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Analysis of regulation of residential suburbanisation in hinterland of post-socialist ‘one hundred thousands’ city of České Budějovice

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Abstract. Residential suburbanisation is currently the most important urbanisation process transforming metropolitan areas in European post-socialist countries, especially in Central Europe and at Baltic states. The paper compares the statements of the mayors of the suburban municipalities situated in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice (a one-hundred-thousand city in the South-West of the Czech Republic) and also the local building officials, spatial planning officials and experts regarding the recent, currently on-going and upcoming construction of houses in the suburbs and the regulation of these constructions. Further, it discusses the possibilities of influencing the construction of the houses through the spatial plans of municipalities, settlement zones, and metropolitan areas. The interviewed mayors consider, rather uncritically, the recent large construction of houses in their suburbs in general as appropriate. One third of the mayors, however, do not want any further suburban development of this kind. Spatial planning officials and building officials do not have sufficiently powerful tools to influence the extent of the construction and the designs of houses in the individual suburban municipalities and their suburbs. Some of them, together with the experts, support the reintroduction of the metropolitan area spatial plan.

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1. Introduction

In the last two decades, residential and commercial suburbanisation have been the most significant urbanisation processes transforming metropolitan areas in Central European and Baltic post-socialist countries (Timár, Váradi, 2001; Tammaru, 2005; Kotus, 2006; Borén, Gentile, 2007; Tammaru et al., 2009). Suburbanisation brings irreversible changes in the settlement and landscape of metropolitan areas, which will affect the lives of future generations of inhabitants (Sýkora, Ouředníček, 2007). In the socialist era the suburbanisation did not take place there (Musil, Ryšavý, 1983 and others), the construction of housing estates on the peripheries of socialist cities cannot be regarded as the performance of suburbanisation. It is only Tammaru (2001) who speaks of a weak residential suburbanisation around Tallinn in the period of socialism in the 1970s and 1980s, and also Kubeš et al. (2009) around the city of České Budějovice. In mid 1990s, after about five years of the post-socialist development, a change can be seen. Around the biggest cities and later also one-hundred-thousand cities, there grow at first suburban shopping and logistic centres with the architecture of big boxes as investments of western companies (Nuisl, Rink, 2005 – around Leipzig; Sýkora, Ouředníček, 2007 – around Prague and Brno). A little later, in the last quarter of the 1990s, in the hinterland of the local cities residential suburbanisation starts to be strongly applied – Kotus (2006) in the hinterland of Poznań, Ouředníček (2005, 2007) Prague, Tölle (2008) Gdańsk, Tammaru et al. (2009) Tallinn, and others.

Under specific conditions of the hinterland of Budapest and East German cities it started a little bit earlier (see Kok, Kovács, 1999; Brown, Schafft, 2002). In East Germany it was also accompanied by a strong population shrinking of cities (Ott, 2001; Nuisl, Rink, 2005). In South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, with the exception of the hinterlands of capitals, residential suburbanisation is still weak.

Although spatial planning (in total physical, land use, infrastructure and environmental planning) and consequently the regulation of the construction of buildings in the Czech Republic and other Central European post-socialist countries had a certain tradition. The suburban construction of houses there is in connection with older settlements situated in the hinterlands of the cities. There are numerous urban-architectural and landscape-ecological problems. Spatial planners and building officials who should regulate the residential suburbanisation are still quite passive, as well as local citizens. Hoffman (1994) or Maier (1998) pointed out these facts in the 1990s. In the new millennium this topic has been professionally discussed in detail by Maier (2001), Nedović-Budić (2001), and Spilková and Perlín (2010).

Our department looks into consideration the urban-geographic aspects of the development of the metropolitan area of České Budějovice, one-hundred-thousand city situated in South Bohemia. One-hundred-thousand cities and their metropolitan areas are, regarding the population, economy and function, very important parts of settlement systems in the Czech Republic and also of the settlement systems of most other European post-social-

ist countries. Research of specifics of the residential and commercial suburbanisation in the hinterlands of these cities is therefore necessary. With regard to the smaller extent of the area and population of suburban hinterlands of these cities it is possible to carry out the research within their whole area.

The aim of this paper is to compare the views of the mayors of the suburban municipalities (a) located in the hinterlands of the city of České Budějovice regarding the recent (I.) and upcoming (II.) construction of houses in the suburbs and the regulation of this construction. These findings are supplemented with the views of experts (b), spatial planning officials (c), and building officials (d) of the metropolitan area of České Budějovice (I., II. – a, b, c, d). Further, it discusses the general options of the construction regulation of suburban houses and zones in the Czech Republic (III.), especially through the municipal spatial plans, spatial plans of the settlement zones, and metropolitan area spatial plans (III. – a, b, c, d). Due to the differences in the development and conditions of residential suburbanisation between North America or Western Europe on the one hand, and the European post-socialist countries, namely the Czech Republic and the hinterland of the one-hundred-thousand city of České Budějovice on the other hand, the paper at first deals with some peculiarities of post-socialist residential suburbanisation and its regulation (chapters 2 and 3). The simple typology of suburbs located in the hinterland of České Budějovice, presented in the methodological chapter (chapter 5), enables a better comparison and evaluation of responses of mayors.

What are the pros and cons brought by a large construction of the houses in suburban hinterland of the post-socialist one-hundred-thousand city of České Budějovice? Is it necessary to regulate local suburbanisation more through spatial planning? If yes, how? These are some of the questions which could be answered with the help of the interviews with local mayors, officials, experts, and also of the field research and literature. There have been some texts published which fully condemn the current form and extent of suburbanisation in the Czech Republic, and then also articles which perceive beside the negative also the positive sides of this process. The Czech rural and environmental researchers Baše and Cílek (2005) write, “The moment the vil-

lages, towns and the whole countryside began to recover from the communist devastation, they were affected by an unfortunate disease. It came to us from North America and Western Europe, which were affected by it half a century before. We are talking about the greedy devouring of the free countryside by the city and about the transformation of the villages situated near cities into shapeless suburbs without any spirit, identity and functioning social relations” – p. 18. However, Ouředníček (2005) also mentions the positive aspects: the improvement of the built-up land and infrastructure in the underdeveloped settlements, arrival of the young, educated, and wealthier citizens.

Literature, which refers to cities and metropolitan areas in the European post-socialist countries, deals with the suburbanisation quite often. About 14 % of the articles discuss this topic (Kubeš, 2013) and its subtopics (labeled A - H). They deal with the changes in the distribution of the population between the city and its hinterland (A). Other topics are suburban migration (B) – e.g. Kontuly and Tammaru (2006), Kährlik et al. (2012), Ouředníček (2007), Krišjāne and Bērziņš (2012); commuting to work and services from the suburbs to the city (C), e.g. Tammaru (2005), Ahas et al. (2010), Novák and Sýkora (2007), Krišjāne et al. (2012); demographic and social characteristics of the inhabitants in the suburbs (D); and including the coexistence of the old and new residents in the suburbs (E).

Less attention is paid in these articles to the changes in the spatial structure of the landscape in the hinterland of the cities caused by the suburbanisation and from this resulting ecological and aesthetic impacts (F) – Haase and Nuissl (2007), partially Hirt (2007), morphological and functional characteristics of the suburbs (G) – articles Hirt (2007) and Ouředníček (2007), commercial suburbanisation (I) – Sýkora and Ouředníček (2007), Lisowski and Wilk (2002). Topic (subtopic) of the paper – influencing the suburbanisation in the hinterland of the city by suburban stakeholders (H) – been processed these authors – Nuissl and Rink (2005) in Leipzig hinterland, Golubchikov and Phelps (2011) in Moscow, Kok and Kovács (1999) in Budapest or Hirt (2005) in Sofia (participation of the residents in the creation of the spatial (master) plan and planning the consensus). Ott (2001) is the only article which deals with suburbanisation in the hinterland

of a smaller post-socialist city (East German Erfurt) published in the internationally accepted journals. Such articles can also be found in the journals with national coverage, written in the national languages, which do not get into the global information bases.

It is mainly the metropolitan areas of the capital and other large cities in the Central European post-socialist countries where there are a lot of problems caused by a strong and insufficiently regulated suburbanisation. The reactions of spatial planning officials, of spatial planners, and of experts are delayed. The gained experience can be used for regulation of suburbanisation there where it is just starting, near smaller or more peripheral situated cities or cities in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. Some inspiration can be also found in North America (e.g. Seltzer, 2004) and especially in Western Europe (EEA, 2006; Couch, Karecha 2006; Halleux et al. 2012 and others), because suburbanisation in capitalist Europe has been developed on the basis of existing settlements in the hinterlands of cities. However, as Timár and Váradi (2001) or Leetmaa et al. (2009) state, the situation in the post-socialist countries, where the socialist urbanisation process was applied for more than 40 years, is specific and the regulation of local suburbanisation should reflect this specificity.

What is also important for the paper are the articles describing the transformation and the state of the systems of spatial planning in post-socialist countries. Among the countries there are, in these views, significant peculiarities, but on the other hand there are also some common features and trends. This topic was discussed in internationally accepted journals by Nedović-Budić (2001), where she recommends preserving some of the positive aspects of socialist spatial planning or Ruoppila (2007). A suitable model for education and ethical principles, and for the participation of the public in post-socialist spatial planning is searched for (Maier, 1994, 1998). It should build on previous practice (a former quality of spatial planning in the technical aspects, the need for continuity) and at the same time respond to the challenges emerging from pluralistic, market-oriented society. The arrival of new stakeholders into the process of spatial planning and development in post-socialist countries after 1989 is analysed by Hofmann (1994) or Maier (1998, 2001). They, however, do not focus on suburbanisation. The exception is the article by Halleux

et al. (2012) in which they deal with the impact on the Polish suburban environment. Such contributions can be found in domestic journals.

2. Some particularities of residential suburbanisation in the Czech Republic and other European post-socialist countries

In the late 1990s in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, the Baltic States, and to some extent in Poland, the construction of single family houses in the hinterland of larger cities was significantly expanded. Houses were built especially for younger, well-educated, and financially secure couples with children, who decided to move out from the city. They were looking for a quiet, more natural and more comfortable living in houses with gardens. These families could take advantage of newly created financial instruments: mortgages and building savings. Compared with Western Europe, in these countries residential suburbanization was significantly delayed, took place in parallel with the process of revitalization, gentrification of selected inner-city neighbourhoods, and with the ongoing decline in social status of housing estates in the city. More detail on this issue can be found in Kok and Kovács (1999), Tammaru (2005), Hirt (2007), Ouředníček (2007), Krišjāne and Bērziņš (2012), Krišjāne et al. (2012) or Kubeš (2013).

In post-socialist countries **suburbanisation** is considered a spatially structural change within the landscape of the hinterland of the city in which the representation of the built-up land significantly increases due to the construction of houses, commercial and other buildings. If, however, this is only expansion of a compact city through construction of buildings on its edges, we do not speak of suburbanisation but only of a city expansion (Sýkora, 2003, Matlovič, Sedláková, 2007, and other post-socialist authors). The suburbanisation process is also the suburban migration of mostly young, more educated and wealthier citizens from the city to its hinterland (Bański, 2005; Kontuly, Tammaru, 2006; Kährik, Tammaru, 2008). Consequently, this migration has impact on the structure of the population of the suburbs, as well as the intensive commuting

of the residents from the suburbs to the city to work and for services (the authors mentioned in the previous chapter). An integral part of these processes is the new suburban lifestyle of suburban residents. Using the model of the stages of urban development in the metropolitan areas for identification of the process of the suburbanisation (Van den Berg et al., 1982; the model is based on the changes in the number and the proportion of the inhabitants between the city and its hinterland) within the environment of European post-socialist metropolitan areas fails, because some of the “stages” of urbanisation taking place there occur simultaneously (Sýkora, 2003).

Ouředníček (2007) also mentions other specific and not such mass migrations from the city to its hinterland, e.g., moving from the city to second homes in the hinterland (see Leetmaa et al., 2012) or moving of the retired to the retirement homes situated outside the city. Kok and Kovács (1999), Kovács (1999), Hirt (2007) or Leetmaa and Tammaru (2007) mention moving of the poor from the city, e.g. from Budapest, Sofia, and Tallinn, into older village houses in its hinterland, where they can do small farming. The “suburban life” was practised during the socialism and even after 1989 in a specific way, also by those native residents of the rural settlements in the hinterlands of the cities, who worked in the cities and lived in the rural settlements in newly built single-family non-farming houses (see Timár, 1992 on Southeast Hungary; Rudolph, Brade, 2005 on the hinterland of Moscow). In socialist Czechoslovakia, Soviet Baltic states, and elsewhere, city residents built numerous recreational cabins in the hinterlands of the cities, which they used and still use in summer periods especially during holidays and at the weekends. Ptáček and Szczyrba (2007) describe this phenomenon as ‘seasonal suburbanisation.’

Especially in Bohemia, upper Saxony, and some other places in post-socialist Europe, in the hinterlands of the cities there was a dense network of smaller, originally rural settlements (villages), which originated in the Middle Ages. Post-socialist residential suburbanisation is based on these settlements. Inside and on the edges of these settlements, new houses are constructed for residents coming mainly from cities. If this construction is strong, then these settlements become suburbanized settlements, namely suburbs.

In this paper as **suburbs** we regard such a settlement in the hinterland of the city which meets three criteria: it has got at least one half of the flats in newer houses of the town character, in other words houses which have no agricultural parts and have been built in the past 40 years; at least 30% of the citizens have moved in within the past 20 years from the city or from nearby situated suburbs and small towns or from other cities; and at least 50% of its economically active residents commute to work to the city or surrounding suburbs and small towns. The newly established suburbs emerge there only exceptionally, which is also proved by Zębik (2011) on the example of Polish suburban environment. There are agricultural and forest lands remaining among the suburbs. These are positive signs of post-socialist residential suburbanisation.

In the Czech Republic and also in other neighbouring countries, municipalities usually consist of several settlements. A **suburban municipality** in this research is such a municipality whose main, largest settlement is a suburb, whereas the other settlements of this municipality can be most commonly suburbs or semi-suburbs or rural settlements. In general there is a whole range of definitions and methods for delimitation of a **metropolitan area**. In post-socialist countries the term ‘settlement agglomeration’ was formerly used Lisowski (2004). Inside the metropolitan area, outside the **compact city**, there is the **hinterland of the city**. The suburban hinterland of the city of České Budějovice can be divided into the belts of near-city landscape with suburbs, rural landscape with suburbs (longer distances between the suburbs, smaller suburbs), rural landscape with semi-suburbs. Semi-suburbs have got less demanding criteria compared to suburbs, hence, their gradual transformation into suburbs can be expected (Fig. 1). In another part of the hinterland of the city, in rural hinterland, there is rural landscape with rural settlements.

3. Selected aspects of spatial planning in the Czech Republic

The spatial planning of regions, municipalities and settlements and the subsequent permissions for the constructions of infrastructure and single build-

ings in the Czech Republic has got a tradition and a certain quality (Maier, 1998; Nedović-Budić, 2001; Spilková, Perlín, 2010). The most important document of this planning is the **municipal spatial plan**. It covers the whole area of a municipality, but it especially focuses on the built-up areas of municipal settlements. It sets the functional zones in the settlement, regulates the morphological structure of the settlement, organizes the technical infrastructure networks and local roads, determines the limits of the development resulting from the sanitary protection belts and protects natural areas, and finally it delimits the lands for the planned houses on the edges of the settlement. The mayor together with the whole municipal council initiate the elaboration of this plan, assign the content, comment on the gradual working out of the plan, and at the end approve it. The spatial planning officials from the Department of Spatial Planning at the District Office organize the work regarding the plan. The plan itself is elaborated by authorized spatial planner in several gradual steps, or more precisely, the company comprised of a team of planners for single environmental components. There are other stakeholders of spatial planning and development of municipalities involved in the process: local state authorities (protection of the nature, landscape and environment, civil defence, flood protection, etc.), maintenance of the technical and transport infrastructure, developers, other entrepreneurs, local residents, and civic initiatives.

In the Czech Republic it is possible to elaborate detailed **spatial plans for planned settlement zones** with regulation for constructions of the buildings. So far, however, this possibility is not used so much. **Metropolitan area spatial plans**, created during socialism era, were abandoned and later cancelled. Nowadays, the **county spatial plans** are developed. These, however, cover areas which are too large (the land area of South Bohemia is 10 thousand km²) with their metropolitan areas, smaller towns, and large rural areas. The county spatial plan does not deal with the settlement system. After approval the municipal spatial plan or the spatial plan for the settlement zone, an approximately fifteen-year-long phase starts. It is the phase of giving permissions for constructions of houses and other buildings granted by the building office, which is to be found in cities, towns, and small towns. The building officials grant or do not grant a permission to build

a house on the basis of spatial plans, regulation, and legislation. Names of some plans and stakeholders relating to the Czech spatial planning are adjusted in this paper and their characterisation is simplified, the reason being a better clarity. Among the post-socialist countries there are some differences in terminology, systems and procedures of the spatial planning, and permitting of the constructions of the houses. A lot of features, however, are similar.

4. Study area and its suburbs

The city of **České Budějovice** is situated on the Vltava River, 130 km to the South of Prague and 60 km to the North of Austrian Linz on the Danube River. Currently (year 2013) it has got in its continuously built-up area (compact city) 92,000 inhabitants in the area of approximately 24 km², whereas it was 99,000 inhabitants in 1997. The decline is caused mainly by the suburban migration. The city is the centre of South Bohemian County, with 10,000 km² and 640,000 inhabitants). The metropolitan area of the city can be delimited by the prevailing and strong commuting to work from the settlements to the city from the area of approximately 700 km² and encompassing 165,000 inhabitants). Within the Czech Republic and Central Europe this area has got a rather peripheral position. Inside the metropolitan area there is the study area, the suburban hinterland of the city of České Budějovice, approximately 310 km² and 52,000 inhabitants (Fig. 1).

In 2012 with the help of earlier defined criteria, suburbs (48), semi-suburbs (26), small towns in suburban hinterland of the city (5), and rural settlements (3) were delimited. All are arranged into three belts (Fig. 1). The suburban hinterland has got more or less concentric character with protrusions along the major roads. In the southwest it meanders into the aesthetically and naturally valuable landscape of the Šumava foothill. The small towns developing for 100 and more years as rural small towns “in the shadow” of the city; their cores consist of town houses and services for their residents. Contemporary migration from the city of České Budějovice to small towns is low, while commuting to the city of České Budějovice, on the contrary, is strong.

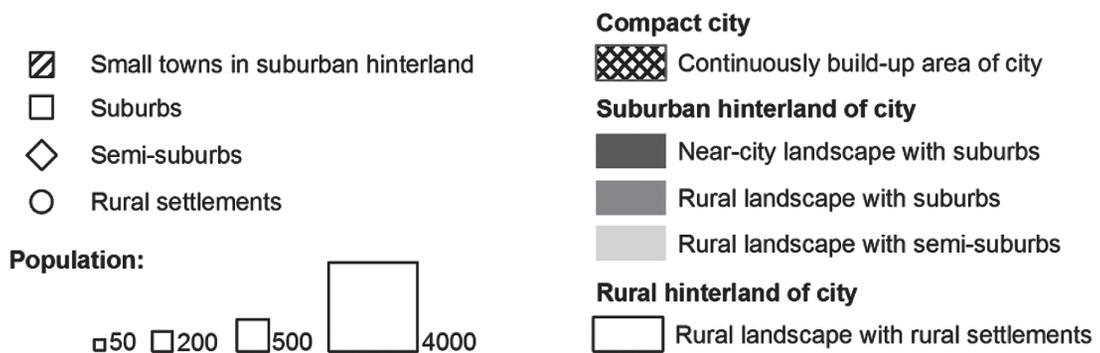
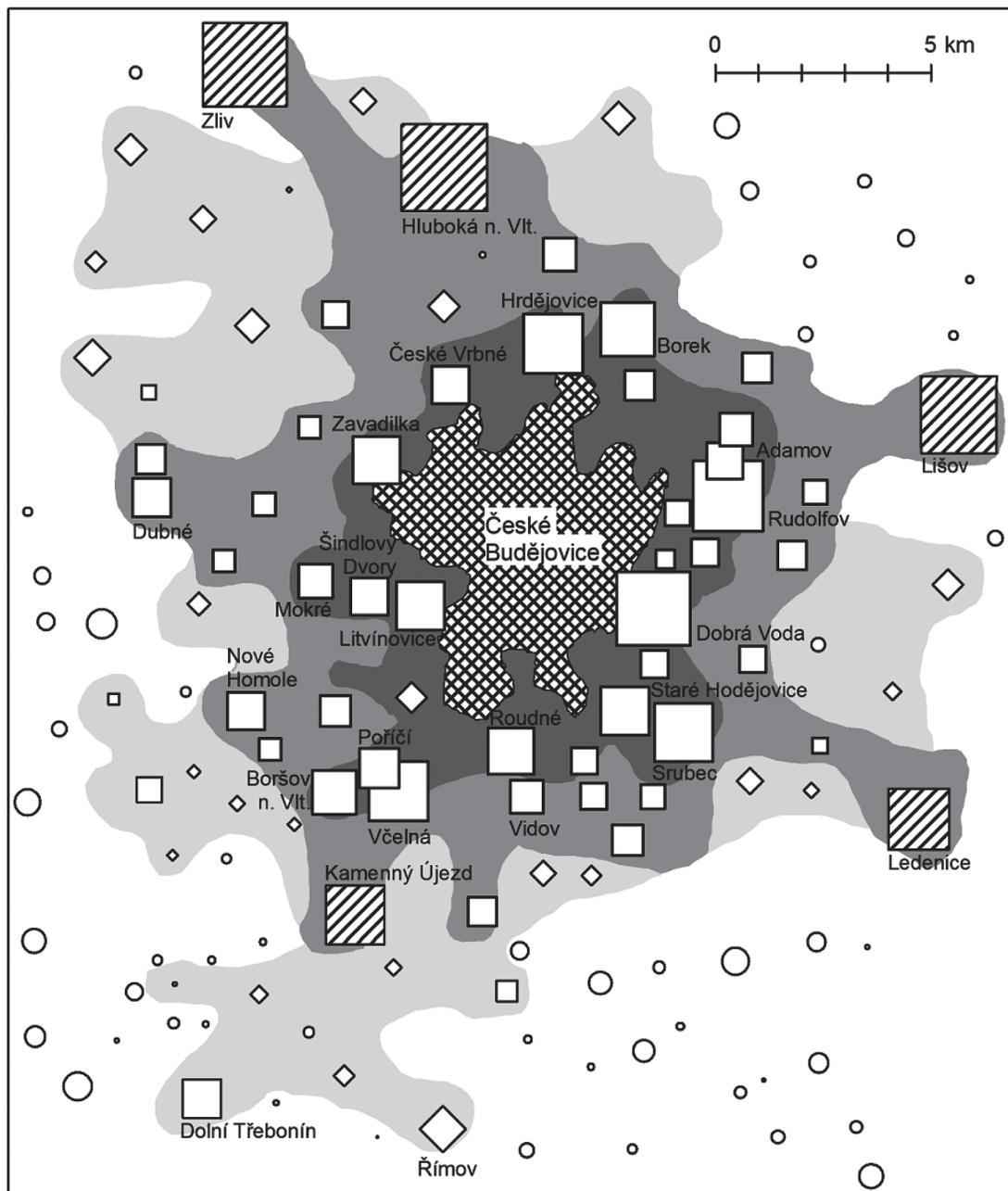


Fig. 1. Suburban hinterland of the city of České Budějovice (study area) with the types of settlements (2012)

Source: Own field survey and processing, technical assistance - Pavlíková, P. and Tomíček, F.

Unlike other Czech cities, in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice there was a weak residential suburbanisation already in the time of socialism, between the years 1970-1989, when the number of inhabitants increased by 4,300 and about a thousand of new flats were built. Still, in this period the compact city of České Budějovice grew in population from 75,500 to 96,000 inhabitants due to the natural increase and immigration from greater distances (Kubeš et al., 2009). The post-socialist residential suburbanisation in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice was starting slowly as its acceleration started in 1998. Between the years 1991-2012 the population of the current suburbs increased by 12,000 inhabitants and there were about 4.5 thousand flats built. In 2012 there was a total of 51,500 inhabitants of suburbs: 32,000 in suburbs, 5,000 in semi-suburbs, and 14,500 in small towns. When compared to other settlement types, the population of suburbs has got, due to the suburban migration, younger and more educated population, and there is also the lowest unemployment (Kubeš, Kraft, 2011).

One more comment to the non-residential suburbanisation, which is weak in the study area. For a very long time the city of České Budějovice has been awaiting the construction of the motorway Prague-Linz, which will cross the eastern parts of the metropolitan area of the city of České Budějovice. Also for this reason, the newer manufacturing and logistic zones were located especially to the northern and eastern edges of the city. On the northern edge of the city two large zones of hypermarkets have been built gradually since 1998. After 1989 there were only several smaller manufacturing and commercial enclaves built on the edges of the suburbs and small towns.

5. Methodology

Standardized interviews focused on the evaluation of the constructions of the houses in the suburbs and on the planning and regulation of these constructions were carried out with 34 mayors of the suburban municipalities located in the study area. The suburban municipalities often have two or more suburbs which are usually different. For this

reason the interview with the mayor was aimed at the main, largest suburb. A little bit less tied interviews were carried out with three building officials from the Building Office in the city of České Budějovice and with three spatial planning officials from the Department of the Spatial Planning in the District Office in the city of České Budějovice. There were also three South Bohemian experts on suburbanisation who expressed their opinions. Everything was compared with the reality which was determined by detailed field research, with the municipal spatial plans, and the results of the data analysis from the population census since 1970.

The monitored suburbs are rather diverse in terms of the population size, the occurrence of the negative effects of the residential suburbanisation, the extent of the available areas for further construction of the houses, and from other aspects. For this reason the statements of the mayors from certain suburb types were also compared: suburbs with small population up to 299 inhabitants in 2013 (9 suburbs, in the tables marked as “Small”), suburbs large in population with 1,000-2,499 inhabitants (10, “Large”), suburbs lacking in space for further construction of the houses (8, “Built-“), and the suburbs which are underdeveloped with respect to their spatial physical structure (8, “Problem”). The last group can be characterized by a chaotic arrangement of roads, by protrusions of the buildings into the surrounding countryside, by missing central spaces, etc. The classification of suburbs into the latter two types was made on the basis of the field survey and the analysis of aerial photographs. The mayors could provide multiple answers, these were then converted into shares. Several monitored suburbs belong to more suburb types. Some monitored suburbs were difficult to define and were not included in our typology.

The field research in the suburbs of České Budějovice was carried out in 2012. Within this research we took into account: houses and other buildings from the pre-socialist, socialist, and post-socialist periods; houses under construction; prepared plots for new houses with infrastructures; and also service facilities for the residents, commercial buildings, and areas (Fig. 2). Problems caused by badly regulated residential suburbanisation were mapped as well.

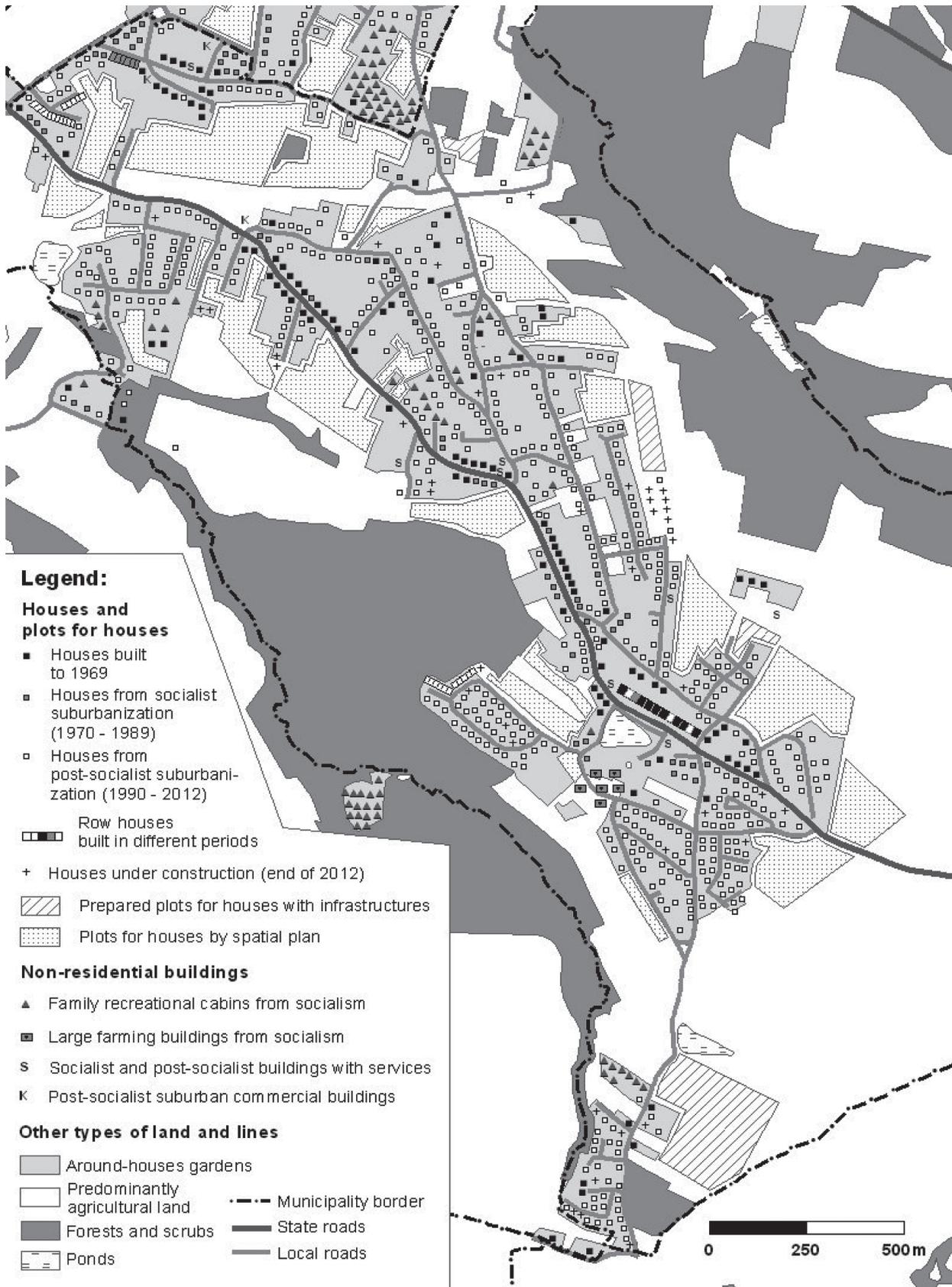


Fig. 2. Development of housing construction in the suburbs of Srubec and Stará Pohůrka up to 2012

Source: Own field survey and processing, technical assistance - Čejková J.

Figure 2 presented municipality of Srubec (1,895 inhabitants) with suburbs of Srubec and Stará Pohůrka, located in the belt of a near-city landscape, 2 km to the South East of the compact city of České Budějovice. In more places of these two suburbs, there can be seen inappropriate and poor quality architecture of some new houses, architectural mismatches among new houses and among new and old houses, and some inappropriate urban designs of new residential zones in the suburbs. This is a subjective evaluation of author of this paper. Also weak and inadequate technical infrastructure and roads or disruption of the character of the settlements and landscape were analysed.

6. Residential suburbanisation and its regulation according to mayors, officials, and experts

6.1. Recent construction of suburban houses and its regulation

The construction of individual villas for post-revolution parvenus in the hinterlands of larger cities in post-socialist countries since mid-1990s can be taken as a presage of the mass construction of conventional suburban houses. Numerous authors write about the construction of villas, e.g., Hirt (2007) about Sofia, Rudolph and Brade (2005) about Moscow in the form of 'kottedzhi.' These villas, large family houses on large lands, were built by post-revolution successful entrepreneurs, restitutes of larger properties, returning emigrants from the West, but also by the representatives of grey economy and so called asset-strippers. Due to their size, architecture, and large estates, these houses are usually not in harmony with the houses in the surroundings. In the Czech Republic, some villas were, unfortunately, built outside the compact settlements, often on a well-visible site "on the top" and in a location with a good view. The architecture of the villas from the early 1990s is often described as so called "business Baroque" characterised by turrets, dormers, balconies, balustrades, high wrought fences and gates, etc., presenting the gained fortune and position of their owners (Baše, Cílek, 2005). According to the field survey in the hinterland of České Budějovice,

there were about 80-100 villas built gradually, in the beginning without spatial planning regulation. In the 1990s the building offices were not able to regulate such, usually inappropriate, constructions (Nuissl, Rink, 2005). The interviewed mayors and building officials, nowadays, usually assess the problem of locations and designs of these villas either neutrally or are reluctant to give their comments.

The launch of the strong construction of ordinary suburban houses and their zones can be traced in Poland, the Czech Republic or Estonia since the last quarter of the 1990s (Kotus, 2006; Ouředníček, 2005 and 2007; Tölle, 2008; Tammaru et al., 2009, and others) thanks to concurrence of several supporting factors. These factors were mainly: restitution of estates to their original owners; the development of the land market; reduction of the agricultural land protection; creation of municipal spatial plans in the hinterlands of cities setting areas for suburban constructions; gradual emergence of upper middle class interested in suburbanisation; development of motorization; emergence of financial products supporting the construction of houses like mortgages, building savings in connection with state support of these products; extension of the assortment of building materials, craftsmen and construction companies; and eventually the development of the activities of suburban developers. In the case of České Budějovice and its hinterland, according to a part of the interviewed officials and experts, the current suburban construction was also influenced by earlier socialist suburbanisation, above-average representation of the population from the upper middle class, and also its well-known saving behaviour and entrepreneurial spirit.

Beside the hinterland of Prague, it is the one of the one-hundred-thousand city of České Budějovice that has been showing, in the past fifteen years, the highest level of the construction of suburban houses in relation to the number of new houses per inhabitant (Ouředníček, Čejková, 2009). Almost all settlements located in two belts of landscape around this city (Fig. 1) were affected by strong suburban construction and became suburbs. Houses were built inside the settlements and especially on their edges, usually in the form of zones of new houses. From 2004 residential suburbanisation has been penetrating also into greater distances from the city of České Budějovice, especially into those settlements which

lie in naturally and aesthetically valuable landscape (settlements in the Southwest – Fig. 1) or those near the major roads going to the city (settlements in the Northwest). The ascertained numbers of new houses and inhabitants and the extension of the newly built-up areas in the area of České Budějovice were surprising for both spatial planning officials and experts.

The mayors considered the recently realized strong constructions of the houses in their suburbs correct (94% of the mayors), and even in such suburbs where, according to our survey, there were inadequate conditions for these constructions. Some mayors were or still are involved in these constructions because they cooperate with land owners, developers or construction companies (Maier, 2001; Soós, Ignits, 2003). The interviewed building officials, according to their words, determine the location and infrastructure links, and in a rather restricted way also the design of individual houses. For this purpose they use the Construction Act and the municipal spatial plan. For a more precise regulation they usually lack spatial plans for the settlement zones. Spatial planning officials argued that they can see many of the negatives of the realized residential suburbanisation in the area of the city of České Budějovice, but that there is not much they can do about it because it is mainly the question of the legislation and the matter of the representatives of the municipality and of those who elected these representatives.

There are also numerous amendments in the effective municipal spatial plans linked to the extension of the lands determined for construction. These changes are initiated by developers and supported by the representatives of municipalities. In the study area a few citizens' initiatives focused on the issues of the municipal spatial development, but only two of these initiatives aim at the reduction of the further construction of houses in particular suburbs. Thanks to public awareness, the situation is getting better; citizens, their initiatives, and non-governmental organizations are still able to identify the interests of various lobbies when creating spatial plans, even when these are hidden in the form of 'public interests' (Maier, 2001).

The mayors reported the positives of the realized strong constructions of houses in the suburbs (upper part of Table 1). Especially the mayors be-

longing to "large" suburbs commented on the high financial revenues coming from the increase of the number of inhabitants. These are a portion of the proceeds of certain taxes which the state sends to municipalities and the municipal income from various fees. Most mayors (63%), however, did not stress this issue to be positive. The number of inhabitants in suburbs is in reality higher. According to the mayors 5 to 15% of new house users are not registered in suburbs and municipalities have no income from them, although they use local infrastructure and services. About one fifth of the mayors pointed out that it is the arrival of predominantly young and educated citizens with children which is positive. In other countries these arrivals are discussed by Baňski (2005), Matlovič and Sedláková (2007) and Kährlik and Tammaru (2008), as these enlivened the suburbs and also helped to fill the capacity of kindergartens and elementary schools. Especially in those suburbs where there were earlier great investments into technical infrastructure, the mayors commended the use of the infrastructure by a higher number of the users (Table 1). Experts and building officials saw the positives in the improvement of the buildings and infrastructures.

The negatives of the residential suburbanisation were also diverse (lower part of Table 1). They were linked with the conditions in a particular suburb and its surrounding and were influenced by the attitudes and experience of individual mayors. About one third of the mayors complained about the higher costs associated with the operation of the infrastructure of the suburb and also the need of its further construction – 22.3% + 9.6%. On the contrary, some other mayors spoke of the positives associated with the technical infrastructure (upper part of Table 1). Five mayors answered that it is especially new residents who require from the municipality representation the creation of new services, namely creation of kindergartens, sports fields, socio-cultural facilities, and playgrounds. Professional literature and press discuss the question of coexistence of the original and new residents in the suburbs. This problem was reported by only 3 out of 34 interviewed mayors. The most probable reasons for this are: a small proportion of the originally rural agricultural inhabitants, other original rural inhabitants are bound to the city due to their work on the every-day basis, and the resi-

dential suburbanisation brought the new residents there already in the 1970s and 1980s. The survey in the hinterland of Prague (Ouředníček, Puldová,

2009) also showed quite fast accustoming of the newly arriving residents with the original ones of the suburbs.

Table 1. Positives and negatives of the recent strong construction of houses in the suburbs according to the mayors (construction 2000 – 2012)

	Total	Types of suburbs (selected suburbs)			
		Small	Large	Built-	Problem
Positives of the recent strong construction					
Increase of the revenues for the municipality from the increase in the population	37.0%	16.6%	42.5%	26.0%	31.3%
Arrival of young population, filling the schools	19.9 %	29.7%	22.5%	26.1%	12.5%
Better use and further expansion of the technical infrastructure	13.7%	29.6%	5.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Increase in number and proportion of the population with higher education	5.1%	7.4%	2.5%	7.3%	0.0%
Other positives – total	9.6%	5.6%	7.5%	28.1%	18.6%
There are no positives	11.8%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	37.6%
Unable to answer	2.9%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Negatives of the recent strong construction					
Higher costs for infrastructure operation and maintenance	22.3%	11.1%	40.8%	12.5%	28.1%
Necessity of further construction of the technical infrastructure	9.6%	16.7%	7.5%	6.3%	15.6%
Lack of the services for larger population	14.5%	0.0%	10.8%	10.4%	21.9%
Bad coexistence of the original and new residents, anonymity	9.3%	0.0%	13.4%	16.7%	0.0%
Dust, noise and damages to roads during the construction of houses	8.8%	16.7%	0.0%	12.5%	12.5%
Emergence of the architectural and urban discrepancies	7.3%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other negatives – total	10.6%	11.1%	7.5%	16.6%	9.4%
There are no negatives	17.6%	33.3%	20.0%	25.0%	12.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Explanation: The mayors could give multiple answers, these were then converted into shares. “Large”, “Small”, “Built-“ and “Problem” suburbs – see the methodological chapter. Several monitored suburbs belong to more suburb types. Some monitored suburbs were regarding the type undefined and were not included in any of the types.

Source: Interviewing the mayors of the suburban municipalities located in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice in the years 2011 and 2012.

A badly regulated suburbanisation can be found especially in the belt of the near-city landscape (Fig. 1), which was uncovered by findings from the field survey and analysis of aerial photographs. Some suburbs there merge with each other into a form of larger urban spaces which were described by the interviewed experts as territories with unreadable urban structure, where there arose, due to the bad regulation, chaotic fragmentation of the functional patches, and where there are family houses bordering upon the industrial, logistic, and service objects. Based on the field sur-

vey, the analysis of the aerial photographs and spatial plans we have found that in the surroundings of 56% of all suburbs there are currently no other larger areas for further constructions of houses. In 43% of these suburbs there are serious problems arising from the badly regulated suburbanisation. Some local inhabitants, who were seeking calm living outside the city in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, have been lately moving into greater distances from the city of České Budějovice (information provided by the mayors and building officials). The near-city landscape around the city of České Budějovice will

also soon be affected by the construction of the motorway and motorway feeder roads, and subsequent construction of commercial buildings.

The suburban developers' activities have been gradually intensified within the study area since 2002. According to the mayors there were 41% of new houses built by developers: lands purchasing, parcelling, bringing the infrastructure to building plots, and partially also constructing of new houses. In the hinterlands of Prague and other large cities this proportion is higher as well as the proportion of the 'turnkey project' constructions. The mayors in the beginning did not know how to negotiate with the developers so that the developers would also build something more for the suburbs and the municipality. The developers had and still have a well worked-out strategy of promises and holding back or trivialisation of the future problems (Baše, Čílek, 2005; Spilková, Perlín, 2010). It was not until later when the practice of a gratuitous transfer of infrastructure, built by developers, to the municipal property was introduced. The mayors are glad that developers provide complicated planning, approvals, and implementation of infrastructure. Developers are especially interested in the profit and, therefore, in the study area and also in other places where they implement a dense housing construction in the zones with smaller plots without public spaces such as parks, playgrounds or seating areas. These are proved by the findings from the field survey, plan analysis and information given by the planning officials and experts. In the study area there were only two more important cases in which developers helped municipalities: reconstruction of the village square and reconstruction of the municipal kindergarten. It is rare that municipalities, when selling their lands to the developers, can add some conditions to the sale with future implementation of public spaces.

6.2. Upcoming construction of suburban houses and its regulation

In about one half of the effective spatial plans of the suburban municipalities there are unreasonably large areas intended for further construction of houses, from space structural and environmental point of view. Moreover residential suburbanisation

in recent years has not been so strong. The mayors want in this way to create 'opportunities for further development of the municipality.' This 'expansion' is demanded by the owners of so far undeveloped lands as they may significantly increase their value, or by the developers and the representatives of municipalities cooperating with them. The carried out spatial plan analyses show that in one quarter of the suburbs the future construction should be small (there are areas intended for the construction of 25 houses at most), in one third medium-large (26-50 houses, which means about 2.5 houses a year during a fifteen-year effect of the plan), in 9% large (51-75 houses), and in one third of the suburbs very large (76 houses and more). The largest and at the same time the most problematic development projects of new suburban residential zones are being prepared in Branišov (in the surrounding agricultural landscape there should be constructions of up to 800 houses) and in Srubec (up to 600 houses on so far undeveloped areas demonstrated in Fig. 2). The spatial planning officials said that they can influence the strong expansion of the suburbs into the surrounding landscape only little, only through limits (flood control, soil conservation, etc.) arising from the law.

The data from the Czech Statistical Office show a currently decreasing number of completed houses in the suburban municipalities in the study area as in 2012 there was a 22% decrease in comparison with 2008, and hence they issued building permissions. A decline can also be found in the hinterland of Prague and Estonian Tallinn (Kährík et al., 2012). The reason is the continuous economic crisis with all its impacts, and also certain satisfaction of the demand for suburban housing as most of those who longed for such housing in the past and could afford it had already purchased it. Another factor counteracting the residential suburbanisation in the study area is the beginning reurbanization of the inner city of České Budějovice where some adult children of the parents living in the suburbs move to, as they do not want to be separated from the inner-city events any more (Temelová et al., 2012). In East Germany residential suburbanisation was growing weaker already with the onset of the new millennium (Nuisl, Rink, 2005). The beginning reurbanization and weakening suburbanisation can also be found in shrinking Leipzig (Haase et al.,

2012). Theoretical basis of shrinking East German cities and its urban planning was presented by Budosó and Kovács (2012).

Recent construction of houses was approved by the mayors (see the first subchapter). Also the upcoming construction is supported by the majority (71%) of the mayors, but there are nearly 12% of those who are not so sure about this support and almost 18% of the mayors do not support this strong construction of houses in the suburbs (Table 2). The mayors belonging to “small” suburbs support

the construction in general at most. What is surprising is still a large support by the mayors belonging to “large”, “built-” and also “problem” suburbs. However, they also said that there has been some pressure from developers, land owners, and some representatives to continue in the construction. The interviewed experts and one spatial planning official prefer differentiated restriction of further construction of houses in individual settlements located in the hinterland of the city based on the metropolitan area spatial plan (see next subchapter).

Table 2. Support of further, larger construction of houses in the suburbs according to the mayors (construction after 2012)

	Total	Types of suburbs (selected suburbs)			
		Small	Large	Built-	Problem
Absolutely supporting the construction	32.4%	22.2%	40.0%	37.5%	37.5%
Rather supporting the construction	38.2%	66.7%	30.0%	37.5%	25.0%
Neutral attitude to the construction	11.8%	11.1%	0.0%	12.5%	25.5%
Rather not supporting the construction	11.8%	0.0%	20.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Absolutely not supporting the construction	5.8%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	12.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Explanation: The mayors could give multiple answers, these were then converted into shares. “Large”, “Small”, “Built-“ and “Problem” suburbs – see the methodological chapter. Several monitored suburbs belong to more suburb types. Some monitored suburbs were regarding the type undefined and were not included in any of the types.

Source: Interviewing the mayors of the suburban municipalities located in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice in the years 2011 and 2012.

An interesting study on the residential suburbanisation in the hinterland of Budapest in the 1990s (Kok, Kovács, 1999) identified four attitude types of the municipal representatives towards the suburban construction of houses and migration: (aa) a strong antipathy towards the newcomers and no creation of the conditions for the construction; (bb) neutral attitude, which prevailed; (cc) positive attitude after finding out that there were certain benefits for the municipality associated with the land plotting for the construction such as increase in revenues in the municipal budget; and finally (dd) absolutely supporting attitude which sees the residential suburbanisation as the key for the municipality development. These attitude types can also be found in the study area of the hinterland of České Budějovice. Currently the most frequent attitude type there is the type “cc”, but everything is in progress. It is necessary to take into consid-

eration the time interval between both surveys and also the differences between both suburban hinterlands.

Most mayors (68%) admitted that the anticipated construction of houses can cause problems for the suburbs (Table 3). A part of the mayors (more than 38%) believe that some problems resulting from the anticipated strong suburban construction can be prevented by enforcement of the regulation included in the spatial plans in cooperation with the building office (Table 3). It is necessary to prepare the electricity network and pipeline on the land in advance and also by the future residents requested gas and sewerage system (similarly Kährík et al., 2012 in the hinterland of Tallinn). In some suburbs, however, the systems of technical infrastructure do not have sufficient quality and capacity. The experts pointed out the high costs associated with the construction or extension of sewage treatment plants

as only some suburbs can be connected to the city sewerage system. What is surprising is the fact that more than one fifth of the mayors were not able to answer the question presented in the Table 3.

Table 3. Ways of preventing and solving the problems of the upcoming construction of houses in the suburbs according to the mayors (construction after 2012)

	Total	Types of suburbs (selected suburbs)			
		Small	Large	Built-	Problem
Thorough enforcement of the regulation in spatial plans	22.0%	22.1%	30.0%	12.5%	25.0%
Cooperation of the municipal representatives and the building officials	16.2%	22.1%	10.0%	25.0%	12.5%
Increasing the capacity and improving the technical infrastructure	10.2%	11.1%	20.0%	0.0%	12.5%
Involving the new residents in the life and development of the municipality	5.9%	0.0%	10.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Obtaining grants from the EU, state or county for problem solving	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Municipality does not have possibilities to solve problems	11.8%	11.1%	10.0%	25.0%	12.5%
There will be no problems with the construction	11.8%	11.1%	10.0%	0.0%	12.5%
Unable to answer	20.6%	22.3%	10.0%	25.0%	25.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Explanation: The mayors could give multiple answers, these were then converted into shares. “Large”, “Small”, “Built-“ and “Problem” suburbs – see the methodological chapter. Several monitored suburbs belong to more suburb types. Some monitored suburbs were regarding the type undefined and were not included in any of the types.

Source: Interviewing the mayors of the suburban municipalities located in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice in the years 2011 and 2012.

There are only a few places where the suburbs border on each other or the suburbs border on the compact city. Most mayors, according to their statements, coordinated the interconnection of the networks of technical infrastructure with the neighbouring municipalities. However, the field survey identified some negative connections in the construction of the infrastructure on the borders of the municipalities: local roads and streets, and the sewerage distribution system. The connections are controlled by spatial planning officials.

6.3. General possibilities of the regulation of residential suburbanisation through metropolitan, municipal, and settlement zone spatial plans and legislation

In the Czech Republic the urban planning of towns has a tradition and usually adequate quality. Procedures of the creation and negotiations regarding spatial plans of towns were used in the 1990s for the creation and negotiation of spatial plans for ru-

ral and suburban municipalities for which they had not been made before. It was not until later when some planners together with spatial planning officials from the District Offices found a suitable way to adjust the procedures of the spatial planning to the size, function, morphology and other specificities of rural and suburban municipalities and their settlements. Do the currently used creation procedures and negotiations of the municipal spatial plans need any adjustments? If yes, which? This was another question which the mayors were asked (Table 4).

In total 59% of them answered that no adjustments are needed and almost 15% were unable to answer this question. More than 26% of the interviewed mayors did express some proposals, but they were diverse and some of them were in contradiction (regulation demands). This also proves that the mayors do not know the difficult issues of spatial planning well and they are not educated in it. According to several mayors, but also some experts and most spatial planning officials, it is necessary to bring into accord, in terms of time and facts, the creation and negotiation

of municipal spatial plans and spatial plans for settlement zones. Nedović-Budić (2001) draws attention to the imperfections of the spatial planning at the level of zones of settlements in the Czech Republic.

According to the experts it would not be beneficial either to simplify and accelerate the creation and negotiations of suburban spatial plans, as some mayors wish (Table 4, line 2 and 4).

Table 4. Necessary adjustments to the creation of the municipal spatial plans and permitting the construction of individual houses according to the mayors.

	Total	Types of suburbs (selected suburbs)			
		Small	Large	Built-	Problem
Adjustments to creating and negotiating the spatial plans					
To make plans for the municipality and its settlement zones simultaneously	10.3%	0.0%	15.0%	6.2%	6.2%
To simplify and accelerate the creation and negotiation of the plan	7.4%	0.0%	15.0%	18.8%	6.2%
To set more demanding regulation in the plans	4.4%	0.0%	0.0%	6.2%	18.8%
To set less demanding regulation in the plans	2.9%	0.0%	10.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Other adjustments	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	6.3%	6.3%
No adjustments needed	58.8%	78.0%	40.0%	50.0%	37.5%
Unable to answer	14.7%	22.2%	20.0%	0.0%	25.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Adjustments to permitting the construction of individual houses within the area					
The consent with the house construction of the representatives of the municipality is necessary	11.8%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	25.0%
To require a positive evaluation of the architecture of the house by an expert	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%
To set higher penalties for not meeting the regulation in the plans	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%
No adjustments needed	64.7%	77.8%	70.0%	87.5%	37.5%
Unable to answer	14.7%	22.2%	10.0%	12.5%	12.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Explanation: The mayors could give multiple answers, these were then converted into shares. “Large”, “Small”, “Built-“ and “Problem” suburbs – see the methodological chapter. Several monitored suburbs belong to more suburb types. Some monitored suburbs were regarding the type undefined and were not included in any of the types.

Source: Interviewing the mayors of the suburban municipalities located in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice in the years 2011 and 2012.

At the bottom of the Table 4 the figures show the mayors’ opinions on the need of the amendments of the current legislation regulating the construction permissions of individual houses within the area after the approval of the spatial plans. Fewer than 12% of the mayors wished that it was also them, or more precisely the municipal representatives, who, beside the Building Office, approve the construction of every house. This would not be, according to the experts, the right decision, because if a builder submits a project which meets the regulation stated by the approved plan, they should obtain the permission for construction.

Only 3 mayors, a minority of the spatial planning officials, but all experts stated that the regulation for the construction of houses set in spatial plans should be more demanding (Table 4) and they should take into account more of the specificity of a particular suburb. Usually, it is only the spatial arrangement and the size of the plots, the location of the individual houses on these plots, number of house floors and sometimes also the arrangement of the house roofs or the form of the fencing that are set. The capacity of the houses, their external architecture, used building material and its colour are not usually regulated. We also noticed one in-

interesting answer given by one mayor, “the insufficient regulation results in devaluation of the living environment and therefore also the residents’ properties.” If a builder of a house does not meet a regulation, their house is, after a potential penalty, given the final inspection in addition, or this problem is made legal by an additional amendment of the plan. This is how two mayors criticised the work of the Building Office. Illegal constructions of houses in the Czech Republic are exceptional (compare the findings from the Balkan countries – Žegarac, 1999 or Nase, Ocakci, 2010). In the suburbs of the study area, and also in other places within South Bohemia, there are houses with architecture which was copied from catalogues by foreign architects usually from Germany, France, Italy, etc. Traditional South Bohemian architectural shapes and forms are not, unfortunately, applied to the newly built houses in the study area. Guaranteeing the architectural harmony with the neighbouring original rural houses is required only if these houses are acknowledged as architectural sights. The mayors usually stated that they do not want to limit the builders too much.

The experts discuss the problem of conversion of the second homes into permanent homes especially in the hinterland of Prague (Ouredníček, 2005, 2007) and also Estonian Tallinn (Leetmaa, Tamaru, 2007; Leetmaa et al., 2012). There are a few places within the study area where the suburbs turned into clusters of recreational and garden cabins (see Fig. 2). A part of the cabins keeps its shape and function; others are converted into houses, which is often without permission. Cabin owners claim that they want to use the cabin for recreation throughout the whole year and that is the reason for the reconstruction. Other problems which also emerge are problems of architectural harmony between the cabins and houses, there are difficulties with leading roads and sewerage system to/from the converted objects. It is a problem of a mixture of individual recreation and housing.

Every year in the Czech Republic the construction of houses and roads irretrievably absorbs about 5000 ha of agricultural land. Therefore, under socialism a strict act was applied in order to prevent construction of houses on agricultural, in particular arable land of high quality. The act was considerably mitigated in the first half of the 1990s. Even the current act allows to prohibit the construction

on high quality agricultural land (Spilková, Šefrna, 2010), but according to the interviewed experts a whole range of exceptions can be applied and the law enforcement is not thorough. Mayors who are working in municipalities with agricultural tradition or who are environmentally friendly try to stop the construction of houses on the agricultural land. However, there are more than a half of the mayors who consider the loss of the land an ‘inevitable tax’ of the suburban development. Experts and spatial planning officials require significant taxation for the conversion of agricultural land into construction plots or the obligation to seek building plots within the residential areas and brownfields in the settlements. They also require the obligation to create the lost agricultural land somewhere else on some non-agricultural land.

Currently, municipalities do not own larger areas which could be used as building plots, which was confirmed by answers given by a vast majority of the mayors. The developers who purchased the land from restituents, those who returned to the land confiscated in the period of socialism, try to use a bit of the land for construction. The developers do not create new public spaces like small parks and water bodies, playgrounds, etc. as they see no profit coming from them. Neither the mayors, nor the spatial planning officials, nor the spatial planners have any tools which would help them to enforce the creation of such public spaces. They, together with the experts, would appreciate the adoption of such legislation which would help them to secure the creation of new public spaces. These spaces should support the meeting of inhabitants, should have identity, symbolism, aesthetic value, etc. (Vaišhar, Zapletalová, 2007).

The re-introduction of spatial plans for metropolitan areas would be a significant contribution to the regulation of suburbanisation in the hinterland of České Budějovice. This is what experts and some spatial planning officials claim. Such plans should determine, e.g., the areas which are not supposed to be built up, urban growth boundaries (Bourne, 1997; Seltzer, 2002), and the maximum of the areas destined for the construction of houses in individual settlements. It would enable placement of the construction of houses into the belts with suburban railway connection, into small towns thanks to the support of the polycentric settlement system

(Champion, 2001; Gaschet, 2002), to areas located outside the agricultural land of high quality, and outside recreation areas. The regulation should be set reasonably so that they would not curb local activities. Nedović-Budić (2001) or Spilková and Perlín (2010) criticize inadequate coordination and the lack of strategic visions of spatial planning at the metropolitan level in the post-socialist Czech Republic.

However, not even one of the mayors wanted the metropolitan area spatial plan of České Budějovice, if it existed, to set how many houses can be built in individual municipalities and settlements. The usefulness of this plan was agreed by only one third of

the mayors, but only if it secured for example the protection of the environment, recreation spaces, optimization of the road systems, technical infrastructure, and public transport lines (Table 5). The cause of the rejection can, in some cases, be caused by some negative experiences with the socialist spatial planning at the regional (metropolitan) level, in which the state determined through spatial planning the way in which settlements and municipalities should develop (Nedović-Budić, 2001) and which function they should have. The mayors and other representatives do not want, as they say, to lose their decision-making autonomy.

Table 5. Reasons for creating the metropolitan area spatial plan according to the mayors

	Total	Types of suburbs (selected suburbs)			
		Small	Large	Built	Problem
Protection of the environment and the countryside in m.a.	11.0%	21.1%	10.0%	6.7%	0.0%
Optimization of the system of the roads and technical infrastructure in m.a.	8.5%	10.0%	0.0%	15.0%	12.5%
Optimization of the public transport lines in m.a.	6.6%	4.4%	0.0%	6.7%	0.0%
Optimization of the recreation usage of the m.a.	2.2%	4.4%	0.0%	6.6%	0.0%
Optimization of the development (construction of the houses) in the settlements of m.a.	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other reasons	4.1%	4.5%	0.0%	2.5%	12.5%
Metropolitan area spatial plan is not needed	64.7%	44.5%	80.0%	62.5%	75.0%
Unable to answer	2.9%	11.1%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Explanation: The mayors could give multiple answers, these were then converted into shares. “Large”, “Small”, “Built-“ and “Problem” suburbs – see the methodological chapter. Several monitored suburbs belong to more suburb types. Some monitored suburbs were regarding the type undefined and were not included in any of the types, m.a. – metropolitan area

Source: Interviewing the mayors of the suburban municipalities located in the hinterland of the city of České Budějovice in the years 2011 and 2012.

7. Conclusions

Massive residential suburbanisation in the study area has been in progress since the last quarter of the 1990s. In the past four years it has been becoming weaker. The mayors supported a large construction of houses and moving of new inhabitants into their municipalities and suburbs. For them this was a demonstration of the development of municipalities. However, apart from the positives they also spoke

about the negatives of this process, which they considered to be an inevitable cost of the development. Since the new millennium, suburban developers have started to operate in the study area. They prepared and built whole zones of family houses. The technical infrastructure in these zones was built up in high quality locations, but these lack public spaces and green areas, because they were not profitable for developers. Currently, approximately a third of the mayors do not prefer other massive constructions of houses in their suburbs. Other mayors still

support it; mostly they suppose that they will be able to regulate it through spatial plans.

The regulation for the construction of houses included in the spatial plans should be carried out according to some more demanding stakeholders. It is necessary to look for and implement regional patterns of architecture. The construction of houses on agricultural land of high quality should be only exceptional. It is necessary to seek unused spaces within settlements and the land of worse quality on the edges of settlements. Public spaces in new zones should serve people for their meetings, and they should disrupt the monotony and privacy of the suburban environment. The key task is the reintroduction of the metropolitan area spatial plan, which would direct the further construction to suitable settlements in the hinterland of the city. It is important to harmonize, in terms of time and facts, the creation of the spatial plans at the individual levels: metropolitan, municipal (settlement), and settlement-zoned. The reurbanisation of the city where there are a number of brownfields and other areas suitable for construction of houses can mitigate suburbanisation. It would be reasonable to support the development of small towns in metropolitan areas. It is necessary to set the scope of regulation well and to stimulate rather than prohibit.

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