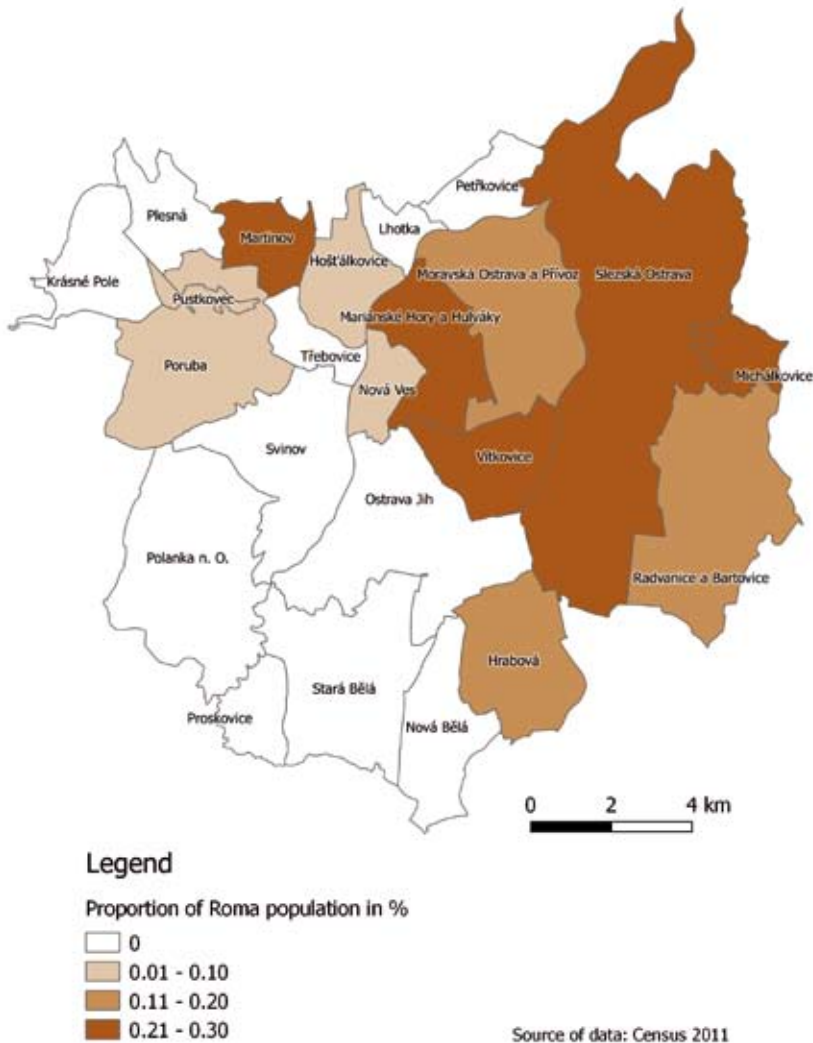


Figure 14 Proportion of Roma population in districts of the city of Ostrava, situation of 2011²⁷

A completely specific group is represented by Roma citizens who during several decades created their enclaves in the territory of the city of Ostrava. Especially for this group of people it is true that their actual number by far exceeds the data from statistical censuses. The highest concentration of Roma population can be found in municipal districts of Vítkovice, Mariánské Hory and Hulváky, Slezská Ostrava, Michálkovice and recently also Martinov.

²⁷ Source: own elaboration

PROPORTION OF PERSONS RECEIVING SOCIAL BENEFITS IN MATERIAL NEED IN DISTRICTS OF THE CITY OF OSTRAVA SITUATION OF 2011

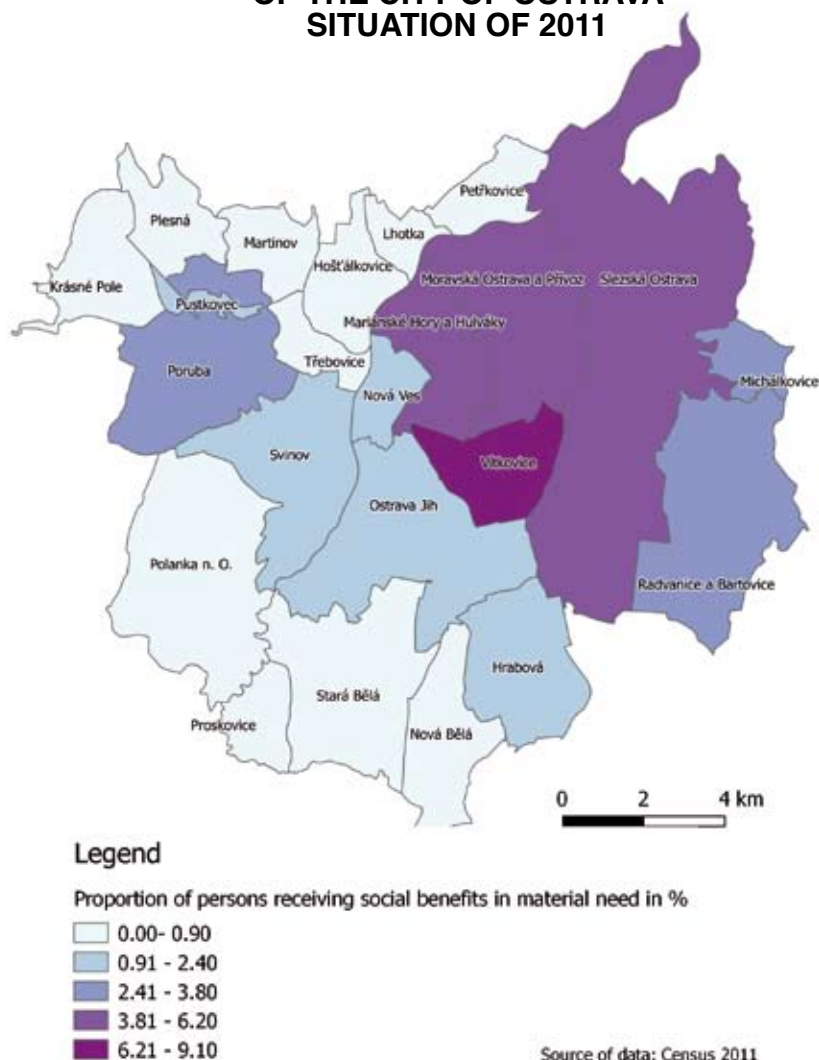


Figure 15 Proportion of persons receiving social benefits in material need in districts of the city of Ostrava, situation of 2011²⁸

The proportion of people receiving social benefits in material need can be compared with the map of unemployment because these two indicators are clearly interrelated. Also in this case, the most significant proportions are found in the municipal districts of Vítkovice, Mariánské Hory a Hulváky, Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz and Slezská Ostrava. Peripheral parts of the city with rural buildings are almost untouched by this indicator.

²⁸ Source: own elaboration

5.5.2 Characteristics of Individual Groups of Municipal Districts of Ostrava

Based on quantitative evaluation of the statistical indicators of socio-spatial segregation in the city of Ostrava, a model of its spatial arrangement by the individual municipal districts was subsequently created. The model was developed using a multidimensional data analysis (cluster analysis) which provided a spatial pattern of social segregation in the individual municipal districts of Ostrava.

For elaboration, Ward's method (based on the principle of minimizing the variance within groups) using the Euclidean distance was applied. By means of this method, municipal districts of Ostrava were divided into four homogenous groups with similar characteristics of the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation.

1st Group

- It consists of **12 municipal districts: Lhotka, Stará Bělá, Polanka n./O., Plesná, Krásné Pole, Nová Bělá, Proskovice, Pustkovec, Petřkovice, Svinov, Hošťálkovice, Trebovice.**
- It is the western peripheral part of the city of predominantly rural character with single-family houses and with the lowest incidence of indicators of socio-spatial segregation.
- Here we can find the highest proportion of buildings built after 1991 with the highest number of m² per person and the highest average area of m² per flat. In these municipal districts, an above-average proportion of children under 14 years of age as well as of economically active population can be measured. On the contrary, it is the group of municipal districts with the lowest proportion of Roma population and foreigners, the lowest share of benefits in material paid per capita and the lowest unemployment rate. Occurrence of industrial sites in these parts of the city is below average, too.

2nd Group

- It consists of **5 municipal districts: Hrabová, Radvanice a Bartovice, Nová Ves, Michálkovice, Martinov.**
- These are formerly rural districts situated in the vicinity of industrial compounds with a higher incidence of indicators of socio-spatial segregation.
- Here we observe an above-average proportion of Roma population, a higher rate of economically active population and unemployment. In the residential structure, housing stock constructed before 1919 prevails with a below-average number of both m² per person and area (m²) per flat. Generally, it is a less populous part of the city with a below-average proportion of children under 14 years of age.

3rd Group

- It consists of **4 municipal districts: Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz, Slezská Ostrava, Mariánské Hory and Hulváky a Vítkovice.**
- It is the historic, inner part of the city built in connection with large industrial plants, with the highest incidence of indicators of socio-spatial segregation.
- Here we find the highest proportions of benefits in material need paid per capita, the highest proportions of Roma population as well as foreigners and the highest unemployment rate. Of

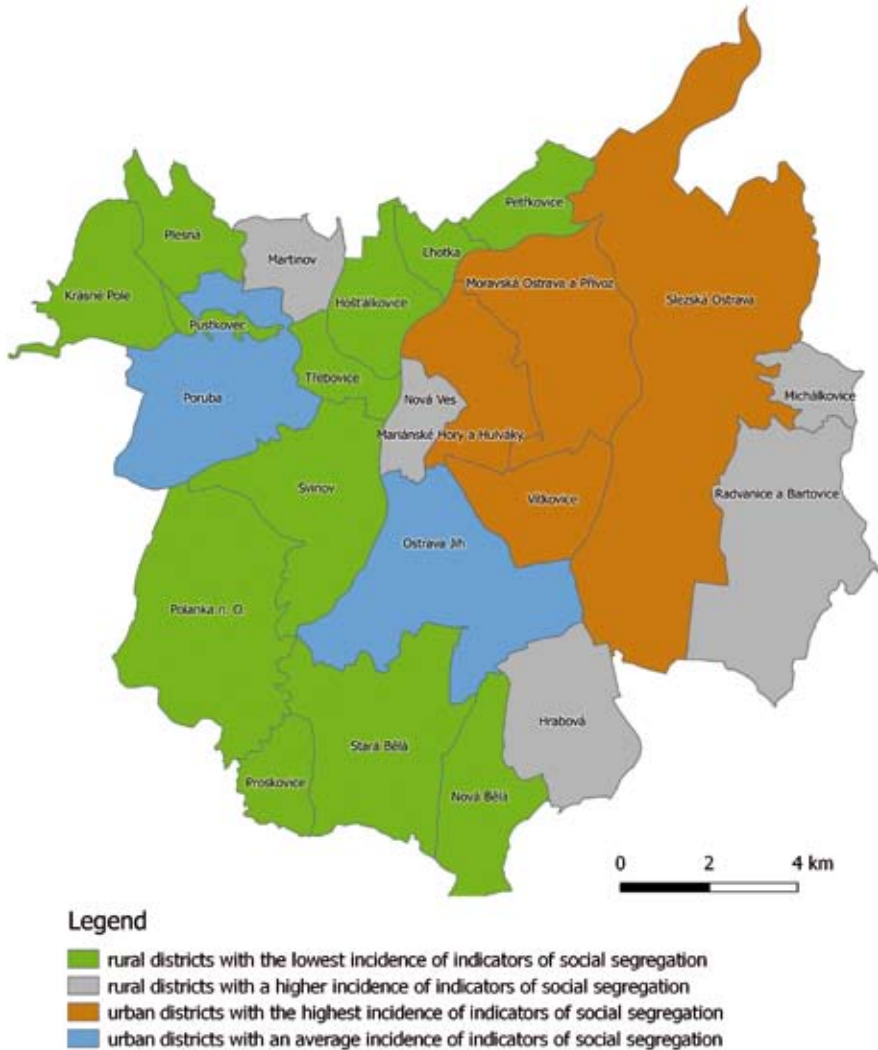
all the districts of the city of Ostrava, they also have the highest proportions of industrial sites in their cadastral areas. The housing stock was built mainly before 1919 and in the period from 1920-1970 with a below-average number of both m² per person and area (m²) per flat. There is the lowest measured level of economically active population, too.

4th Group

- It consists of only **2 municipal districts: Poruba and Ostrava – Jih.**
- These are municipal districts with prevailing housing estates and with an average incidence of indicators of socio-spatial segregation.
- Here we find the absolutely highest number of residents of whole Ostrava, living in prefabricated housing estates built in the 70ies of the last century. There are hardly any historical buildings there, and in recent years, there has been almost no construction activity. Flats in prefabricated houses are characterized by the lowest number of both m² per person and area (m²) per flat. In this locality, a slightly above-average unemployment rate, proportion of benefits in material need paid per capita and share of foreigners is observed. However, the occurrence of Roma population and the proportion of children under 14 years of age appear to be below average. The proportion of industrial areas is below average, too.

According to the results of the cluster analysis elaborated based on the selected indicators of socio-spatial segregation, a cartogram of typology of municipal districts of Ostrava was created.

MODEL OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS OF OSTRAVA SITUATION OF 2011



Source of data: Census 2011
Method applied: cluster analysis

Figure 16 Model of socio-spatial segregation in municipal districts of Ostrava, situation of 2011²⁹

²⁹ Source: own elaboration

Socio-spatial inequalities characterized by the selected indicators formed in the city a distinct model of social segregation, having a significant east-west gradient. The eastern part, composed mostly of old industrial districts, belongs to the most problematic areas of Ostrava with the worst housing, social and economic conditions, passing into the central part of the city with classic urban development (represented by older housing construction and prefabricated housing estates) whose population bears all the typical characteristics of urban population (high population density, small living area per person, unemployment). The whole western part of Ostrava consisting of former rural municipalities is thus an opposite of the inner city district. In these peripheral areas, lower population density can be demonstrated, caused mainly by presence of houses with a somewhat “less urban” way of life.

5.6 Localization Socio-spatial Segregation in Ostrava

Through qualitative and quantitative research, from the available statistical data and “desk research”, several socially segregated localities in the territory of the city of Ostrava were identified. These localities are scattered in many municipal districts which have a historical potential for their occurrence. It concerns primarily the inner and eastern part of the city in which coal mines and heavy industry were concentrated. Due to the poor-quality housing stock, housing exactly in these localities is in the long term allocated to socially weak inhabitants under housing policies of individual municipal districts and company owners.

Municipal districts of Vítkovice, Slezská Ostrava, Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz and Mariánské Hory a Hulváky can be considered as the ones most affected by socio-spatial segregation (see the elaborated model of socio-spatial segregation).

Within these districts, the following most significant segregated localities have been identified: Siroťčí and Jeremenkova osada, Erbenova, Nerudova, Tavičská and Štramberská (municipal district of Ostrava Vítkovice), Hrušov, Liščina, Zárubek and Osada Míru – Kunčičky (municipal district of Slezská Ostrava), Zadní Přívoz, Přední Přívoz (municipal district of Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz), Železná, Bedřiška and Červený kříž (Mariánské Hory a Hulváky), (also Kvasnička, 2010; Gabal, 2006). Apart from the above localities, there are several other socially segregated localities in the territory of the city of Ostrava, such as in the municipal district of Radvanice and Bartovice, Michálkovice, to a smaller extent in Ostrava - Jih and Poruba. Small-scale socially segregated sites can also be found in other districts of the city of Ostrava in which living in dormitories (mostly of private owners) is offered to socially needy citizens. These include e.g. facilities in municipal districts of Martinov and Nová Ves.

With regard to the large number of socially segregated localities in the territory of the city of Ostrava, only a minimum of them, of the most significant extent and severity, can be introduced here.

5.6.1 Vítkovice

The municipal district of Vítkovice is the only district of Ostrava which can be regarded as significantly socially segregated throughout its cadastral area. This fact arises out of the purely industrial history of this municipal district and the related socio-demographic development.

Construction and development of ironworks and of the Louis Coal Mine being built from 1891 triggered a large influx of new, mostly unskilled labour force. In the beginning, people came from the closest vicinity and later from remote regions of Moravia and Silesia, Bohemia, and from 90ies of the 19th century from Galicia (Eastern Europe), too. Due to the massive migration waves, in the Housing and Population Census in 1921, the number of inhabitants in Vítkovice amounted to 27 358 (Rumpel, Slach, 2012).

After liberation in 1945, the fragile balance of industry and public amenities started to be disrupted, and the lacking labour force was substituted by migration of particularly Roma population from Slovakia. Grand plans of the socialist economy clearly favoured industrial development to the disadvantage of the district, and therefore at the end of the 60ies of the last century, the residential locality of Vítkovice was condemned to gradual decay and liquidation. Vítkovice as a separate municipal district ceased to exist and became a part of the municipal district of Ostrava 3 (now Ostrava – Jih). The second half of the 20th century was not a propitious time for the district. This fact is evidenced by a large population decline (1961 – 16 907 inhabitants, 1971 – 11 272 inhabitants, 1980 – 9 555 inhabitants, 1991 – 7 292 inhabitants and 2001 – 7 518 inhabitants). Vítkovice became a separate municipal district again only after 1990 (Rumpel, Slach, 2013; data from the ČSÚ).

Social segregation of this district is most pronounced in localities which are surrounded by a certain type of physical barrier (e.g. a four-lane road, railway line, industrial site). The most frequently mentioned socially segregated localities of Vítkovice are Široťčí Street and Jeremenko Settlement and their surroundings. There are primarily one-storey or two-storey brick houses inhabited mainly by Roma population. In the past, these houses served as accommodation for employees of a nearby coal mine, which means that some Roma families have been living here for a long time. Over time, however, rent non-payers and Roma people from other parts of the city were placed into these localities under social policy of the city, which impaired long-term ties of the residents to this locality (Kvasnička, 2010).

The housing stock of this socially segregated locality comprises 10 residential houses, mostly belonging to the municipal district of Vítkovice which assigned a part of its housing stock to non-profit organizations (Centrom, Charita Ostrava). A part of flats in these localities belong to a private owner of RPG Byty, s.r.o. Tenancy agreements are concluded with residents only for a fixed term (6 months or 1 month). The flats are in a technically dilapidated condition, without private toilets and bathrooms. Statics of the houses is disturbed by cracks and ubiquitous mould. The above-named locality is inhabited by more than 700 people, of which 99% are Roma people with children under 15 years of age representing almost a half of them. The unemployment rate here is estimated at 99% and the majority of the population is dependent on social benefits (Kvasnička, 2010).

A similar structure of both the residents and the housing stock is also found in the other socially segregated localities of the municipal district of Vítkovice listed above. A number of non-profit organizations operate in the vicinity of these segregated localities, providing social activation services for the local residents, a low-threshold facility for children and young people and other social programmes.

5.6.2 Hrušov

Hrušov is a former industrial centre of chemical plants, located in close vicinity to the newly built D1 motorway. Its industrial character is further highlighted by a multi-track railway line and adjacent industrial premises, dividing Hrušov into a “front and rear” part.

During the Nazi occupation in 1941, Hrušov was connected to Silesian Ostrava. Ethnic and social structure of the municipal district considerably changed in those years. In 1961, Hrušov still had 7 278 inhabitants working primarily in local coal mines, the chemical plant and other industrial branches. Since 1980, Hrušov has been shrinking for several reasons. The main reasons were subsidence due to long-term intensive mining activity and subsequent damages to buildings (impaired statics of buildings), construction of new bridges over the railway line and related necessary demolition of buildings, loss of jobs caused by closing down the mines and the pottery factory (1966), and immigration and presence of socially excluded groups of inhabitants who deliberately gradually destroyed the already deteriorating buildings (Rumpel, Slach, 2013).

Economic transformation and restructuring after 1990 revealed a lack of competitiveness of the local enterprises (coal mines and the chemical plants) which were closed down and became

brownfields. The most important cause of the destruction of the north-eastern part of Hrušov and its depopulation was flood in 1997 (water level reached a height of 3 m) in combination with looting of houses during this natural disaster. Since this moment, Hrušov has been the most dilapidated part of Ostrava. However, due to the high fertility of the Roma population in the neighbourhood called “Na Liščině” (south-eastern part of Hrušov) and in the south-western part of Hrušov in Riegerova Street, the population census of 2001 showed no dramatic drop in population.



Figure 17 Socially segregated locality Na Liščině³⁰

The front of part of Hrušov is better preserved and consists in only one socially segregated locality of Pláničkova Street. The rear part of Hrušov is segregated primarily in the streets Riegerova, Pod Haldami and Verdiho. The rear part of Hrušov used to be inhabited mainly by employees of OKD, Chemické závody Ostrava – Hrušov (chemical plants), Ostrava – Hrušov and VŽKG. After the floods in 1997, a large number of original residents moved away from Hrušov because of the technical condition of buildings and subsequently mostly Roma families moved in there (Rumpel, Slach, 2013).

The owner of the housing stock in Hrušov was the Municipal Authority of the municipal district of Slezská Ostrava which founded its detached workplace in Riegerova Street. Employees of the Authority provided a public service here, implemented directly in the locality with volunteers focusing on after-school activities for children. The costs of this detached workplace amounted to ca. 1 million CZK per year. In the first year of the project, these costs were paid by municipal district of Slezská Ostrava. Subsequently, in 2009, the municipal district acquired 50% of the costs from the Agency for Social Inclusion, but it has also been the only grant awarded to the municipal district. Social work in this area was very complicated and expensive and therefore the Municipal Authority sold its buildings in the locality of Riegerova to a private owner and the detached workplace in the area ceased to exist. Residents who demonstrated competences in the field of housing obtained housing from the municipal district outside Riegerova Street. Presently, there is a high fluctuation of people in this area and the problems in the social field are still growing.

³⁰ Source: Tichá, Vondroušová (2013)

Representatives of the municipal district are currently negotiating with representatives of the non-profit sector about development of community work in the area of Riegerova. Tenancy agreements are concluded here only for a short time and fixed term. The houses are in a state of disrepair, as they are situated in the area which suffered the catastrophic floods in 1997. After these floods, the buildings were not treated and dried adequately, which resulted in occurrence of mould in almost all the flats. Plasters of houses are cracked, the common areas are untended and full of rubbish. Entrances are dilapidated, in individual apartments there are no bathrooms or running hot water, either (Marková, Tichá, 2012).

Almost all families from the socially segregated localities in Hrušov are dependent on social benefits and long-term unemployment reaches 97% here. In this locality, numerous socially pathological phenomena are present, such as crime, addictions (alcohol, drugs, gambling), usury, indebtedness and garnishment (Kvasnička, 2010).

5.6.3 Přívoz, Zadní Přívoz

Within the municipal district of Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz, mainly Přední Přívoz (about 850 people) and Zadní Přívoz (about 850 people) can be considered as socially excluded localities (also according to Kvasnička, 2010). The local part of Přívoz is characterized by a highly developed industrial and transport infrastructure leading to housing unattractiveness, which in turn incited formation of socially excluded localities.

Roma people were concentrated to Přívoz already at the turn of the 80ies and 90ies of the 20th century. Housing was cheap, easily available there. Therefore, at the beginning of the 90ies a significant Roma community had been living there and their numbers were growing in connection with migration of people from the city centre, streets of Masná, Stodolní, etc. (interview with H. Balabánová).

The problematic situation in the locality intensified during and after the floods in 1997, when the locality of Zadní Přívoz was largely flooded (up to a height of 7 meters) and with subsequent migration, many residents from Hrušov came to this locality. The strategy for tackling this issue on the part of the municipal district self-government has never been the same as the strategy in Slezská Ostrava. The management of the municipal district did not actively address the issue of socially excluded localities. Nevertheless, with the development of the non-profit sector, non-profit organizations, especially Jekhetane (1998) and Armáda spásy (The Salvation Army) (1991) began to operate in Přívoz, starting to develop their activities here with minimal support from the municipal district. Activities of the municipal district concentrated more on solving the housing issue, attempting to get rid of the housing stock in socially excluded localities by means of privatization. The new owners repair the houses in the locality and then increase rents for the residents, which in most cases are currently covered by the housing supplement (which is a benefit in material need).

Within the municipal district, there is an obvious pressure to force the socially excluded inhabitants outside the district, even at the cost of the ever-diminishing population of the municipal district. It followed from an interview with the Coordinator for Roma Affairs of Ostrava, Mgr. Jan Chytil, that the Roma Coordinator fulfils his tasks not only in the field of relations between the municipal district and the residents of the socially excluded localities, but also between the municipal district (Building Authority) and the owners of dormitories. Within the municipal district, local partnership meetings have never been implemented and relationships between the inhabitants of the socially excluded localities and the city management escalated in 2012 in connection with the planned eviction of the socially excluded locality of Přednádraží in Zadní Přívoz.

The socially segregated locality of Zadní Přívoz is completely separated from other residential buildings by industrial sites. From three sides it is surrounded by fenced industrial premises, while its front part is bounded by a guarded railway yard of the Czech Railways and on the other side, the locality is adjacent to a large industrial area (formerly a warehouse). On the left, the locality is bordered by embankment of the newly built motorway at a distance of ca. 50 m from the buildings.

Other residential buildings are situated at a distance of about 300 m from this locality. The housing stock of Zadní Přívoz was built in the interwar period by the Czech Railways for its employees. At this time, there were attractive, well-equipped flats there. Investments in maintenance and repairs of the housing stock were gradually reduced, so the houses in this area began to deteriorate and thus ceased to be attractive for railway employees, although they could live close to their workplace. Original residents started to look for new housing, e.g. in the newly built housing estates which at the time of their construction represented a high standard of living. In the early 90ies, the settlement of this locality began to change stepwise. Flats vacated by railway employees were rented to large Roma families whose members worked at the Czechoslovak Railways, but also to those who did not. Thanks to low rents and unattractive area, these flats were available especially for the Roma citizens who would have had difficulties to obtain a housing possibility elsewhere. For this reason, it is possible to identify this locality as an example of voluntary segregation of the Roma population, without any intervention by the city or the state. The devastating floods in 1997, when this place was flooded up to the level of the first floor above the ground, meant a crucial moment in the development of the locality. After the floods, the Czech Railways did not invest into repairs of these properties and the only repaired house was house No. 9 (owned by the municipal district of Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz). Technical condition of the buildings forced a part of the tenants to leave the locality, which enabled a new wave of immigration of Roma population, with even lower social competences. These were mainly Roma families from Bohumín or from Slovakia for whom housing in other localities was completely unavailable. The influx of new Roma families disrupted long-term relationships among old Roma residents, which aggravated the situation in Zadní Přívoz significantly. The owner of these buildings decided to sell the unattractive properties. Subsequent double privatization and unclear ownership relations have led to further devastation of the housing stock (interview with H. Balabánová).



Figure 18 Socially segregated locality Zadní Přívoz³¹

³¹ Source: Tichá, Vondroušová (2013)

Zadní Přívoz was inhabited by about 350–400 people, almost exclusively of Roma ethnicity with many children and often they were illegal migrants. The flats were overcrowded, with very poor sanitary conditions (e.g. clogged waste outlets, moulds, water distribution system breakdowns). Toilets in the flats were in most cases completely non-functional. Residents used solid fuels or so-called GAMAT heaters with natural gas for heating. In recent years, the technical condition of the buildings became intolerable (e.g. missing or broken windows and doors, missing transoms, demolished common areas, basements full of garbage, etc.), which made the Building Authority declare the houses uninhabitable (Kvasnička, 2010). In the middle of 2012, residents of this locality were asked to vacate the locality. For eighty-five percent of the local inhabitants, alternative accommodation was arranged. Two-thirds of them were provided with accommodation in a dormitory of Cihelní (municipal district of Moravská Ostrava a Přívoz), the rest of them in a Halfway House, with the Salvation Army, in flats of private owners or flats owned by the municipal district. In March 2012, a decision on demolishing the building owned by the city was made, which meant that the locality slowly ceased to exist.

5.7 Approaches to Solving Socio-spatial Segregation in Ostrava

With respect to the significant number of socially segregated localities in the territory of the city, Ostrava has to seek possible solutions to this problem. Currently, an Integrated Development Plan of the City of Ostrava, an Inclusion Programme, Community Planning of Social Services and Related Activities and extensive cooperation with non-profit organizations are existent in the territory of the city. As part of implementation of the Integrated Development Plan of the City of Ostrava, the municipal district of Vítkovice was selected as the part of the city most affected by social segregation. The project implementation involves a variety of participants from the public, private and non-profit sector with a view to revitalizing this socially problematic area globally, in particular revitalizing public spaces and repairing the housing stock.

The Inclusion Programme of Ostrava is a comprehensive programme of social services to contribute to integration of socially segregated families into the majority society. Local non-profit organizations cooperate with the city in the project, helping families to deal with issues of education and health care for children, adult employment and spending of leisure time, too. The basis of the project is a so-called social contract concluded between the Statutory City of Ostrava and a client, under which the client is provided with a flat to be used by the client subject to observing certain rules. The city then undertakes to create conditions which will ensure employment of adult family members, extracurricular activities for children and assistance with proper preparation for school. In this project, non-profit organizations not only provide social services but also become patrons of individual families. A contractual relationship arises between the non-profit organizations and families involved in the project, under which the families pay rent and services related to housing to the non-profit organization which subsequently forwards the payments to the account of the city. In this way, problems with paying rent and non-fulfilment of contractual obligations on the part of the client should be prevented (Portal of the SMO).

The above-described projects have helped to interconnect cooperation of the public sector with the non-profit one in addressing the problems of socially segregated localities. A further step of improvement was introduction of the process of community planning which has been since 2003 the main tool used by the City of Ostrava for planning and evaluation of social services. In 2003, preparation of the 1st Community Plan for Development of Social Services in the City of Ostrava until 2006 began. For the period of 2006–2010, the 2nd Community Plan of Social Services was elaborated, conceived similarly to the 1st Community Plan. The Third Community Plan was drawn up for 2011–2014. Community planning involves a variety of participants from the field of public administration, the non-profit sector, educational institutions, etc. All these involved participants interpret the situation as stable in the long term, stating that in Ostrava, there is

no space for emergence of other non-profit organizations. Criticism of the Community Plan of Ostrava is usually derived from the lack of public involvement in elaboration and formulation of priorities of the Community Plan. The Community Plan also includes an analysis of the needs of social services and their focus on the areas where the given service is most needed. In this way the city tries to respond to the changing needs of the people in socially segregated localities. Another significant item is the Catalogue of Social Services and Related Activities in the City of Ostrava which lists all providers of social services as for the given area and issue.

The city is presently developing a plan of providing social housing. The proposal envisages allocating 8000 flats of the city property to be provided to socially disadvantaged people, i.e. not only to Roma people but also the handicapped, single parents or seniors. For this reason, privatization of all municipal flats in all districts of the city of Ostrava is now suspended. At the same time, negotiations are underway between the districts about how many flats for these purposes they may set aside from the housing stock managed by them. Some districts have enough flats, while others privatized all in the past and now they have no flats available. When this concept will be put into practice depends on how quickly an agreement between representatives of the individual districts and the city is reached on the number of the flats to be provided and on the criteria for their allocation. City leaders have the political will to follow this project through. However, the problem may be the missing legislative framework for social housing and the related lack of financial means to finance this type of housing (interview with J. Chytil).

5.8 Conclusion

At present, the city of Ostrava is relatively ethnically homogeneous, but with a significant Roma ethnic group. Exactly the localities with a large proportion or the majority of Roma population represent socially segregated areas in Ostrava. These localities are situated in several municipal districts, but their size corresponds maximally to groups of houses or streets.

The process of industrialization which during the 19th and 20th century shaped the character of the town, both in terms of industrial development and in terms of the settlement structure and demographic composition of the population, can be regarded as the main factor of socio-spatial segregation. The first significant population growth could be observed between the years 1870-1940 when the number of population of the city of Ostrava grew fivefold (which meant an increase in population by 200 000).

Dormitories and labourers' settlements were built for these people in the vicinity of industrial plants in which they were employed. The quality of the available housing stock corresponded with the job classification of the migrants. It consisted mainly in quickly built brick or so-called Finnish houses without toilets in the flat, etc. Many of these houses were demolished in the early 50ies, but many have remained in their original form until today. The housing stock of this nature represents an essential factor of socio-spatial segregation because with its ageing and an increasing offer of housing in other localities, these areas have become the centre of concentrating the socially weakest groups of population.

The second major wave of migration of workers in heavy industry was recorded in 1950-1970 (the population grew nearly by 100 000). These groups of people very significantly affected the socio-demographic structure of the city. During this period, the first large group of Roma population moved to Ostrava, whereas many of these people came from rural areas of eastern Slovakia. Over time, these workers were followed by their entire extended families moving together, doubling the number of inhabitants of Roma ethnicity, and these residents concentrated in localities with poor-quality housing stock with low rents. The growing proportion of Roma population in the city of Ostrava gave rise to Departments of Care for Gypsy Inhabitants under individual District National Committees which continued the strategy of placing the newly arriving Roma to the above-described localities. This philosophy of the city outlived even the post-revolutionary transformation going on in the territory of the city as it was adopted by the new owners of the

housing stock. During the transformation, the individual municipal districts used the possibility of privatizing their existing housing stock, which considerably reduced the possibility of offering municipal housing to socially needy residents. As an alternative to social housing, former employee dormitories began to be used and after privatization they began to serve as permanent homes for socially excluded citizens. Their owners took the opportunity of receiving rent directly through social benefits of the residents, which means secured and regular income for them.

The City of Ostrava and the individual districts are aware of the issue of socio-spatial segregation, and through cooperation with the non-profit sector and creating concepts of housing development they seek to solve this situation at least partially. Despite implementation of a number of projects, there has been only a minimum success in influencing the situation in specific localities, but without paying attention to socially segregated localities, the situation would be even more unfavourable.

6 RESULTS OF A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HALLE (SAALE), OSTRAVA

A comparative analysis of socio-spatial segregation in comparison of the two cities of Halle (Saale) and Ostrava was made based on quantitative and qualitative research. When selecting and evaluating the indicators of socio-spatial segregation, the input data were optimized depending on their availability on the level of comparable boroughs or districts. In both case studies, qualitative research rested on a text analysis, semi-structured interviews and field surveys. Both cities were compared using the same tools, processes and procedures, the results of which can be divided into the following subchapters.

6.1 Influence of Historical Development on the Processes of Socio-spatial Segregation

Both surveyed cities have similar features in the context of historical and structural development. Halle (Saale) as well as Ostrava were representatives of industrial centres of their regions and their production was an important element of the national economy. However, their industrialization took place on dissimilar grounds.

With its size and historical development, Halle (Saale) represented a compact city, in whose cadastral area there was no space for construction of factories and large industrial plants. The mining and chemical plants were located in the immediate vicinity of the city, yet beyond the border of its cadastral area. In the territory of the city, only smaller enterprises of consumer industry originated, necessary for meeting the needs of its inhabitants. In the territory of the city, new residential areas and supporting infrastructure were built for workers in heavy industry. Industry itself did not disturb the compact historical structure of the city, only the socio-demographic structure of the population.

The development in Ostrava was different. Before the discovery of coal and the related development of industry, Ostrava was only a small town with about 1000 inhabitants. The rapid development of heavy industry was concentrated in a few villages near Ostrava (depending on the location of coal deposits), where industrial plants, residential areas and supporting infrastructure were emerging in immediate proximity to one another. These foci of development were concentrated in several unconnected localities which were gradually interconnected only in the course of the first half of the 20th century. Thus, an industrial metropolis was formed in a historically rural region but without historical traditions and ties of the residents to their neighbourhood.

Also in the post-revolution transformation period, both cities faced various problems. German economy adopted almost overnight principles of the market economy of West Germany, which led to immediate closure of industrial enterprises and related precipitous rise in unemployment. Due to non-existence of language barrier problems, a large part of the population of Halle (Saale) left after the reunification for other industrial regions in the old federal states in search of a new job for a better pay. The fundamental problem in Halle (Saale) consisted in extensive emigration, affecting ca. 100 000 people over the last 20 years. These residents left behind a large number of empty housing units especially in prefabricated housing estates from the 60ies to 80ies of the 20th century which remained in the possession of the city, and to the present day, they have constituted a sufficient capacity to meet the needs of social housing in Halle (Saale).

Transformation processes in Ostrava were of a slower nature. Plants of heavy industry were gradually privatized and their production was only limited. In 1994, black coal mining was terminated in the territory of the city of Ostrava, but the plants of accompanying production (e.g. coking plants) have been in operation to a limited extent until today. During the initial dismissals,

many workers from Slovakia (from the region of Čadca) lost their jobs, thanks to which the unemployment rate did not rise in Ostrava as dramatically as in Halle (Saale). Workers in heavy industry had only a minimal possibility to migrate for work to other industrial regions in the Czech Republic or abroad. Over the last 20 years, depopulation in Ostrava has reached only one third of the level of Halle (Saale).

Privatization processes in the field of the housing stock were significantly different in both towns as well. In Halle (Saale), privatization took place only within the obligations arising from the newly adopted Act on Old Debts according to which only 15% of the housing stock area had to be privatized. As a result, cities privatized only a minimum of flats primarily into the hands of the newly emerging housing cooperatives, not into the hands of individual owners. Nowadays, the housing stock of Halle (Saale) has a sufficient capacity for all the necessary forms of social housing which the city deals with. Despite this way of use, however, there is a large abundance of empty flats which the city has to demolish continually.

Privatization processes of the housing stock in Ostrava had a completely different character. Almost the whole housing stock owned by the municipality was during the 90ies and later privatized, both into the hands of new “small” housing co-operatives and into the hands of individual owners (existing tenants). The housing stock privatized in this way was almost completely renovated, only very dilapidated properties in socially excluded localities and flats owned by private companies remained unrepaired. The philosophy of minimum investments into the housing stock suits the housing companies, which means that the area with unrepaired flats becomes less attractive and in turn, these flats are offered to citizens having no opportunity to purchase their own home. The fact that they rent the housing stock to citizens dependent on social benefits produces a cause for deepening social segregation in the city.

The last but not least important factor influencing the process of socio-spatial segregation from the historical point of view is significant only in Ostrava. It is the large Roma community living in the city. This community has been continuously growing since the 50ies of the 20th century, always being concentrated in unattractive localities with poor-quality housing stock in which the majority population of the city is not interested. Despite the fact that not only Roma people live in socially segregated localities, their proportion in these areas reaches 80-99%.

From the interviews with experts in Halle (Saale) it followed that there is no problem with ethnic segregation in the territory of the city. In comparison to other German cities, the proportion of foreigners in the territory of Halle (Saale) amounts to 3.8%, whereas none of the ethnic minorities is dominant or problematic.

6.2 Perception of Socio-spatial Segregation

Generally, it can be claimed that perception of socio-spatial segregation in both compared cities (countries) is completely different. These differences arise from the historical context and the post-revolutionary changes which both countries went through.

In the East German context, the notion of socio-spatial segregation was relatively unknown. Following the example of a model socialist city in Halle (Saale), residents of different professions and education lived together in one housing estate. After the reunification, West German stereotypes not only of socio-spatial segregation but in all political, social and economic fields were adopted. In West Germany, this process was not interrupted by the period of socialism which deliberately wiped off all social differences. Already at that time, manifestations of socio-spatial segregation in West German cities had had clear features and a clear character. Cities were naturally differentiated into individual municipal districts (not always respecting the administrative boundaries) in which residents with similar socio-demographic characteristics voluntarily segregated themselves. Segregation manifests itself in its both positive and negative concept and is perceived as a neutral and natural process. Over the years, residents of Halle (Saale) accepted the described stereotypes

and they do not perceive the process of socio-spatial segregation as a problem. They refer to it only in connection with the existence of large prefabricated housing estates in the territory of the city where municipal housing companies allocate flats to socially needy residents. As for socio-spatial segregation, experts talk rather of exclusion of the “rich” than of the “poor”.

In Ostrava, the processes of socio-spatial segregation were present throughout the period of socialism. Although the socialist housing construction was of the same form as in Halle (Saale), i.e. the newly built housing estates were attractive for all professions and educational categories of the population, socially needy inhabitants were allocated flats in the original unrepared housing stock near industrial plants and in spatially disadvantaged areas. The process of socio-spatial segregation in this sense has been apparent since the 50ies of the 20th century and during the transformation period it became even more pronounced. In Ostrava, the perception of this issue is clearly associated with a negative concept and an idea of long-term excluded localities with prevailing Roma population. Housing estates in Ostrava cannot be seen as a factor of socio-spatial segregation as up to the present day, citizens of various professional, educational and age groups have been living there.

6.3 Localization of Socio-spatial Segregation

Although the localities affected by socio-spatial segregation in both surveyed cities are of different nature and size, some basic common features, decisive for formation of such a locality, can be identified.

An important localization factor is the distance from the city centre and a certain type of physical barrier. In both Halle (Saale) and Ostrava, the areas in question are at a greater distance from the historical centre or the city centre. Urban districts with housing estates in Halle (Saale) are located on the outskirts behind a major thoroughfare. However, due to the size of the described housing estates, locating them on the periphery was the only possible solution. The distance from the compact city is felt as multiplied because of wide vacant lots of undeveloped green and water areas. The housing estate districts are easily accessible thanks to their connection to public transport (trams, buses) and there is also sufficient accompanying infrastructure (shops, schools, kindergartens, etc.).

In Ostrava, the distance from the compact constructed area plays an important role, too, especially the existence of physical barriers surrounding these localities from several sides. These are mainly old industrial sites, coal mines or factories. Small socially segregated localities are often found in plots of land between railway tracks, in the vicinity of a motorway embankment or near mine dumps. Unlike Halle (Saale), the localities are not always on the periphery of the city, but especially there where industrial compounds were originally built (e.g. Vítkovice or Mariánské Hory are located in the inner part of the city). A characteristic feature of socially segregated localities in Ostrava is the absence of basic infrastructure, especially educational and health facilities. This can be explained in connection with the size of the segregated localities, amounting to several houses or maximally streets.

6.4 Approaches to Solving Socio-spatial Segregation

With regard to the different historical context, perception and localization of socially segregated localities in the territories of both cities, also the approaches to their solution vary.

The city management of Halle (Saale) does not perceive the process of social segregation as a current issue to be tackled. Socio-spatial segregation is not perceived as a state but merely as a natural process of the city development. In the city of Halle (Saale), no studies of professional or scientific nature addressing this topic have been elaborated. Although the city management realizes that in prefabricated housing estates, socially needy citizens concentrate, it only rectifies the situation through

accompanying social community programmes to improve the relations among the inhabitants of the locality. A more crucial problem is the process of continuous depopulation of the city and the related increase in vacant housing units, especially in high-rise prefabricated buildings which are for residents least attractive. Thanks to the "Stadtumbau Ost" initiative, efforts are made with a view to improving the attractiveness of the "most problematic" parts, consisting in gradual demolition or repairs of the prefabricated houses. At the same time, also revitalization of public spaces throughout the city is taking place. The priorities of the city government are in line with the priorities of the federal government, aiming with its programmes at eliminating the differences between the old and new federal states and equalization of the living standard of German cities.

The process of social segregation in Ostrava has a completely different nature, having its long-term development and currently causing social tensions in the territory of the city. Residents, the city management as well as the municipal districts are aware of the existence of socially excluded localities. Most socially segregated localities comprise areas raising fears on the part of the inhabitants of the city, which constitutes a safety dimension of the process of social segregation, which is in Halle (Saale) completely unknown. Relations between the inhabitants of segregated localities and the surroundings are tense, the crime rate in these areas exceeds the border of organized crime in the form of procurement, usury or distribution of drugs. An equally significant problem also consists in increasing activities of extremist groups which encourage evident conflicts. For this reason, the issue of socially segregated localities in the territory of the city is a very delicate issue which requires involvement of the city, the public and non-profit sector in tackling this topic. However, with respect to the depth and complexity of the problems, direct and simple solutions which would significantly rectify or improve the situation in Ostrava cannot be expected in real time.

The main step is global use of instruments of housing and social policy at the level of self-governments, combined with programmes of social and community work of non-profit organizations. Yet this effort has a chance of success only in case of synergy of several factors. It is necessary to establish cohesion of the local community in order to involve the residents in implementation of measures proposed using social projects. Participation of the residents in regeneration of the area in which they live can be considered as a basic prerequisite of its successful revitalization.

There must also be political will at the local level to solve problems of segregated localities rather than moving them elsewhere. Extinction of one socially excluded locality leads to the emergence of another. The aim of local self-governments should not be liquidation of the locality and eviction of its residents, but regeneration of the locality and inclusion of its population into the majority society.

Similarly, there must also be political will to solve the problems of social exclusion and the related socio-spatial segregation at government level. If the Housing Policy Concept is not sufficiently regulated by legislation, the result may be a situation when cities are ready to tackle the issue of social housing but there is no legislative framework which would provide legal protection not only for clients but also for cities and private owners. In connection with the non-existence of applicable legislation it will be very difficult to set conditions for financing of social housing from public budgets at the level of local self-government. The Housing Policy Concept, promising to address social housing, should be a basis for changes in social policy of the state, particularly in its approach to granting social benefits for housing or housing allowances. This measure could reduce the "poverty business" which mainly applies to private owners of dormitories for socially weak citizens.

In conclusion, it can be stated that tackling the problem of socio-spatial segregation is a long-term issue requiring systemic measures at all levels, as well as cooperation of all the participants – the government, self-government, non-profit organizations and particularly the people who are affected by these measures. If this problem does not become a matter of public interest and interest of political representations, achieving the desired results only through the use of technical and legal tools for dealing with socially segregated localities cannot be expected.

SUMMARY

This book deals with the process of social and spatial segregation as a result of the mutual influence of economic, social, political and cultural factors in society.

The research is based on quantitative and qualitative assessment of social and spatial segregation in two cities, Ostrava/Czech Republic and Halle (Saale)/Germany, with the aim to create a model of their spatial layout according to the individual urban districts, and to carry out a comparative analysis focusing on the description and evaluation of selected indicators of social segregation, on comparison of the identified segregated localities, and on the various approaches to the solution. The main sources of data for the statistical analysis were data from censuses and the basis for the qualitative research was obtained by semi-structured interviews with experts and by a field investigation.

On the basis of research results, it is possible to observe that the perceptions of social segregation in the two cities (countries) differ. These differences were shaped by the historical context and by the post-revolution changes both of the countries went through.

In the context of East Germany, the concept of social and spatial segregation was relatively little known. On the pattern of a model socialist city, people of various professions and with different attained education lived together in one housing estate in Halle (Saale). After German reunification, western stereotypes were adopted, not only in connection with the perceptions of social and spatial segregation but also in all the political, social and economic areas. In West Germany, this process was not interrupted by the period of socialism which intentionally suppressed any social differences. Manifestations of social and spatial segregation in West German cities already had distinct characteristics and nature at the time. These cities naturally fell apart into individual urban districts (that do not always respect administrative borders) where inhabitants with similar socio-demographic characteristics segregated themselves voluntarily. Segregation thus manifests itself as a positive as well as negative phenomenon and is perceived as a neutral and natural process. During the years, also the inhabitants of Halle (Saale) embraced the aforementioned stereotypes and they do not perceive the process of social and spatial segregation as a problem. They describe it only in connection with the existence of big housing estates within the city limits in which flats are allocated to the socially needy by municipal authorities. With regard to social and spatial segregation, experts speak about the exclusion of the “rich” rather than the “poor”.

In Ostrava, the processes of social and spatial segregation have been going on throughout the whole period of socialism. Despite the fact that the socialist housing construction here was the same as in Halle (Saale), i.e. the newly built housing estates were attractive for all occupational and educational categories, the socially needy inhabitants were allocated flats in the original dilapidated housing stock in the vicinity of industrial facilities and in spatially disadvantaged localities. In this sense, the process of social and spatial segregation has been traceable since 1950's and it further intensified during the transformation years. In Ostrava, these issues are viewed as clearly negative and are connected with the image of long-term excluded localities inhabited primarily by the Roma population. Within Ostrava, housing estates cannot be perceived as a factor of social and spatial segregation because even today, people with different education and occupations and from different age groups live here.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

a kol.	et al., and others
ALG I	Arbeitslosengeld I (unemployment benefit)
ALG II	Arbeitslosengeld II (unemployment benefit)
BA	Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Federal Employment Agency)
ČSD	Czechoslovak Railways
ČSÚ	Czech Statistical Office
e.g.	for example
etc.	et cetera, and so forth
FRD	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GWG	Gesellschaft für Wohn-und Gewerbeimmobilien Halle
HNWG	Halle – Neustadter Wohnungsgenossenschaft
HWG	Hallesche Wohnungsgesellschaft
i.e.	id est, this is
mil.	million
No.	number
OKD	Ostravskokarvinské doly
RPG	RPG INDUSTRIES, a Cyprian company owning the black coal mining organization of OKD
s.r.o.	limited liability company (Czech společnost s ručením omezeným)
SMO	Statutory City of Ostrava
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VŽKG	Klement Gottwald's Ironworks of Vítkovice

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN COMPARISON OF TWO CITIES (HALLE – OSTRAVA).

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