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A typology of 'war' over the public space in the contemporary city. Examples from Prague

Typologia „walki" o przestrzeń we współczesnym mieście. Praskie przykłady

Abstract

The French anthropologist Marc Augé sees the modern-day city as facing three risks: uniformity, extension, and implosion. All these risks are linked to the 'war' over space in the modern and post-modern city. The problem of uniformity arose in the last decades of the 19th century, when cities began to modernise and, amidst efforts to create a new type of residential building that could accommodate as many tenants as possible (i.e. tenement buildings, the precursor to the later prefab panel building), areas of the urban space were cleared for redevelopment. Cities became an arena of conflict between people involved in business and the champions of modernisation on one side, and traditionalists and heritage preservationists on the other. Around the same time the first automobiles made their appearance; over the course of the 20th century they would profoundly transform the character of cities. These two 'wars' over the public space reached their peak in the 20th century. As population density in the cities increased, there was an escalating conflict of interests in connection with rising consumption and the growing volume of traffic: people needed to be able to move rapidly around the city and have access to housing and shopping opportunities, but they also needed to be close to others and to feel safe and the city needed good quality air and green areas. After 1989, communication (tourism) grew sharply and this gave rise to a conflict between the interests of tourist agencies and long-term residents, who were essentially pushed out of the historic centres of cities into the growing peripheries, which then required the construction of new roads. This paper seeks to put forth a typology of the 'wars' over space in the (post)modern city and presents the best-known examples of the conflict of interests between local politicians, developers, and citizens in Prague in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries.

Keywords: the contemporary city, space, 'war'

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Francuski antropolog Marc Augé uważa, że współczesne miasto stoi w obliczu trzech zagrożeń: uniformizmu, ekstensji i implozji. Wspomniane zagrożenia autora wiąże z „walką" o przestrzeń w nowoczesnym i postmodernistycznym mieście. Problem uniformizmu pojawił się w ostatnich dekadach XIX wieku, kiedy miasta zaczęły się modernizować i w ramach dążeń do stworzenia nowego typu budynku mieszkalnego, mogącego pomieścić jak największą liczbę lokatorów (tj. kamienicy czynszowej, poprzedniczki późniejszego bloku mieszkalnego), dochodziło do wyburzeń. Miasta stały się areną konfliktu pomiędzy przedsiębiorcami i orędownikami modernizacji z jednej strony, a tradycjonalistami i obrońcami zabytków – z drugiej. Mniej więcej w tym samym czasie pojawiły się pierwsze samochody, które w ciągu następnego stulecia wyraźnie zmieniły charakter miast. Te dwie „wojny" o przestrzeń publiczną osiągnęły apogeum w XX wieku. Wraz ze wzrostem gęstości zaludnienia, konsumpcji i natężenia ruchu ujawniły się sprzeczne oczekiwania, m.in. zapewnienia szybkiego przemieszczania się po mieście, dostępności mieszkań i dokonywania zakupów, a równocześnie – dobrej jakości powietrza, terenów zielonych, bezpieczeństwa, możliwości bycia razem. Po 1989 r. nastąpił gwałtowny rozwój komunikacji (turystyki), co doprowadziło do konfliktu interesów pomiędzy agencjami turystycznymi a wieloletnimi mieszkańcami, którzy zostali wypchnięci z historycznych centrów na rozrastające się peryferie, wymagające budowy nowych tras komunikacyjnych. W artykule podjęto próbę przedstawienia typologii „walki" o przestrzeń w (post) nowoczesnym mieście a jednocześnie omówiono najbardziej znane przykłady konfliktu interesów między lokalnymi politykami, deweloperami i mieszkańcami Pragi w XIX, XX i XXI wieku.

Słowa kluczowe: współczesne miasto, przestrzeń, „walka"

Introduction

In his famous book *Liquid Modernity*, Zygmunt Bauman, a sociologist and emeritus professor at the universities of Warsaw and Leeds, wrote that for roughly the past hundred years cities have come to represent the primary source of risk or danger to people, despite initially having been founded to increase their security. In Bauman's view, modern-day cities are characterised by their blocked access roads and guarded buildings[1]. To this we could add the penetrating shrill of alarms as one of the typical sounds of the urban space. The solvent inhabitants of cities wage their 'war' over the urban space with the aid of voluntary self-confinement, holed up behind the walls of luxurious residences that protect them against potential intruders[2]. Modern-day cities are also, however, waging a 'battle' against the homeless, seeking to drive them out of their urban centres[3]. This is a tactic that has been adopted also by Prague, which since the start of the

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[1] The text was prepared within the framework of the PROGRES Q 22 programme. Bauman 2008, pp. 71–72, pp. 75–76.

[2] Bauman 2008, p. 72, p. 75.

[3] Bauman 2008, p. 73.

new millennium has been engaged in efforts to disperse people loitering at the Central Train Station in Prague and the immediately surrounding area[4]. The current war over the urban space is thus a 'war' waged by the socially successful segment of the population against their socially and economically unsuccessful counterparts. Bauman sees two separate worlds in this space: the people in the 'upper echelons' and those on the 'bottom rungs' of the urban population[5]. Another type of contemporary 'battle' over the urban space is represented by the incursions of sports fans attending club matches[6]. This study analyses the typology of a "war" for public space in the modern and postmodern city (using the example of Prague) in the period from the last third of the 19th century to the present. It uses the historical method, typological analysis method and comparative method. The subject of asynchronous comparison is the "war" for public space in the city in four transparent time periods. The criteria for comparison are the causes of the "war" for public space, the means by which it is fought, who initiated the "war" and who was affected by its consequences. The study defines a public space as an area to which all city residents and visitors have free access. At the same time, it is a space in which the same rules apply to all its users. Thus, public space significantly contributes to the democratisation of the city.

Prague's residents regular regularly experience encounters with loud groups of supporters of different teams identified by their club scarfs, hats, shirts and painted faces. But probably the most important everyday 'battles' over the urban space take place when the residents of cities set out on walks and find themselves among throngs of tourists[7]. If today Prague's inhabitants want to enjoy the romantic charms of the historic heart of their own city, they have to go out into its historical streets early in the morning, while the tourists are still having breakfast in their hotels and rented flats. But nowadays Prague's residents may not even be safe in their rented flats, as many of the owners of rental buildings in Prague are now not only leasing units long term to tenants but are also offering them to tourists to rent for short-term stays (i.e. Airbnb, a sharing service offering short-term tourist accommodation)[8]. Consequently, rents in the city have soared to dizzying heights[9]. Tourists also often disturb the peace and quiet in the rental build-

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[4] Cf., e.g., Freisler, Kedroň 2000. The park by the Central Train Station, which is called Sherwood, is currently maintained by members of the Security-Information Team (Bezpečnostně-informačního týmu). Smlsal 2020.

[5] Bauman 2008, p. 73–74.

[6] Cf., e.g., Mrákotová 2019.

[7] For example, in the first half year of 2018 an estimated 3.5 million tourists visited Prague, according to data from the Czech Statistical Office. Prague Castle alone, the most visited Czech monument, had 2 million visitirs in 2017. Prague is primarily trying to limit that type of tourism that is driven by tourists looking for cheap alcohol. Bohata 2018.

[8] Praha [Prague] 2018.

[9] Cf. ČTK 2019. At the start of last year the price per square metre of rental space in the centre of Prague was 433 CZK. Nájemné 2019.

ings they stay in. The local interests of the domestic population are thus running up against the problems of a globalised world[10], as mass tourism is one of its attendant features. The metropolises of Central Europe (Prague included) still lack an effective strategy by which to contain tourism at a level that would be sustainable for long-term residents. And automobile traffic is another persistent problem in Prague; in 2018 the number of cars in the city grew to 1,059,000[11].

The 'war' over the public space in the city before the First World War

The 'war' over the public space in Central European cities is one that the residents of cities have been experiencing since the last third of the 19th century, when industri-alisation was reaching its peak phase[12]. At the height of the industrialisation era masses of workers moved from the countryside and into the cities and with this there emerged a new type of housing, the tenement building[13], with tenants sometimes alternating as quickly as within jut three months[14]. It is since that time, too, that cities began having to deal with substantial increases in the size of the population and the growing density of the public space[15] (in 1890 with more than 180,000 inhabitants Prague was the third-largest city in Austria-Hungary[16]; as of 30 September the size of the city's popu-lation had grown to 1,309,000[17]). However, since the last third of the 19th century the very space of the city/Prague has changed significantly. The interests of developers at that time were informed by contemporary notions of what a modern city was like, with wide, straight streets, comfortable tenement buildings, well-developed road networks, and improved hygiene[18], and this led even in Prague to extensive clearance projects being carried out (the clearance plan had already been enacted into law by 1893[19])[20]. Two lines formed at opposite ends of the 'battlefield', occupied on one side by the defenders of old Prague (the Association of Architects and Engineers/Spolek architektů a inženýrů, the Arts Society/Umělecká beseda, and some artists, most notably the writer Vilém Mrštík),

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[10] As Bauman noted: *'cities have become dumping grounds for globally begotten problems'*. Bauman 2008, p. 81.

[11] ČTK 2018.

[12] The industrialisation of the city can be dated to the period between 1850 and 1914. Hlavsa 1960, p. 17.

[13] Hlavsa 1960, p. 17, p. 19.

[14] Soukupová 2009a, p. 276, 289.

[15] Since that time there has also been an increase in the number of brief encounters between people that represent what Goffman referred to as 'civil inattention'. Giddens 2003, p. 76–78.

[16] Erben 1892, p. 5.

[17] Český statistický úřad 2020.

[18] On notions of the modern city at that time, see Soukupová 2009a, p. 276–279.

[19] *Ottův slovník naučný* 1903, p. 521. In the Josefov district in Prague, of the original 33 public buildings and prayer houses, schools, and institutions, only the town hall, the cemetery, and six synagogues were pre-served. Svoboda, Lukeš, Havlová 1997, p. 15. The Prague clearance was from 1983 extended every ten years until the last time in 1933. Bečková 2003, p. 10. On the clearance, see also Bečková 1993, p. 35–56; Volavková 2002, p. 69–75.

[20] Soukupová 2009a, p. 279, p. 281, p. 283–286.

who initiated and organised various protest gatherings, resolutions, manifestos, and lectures[21], while the other side was occupied by the 'modernists', who pointed to Paris, London, and Nuremburg as examples to follow (most notably the writer Jaroslav Hilbert)[22]. In his famous manifesto *Bestia triumphans* (7 March 1897), Mrštík asked *'who will portray this Czech snobbery, the impetuous rush towards everything that seems fancy, European, metropolitan, civilised'*[23]. The traditionalists, appealing to people's emotions (they claimed the new Prague would be a uniform, soulless, Americanised, anonymous and indifferent city[24]), were in the end only partly successful. They merged forces, however, in 1900, by forming the Club for Old Prague (Klub Za starou Prahu)[25], which sought to regulate insensitive interventions in the historical centres of Czech towns in the years to come[26].

In the last third of the 19th century, however, the multi-ethnic cities of Central Europe were also the sites of a 'struggle' for a nationally pure urbanised public space and the installation of national institutions in the central urban space, which was regarded as the most prestigious part of a city. In the Czech city of Prague, with its German and Jewish minorities, this battle reached its peak in the early 1880s, when Prague University was divided into its Czech and German parts[27]. Around this same time, distinctly Czech and German cafes and pubs were also being established, as well as a Czech and a German promenade, and Czech and German workshops and shops[28]. Czechs promenaded along Ferdinand (now Národní/National) Avenue, where after the old building of the National Theatre burned down (1868) a new shrine to the Czech arts was built, while the Germans and German Jews strolled along Na příkopě (then Am Graben) Street[29]. Czech clubs and associations, which since the start of the 1860s had been sprouting up like mush-rooms[30], built prestigious buildings for themselves, just like the German corporations did[31]. Prague City Hall, where from March 1861 was (ethnically) Czech[32], began giving Czech names to the city's streets (1892)[33]. From approximately the end of the 19th and

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[21] See Giustino 1995; Soukupová 2009a, p. 283–284; Volavková 2002, 74–75; Bečková 2000, p. 28–31.

[22] See Soukupová 2009a, p. 284. It is, of course, also true that at that time the ghetto already resembled a kind of slum. Ledvinka, Pešek 2000, p. 500.

[23] Mrštík 1897, p. 20.

[24] Soukupová 2009a, p. 282–283, p. 284.

[25] See Hyzler 2000.

[26] See Bečková 2000; Soukupová 2007.

[27] Pokorný 1998, p. 256.

[28] Soukupová 1992b, p. 8, p. 20.

[29] Soukupová 2010, p. 16.

[30] See Soukupová 1992.

[31] The German Casino (called Slavic House/Slovanský dům after the Second World War) was set up in 1873–1945 in a palace on Na příkopě Street. Kořalka 2002, p. 45; Poche 1985, p. 161.

[32] Kraus 1903, pp. 8–11.

[33] Cohen 1981, p. 148. On the 'battle' between Czechs and Germans over street signs, cf. Soukupová 2009a, p. 277.

the start of the 20th century Czechs in Prague began to undermine German territorial possessions. Opposite the German Casino on Na příkopě Street they built the Secessionist Municipal House in the Capital City of Prague (Obecní dům hl. města Prahy, 1906–1911)[34] – a bastion for visitors coming to Prague from the Czech interior [countryside]. A specific type of 'occupation' of the public space came in the form of contemporary national festivities, organised in public places, and these could include national funerals[35], the unveiling of statues to revered national figures[36], or the separate celebrations of important Prague anniversaries (the 100th anniversary since the premiere of Mozart's opera Don Juan in 1887[37]). The most dramatic battle took place between Czech and German students[38], and not just on the streets of the capital city, but also in its pubs and concert halls. As well as the 'war' between nationalities groups[39], however, the residents of cities, with their new industrial zones and working-class neighbourhoods, were also engaged in a political and social 'war', as it was around this time also that the fight for universal, direct, and equal suffrage was under way in Prague, and the streets of the city were transformed into sites of clashes between the police and demonstrators[40]. Another unique type of conflict was the socially and ethnically motivated effort to create a Greater Prague, which involved Prague's incorporation of adjacent towns and suburbs. The wealthy towns (Royal Vinohrady, Karlín, Smíchov and Žižkov) benefited from their proximity to the capital, but they resisted joining the City of Prague because of the taxes that would then have to be paid into the city budget and because of the decline in their social status and decision-making powers[41]. The effort to create Greater Prague was thus only won after the establishment of the independent republic and was achieved by political means[42].

[34] Poche 1985, p. 164; Míka 1999, p. 192.

[35] On 13 and 14 June 1863 the funeral of Mayor František Pštross was held. His body was taken from his flat to the Old Town Hall, where it was placed on displace in the large meeting hall. From there the coffin travelled to Týn Church and then finally to Olšany Cemetery. Kraus 1903, p. 19-20.

[36] In 1878 a monument to Josef Jungmann, who codified the written Czech language, was unveiled (Hojda, Pokorný 1997, p. 64). In 1903 the foundation stone was laid for a monument to Master Jan Hus, the mediaeval reformer. Ibid. p. 86. In 1912 there were plans to unveil a monument to František Palacký, a Czech national historian. Ibid., p. 101.

[37] Soukupová 1992a, p. 16.

[38] Soukupová 1992, p. 17-18; Kořalka 2002, p. 45.

[39] See Soukupová 2010, p. 20–22; Míka 1999, p. 185 (On 29. 11. to 1. 12. 1897 unrest broke out after the language ordinances of Count Badeni were issued.

[40] See Míka 1999, p. 188, p. 190, p. 191, p. 193. In 1911 demonstrations against the cost of living took place on Wenceslas, Old Town, and Havlíček squares. Míka 1999, p. 196.

[41] Soukupová 2009a, pp. 286–289; a detailed description of this history of efforts to create Greater Prague is provided in Pešek 1999, pp. 135–203.

[42] The act on the amalgamation of neighbouring towns with Prague was issued in 1920. Pešek 1999, p. 196.

The battle over the public space in the city between the two world wars and during the war

The emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic and the other nation-states after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was accompanied by a change in the dominant visual symbols of the city: new names[43] were given to public areas, old state symbols and statues were removed and new ones introduced in their place[44]. During the first months and years after the formation of the new state, however, there were also pogroms: a 'war' waged against the domestic Jewish population[45]. Public areas served as spaces for celebrating state holidays[46], but they also became the arenas in which party--political 'battles' were waged. These 'struggles' did not subside in Prague even after the First World War[47], as a latent conflict continued there between the Czechs on one side and on the other the Germans[48], who in the early 1930s formed an ethnically homogeneous island in the district of Bubeneč (known as 'little Berlin')[49]. The conflict also continued between the supporters of the old city and those advocating new changes, and in 1924 the Club for Old Prague released a manifesto against radical modernism[50].

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[43] On 14 April 1920 legislation was enacted that made it illegal for public areas to bear the names of any enemies of the Czechoslovak nation. New rules for naming streets were introduced by the Prague City Council in 1925. Laštovka, Ledvinka 1997, p. 18–19.

[44] Soukupová 1994, p. 52; Soukupová 2005, p. 8; Soukupová 2012, p. 15, p. 16, p. 17. The most famous act of destruction was the toppling of the baroque Marian Column that stood on the Old Town Square in Prague. The monument was viewed as a symbol of Czech national humiliation, a 'monument to White Mountain', a battle that Czech national historiography saw as a tragic milestone in the history of the Czech nation. Hojda, Pokorný 1997, pp. 28–30.

[45] See Soukupová 2005, p. 18–23; Koeltzsch, 2012, p. 158–167. New anti-Jewish riots, primarily aimed at students from Budapest, Vienna, and Krakow who came to Prague to study, accompanied Studentská Praha (Student Days in Prague) in the autumn of 1929. Ibid., p. 167–169.

[46] Soukupová 2012, p. 25, p. 26.

[47] Míka 1999, p. 204, p. 208, p. 211.

[48] Soukupová 2012, p. 27–28. In November 1920 a Czech crowd, reacting to riots in the borderland regions of western Bohemia with a majority German population, occupied the Estates Theatre (Stavovské divadlo) and looted German institutions. Soukupová 1994, p. 55–56, p. 72; Černý 1983, p. 17; Becher 1993, p. 192–199. A further escalation of the conflict between nationalities occurred when in 1923 the majority of Prague, Karel Baxa, prohibited signs and posters in German from being erected in the public space. Soukupová 1994, p. 53. In September 1930 there were demonstrations in Prague against a German sound film. Becher 1993, p. 205–208; Soukupová 1994–1996, p. 71–72. In the spring of 1934 what is known as the 'insigniada' occurred, which involved nationalist fighting in the streets between Czech and German students over [Charles University handing its insignia over to the Czech-language university in Prague/ Charles Universitiy giving its insignia to the Czech-language university, not the German one, that had emerged out of Prague university's split in the late 19th century]. Pasák 1999, p. 146–150. However, Prague was not just a space of conflict between Czechs and Germans, as it was also the site of numerous joint activities in the Czech and German democratic society. Soukupová 1994–1996, pp. 75–78.

[49] Soukupová 1994–1996, p. 68.

[50] Soukupová 2007, pp. 19–20; on the 'war' between the traditionalists and the modernists, cf. ibid. pp. 19–21. Passionate debate also emerged newly around the subject of skyscrapers, which traditionalists claimed would interfere with the city's panorama. Ibid. p. 22.

A growing problem in the city was its inadequate mass transit. Despite its beauty, Prague was not a tourist destination at that time[51].

The regime of the Second Republic and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were also characterised by 'battles' over the public space. The symbols of the Czechoslovak state were removed[52], and most Czech and all Jewish associations were abolished[53]. The Jewish population were sent to concentration camps[54] and their property was seized and confiscated[55]. During the first months of the Protectorate the Czech population in large cities was subjected to openly repressive action in the public space (especially in Prague[56]). The Czech population's resistance was supposed to be broken at first by a demonstration of force: with large military parades by the Nazi army on Wenceslas Square in Prague after the Protectorate was established[57]. A number of anti-Nazi demonstrations nevertheless took place, culminating in the 'national manifestation' that ran from 28 October to 15 November 1939. A demonstration accompanying the funeral of medical student Jan Opletal marked its symbolic end. It was followed by the ruthless reinforcement of Nazi power, which for a period of time dominated the Prague space with military parades and gatherings of collaborators[58].

The battle over the public space after the Second World War and during the communist era

After the Second World War the German and Hungarian populations were expelled from Czechoslovakia. Czech cities became almost ethnically homogeneous[59]. The incoming communist regime introduced new collective rituals[60] into the cities and also filled them with new symbols (giving the public spaces new names [61] and filling spaces with five-pointed stars[62], sickles and hammers, red flags, Soviet flags, commemorative plaques, and statues and museums to the founders of the workers' and communist move-

[51] Soukupová 1999, p. 77.

[52] This also applied to street signs. Lašťovka, Ledvinka 1997, pp. 21–23.

[53] Lašťovka, Lašťovková, Rataj, Ratajová, Třikač 1998, pp. LVII–LIX.

[54] For more on the transports and the number of Prague Jews sent to Theresienstadt and Łódź, see Šustek 2001, pp. 150–151.

[55] See Pěkný 2001, pp. 341–348; Petrův 2000, p. 51, 64–74. On the extermination of the Jewish population, see also Bryant 2012, pp. 140–147.

[56] Bryant 2012, pp. 63–66.

[57] Gebhart, Kuklík 2004, p. 247; Soukupová 2010, p. 28; Soukupová 2013, p. 18–19.

[58] On the course of the national manifestation, see Brandes 1999, pp. 107–109. For more and with references to the most important literature sources, see Soukupová 2013, pp. 30–31, pp. 36–37.

[59] Between 8 March to 18 September 1946 there were fifteen transports left Prague. 18 171 Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia. Soukupová 2011, p. 377.

[60] Soukupová 2014, pp. 31–35.

[61] Lašťovka, Ledvinka 1997, pp. 25–27.

[62] Kohout, Vančura 1986, p. 174.

ments[63]), which pushed out not only that the Protectorate had installed but also those that dated from the democratic First Republic and that were re-entering the public space after the liberation of Czechoslovakia[64]. The new totalitarian regime destroyed corporations[65] and initiated a 'war' against the politically unreliable middle-class population, which it forcibly drove out of Czechoslovakia's big cities (Prague, Brno, Bratislava) into the countryside as part of a strategy called 'Action B' (1951–1953)[66], and that population's flats were seized in order to accommodate the emerging new urban elites (the communist cadres). This repressive measure had been preceded by 'Action T-43' (October 1949), which sought to drive reactionary elements out of the capital[67].

Ultimately, however, the new regime was unable to solve the problems of the massive post-war housing crisis, the protection of monuments, or even the problem of urban mass transportation[68]. Extensive urbanisation (the mass construction of kilometres of pre-fab panel housing estates, disrupting the natural boundaries of the city) was not accompanied by the construction of sufficient infrastructure. The historic city itself was falling to ruin[69] and the poorer segments of the population were moved into them. The 'reality' of state-socialist everyday life involved queuing up for goods and services[70] (Photo 1). Prague[71] and other Czech cities were overwhelmed by growing automobile traffic. The situation became especially critical after 1983, when the number of personal automobiles began to grow considerably[72] (Photo 2). The centre of the capital city was brutally severed in two by the construction of a major north-south thoroughfare, about which Miloš Fiala commended in 2009: *'You say to yourself, it's lucky that Myslbek's Vašek [St Wenceslas] has his back turned to it so that he doesn't have to look at it'*[73]. The regime developed a liking for conducting large-scale clearances of entire neighbourhoods and demolishing historically valuable buildings which it lacked resources to repair[74] – for example, it destroyed the neo-Renaissance Těšnov Train Station (formerly the Northwest Raildroad Station/Nádraží Severozápadní dráhy and Denis Station/Denisovo nádraží)

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[63] Soukupová 2009b, pp. 268–269, pp. 277–279; Soukupová 2014, pp. 24–26.

[64] Soukupová 2011, p. 379, pp. 384–385.

[65] Lašťovka, Lašťovková, Rataj, Ratajová, Třikač 1998, p. LXII, p. LXV.

[66] Kaplan 1992; Rataj 2003, p. 115.

[67] Soukupová 2014, p. 37.

[68] Soukupová 2009b, pp. 286–288.

[69] Soukupová 2007, p. 27.

[70] Soukupová 2014, pp. 39–44.

[71] Soukupová 2007, pp. 25–26.

[72] By 1973 the number of automobiles had in Prague had risen to more than 160 000 (Pošusta, Lukáčová, Háber, Prošek 1975, p. 52). By 1990 the number of motor vehicles in the metropolis had soared to 428 769. Čech, Fojtík, Prošek 1992, p. 5.

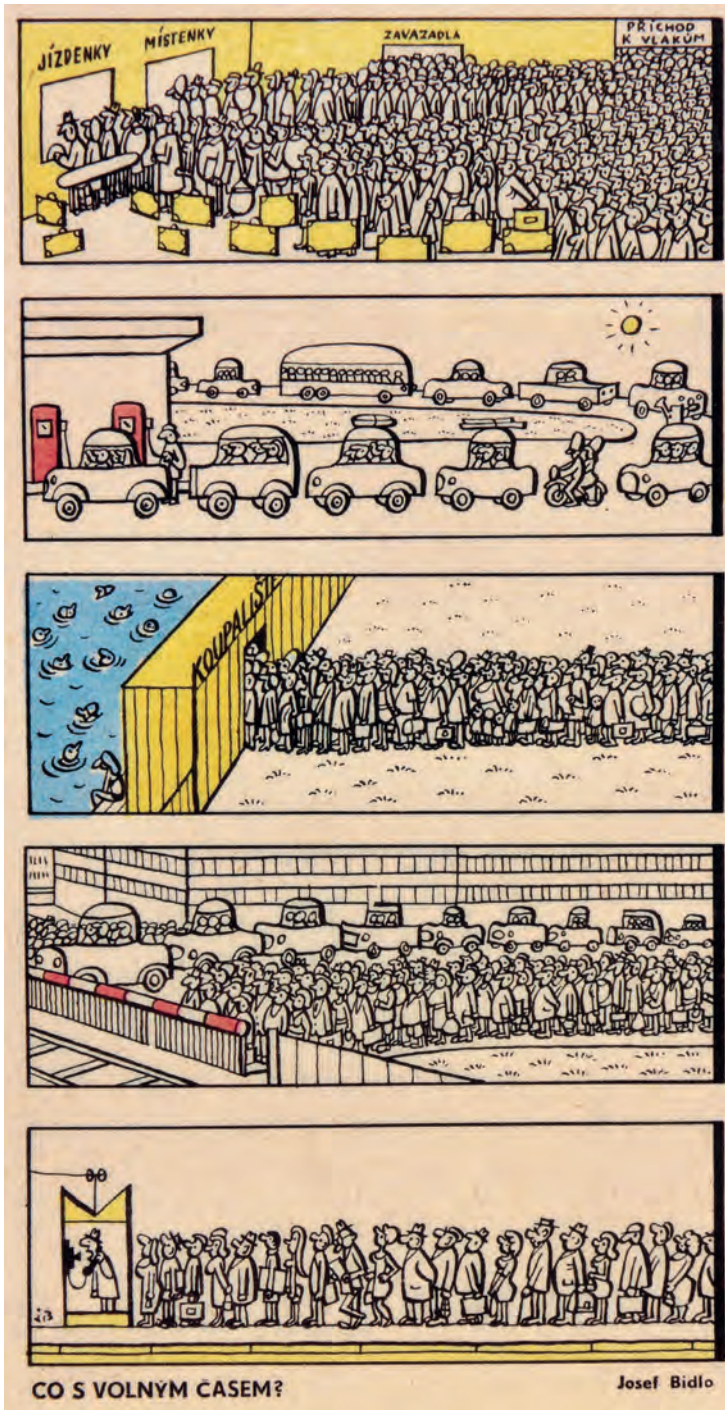[73] Fiala 2009, p. 258.

[74] Soukupová 2007, pp. 28–29.

Photo 1. Bidlo Josef: Co s volným časem? (What to do with your free time?], "Dikobraz", Vol. 23: 1967, No. 25, p. 5
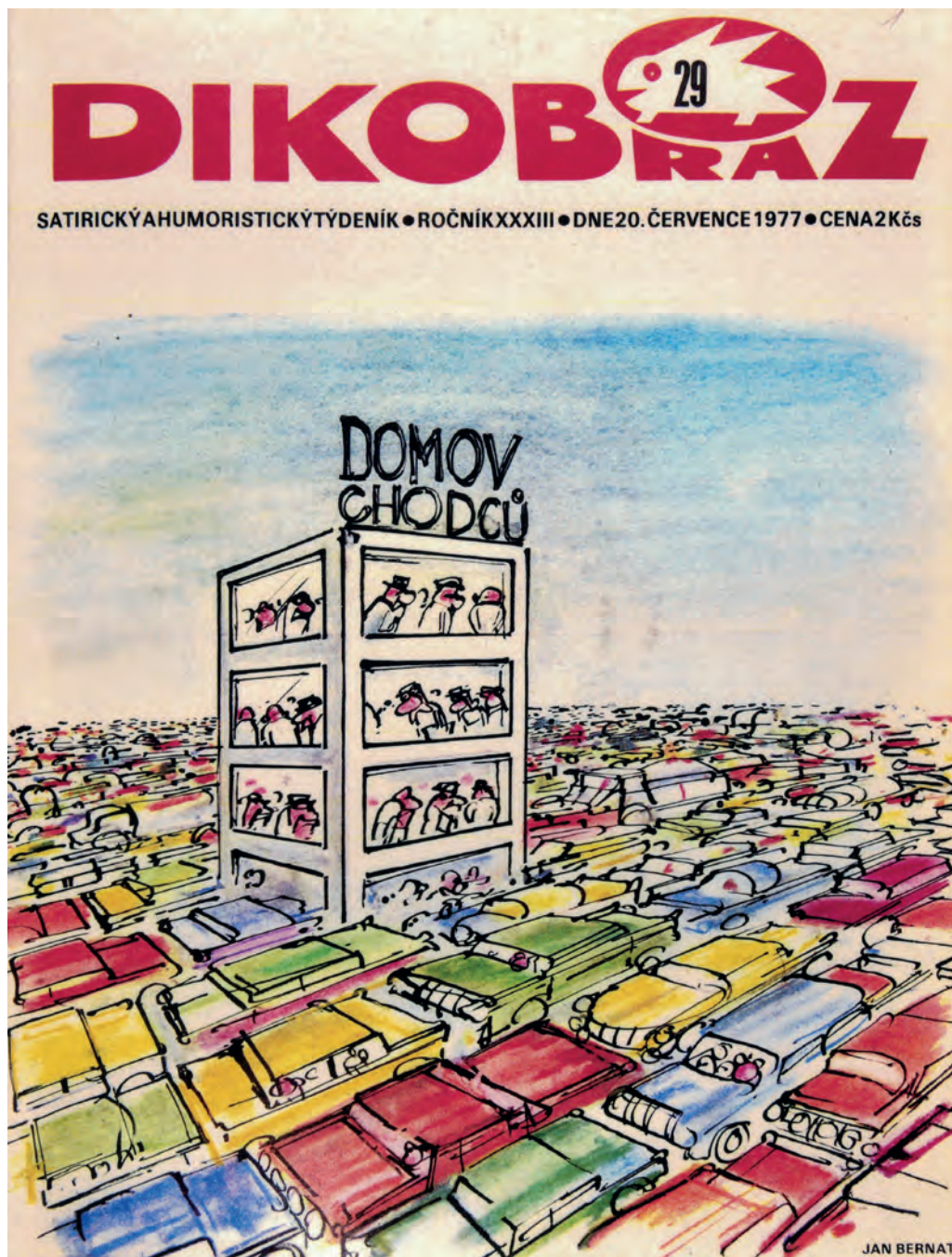
Photo 2. Bernat, Jan: *Domov chodců* [A Home for Pedestrians]. "Dikobraz", Vol. 33: 1977, No.29, p. 1

Photo 3. Smolmen: 'Museli jsme přece respektovat historické jádro' ['But we had to respect the historic centre'], "Dikobraz", Vol. 26: 1970, No. 5, p. 3

Photo 4. Miroslav Slejška. Dog-walkers lined up in front of the only tree on the estate, "Dikobraz",
Vol. 26: 1970, No. 12, p. 3

during the 'normalisation' period (1975)[75]. A part of the Žižkov district was also cleared[76], and after the sweeping demolitions the original structures were replaced with panel buildings devoid of any distinguishing or identifying characteristics (Photo 3). The kilometres of uniform housing estates that encircled the centre of the city did not offer their residents any form of cultural life or entertainment to take advantage of. Their green areas were not maintained and the estates themselves continued to look like construction sites for many years. It was very difficult for people to relate to places like that (Photo 4, 5). Swimming areas and pools were overcrowded in the summer months (Photo 6). The city gave no thought either to its elderly and disabled residents; it lacked barrier-free crosswalks, lifts in the metro, and similar provisions[77] (Photo 7). The controversial construction of the TV tower in Žižkov became a symbol of 'normalisation' architecture[78].

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[75] Bečková 2003, p. 78.
[76] Soukupová 2007, p. 30.
[77] Soukupová 2014, p. 40.
[78] Soukupová 2007, p. 30. The structure was also criticised by the Club for Old Prague. AMP, Zpráva o činnosti v roce 1983.

Photo 5. Jiří Srb: Škola [A school], "Dikobraz", Vol. 36: 1980, No. 12, p. 1

Photo 6. Bohumil Ceplecha: 'Dnes už jen k stání, prosím!' ['Today, standing room only!'], "Dikobraz", Vol. 20: 1964, No. 29, p. 1
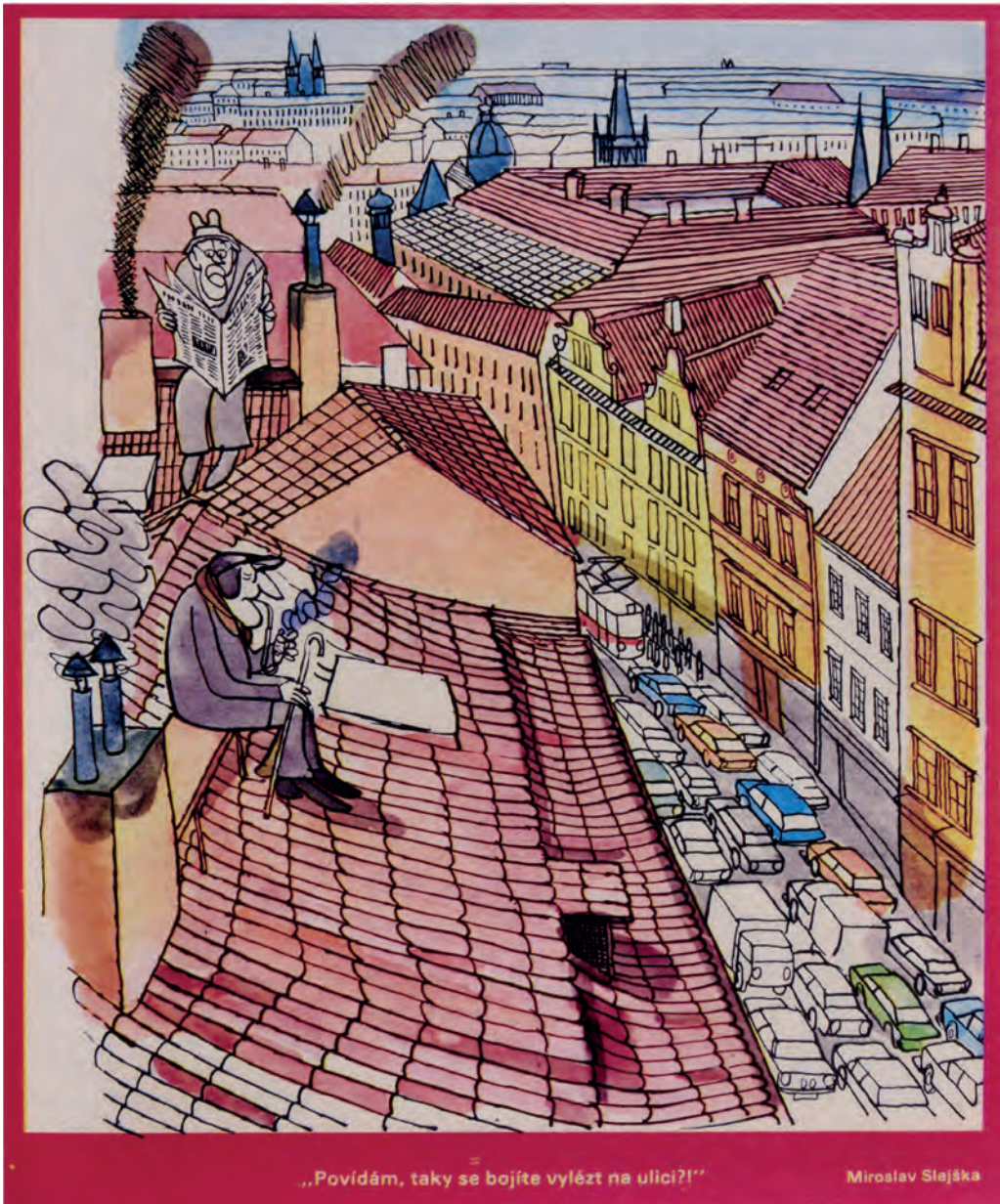
Photo 7. Miroslav Slejška: 'Povídám, taky se bojite vylézt na ulici?!' ['I say, are you afraid to go on in the street, too?!'], "Dikobraz", Vol. 31: 1975, No. 49, p. 1

Conclusion

In the period before the First World War there erupted a 'war' over the urban space that was born from ethnic and social tensions and diverging opinions on the modernisation of the city. These problems were then also inherited by interwar Czechoslovakia. Under the Protectorate the city experienced a 'war' waged by the totalitarian system against the Jewish population and the resistance. In the state-socialist city a new totalitarian system waged 'battle' against the middle class. At the same time, however, civil society was suppressed and with ordinary citizens' ability to identify with the city they were living in. Today the city is having to cope primarily with mass tourism and the exodus of the finally better-off population for residential complexes. Marc Augé, a French anthropologist, identified three risks faced by the modern-day city: uniformity, extension, and implosion[79]. All three have their early roots in and are connected to the 'war' over the space of the (post)modern city.

Conflicts over public space were caused by conflicts of interest between city residents in all of the studied periods. These conflicts were of a national (in multi-ethnic cities), party-political (in an effort to improve the position of a certain group of the population, to increase its political influence in democratic regimes, or a "war" against potential opponents of the regime in totalitarian cities), economic (entrepreneurial interests were in conflict with the interests of ordinary residents or efforts to preserve the historical character of the city), modernisation (increasing pressure on the greater comfort of housing, services, transport) and/or psychological (the desire for closeness versus the need for job performance) in nature. Many of the conflicts in the public space were one of the consequences of the gradual increase in the congestion of the city as a result of migration to cities (mainly for work) and globalisation. Most recently, we have witnessed an unmanageable increase in tourism, which is one of the signs of a globalised world. However, we can also include mass international events here, which are often onerous for city residents (resulting in overcrowded public transport, increased noise and disorder in the city).

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[79] Augé 1999, pp. 114–121.

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