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Artificial mono-functionalism versus natural mixed-use: Case study of Bartók Béla avenue, Budapest

Abstract

These days one of the most important questions in connection with big cities is the functional diversity of the central areas. My research focuses on the connection between the rehabilitation of downtown, mixed-use developments and the problems of city usage.

Among the new functional revitalizations a good example for top-down initiatives is the territory of Bartók Béla avenue, the south-eastern part of Budapest, because of the conscious functional rehabilitation by the local government.

The artificial changes of the spontaneously shaped mixed-use territory of the district query the liveability and usability of the area. The research analyses the concentration of the different types of commercial and service functions and explores the temporal and spatial changes of the functional diversity and focuses on the sustainability effects of the multifunctional urban fields.

Keyword: Budapest, Mixed-Use, Functional Diversity, Vitality, Retail

Introduction

The commercial role of European historical city centres has changed a lot during the last few decades. In the case of Budapest the determining retail trade of the 19th century transformed the city to the centre of Hungary and an internationally significant city. In the last 20 years it has changed: it has lost its appeal and the centres of gravity have been moved to the other parts of the urban area and it shows the relevant functional problems of European city centres as well.

The centre of the city was formed at the end of the 19th century. This eclectic city structure nowadays has some troubles with the functional contents and the usage. After the change of regime in Budapest the structure of the commercial system completely transformed within a short time. The influences of these changes have had an effect on the central area of the city until today. Also the huge number of shopping malls that have appeared in the last 15 years, and the general change of our consumption habits have deteriorated people's judgement of these areas.

The central part of the 11th district (Újbuda) (Fig. 1), which is situated on the edge of the historical downtown, started a rehabilitation and artificial functional change process. This study examines the effects of the local government initiated Cultural City Centre Project, whose main aim is the reshaping of the actual commercial and service structure of the neighbourhood.

The project was started by the idea of a cultural city centre that can form this part of Buda into the real centre of this area. The regulation changes and the actually running rehabilitation projects set the ball rolling but the serious effects of the economic crisis slowed it down.

The question of artificial shaping of the functional status of an urban area has come up in the local government measures. Beyond the cultural aspects the liveability of this mainly residential area is a very emphatic aspect of these functional changes.

My research examines the processes of the Cultural City Centre initiative. With the assistance of the exploration of the temporal changes I am going to analyse the speed of the materialization of the functional changes which can help to determine the requirements of becoming a city centre. The effects of this rehabilitation are studied in a larger urban scale.

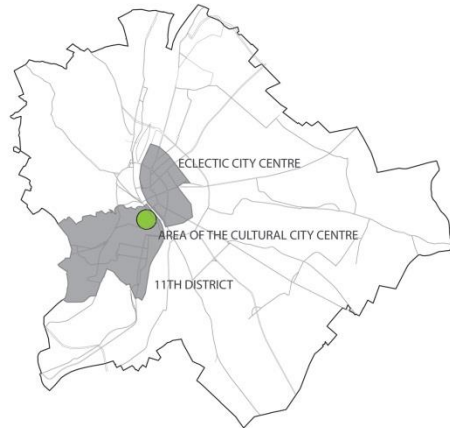


FIG. 1 Location of the Eclectic Part of Pest and the 11th District (Source: Budapest 2050, 2012)

Retail Trade in Hungary

The commercial structure of Budapest was formed in the second part of the 19th century. After the union of the three different parts, Pest, Buda and Óbuda (1873), the development of the new city started and during the following 50 years the present condition of the city centre developed.

Following the previous examples of Paris, Barcelona and Vienna a grandiose and monumental city structure evolved whose commercial and retail system also followed the great predecessors. The previous seasonal open-air markets were partly changed by the 6 new eclectic market halls which marked the new central points of the historical districts. Along the gradually forming new avenues and boulevards, shopping streets and a retail structure emerged which is typical of Budapest until today. During this period, the businesses of craftsmen were the most characteristic form of commerce.

After the First World War newly appeared department stores offered different type of shopping experiences to the members of the freshly formed middle-class.

Similarly to the historical city centre of Pest this eclectic architectural character is the most dominant in the research area situated in Buda.

After the Second World War the political and the economic system changed. During the socialism the commercial system, the shopping habits and the vibrant urban life of the previous decades were transformed.

The existing retail units were modernised, new department stores were constructed and the shops were brought under state control. Large scale, new housing estates created a different type of shopping structure using the dogmas of modernism. The traffic dominant city development strategies changed the previous mainly pedestrian used status of the inner city.

After the change of regime (1989) in Budapest the structure of the commercial system was completely transformed within a short time by the increasing number of car usage and the new type of hypermarkets. The wide-ranging privatisation of the retail outlets caused that the most part of the shops became privately owned, which created a lot of additional problems whose effects can be seen until today. The last 20 years the shopping customs have changed radically.

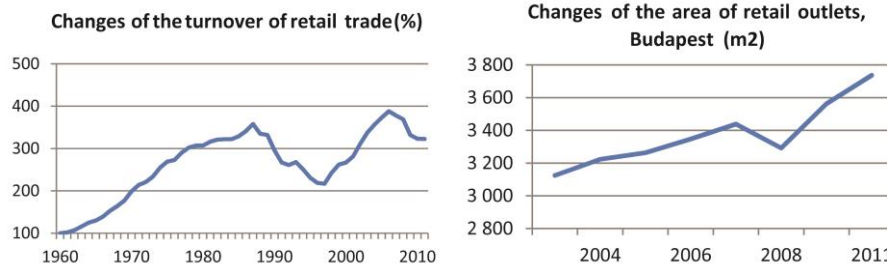
Following the department stores from the 70s in the second part of the 80s the shopping mall appeared. Between 1996 and 2005 the gross floor space of the shopping malls in Hungary was multiplied by four. Today more than 23 shopping malls are situated in Budapest.

The effect of hypermarkets situated outside the administrative border of Budapest, the influence of the shopping mall and the lack of rehabilitation of the city centre together caused the depopulation of the eclectic part of the city.

In 2000 the “rediscovering” of the city centre started. The results of the different rehabilitation programs caused that the judgement of the inner part became better and better.

The general overview of the retail trade (1 Chart a) shows that from the 60s to the change of regime the turnover increased significantly. Around the 90s due to the economic crisis of the post-soviet bloc the turnover started to decrease. The strengthening of the economy caused the rising period until the economic crisis. The effects of the worldwide crisis broke the rise of the amount of area of retail outlets (1 Chart b.).

1 Chart a, Changes of the turnover of retail trade (%); 1 Chart b, Changes of the area of retail outlets, Budapest (m2) (source: KSH)

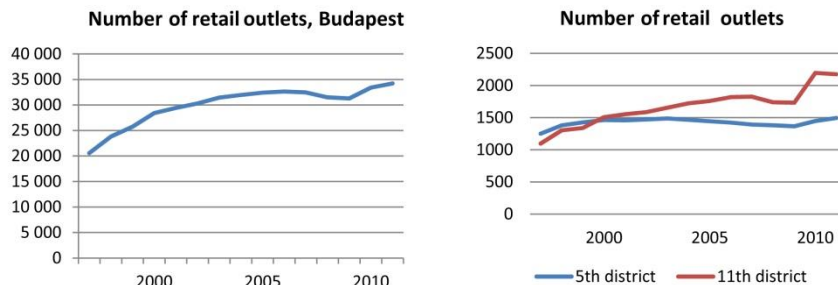


After the change of regime the number of the shops and retail outlets increased continuously (2. Chart a.). The effect of the economic crisis stopped this rise but after a short period of reduction a slower growing could be observed in 2012.

This tendency is shown in the changes of number of retail shops in the 11th district (2. Chart b.). Comparing Újbuda with the classic historical part of Budapest it is obvious that the initial benefit of the 5th district was overtaken in around 2000 and after that, except for the year of the crisis, a continuously growing tendency was peculiar to the shop structure.

This tendency is presumably the result of the huge territory of the district and continuously growing size of the built-up area. The extreme rise of the number of retail outlets was caused by the opening of a new shopping mall near the research area. Focusing on the area of the Cultural City Centre the tendency might be similar to the 5th district because the similarity of the building character.

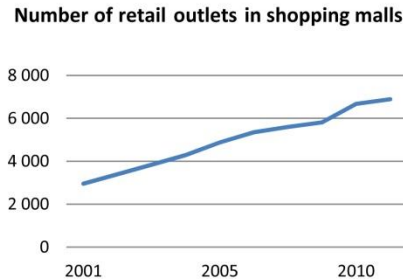
2 Chart a, Number of retail outlets, Budapest; 2 Chart b, Number of retail outlets (source: KSH)



The number of the retail outlets in shopping malls grows constantly (3 Chart). The last 10 years the retail outlets of shopping malls have been doubled. To compare that

with the number of all the shops, it can be observed that the importance of the shopping malls has increased significantly after 2000.

3 Chart Number of retail outlets in shopping malls (source: KSH)



Parallel with this processes the revitalisation of some shopping streets started. Along the new pedestrian dominant streets the retail system refreshed and its commercial status started to increase.

One of the best examples for the new thematic streets is Ráday Street. In the past it was a busy road with some small do-it-yourself shops. Traffic changes and the effects of the rehabilitation caused that by today it has become the most important restaurant street of the city. (Szabó 2009)

The above-mentioned Ráday Street is the conceptual background of the urban development strategies of the Cultural City Centre project in the research area in Újbuda (11th district).

Conceptual Background of the Cultural City Centre in Újbuda

Újbuda, the 11th district of Budapest is the most populous part of the city. The huge size causes that the border of the district unites several different areas therefore it is very heterogenic (Fig 2).

The inner part of the district, where the site of the Cultural City Centre was assigned, is the most eclectic part of the territory. This part of the city was created later than the centre of Pest, only in the first decades of the XX century.

The main axis of this area is Bartók Béla avenue, which connects the Danube and the Liberty Bridge (Szabadság híd) with the inner parts on the area, and therefore this is a really important transportation axis in the city structure. This part of the district is a really dense and diverse area. Two universities are situated around it.

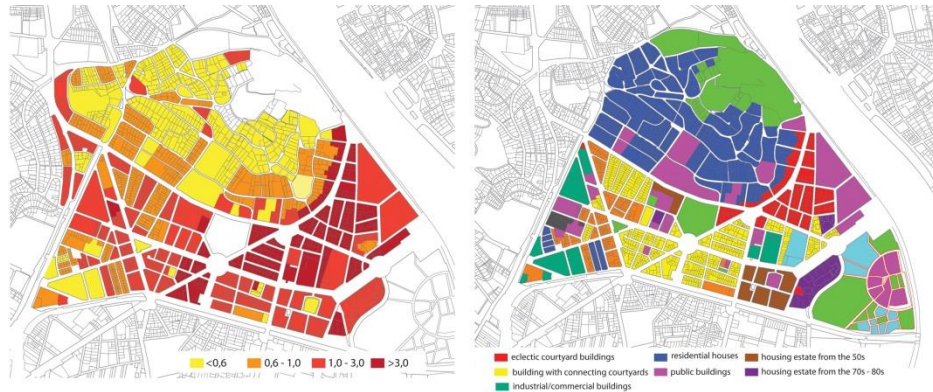


FIG 2a, Distribution of floor area ration ; FIG 2b, Building character in the 11th district (Budapest) (source: BVK2011)

Aims of the Cultural City Centre Project

The local government decided that it wanted to change the basic character of Bartók Béla avenue. The framing of the program was published in the City Development Strategy in 2009 where it was marked as the principal rehabilitation strategy of the district.

The emphasised priorities of the strategic document were to increase the cultural central function of Bartók Béla avenue, to fill up the territory with cultural and art functions, to increase the tourism potential of Újbuda, to strengthen the local centre position, to develop the public spaces and the green areas and to manage the problems of parking.

The strategic plan wants to make the role of this part of the city stronger. At present Újbuda does not have strong attractive force. There are some famous points, like the Gellért Bath near the Danube, but generally tourists do not spend too much time there. The improvement of the present situation is a emphasised point of the program. (IVS 2009)

This part of the 11th district worked well before the Cultural City Centre project. This mostly residential neighbourhood determines the local street-level functions. Generally the most of the retail outlets are used every day by the locals. The aim of the program is to transform the previous shop system. The project wants to create an urban area where the service functions are dominant. The system of the uninterrupted public spaces and green areas would help the functional changes and

the usage of the territory. This concept builds on the transformation of the functional system which has a history in this area and in the past it could work well. It is easy to see that this model of the local government tries to copy the scheme of the previously mentioned Ráday Street.

Instruments of the Functional Transformation

The result of the privatisation in the 90s was that the previous consistent retail structure was broken up into a lot of small parts, which means that the Local Government owns just a small part of the shops. Therefore they could not make a big scale “refunctionalization” and they could start the process only with their shops.

The key instrument for the beginning of the changes was the raising of the rent of the retail outlets. New regulations were adopted to make the functional changes. The right conditions were created to reduce the rent of the supported functions, and the evaluation process of the new function was delegated to a local cultural committee.

Parallel with the beginning of the project the intention of the functional changes was really unpopular in the local community. Some residential forums and consultations were held to communicate with the locals. The residents’ most important argument was that why was a functional change necessary in this part of the city where there were not functional problems and where locals could manage their everyday necessities.

The whole project is a really good example of the top-down initiatives. The local government wants to change a well working territory of the city where the mix of the ground-level functions has a long tradition. The planned street view which contains a lot of galleries, restaurants and communal spaces tries to transform the naturally mixed-use street to an artificial mono-functional quartier. In spite of the fact that the biggest part of the public space rehabilitations was finished, this artificial changes cannot work and these new functions are not capable of functioning.

The result of the processes of the last 4 years has changed the status and the judgement of the area significantly. In spite of the alterations the originally designed view of the city could not materialize in its entirety. This study focuses on the evaluation of the project, which the integrated urban development strategy was planning to perform in 2013 as well. In addition to the original indicators I am going to try to show different types of evaluation tools which can help us to make a real and complex view of the executed provisions. The evaluations analyse the concentration of the different types of commercial and service functions, explores the temporal and

spatial changes of the functional diversity and focuses on the sustainability effects of the multifunctional urban areas.

Methodology

The core of the research methodology is an empiric analysis of the past and the present situation. The registration of the retail outlets does not exist and the accessible sources are not updated. Therefore an on-site data collection was necessary to create a comprehensive examination of the area.

To measure the temporal changes as well I examined the site 3 times, (June 2012, October 2012, May 2013). Between the measurements there was 5 months. This time period can provide us bigger difference. The experiences show that the functional changes of the area are not faster than this period and the fluctuation of the shops are slower than the measuring intensity.

For comparison, the continuation of Bartók Béla avenue was examined as well. This part of the avenue has a different type of commercial structure but the structural connection of the two parts of the avenue makes a strong relation between them.

The official board of the Cultural City Centre area is smaller than the area that I used. I extended the research area to the urban structural elements of the district (Fig 3b) because the experienced urban phenomena do not stop in the middle of the squares (see the example of Gellért square and Móriz Zsigmond square).



FIG 3, a Project elements of the Cultural City Centre Project(source IVS 2009); FIG 3 b, spatial distribution of Bartók Béla Avenue (source: own figure)

Evaluation of the Project

To analyse the success of urban space we have to differentiate 3 aspects of them. A successful urban area combines the activities, the physical attributes and the meaning of the neighbourhood. “Theorists such as Relph (1976), Canter (1977) and others (and most recently reinterpreted by Punter (1991)) show the components of a sense of place and the relationship (in abstract terms) between them” (Montgomery 1998). In the process of Cultural City Centre Project it is easy to separate these three different types of aspects and it gives the draft of the analysis (Fig. 4).

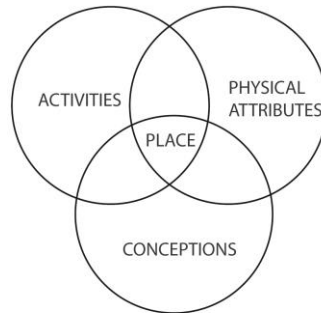


FIG 4 Visual metaphor for the nature of places. Source: Canter (1977), (Montgomery 1998)

Evaluation of the Project, Physical Aspects

The rehabilitation of the public spaces and the development of the green areas established the environmental condition of the Cultural City Centre Project (Fig. 3a). There are some physical elements of the rehabilitation system which are already finished: mainly the development of the public spaces, which was realized in the last 4 years.

Along Bartók Béla avenue the traffic system was decreased and the size of the pedestrian areas were expanded (Fig. 5b). This change has improved the usability of the street, however, the previous situation was not as critical as some other parts of the city but the rehabilitation helped significantly.

The changes were more radical on the three squares which divide the avenue. Apart from the traffic reduction, the architectural and the landscape architectural aspects of the two squares at the beginning and at the end of the street were developed

considerably. This rehabilitation is not the part of the Cultural City Centre Project because these items connect to the new underground line construction process. In spite of that, the effects of this supplementary rehabilitation contributed to the success of the project.

Gárdonyi Géza (Fig. 5a) square which was formed during this Cultural City Centre project is the most significant element of the public space rehabilitations in the middle of the avenue. In the past this area was a junction which was transformed into a usable and functional urban square where some street level functions created terraces.

There are some elements of the original development plan which have more complicated consequences and the realizations are more difficult therefore this projects could not be materialized until now.

The transformation of the Hadik military building into a hotel and the connection of an open courtyard to the public space system have a spatial connection to Gárdonyi Géza square. The actual status of the local government and the progress of the rehabilitation program shows that this element of the project will be cancelled.

In addition to the public space rehabilitation, the program postponed the enlargement of the most significant hotel of this part of the city, the Gellért Spa Hotel.

Apart from the construction of metro line 4, the last element of the program which will probably be realized is the renewal of the former tram controlling building. The new public space and coffee shop function of this building will fit into the concept of the Cultural City Centre and will complete the actually retail structure of the square.

Next to the area of the Cultural City Centre a shopping mall was opened in 2009. In spite of the generally negative effects of shopping malls in Budapest this commercial centre could not make a radical change in the retail structure of the neighbourhood. The first reason is that the new shopping mall did not create extra retail surface because it replaced another shopping mall which was constructed in the 70s.

Secondly, the retail structure of the mall differs from the shops of Bartók Béla Avenue, and different group of people use the two spaces. These are the most important reasons why the new mall has not had strong effects of the local street-level functions.



FIG 5a, Gárdonyi Géza Square; FIG 5b, Bartók Béla Avenue; FIG 5c, Móricz Square (source: own figure)

Functional aspects of the evaluation of the Project

The second aspect of the analysis is the functional structure of the urban area and the question of the diversity. Following Montgomery's (1998) 12 points of the physical conditions for making a vital and well used city the first two points are "development intensity" and the "mixed-use". In this project, because of the arrangement of the local government and the conceptual background of the initiative, the functional problem of this aspect is the most prevalent question.

The specification of some indicators to measure the effects of the Cultural City Centre project was the compulsory part of the integrated strategic plan. The closing date of the final monitoring was appointed to 2013. At first the evaluation of these five indicators (which is possible to do) can show us an overview of the project. (1. Table)

The Strategy uses the notion of vitality index. This is the proportion of the number of the 18-39-year-old population and 18-59-year-old inhabitants. The increase of this number shows that the population becomes younger. The reason why this is an emphasized point of the rehabilitation is that the proportion of the elderly population in this neighbourhood is higher than in other areas.

The statistic data to the neighbourhood is not available and the district specific data cannot give a real view about this area, because the 11th district is really heterogenic and the huge proportion of the residential houses distorts the value.

It is the same problem with the evaluation of the comfort level of the houses and the proportion of the employees. Without the specific neighbourhood-based data the indicators cannot be evaluated.

The strategy does not write an exact number to the value of the migration of the population. Without the detailed statistical data the exact decrease of the migration is not justifiable. The migration in the whole district is decreasing so it may be hypothesized that the number of the population in the neighbourhood of the Cultural City Centre is at least stagnating.

The evaluation system uses the statistical data of the whole district in the case of tourism. Neither of the indicators reaches the end value, moreover, both numbers fall short of the initial values. The two hotel developments on the site which did not materialize cause the lack of increase of the ammount of accommodation. The decrease in the duration of stay per guest shows that the district cannot prolong the duration of stays.

Table 1. Official indicators of the Cultura City Centre Project (source: IVS 2009)

INDICATOR	initial value	end value	value in 2013
1_Vitality index	0,29	0,39	no data
2_The comfort level of the houses	5,8	4,4	no data
3_The proportion of the employees	56,4%	57,4%	no data
4_The migration of the population	will decrease and will be proportionate to the number of population		decrease in the whole district
5_Tourism, the duration of stay per guest	2,54	2,7	2,403
6_Tourism, the number of the accommodations	4542 place	6000 place	4192 place

Indicators for new evaluation

Beyond the official indicators this study tries to show different possibilities to measure the actual changes in Bartók Béla Avenue (Table 2.). Apart from the general characterization of the Cultural City Centre area (first section) the analysis compares the strengths and weaknesses of the emphasized area and the continuation of the avenue (second section) (Fig 3b)

The area of the Cultural City Centre project focuses on the first section. Every public space and green area rehabilitation was realized in this area. The new rules for shops are valid in this part of the avenue.

In spite of the fact that the building character and the period of the construction are similar in the two sections, there is an important difference in the retail character of the two parts of the avenue. In the second section there are more basement shops while in the first section most of the retail outlets have a direct connection to the street. The form of the façade is different because in the first section the street-level shops are more open while the second section the surface of the shop-windows is smaller. The reason why the number of shops differs within the two areas is the different size of the two sections of the avenue. (Fig. 7)

Table 2. Indicators for the evaluation of Cultural City Centre Project, change of the numbers (source: own table)

		Convenience versus Comparison shopping.		Elements of the new functional concept		Quality of shops		Second-hand shops		Proportion of empty shops	Fluctuation
		Conv en.	Comp ar.	new elements	old elements	high	low	Second-hand	low cat. clothes shops		
First section	2012 J	35	30	28	64	33	24	5	4	11,2	
	2012 O	36	30	31	64	36	24	5	5	11,8	8,4
	2013 M	34	30	32	63	36	22	4	6	5	10,2
Second section	2012 J	22	20	4	27	5	18	1	6	9,9	
	2012 O	23	20	4	28	5	18	2	5	8,6	3,7
	2013 M	19	21	3	28	4	16	1	5	11,1	7,4
		[number of shops]		[number of shops]		[number of shops]		[number of shops]		%	%

Functional fluctuation. The process that started in 2009 has increased the speed of the functional changes and the fluctuation of shops. On the whole area between the first and the second survey 7% of the retail outlets changed their function or closed. This proportion increased because between the second and the third survey 9,2% of the shops changed. The changes between the first and the second section are not similar. Both of them rose but the changes on the site of the Cultural City Centre in the second interval reached 10%.

Empty shops. The number of the empty shops gives us information about the degree of utilization and the value of the area. The status of Bartók Béla Avenue is not favourable. Due to the local provisions of the government the number of the empty shops has risen in the last 2 years.

The proportion of the empty shops was around 10% after the first survey. Between the second and the third survey the proportion increased with 2% on both sides of the avenue. This shows that the actual situation is not stable enough and it indicates the possibility of the future increase of the indicator. (Fig 6b)



FIG 6a Spatial distribution of galleries, FIG 6b empty shops and the local government's properties. (source: own figure)

Elements of the new functional concept. The aim of the rehabilitation concept was to change the current functional system. The increase of the cultural spaces, common functions, art galleries and restaurants is the target of the urban development strategy. The existing functions are changing slowly so the proportion of the previous and the new functions can characterize the actual processes.

The category of the previous functions contains small groceries, clothes shops and craftsmen retail outlets. The new functions label includes the restaurants, bars, museums, galleries and coffee shops. During the evaluation I used the shops which are unambiguously classifiable in both categories.

The two parts of the avenue is different. In the first section there are more representatives of the new elements while just few examples of these new functional elements are located in the second section. The number of the two types of elements is increasing in the first section but the proportion of the previous elements is still bigger, approximately two times higher.

The continuation of the rehabilitation might create new functional reordering processes. In spite of the fact that the number of the new functions is growing the previous functional order can run parallel with the idea of the Cultural City Centre project.

Convenience versus Comparison shopping. Two different shopping habits are distinguished from the point of view of urban usage: Convenience shopping (everyday shopping, like bread, milk, vegetables fruits etc...), Comparison shopping (clothes, jewellery, technical gadgets etc...) (Lukovich 1997) The aims of the urban development concept try to increase the proportion of the comparison shopping and

decrease the convenience shopping. The emphasized city centre role of Bartók Béla Avenue generates the presence of comparison shopping.

The proportion of the two types of shopping is balanced. The number of the convenience retail outlets is slightly bigger, but there is no significant difference between the two values. The big amount of the convenience shopping is the effect of the residential area which frames the area of the project. This value shows that at present the residential influence is stronger than the city centre role of the territory.

Quality of shops. The comparison of the level of the retail outlets shows us the shopping quality of the avenue. The number of second-hand shops shows an interesting tendency. In spite of the better environmental possibilities and the finished parts of the rehabilitation there are more second-hand clothes shops in the first section of Bartók Béla Avenue and between two survey periods newer and newer shops were opened. The proportion of the low quality shops is higher in the second section, and there are just some examples of higher quality units.

This data shows that the Cultural City Centre project has positive effects on the quality. The significant difference between the two areas refers to the success of the rehabilitation project. The huge number of second-hand shops forecasts the economic status of the residential area and creates a usage duality between the higher quality and the lower quality shops and it slows down the development of the Cultural City Centre.

Food shops versus galleries. The great amount of food shops shows the effect of the residential area. In both sides of the avenue the proportion of the food shops is around 10%. This value shows the strength of the previous functional order. At present the number of the art galleries is the half of the food shops. The comparison shows that the appearance of new functional elements is slower and the original dominancy could not change radically.

The proportion of the galleries between the two sections of the avenue is different. The effect of the Cultural City Centre project causes that the 90% of the galleries is situated in the first part. This data forecasts a period increase in the number of galleries. The slow speed of the growth might be the effect of the maximum number of galleries that the actual commercial status of the avenue can sustain in the present situation. (Fig 6a)

Restaurants. The restaurant structure of the two parts of the avenue is fundamentally different. This indicator presents the highest difference of the street. (Table 3)

In the area of the Cultural City Centre there are numerous restaurants, bars, clubs and coffee shops. The proportion of this type of services is 15% percent. In second section of the avenue the proportion is 4%.

The huge amount of these functions in the first part of the street refers to the better quality of the street. This functional difference causes the basic divergence of the usage of the public spaces. A big increase in the number of restaurants was not perceptible, which shows a balance between demand and supply. Presumably the number of the restaurants won't increase in the first section. The Cultural City Centre project might have some effects on the second section and on this part of the avenue the number of this type of service functions will rise in the future.

Table 3. Indicators for the evaluation of Cultural City Centre Project, change of the numbers (source: own table)

		Service functions						Food shops versus galleries		Tourism
		Restaurants	Fast food	Coffee shop	Public	Bakery	Bar	Galleries	Food shops	Exchanges
First section	2012 J	4	10	3	2	3	4	6	19	4
	2012 O	4	11	3	2	3	4	9	19	4
	2013 M	4	11	4	2	2	6	8	18	4
Second section	2012 J	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	10	1
	2012 O	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	10	1
	2013 M	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	9	1
		[number of shops]						[number of shops]		

Tourism. The development of the tourism is an important aim of the Cultural City Centre project. The retail structure shows one indicator which reflects tourism. The number of currency exchange offices shows a different distribution between the two sections of the avenue.

In the first section there are 4 possibilities of exchange while in the second part of the avenue one exchange office is situated near the border of the rehabilitation zone.

The difference between the numbers of the exchange offices might refer to the presence of tourists. The personal experiences verify that in the first section of the

avenue there are more tourists while the second section the intensity of tourism is much lower.



FIG 7a terrace of a coffee shop; FIG 7b, an empty shop; FIG 7c, a basement shop (source: own figure)

Conclusion

The presented top-down initiatives, which are situated in the territory of Bartók Béla Avenue, the south-eastern part of Budapest, try to realize the conceptual changes of street level functions.

The Integrated urban development strategy has set off the artificial changes of the natural mixed-use to an artificial mono-functional area.

This study examines the possibilities of the strong concept of the Local Government and evaluates the realized elements of the program. The official indicators of the project are not able to measure the functional changes and cannot present the reality. The aim of this study is to present indicators which are able to measure the functional changes directly and can analyse the previous changes which help us to forecast the possibilities of the future.

The actual changes show negative influence of the functional changes. The number of the empty shops has increased radically in the last 2 years. The growing proportion of the low quality retail outlets and the second-hand clothes shops refer to the decreasing social status of the neighbourhood.

The higher proportion of the shops which are used by locals shows that the newly planned central and cultural function of the area is not able to become the dominant usage of the territory. The present changes show that this part of Budapest is not strong enough to maintain a huge amount of galleries.

Comparing the area of the Cultural City Centre project to the extension of the avenue, the changes of the commercial structure is different. The effect of the rehabilitation

program causes more active functional changes and the quality of the section of the street changes in a different direction.

In spite of the negative effects, the influences of the Cultural City Centre project have changed the retail structure of the street. The artificial changes of the functional system of the street can transform the originally well working area to a transforming neighbourhood where there are some functional problems because at present the functions of the residential area are stronger than the new concept. The influence of the underground line 4, which intersects the area, will change the status and the structure of the area but the effects cannot be evaluated now .

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