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„Totality, Incrementality and Strategy: Understanding and  
Evaluating Spatial Planning in Kyiv, Ukraine “

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## **Abstract English**

Keywords: strategic spatial planning, historical institutionalism, Kyiv, post-socialism, actor-centred institutionalism, case study

This thesis attends to the question of understanding and evaluating spatial planning in Kyiv. Here the evolution and current conditions of the field are analysed via the lenses of new institutionalism, historical and actor-centred approaches specifically. Strategic spatial planning theory is coupled with the development of post-socialist urban theory to offer new pathways of analysing and understanding the context of Ukraine. Employing methods like in-depth interviews, document and map analysis, a comparative case study of several planning projects of the latest years is conducted that allows to draw a picture of actors' networks, project aims, and limitations of existing policy framework. The findings allow to evaluate the projects on process and impact-related levels, as well as explain their intrinsic characteristics. While strategy remains a far-fetched option for the today's spatial planning in Kyiv, some steps can be effectively implemented to counter the incremental and deficient character of urban development on the metropolitan, district and neighbourhood scales.

## **Abstract Deutsch**

Schlagwörter: strategische Raumplanung, historischer Institutionalismus, Kiew, post-Sozialismus, akteurszentrierter Institutionalismus, Fallstudie

Dieser Thesis befasst sich mit der Frage des Verständnisses und der Bewertung der Raumplanung in Kiew. Hier werden die Entwicklung und die aktuellen Bedingungen des Feldes durch die Linsen des neuen Institutionalismus analysiert, nämlich die historische und akteurszentrierte Ansätze. Die Theorie der strategischen Raumplanung ist mit der Entwicklung der postsozialistischen Stadttheorie gekoppelt, um neue Wege zur Analyse und zum Verständnis des Kontexts der Ukraine zu eröffnen. Mit Methoden wie ausführliches Interview, Dokumenten- und Kartenanalysen wird eine vergleichende Fallstudie mehrerer Planungsprojekte der letzten Jahre durchgeführt, die es ermöglicht, ein Bild von Akteursnetzwerken, Projektzielen und Grenzen des bestehenden Politikrahmens zu zeichnen. Die Erkenntnisse erlauben es, die Projekte auf prozess- und wirkungsbezogener Ebene zu bewerten und ihren intrinsischen Eigenschaften zu erläutern. Obwohl die Strategie für die heutige Raumplanung in Kiew nach wie vor eine weit hergeholte Option ist, können einige Schritte effektiv umgesetzt werden, um dem inkrementellen und defizitären Charakter der Stadtentwicklung auf der Ebene der Metropolregionen, Bezirke und Nachbarschaften entgegenzuwirken.

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## **Totality, Incrementality and Strategy: Understanding and Evaluating Spatial Planning in Kyiv, Ukraine**

*Put simply, a great city with enormous potential to be one of the greatest capitals of Europe, in a country that is itself rich with potential, is, in many ways, being destroyed.*

— Roman Cybriwsky, *The City of Domes and Demons*

My interest in the issue of spatial strategic planning was sparked by the new General Plan of Kyiv 2020-2040. Unsecure urban planning trajectories in neoliberal and corrupt political economy of many of the countries of former USSR are still often pervaded by late socialist legal framework. This concerns housing policies, urban planning, land-use and taxation. In Ukraine as well, some of these issues are challenging the possibility of public good in the cities, and theoretical discussions are sporadic, while socio-political standing of urban planner is ambiguous (Lyasheva, 2019) (Mezentsev, Gentile, Mezentseva, & Stebletska, 2018). For the two last decades the city is under pressure of high population growth coupled with the domination of private land ownership and investment resulting in one of the most unaffordable housing in the world (Tartar & Lu, 2017) while ranking as one of the least liveable cities in the world, according to the EIU index (117/140) and Mercer cities ranking (173/221).

Loss of arable lands, worsening water, air pollution, and increased contamination by plastics are just some of the many environmental problems affecting the city. New urban



policies to address these problems are urgently needed, and urban planning can play an important role, providing adaptive, responsive plans of action, strategic visions and coordinated activities (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2016; Ryan, 2017). The contradiction of modernist totality (the quality of overarching comprehensive plans) and post-modernist incrementality (a way of step by step policy and decision-making) is envisioned to be solved by 'strategy' (Fürst, 2012). Strategic spatial planning promoted by researchers and planning guidelines aims to tackle main problems of developed democratic countries with institutional controls and established systems of planning. It is often mentioned that strategic spatial planning can serve as a beacon of new planning paradigm, that has potential to bring pluralistic, strategy-based, integrative projects in cities and metropolitan areas (Albrechts, 2017; Salet, 2016).

However, Kyiv as a metropolitan city of over 3 million people retains a peripheral position in the knowledge production networks. The newly revived research arenas of housing finance and development, integrated planning procedures and participative processes give hope in the future research endeavours. Therefore, there is a need to understand how strategic spatial planning can effectively function in the context of weak governance and be integrated in the existing system of planning and governance. But what can this planning theory and principles offer to Ukraine and Kyiv specifically? One of the respondents argued,

«Then, you know, you can theorize, but when you start designing, you use a normative document, otherwise the expertise will not approve your planning document. Do you understand the difference?» (I1)

Here, the entanglement of an actor as primary subject of planning process with the overarching institutional framework is clear. Such dialectical relationship exacerbates in conditions, where the actor themselves is the author of the legislation and co-architect of the framework. This also brings forward questions of institutional design, professional ethos and practice. Relevance of the research of these relations within spatial planning system is clear in a megapolis undergoing rapid development. To this end the paper is built upon the combination of the historical approach to spatial planning with an outlook on the contemporary situation, best international practices and knowledge. The research is based on expert interviews, public planning data, field and map analysis.

The aim is to understand and critically evaluate contemporary planning practices in Kyiv and provide them with international contextualization, both within post-socialist and global research on planning. Therefore, the historical inquiry about the political-economic conditions of the city in the topics of land-use, housing and taxation is followed by analysis of recent planning to uncover the actors' constellations, reflection on path dependencies and potential application of planning quality evaluation.

But still, knowing the preconditions of the planning system, can we argue for opportunities to upgrade it? Are the actors and institutions prisoners of the path-dependencies shaped by decisions made 15-30 years ago? Which implications does it have on the planning process and outcomes? How are they shaped now? What relation to the best available knowledge do planning practices bear? Some of these questions may remain rhetorical, but to some of them a viable way to answer can be found.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

The chapter is devised as a review from more abstract to more specific level, bringing theoretical and empirical literature on strategic planning in relation. Thus, the paper starts with the broad analysis of the most relevant literature on the strategic spatial planning, the problems and possible ways of action put forward by researchers in the last 15 years. The entanglement of normativity of the planning theory is stressed and reviewed in the first section.

It is followed by an overview of the seemingly unending debates over the 'postsocialist urbanity', aimed to outline the approach to this tradition of discussion and newly arising similarities with postcolonial research. Such contextualization is necessary to create a link between planning theory and planning in practice in the region that follows. This part is complemented by a comprehensive analysis of the literature on the trajectories of urban planning in the capitals in the FSU, specifically Warsaw, Tallinn, and Tbilisi.

After the review of the available empirical literature, the scarcely available sources on the evolution of the planning approaches, cases and system in Kyiv/Ukraine are presented. There the topics of housing development and planning instruments are discussed, and a conclusion of the chapter is drawn.

### **2.1 Integrated, strategic, sustainable: spatial planning re-examined**

This section is conceived chronologically and after shortly mentioning the roots of strategic and integrated planning in European planning in the 1970s looks upon the latest critique of the strategic planning from post-colonial urban studies and planning

research. Theory overview in the chapter relates mainly to the research engaged with the question ‘How can we make planning practice better?’ and not with the question ‘What does planning do in the societal production of space?, as formulated by Oren Yiftachel (Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000). This review is also informed and influenced by the review in the book by (Salet & Faludi, 2000) adding contemporary literature and the reflections on further development of strategic planning. To this end, several traditions of thought about strategic spatial planning are reviewed, namely: communicative-interactive-collaborative, rational, strategic and integrated spatial planning.

Rittel and Webber in *Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning* (Rittel & Webber, 1973) were among first to open the discussion about the conceived crisis of modernistic planning and the need to find new ways to solve complex urban problems on strategic level. ‘Wicked problems’ as they are known today (such as climate crisis or socio-spatial justice) cannot be solved by the amassing of knowledge and high qualification of the planner. They require engagement in politics, dialogue, trial and error process and so on.

Lucius Burckhardt in “Who plans the planning” (1974/2019) and “Between Patchwork and the Master Plan” (1982/2019) joined the discontented voices by arguing the need to look beyond the neat solutions of modernism. While planning was understood as a methodological endeavour, where the path from naming the goal and analysing the problem to implementation and monitoring was clear. But such a process, in his words, is suitable only to well-defined, small-scale technical problems, to which urban planning problems rarely belong. Critique of Modernist planning did not bring the agreeable solution yet.

After neoliberalisation took foot in the urban development, Harvey (1989) stressed that new instruments to balance the market-led initiative are required, that both integrate latest findings and developments in the public policy (transparency, participation, collaboration) and act as a counterweights to the private financial aims. To this end, strategic spatial planning developed as a wide approach, based on different philosophical positions.

Communicative planning in strategic planning approach is most famously represented by the researchers following Habermas's ideas of communicative action. John Forester (1982) was among the first to stress the need to engage in the deliberative approach. His ideas of the complicated role of planner working within the approach of bounded rationality achieved great attention in the academia, leading to the development of communicative theory in planning. This has been developed also (Forester, 1999) Deliberation is conceived as a part of the process, where democratic aspect is firmly integrated in the planning sphere.

In another famous paper, "Planning theory revisited" by Friedmann (1998) a specific notion of the change of planning mindset was sketched. He argued that "*The new, emerging form of planning is more entrepreneurial, more daring and less codified.* Typically, it is *collaborative*, as Patsy Healey has reminded us, concerned with large-scale projects more than with the entire system of spatial relations in the city, it seeks to forge a limited consensus through negotiated settlements among contesting parties" (p. 9). This had been afterward conceptualized also as project-oriented planning. However, a lot of different approaches emerged out of this change.

Communicative planning theory has increased the range of instruments of planners and allowed to create new constellations of actors, however, critics have successfully questioned the position of the communicative and collaborative planning. Huxley (2000) has counter-argued that practitioners in this approach are assumed to be able to set aside the power relations and societal transformations and work relatively faithfully as ‘people of goodwill’, which we all know is rarely the case. *Bracketing* of inequalities, power relations and incumbent interest and bargaining on the professional standing seemed a little realistic and less so helpful approach to work with the planning theory.

Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002) highlighted the embeddedness of the collaborative discourse in the economic restructuring of the state, where increased competition among cities and communities became one of the topics overshadowing the planning itself. More recently, Watson (2016) has accentuated the complicated logic of utilizing Habermas’s ideals in a very contested arena of public policy, especially in the contexts, where the state and spatial planning traditions are weak and societal conflicts and divisions deep. “Planning “seeks ways of recovering a new participatory realization of democracy and of reconstituting a vigorous, inclusive public realm that can focus the activity of governance according to the concerns of civil society” (Healey, Khakee, Motte, & Needham, 1999, p. 119)

Flyvbjerg (1998) opened the discussion about the relativity of rational approach and the many ways how unequal power relations shape urban development even in the very democratic contexts. The disenchantment with potential of rational discourse in the relation to the power is a challenge to many of the urban planning endeavours. The normativity embedded in rationality obscures the ways in which it is influenced or

subjugated by power. Quite recently, this proposition was further developed by the empirical research, that showed that less stable governmental structures react to the principles and discourses of rationality with even more relativity and speculative attitude (Pojani & Stead, 2016).

Faludi (2000) further developed the discussion on this topic argued for the decision-centred view of planning, where the strategic planning is set aside from the project planning. He produces differentiation on the level of aims and conditions, which both define the character of planning material. Strategic planning takes on continuous open future working as terms of reference contrasted to project planning, which functions as a determining blueprint with a limited relation to time defining “phases”. “Once adopted, the plan is supposed to be an unambiguous guide to action, so its adoption implies closure of the image of the future” (p. 6). He also stresses that “indeed, one form of spatial plan, the blueprint used by architects and engineers, has become the prototype project plan” (p. 6).

Albrechts (2004), however, argues for strategic planning in a slightly different way. In his view, strategic planning is characterized more by a timeframe fixed strategic vision contrasted to legally binding planning documentation. With colleagues he has been developing a more normative perspective on what strategic (spatial) planning could be. In the today already classic work, “Strategic (spatial) planning re-examined” Albrechts (2004) stated that, “Increasingly, it is being assumed that the solutions to complex problems depend on the *ability to combine the creation of strategic visions with short-term actions*” (p. 740). Also, in his definition of strategic planning process there are three main

components. The public led, not only spatial, but also social, and most importantly, process-oriented urban planning is praised as the 'good future' (p. 747).

In another work, Healey (2007) argues that strategy making was never an easy task that has recently got even more complicated. She calls this 'relational planning'. The more parties, levels of governance and communities are concerned, the harder it becomes to build successful coalitions and devise uncompromised plans. To create a strategy that has the power to shape subsequent development, she accentuates, those involved in spatial planning need to combine several roles and play on several (not only planning-like) policy fields.

Healey (2009) also argues that to arrive at a better understanding of what 'doing' strategic level of planning means we can utilize four interacting dimensions to achieve: mobilizing attention, scoping the situation, selecting frames, enlarging intelligence. In her approach she differentiates the strategic spatial planning as concerned with larger urban regions and engaged with the challenge to take the whole 'entity' beyond municipal/regional borders, to look "at its connectivities and the relation between its parts (people and groups, places and neighbourhoods) and the 'whole' (the city, or urban region understood as an entity), and the relations with wider systems which flow through such an area" (p. 440). She highlights another distinction from conventional planning practices: "Explicit strategy-making work that is more than procedural compliance and political rhetoric emerges in place development and management work when some parties become frustrated by established ideas, regulatory practices and the design and decision making around major projects" (p. 443). She further distinguishes transformative strategy making and responsive strategy making, which to my opinion, is



a critical point in understanding the whole discourse about 'strategic' part in spatial planning. Going beyond classical responsive land-use plans is crucial. However, ability to engage with the action on the ground, to create situated strategies that have a chance to really influence the policy and development processes is an immense challenge.

Fürst argues that although there has been a lot of discussion of the radical break or innovation of strategic spatial planning, in reality it often implies the continuation of several processes already long in the making (Fürst, 2012). He stresses that "conceptually, the basic structure of the approach - with all the differences between various authors - leads in the direction of an action-oriented management approach" (p. 20). He sees that this approach has developed as an attempt to offer a third option between comprehensive and incremental planning. This is an increasingly important point, as the statutory planning does not offer answers beside these two approaches.

Moreover, it is often not realised that strategic and communicative planning do not represent absolute innovation, "because similar hypotheses and experiments have already been carried out at other times usually using different languages and protocols and without achieving results proportional to the expectations. The prevalent trend is an exhortatory one which assumed that planning is a good practice in a deliberative world inspired by the democratic principles of the ideal polis" (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010, p. 31). Fürst further grounds this assumption by showing the relations of the strategic planning to the already existing paradigms of integrated planning, planning for the indefinite future, stakeholder engagement and so on (Fürst, 2012, p. 22).

Two works of Christian Olesen (Olesen, 2013; Olesen & Richardson, 2012) challenged the ideas of strategic spatial planning. He argued that strategic planning substituted real

state or municipality led planning in the context of neoliberalizing political agendas all around the world. Soft and competition-oriented planning during the 1990s and post-austerity 2000s and early 2010s seemed to have failed the aim of producing successful results in Europe and elsewhere. Some of the outcomes that are often attributed to strategic planning also often stem from the communicative paradigm and others come from the classical hierarchical top-down statutory planning system. Its evasive nature proved to be a challenge for planners.

However, since there are conflicting claims of how ‘strategic’ these or those plans are, he finds important to specify that “in strategic spatial planning, the plan is just one vehicle among others to produce change” (Albrechts & Balducci, 2013, p. 17). Due to a neoliberalizing planning climate and amidst mounting critique, Albrechts (2015) revisits the question of the strategic planning, binding it with the radical possibilities of change “to unravel and resist the influence of international neoliberal ideologies on planning theory and planning practices in cities, city regions, and regions” He stresses renewed aims, among which are the need to ‘broaden the scope of the possible’ and to ‘avoid serving other interests than intended’ and ‘challenge existing knowledge, conventional wisdom, and practices’ (p. 513). Such a renewed approach should systematically concern itself with the needs and aspirations of the disadvantaged. Albrechts also emphasises the need to project the normative side of planning as a part of the quest to create equal and just society. He argues that “Without the normative, I fear that we risk adopting a pernicious relativism where anything goes” (p. 515).

In his latest work, Albrechts (2017) states that strategic planning must engage in creating or at least offer some good virtues that ‘the present’ condition lacks. Those

could be diversity, sustainability, equity, spatial quality, inclusiveness etc. He upgrades his earlier definition of strategic planning to focus on the conceptually ‘transformative’ side of the projects as well accentuates the need not to lose the core of the democratic process of co-production of the plans. Otherwise, he notices, they would fall victims of the compromise and market interest.

Among contemporary reviews of the processes there are conflicting claims of whether the reality of planning has changed to become more strategic field (Nadin, Stead, Dąbrowski, & Fernandez-Maldonado, 2020), or that we instead witness the decade of the retreat of the strategic spatial approach (Salet, 2016). While no definitive answer can be given at this moment, Watson (2016) argues for a re-examination of the theoretical underpinning of the approach in the Western planning theory. She claims the need to keep in mind that

“[p]lanning theorists on both sides of the Atlantic were immersed in planning in advanced capitalist economies where the nature of cities and regions, their institutional capacities and management, and the functioning of civil society, were (and still are) very different from many other parts of the world” (p. 34).

Therefore, to develop a suitable approach to strategic planning ‘elsewhere’, researchers need to take on new post-colonial optics.

Taking critically the positions outlined above, there is possibility to describe strategic planning as an approach, that takes attention, first of all, to the *qualities of the plan* (its intrinsic characteristics), then the power relations that frame the *process of the plan*

*production* and subsequent development, and, finally, *its aims* to tackle complicated multi-faceted social and spatial issues. Although contested, strategic spatial planning aims to provide some normative lines of inquiry and action on each of these levels. Ethos and values of planners are of no secondary importance here.

## 2.2 'post-Socialist urbanity'

However, it is known pretty well that planning theories travel (Healey & Upton, 2010) and often arrive at the contexts where they were never expected to function or relate to the process on the ground (Stead, De Jong, & Reinholde, 2009). One of such contested fields is post-Socialist world. But is there (still) a post-socialist city? Should there be a specific urban planning theory? These are the key questions of this section covering the context of the CEE-FSU states. During the '30 years of transition' a number of scientists, think tanks and research projects focused on urban change in countries emerging from Socialist regimes.

The 'post-socialist' terminology came from economics and firstly was used as a temporal designator, but was successfully transferred to the peculiarities of urban development (Tuvikene, 2010), architecture and even planning (Kaliopa, 2002; Melinda Benko, 2019; *The Post-Socialist City*, 2007).

This approach gained ground within the larger privatization, deregulation and internationalization shifts in the former Socialist bloc during the 1990-s and 2000-s implying the desired trajectory of countries becoming truly 'western'. It was also a part of long tradition of research of socialist urbanity, most famously, by Hamilton (F. I.

Hamilton, Andrews, Pichler-Milanovic, Pichler-Milanović, & Pichler, 2005; F. Hamilton, 1979).

The vast amount of literature has covered problems of conceptualization of socialist and post-socialist cities (Hirt & Stanilov, 2010) (Hirt, 2013) (Zarecor, 2017), identified the key directions of transformation (Hirt, 2015; Murawski, 2018), formulated urban patterns shared by different countries (Hirt & Stanilov, 2010) and discussed the specific physical urban changes (Melinda Benko, 2019).

However, was there a socialist city at all? This is a question not definitively answered until now. By the accounts of social equality and morphology, the Socialist city had its specific features, and they are one of the arguments put forward by (Zarecor, 2017). Still, as (Hirt, 2013) mentions, there remain a lot of questions whether we can really argue for the existence of an ‘ideal’ post-socialist city.

In the current debates a new turn in the research about post-socialist studies came with the embrace of post-colonial optics (Chari & Verdery, 2008). The authors emphasized the interrelated topic of ‘empires, Cold-war representations and embedded social inequalities. In an introduction to a volume *Chasing Warsaw Socio-Material Dynamics of Urban Change since 1990*, (2012) Monika Grubbauer emphasizes how the socialist and post-socialist city was ‘orientalised’ and its interpreted as backward the material and social substance by the existing literature.

As Poblocki (2010) argues, socialist patterns of urbanization were not “backward” in the terms of being “earlier” on the same time axis of development. Instead, they were spatially external to this axis and therefore distinctly different. However, Bodnař (2001)

and Stanek (2021) emphasize that this distinctiveness does not place socialist cities outside of the order of urban modernism. A significant portion of the literature on the so-called “postsocialist city” therefore makes a double mistake of paradoxically combining two contradictory interpretative schemes (Ferenčuhová & Gentile, 2016).

How can we then understand the interrelation of socialist and capitalist? The question of rupture with the practices of socialist urbanism is not answered yet. Gentile and Sjöberg (2006) argue that much work has tended to bypass the continuing role of the extinct system of central planning and of its aftershocks and posthumous legacies and it has to be seriously addressed. Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2011) notes that cities in the FSU and CEE are surely not socialist anymore, but it is equally hard to call them capitalist yet. Since the urban morphology, land use and social segregation remain much different from what is typically documented in capitalist cities. He argues that the process of reorganization of the urban fabric is far from complete. In a similar way (Golubchikov, Badyina, & Makhrova, 2013) are arguing that legacies of socialism are to be understood as integral part of the emerging regimes of capitalist political economy, “conducive to the capitalist processes, rather than ‘alien’ carriers of history” (p. 143).

Since the last decade most of urban the processes stabilized, and cities of post-socialist Eastern Europe each developed their own ‘ordinary’ pathways of development, therefore it became more and more relevant to think of them as ‘ordinary cities’ (Robinson, 2006, 2015).

Lately, Gentile (2018) put forward the proposal to get away from the term ‘post-socialist city’ as it confines the reproduced relations of knowledge creation and confines the theoretical input of research to the artificial boundaries of the region. He also argues

against what Tuvikene (2016) puts as de-territorialization of post-socialism, Still, in the research field, the terminology is alive, and recently used in a non-historical works about climate change (Ferenčuhová, 2020) and urban design processes in the CEE (*Understanding Post Socialist Cities*, 2019) as well as in a case-studies (Svirčić Gotovac & Kerbler, 2019). The continuity of the post-socialist urban planning could be observed in the planning process – highly closed, developed by experts and presented before the political elite. This continuity, though, is slowly breaking, as more stakeholders are being invited to the planning table (Kuneva, 2018, p. 32).

The question of ‘plannability’ or manageability of the cities in the region remains the core question, as it is still not clear, to what extent urban change in the cities is and can be planned, and whether the theoretical approaches of the Western Europe/USA are of value studying seemingly haphazard and chaotic development in the many cities. Therefore, there remains an open question of how to interpret the socio-economic dynamics of the big urban agglomeration in relation to the past processes. Bridging different regional divisions in literature (especially EU/Non-EU) and city scales remains a quest for further research. As a concluding remark, it is possible that post-socialist terminology retains an explanatory potential, when it is directly dealing with the after-effects of the socialist state (in the Ukrainian context –inherited and unrevised planning legislation and education).

### **2.3 Urban planning in the CEE/FSU capitals**

However, there is already a substantial amount of planning literature concerned with the trajectories of the cities in different post-socialist contexts. In relation to the topic

of strategic spatial planning (Tsenkova, 2007) was the first to look at the process from a comparative perspective. During the 2000s, most capital cities from the Baltics to the Balkans have gone through a process of strategy development with a varied degree of success. She reviewed processes of the strategic spatial planning in several cities of the former Socialist Block yielding mixed results. A few strong points of the strategies could be stressed, echoing the ideas outlined in the first section of the chapter. Somehow unexpectedly in the end she underlines that “in summary, it can be argued that strategic spatial planning is an efficient tool to manage post-socialist cities” (p. 468). It remains to be analysed how exactly can these strategies influence decision-making. Alongside evident successes in *developing* strategies, the big question remains as if there exists the ability to *manage* such complex plans and adopt needed middle-range spatial plans that are based on the priorities and principles of the strategic plans.

Another point is crucial to understand that “While there are obvious differences in the way the three aspects of the transition process – the transition to democracy, markets, and democratic governance – affect post-socialist cities, they set a very different and perhaps unique context for strategic planning” (p. 467). In a more recent overview, it is also stressed (Hirt & Stanilov, 2010) that divergent approaches are used to frame the changing planning environment and

They argued that the short lifespan of the plans adopted in the first decade or so after the fall of the Iron Curtain can be interpreted in various ways. While one can view it as a sign of the fast changes of the cities and societies, it can also point to the inability of the offered planning instruments to predict and direct transformations on the city scale. But even more importantly, “the quick emergence of a second generation of master plans is



also a reflection of a desire to make the process of urban planning more flexible, adaptive, and responsive to the dynamic context within which urban planning in the transitional countries takes place” (p. 109).

Scott and Kühn (2012) were sceptical about the potential of applying Western instruments and spatial development policies. They stressed that “while the “domestication” of neoliberal policies (Stenning et al., 2010) and the “Europeanization” of structural development policies (Brusis, 2005) is certainly informing regeneration strategies in CEE cities, the paths these strategies are taking vary considerably – “involving both “Western” experience and local experimentation” (p. 12). What does this local experimentation mean and to what extent can the conceptual approaches and experiences of Western European cities outlined above be transferred to CEE contexts? Urban growth, decline and regeneration may be seen as a result of structural, long-term trends of economy and demography but also of political action and local capacities to manage change.

Dąbrowski & Piskorek (2018) critically looked at the emergence and transformation of strategic urban planning in the CEE since the 1990s. They found out that “strategic planning at the local level is seldom considered to be more than a formality required to get access to EU money” and that “In many cases, strategies were akin to ‘wish lists’ or were prepared by consultancy firms according to a template” (p. 584). They continue by stressing that “despite negative aspects, however, there were encouraging signs of change across the three regions. (...) bigger (or more resourceful) municipalities tended to learn, accumulate experience and gradually internalize strategic planning, even

though it was initially considered to be solely a requirement to gain access to funding” (p. 584).

Hirt (2015) for instance, outlined 5 challenges of the ‘post-socialist planning’ relating to the complicity of spatial planning to deal with the new challenges of market economy: “neoliberal doctrines espousing the superiority of free-market capitalism put into question the utility of public sector planning” (p. 189). To see the potential answers to this problem it is, therefore, necessary to analyse specific trajectories of urban planning taken by these cities, which have been studied already (Ruoppila, 2007; Svirčić Gotovac & Kerbler, 2019; Van Assche, Salukvadze, & Duineveld, 2012).

In the case comparison of Belgrade and Bratislava (Machala & Koelemaij, 2019) looked at the large-scale development projects that question the validity and rationale behind city-wide land-use plans, as the latter were bended and revised completely to fit the aims of the redevelopment ambitions. Lead by private investment groups such projects showcase the different post-socialist governance trajectories taken by the countries in the transition period.

Planning in Belgrade and Sophia was studied by Sonia Hirt (Hirt, 2008; Hirt & Petrović, 2014). She employed discursive problematization of postmodernism to reflect on the changes in the so-called ‘built structure’ – from morphology to visual appearance. Construction practices in the city of Belgrade until the mid-2000s seemed to contradict the planning policies, but the processes of enforcement were absent, as the state authorities were fighting real war. Further legalization was necessary to integrate informal housing in the city networks of infrastructure. Sophia, on the other case, has

shown a capital-led suburbanization and automobilization with most classical examples taken from the US. Spatial strategy since mid-2000s was a new instrument for Sophia.

Warsaw, for instance, has a history of conflicting evaluation of the successes of the urban planning. High density, modern-looking areas are symbols of new era and development. Decision-making that happens clandestinely is often guided by the logic of market-oriented city growth with the positive outcomes appearing from the development itself. Democratic processes are blurred with the rule of market forces on the political and economic arena of municipal management. Strategic planning lays down increasing radical and challenging ways of action that do not go further the political stage (Grubbauer, 2012) (Hall, 2007).

In Tallinn, as in the whole Estonia, the process of the creation of a planning framework was more rapid, although the resulting conditions are contested. Strong relation to the EU is undermined by the laissez-faire practices in the city development, great weight of the private initiative and foreign investments. EU-influence on urban management in recently accepted members is considered lateral (Vanagas, Krisjane, Noorkõiv, & Staniunas, 2002), but still very visible as argued by Roose and Kull (2012). To benefit from the EU Coherence Policy funding every region must produce a public strategical document, which has to show explicit measures within economic, social and ecological sustainability. Such documents were the first step towards open public discussions involving different stakeholders on issues of sustainability. Aalborg Charter seemed to have a long-lasting influence on Baltic States as well, gearing the discussion about local planning programs toward sustainability for the last 25 years (Kaklauskas, Zavadskas, & Šaparauskas, 2009; Ruoppila, 2007; A. Zilans, 2013).

Riga, bound by these international and EU commitments to sustainable development and where at the national level sustainable development is defined as a political objective has seen progress towards sustainability largely being declarative, not in practical measures and outcomes (Andis Zilans, 2013; Zilans & Abolina, 2007) (Raagmaa & Stead, 2013).

Case of Tbilisi shows the short-term planning and instability oriented towards neoliberal decision-making based on old Soviet planning model of general planning as argued by Van Assche and Salukvadze (2012). New political regime is far away from sustainability concerns although there are quite a few programs oriented to dealing with the urgency of improving air, water quality and decreasing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the city (Zurashvili, 2017).

Moscow and Minsk provide a completely different picture. State centralization and dependence on the capital is influencing the sustainability discussion countrywide as well as highlight inequalities and discrepancies between the 'centre' and the 'periphery'. While the main cities have achieved some progress in responding to contemporary issues of sustainable urban planning, most of the country is lagging behind. Nevertheless, capital accumulation and power concentration in the capital also poses a big problem of the strong influence on a small group of landowners and developers. Cities are lacking mechanisms to balance the interests and exert control on the quality and responsibility of the development plans as argued by Alden, Crow, and Beigulenko (1998); Sysoyeva (2017); Yvashkyna and Kochurov (2012). Still, countries that undertook a privatization program early in the 1990-s found themselves in a better situation with urban planning generally and with strategic initiatives specifically (Shmelev & Shmeleva, 2009).

On both sides of EU/Non-EU borders there were attempts to utilize strategic urban planning, and, as evidence show, such plans rarely fulfilled the expectations. They increased the capacity and scale of thinking in urban planning departments and often offered radical proposals, but the ability to manage city growth and transformation remained critically limited. There are no conclusive answers of if the post-Socialist cities gained much with the introduction of such plans. There is an expectation that results and outcomes are yet to be seen, especially via new comprehensive comparative studies.

#### **2.4 Spatial development, planning and theory in Kyiv**

To get a deeper look at the context of planning science in Ukraine and specify the research gap, several existing fields of research on the planning in Kyiv are reviewed in this section.

Firstly, it is necessary to say that the idea of strategic spatial or integrated planning is relatively new to Ukraine, as it appeared in the scientific discussions no earlier than late 2000s and is still not accepted as a common ground. One can trace the use of the term to the integration seminars held in Ukraine with German and American planners. The main theoretical works on the topic are by Kubyda and Bilokon' (2009), who were among the first to systematize Ukrainian urban planning experience after the dissolution of the USSR and relate it to the planning provisions of the EU. Habrel (2004) in his volume of research on spatial and territorial planning has argued for the new strains of the planning science to appear. Such methodological approach would cover the regional planning scale to counter incrementalistic planning processes on the local level. He

stressed the need to get over the inherited instruments of urban planning from socialist times.

However, most of the other sources concern themselves with the topic of General planning, which is a key planning documentation on the local level. Among several latest assessments of the planning principles of the Soviet/Post-Soviet General plan of Kyiv, (Pleshkanovska, 2018, 2019) looks at the general planning from a few perspectives: its incapacity to predict future and manage the changing context of land-use practices. Similar issues were raised by Diuzhev (Diuzhev, 2016; Diuzhev & Tovbych, 2012), one of the authors of General plan 2002. Yet another theoretician and practitioner, Filvarov (2012) has taken a critical stance towards a 'weak approach and methodological failures' that are not tackled within the destabilized system of contemporary municipal governance. Interestingly, terminology of post-socialist urbanity does not penetrate the available writings, and neither does the growing discussion about the neoliberal strains in planning theory.

Secondly, a string of literature from the field of human geography has appeared in the last 10 years that has not yet been integrated in urban planning research. Mezentsev and his colleagues (Mezentsev et al., 2018; Mezentsev & Kljukko, 2015; Smigiel, Mezentsev, & Provotar, 2021) engaged in the discussion of suburbanization in the main cities of Ukraine, arguing for the ensuing similarities among the spatial outcomes of the neoliberal agenda around the world, which have their impact on Kyiv. Gated communities, limited-access infrastructures, de-politization and de-subjectification of citizens have found their way into Ukraine, and foremostly, Kyiv.

Thirdly, while not being in the centre of my research, a growing number of researchers in Kyiv are looking at the interrelations between housing (market) and urban development, which has a direct correlation to the conditions of urban development. Tsenkova and Turner (2004) were first to politicise and relate the questions of housing policy within the CEE region to the levels of municipal governance in a comparative perspective. Fedoriv (2017) in his research of the financialization of housing in Madrid and Kyiv comparatively analyses the relations of global processes (financialization of capitalism) and its impacts on the built fabric of Kyiv. Such comparative perspective puts Kyiv in connection with the already well-known financialization and the mortgage-based economy, offering new terminology and study approaches. Corruption but also societal agreement on the need to 'built more' are effectively pushing the formal planning procedures aside, if they do not conform with the developer's interests. This challenge is taken further Patlay (2019), who has based her research on the case studies of housing construction projects, implementing a thorough review of the discrepancies between the official and 'real' development procedure, exposing the deficiencies and corruption in urban planning in the decision-making in Kyiv.

Lyasheva's work is a latest major contribution to the understanding of the principles of housing development in the post-Soviet Kyiv (Lyasheva, 2019). She studied the actors, their networks and strategies which made the housing growth possible after the dissolution of the USSR. By utilizing urban growth coalition, urban regime and city bargaining theories, she identified the relationships between ideas of growth and (weak) planning tradition and interaction of international scale actors with the local context. Research offers many insights (of?) the positions of actors in the volatile field of real

estate in the context open questions about the role of planners in the system of the development of housing market since the 1990s. While not commonly understood as 'planners', developers act like ones, mitigating the lack of or ignoring the weak provisions of formal planning. Capital extraction is of enough quantity to cover the expenditures of pocket planning bureaus that draw large Detailed plans for housing complexes.

However promising are the latest works in the field, the problem of theoretical assessment of post-socialist planning conditions in the Ukraine, and Kyiv city specifically is evident (Restrepo Cadavid et al., 2015). Quality of much of the academic sources is ambiguous and it remains to be seen whether. As a result, there is a need to further interpret the general policy guidelines of the EU, build realistic substantive theorization and integrate the existent body of knowledge in a global context of changing urban planning conditions and principles.



## Chapter 3: Methodology

Post-socialist region, especially the FSU countries, receive less attention in academia than the Western countries due to global hierarchies in knowledge production. As Lyasheva (2019) has stated on the research of the political economy in the Eastern Europe, as researchers we are torn between importing Western World concepts on the one hand, and hastily drawing parallels between theories developed from the Latin American/East Asian/African contexts and applying them to Ukraine, on the other. Therefore, a more nuanced and balanced research approach is needed.

### 3.1 Research approach

This thesis is based on a qualitative research design, involving a range of theories drawing from political science, history and urban planning spheres. Ernste (2012, p. 88) underlines that “traditionally, spatial planning systems are described as organizational and institutional structures for which mainly the following descriptive dimensions are seen as constitutive” and quotes (Danielzyk & Weichhart, 2006, p. 1) on the key components of the spatial planning, which are “nominal and functional spatial planning law; administrative structures and hierarchical orderings, division of competences and authorities; procedures and processes; instruments.”

They further argue that such conceptualization misses a few important points. Firstly, it does not include plan-makers and plan-implementors as ‘intentional subjects’. Surely, actors have not only the ability to interpret the rules(institutions), but also personal interest to do so. Secondly, the plan organizes not merely spatial configurations, but also spatial practices of these and other subjects. Therefore, they can

and often do contest or negotiate the content of planning. While such points comprise valid critique of reductionist perspective often employed to study spatial planning, this thesis does not follow Ernste's focus on to the planning cultures analysis but looks at spatial planning via the new institutionalist perspective.

Specifically, *Actor-centred institutionalism* and *Historical institutionalism* are key approaches in the following research. Both approaches originate from political science and focus on the complicated but specific political projects ranging from the development and demise of the welfare state to the study of revolutions.

First of all, institutions are not defined as authorities, trans-national companies or organizations such as UN/WTO/World bank or so. Rather they are understood as rules of game, structuring the courses of action for actors (Scharpf, 2000). Moreover, "institutions (...) are created and changed by human action either through evolutionary processes of mutual adaptation or through purposive design" (Scharpf, 2018, p. 12)

Steinmo has argued that "human beings are both norm-abiding rule followers and self-interested rational actors. How one behaves depends on the individual, on the context and on the rules. (...) Most likely, any significant political outcome is best understood as a product of both rule following and interest maximizing." (Steinmo, 2008, p. 126). This brings to the point where the need to understand institutions and the need to understand actors are equally pressingly high (Mayntz & Scharpf, 1996). Intricate relationship of how institutions are shaped by actors and how the actors' actions are shaped by institutions is clearly historically embedded. By going beyond classical institutionalist framework it is possible to overcome the limited understanding of institutions as 'cages' keeping actors as 'hostages'. Here, the historical institutionalism

plays a role. It is presumed that “actors or agents can learn from experience. Historical institutionalists understand that behaviour, attitudes and strategic choices take place inside particular social, political, economic and even cultural contexts” (Steinmo, 2008, p. 127). The very notion of contextualization brings a different understanding of the ‘general principles of urban planning’. Actors perceive planning instruments, development projects, public interest via the framework of institutions *and* through their specific beliefs and values. These, in turn, shape the *ideas* that are employed to achieve a specific result.

Seeing institutions, ideas and politics in a co-evolutionary process allows to study power relations and integrate agency into the analysis. Such research has a clear limitation on the scale and theoretization of ‘grand forces’ but provides a stronger framework for postcolonial and ‘South’ lenses.

Following this approach, Sorensen offers a new look at urban planning research. Because of the planning’s imbued normativity, the importance of understanding the changes in institutional framework cannot be underestimated. Sorensen (2018) stressed that “[C]onstraints and opportunities associated with prior patterns of institutional development create contingent events that in turn generate persistent difference between places” (p. 618). He also offers to understand the “planning institutions as collectively enforced expectations with respect to the creation, management, and use of urban space” (Sorensen, 2014, p. 24). Here one can narrow further this definition of institutions to focus on plans, laws, and regulations which can be enforced by the state, are recognized by majority of the majority of players of the development market or civil society.

To research the specificities, predicates and outcomes of institutional change, a set of specific concepts is needed. *Critical junctures* represent a (unique) window of political opportunity. In such situations actors can directly influence the outcomes, although the choices remain constrained by such structures as political and economic systems. They are “choice points when a particular option is adopted from among two or more alternatives. These junctures are ‘critical’ because once an option is selected, it becomes progressively more difficult to return to the initial point when multiple alternatives were still available” (Mahoney, 2002, as cited in Andre Sorensen, 2014, p. 24). They often generate *positive feedback effects*, resulting in that “paths not taken recede quickly into the past and cannot easily be retrieved” (Sorensen, 2014, p. 25).

*Counterfactuals* are also an important theoretical position, that this paper takes seriously. ‘If’ means that there could have been another outcome of the critical juncture, as actors are, as mentioned, intentional subjects, and can act on their behalf to strengthen or challenge the existing institutional framework. “The importance of contingency is that there must be multiple possible alternatives and that the choice point occurs as a particular historical event or critical juncture” (p. 22). But the universality of these concepts is challenging. As argued by Capoccia and Kelemen (2011) “[c]ritical junctures are rare events in the development of an institution: the normal state of an institution is either one of stability or one of constrained, adaptive change” (p. 358).

Sorensen (2014, p. 28) also stresses that “the question then becomes: how do constrained processes of *adaptive change* work in specific institutional settings?”. He offers to understand path dependence as a “continuity (that) is often the result of ongoing mobilization by those advantaged by the institution who seek to protect their

advantages” (p. 29). What this means is that if a group of actors systematically benefit from the institution in question, they will likely mobilize in favour of such continuity. Using the model (see Figure 3.1.1) the ways in which the planning policy and practices have moved in the latest years can be visualized.

**Figure 3.1.1**

Four models of policy change

		Characteristics of the targeted institution	
		Low levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement	High levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement
Characteristics of the political context	Strong veto Possibilities	<p><b>Layering</b></p> <p><i>(Creation of new policy without elimination of old)</i></p> <p>Examples: Most constitutional revisions, new planning laws and policies that build on prior system, incremental revisions to Official Plans, adding new measures such as Environmental Impact Assessments to existing development control regimes</p>	<p><b>Drift</b></p> <p><i>(Transformation of stable policy due to changing circumstances)</i></p> <p>Examples: Failure to reform welfare policies to respond to economic and social changes, failure to revise municipal boundaries in growing city-regions</p>
	Weak Veto Possibilities	<p><b>Displacement</b></p> <p><i>(Formal reform, replacement, or elimination of existing policy)</i></p> <p>Example: Normal policy changes</p>	<p><b>Conversion</b></p> <p><i>(Internal adaptation of existing policy through changes in implementation)</i></p> <p>Example: non-enforcement of existing policies such as pollution regulations by EPA under Republican administrations in the U.S.</p>

*Note.* Reproduced from Mahoney and Thelen (2009, p. 19)

### 3.2 Research question

Taking into consideration the importance of looking at the evolution, path dependency, incremental and endogenous change, this work focused on actor's behaviour to better explain the current changes and draw a more conclusive and coherent picture of processes in spatial planning in Kyiv. The main research question therefore was:

- > How to interpret and evaluate the contemporary approach to spatial planning in Kyiv?

To answer this question, additional questions were necessary:

- > How to interpret normative planning guidelines?
- > How to operationalize the quality criteria and principles of best spatial planning?
- > How to integrate the post-socialist urban and socio-economic context into spatial planning research?
- > What did the process of the spatial plan creation looked and looks like?
- > What actors are and were involved in the urban development?
- > How has the role of the planning documentation changed in spatial planning?

### 3.3 Research design

Based on the questions and because of the approach taken, this work focused on the institutions and actors, which, in turn, required a system of qualitative methods. The following research design agenda (see Table 3.3.1) was created to fulfil this aim.

**Table 3.3.1**

Research design agenda

Phase	Objective	Steps
1	Identify study scope and cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Literature review on planning theory and CEE/FSU urban planning</li> <li>- Exploratory interviews</li> <li>- Identification of the research gap</li> <li>- Integration of the HI + ACI for case studies</li> <li>- Formalization the scope of research and tools of data analysis</li> <li>- Selection of case studies</li> </ul>
2	Develop analysis framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Detailed review of the urban planning guidelines</li> <li>- Creation of the analysis framework of planning projects</li> </ul>
3	Analyse the cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Document analysis, Map analysis</li> <li>- In-depth interviews</li> <li>- Mapping of actors and networks</li> </ul>

Phase	Objective	Steps
4	Compare and evaluate the cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Document analysis, Map analysis</li> <li>- In-depth interviews</li> </ul> <p>Mapping of actors and networks</p>
5	Discuss and answer the RQ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reflection on the cases</li> <li>- In-depth interviews</li> </ul> <p>Mapping of actors and networks</p>

### 3.4 Methods:

Following the research design agenda, each method provided necessary complementary data for the analysis of projects and changes in the planning institutions. The collection, analysis and interpretation of data occurred in distinct phases.

The methods that were employed to address the research questions are further elaborated on. Exploratory interviews which were conducted to familiarise with the policies and actors and helped to refine the scope and objectives of this thesis.

Document analysis was utilized in three instances. Firstly, in reading and synthesising the categories of analysis framework. Secondly, when the planning guidelines and policies are inspected based on categories. And lastly, when comparing the plans and project explanatory notes. Qualitative content analysis is mostly used in the analysis of the in-depth interviews.

Map analysis was supplementing this method. It was based on the critical geographical approach by Harley (1989). Other theoretical methodological sources



included Ryan (2011) for the analysis of urban plans and Crawford (2015) for specificities of socialist general plans. Here the density-mix-connectivity, community spaces, ecological sustainability were looked into as explained in a map. Plan authors and commissioners were distinguished and related to the actor network

Media analysis was to assess articles and interviews with the actors, public response and popular analytics on the topic. Lastly, spatial analysis was based on personal observation, satellite imagery (Google Earth) and google street view to better familiarize with the conditions of the study cases. During this analysis essential spatial characteristics were defined and conditions of planning from the documentation verified.

#### ***Data collection:***

Primary data comes from problem-centred, semi-structured expert interviews, and non-participatory observations (field protocols).

Secondary data comes from other researcher's works, social media, online-media resources, governmental policy documents and spatial development plans, municipal legislation, Google Street view and satellite imagery and public statements by the private development companies.

### **3.5 Tools of data analysis. Strategic integrated spatial planning: a framework**

Best available knowledge – what does that mean? The difficulty to universally address this question is formidable as reviewed in the second Chapter. To operationalize the quality criteria and principles of good spatial planning, a framework was created (see

Table 3.5.1). This analytical framework was developed based on the literature review of strategic, communicative and integrated spatial planning. The categories of analysis channelled my research methods, providing the frame for data analysis.

**Table 3.5.1**

Analytical framework categories

Plan qualities			Political conditions			Plan provisions		
Strategy	Flexibility, Adaptability	Integrat edness	Transpa rency, account ability	Stakeholder participation	Formality, Legality	Ecological sustainability	Spatial quality	Socio- economic sustainab ility

The idea behind the table was to bring the normative guidelines together to assess whether the evolution of planning in Kyiv has can be understood and analysed via these guidelines (did it follow the principles boldly advocated in the EU or not). Another layer to the research is a complicated relation of the formal statutory plans and strategic instruments. Although the plans can resemble influences and incorporation of the best available planning knowledge, ability to implement them is restrained to a certain degree. Although, building upon the existing theoretical literature it was still possible to fill the table with the content and to operationalize the normative of the ‘best available knowledge’. These guidelines and policy documents were selected based on the criteria of their ‘universal’ relation to spatial planning: New Urban Agenda, SDG goal 11 (cities and communities) and International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning.

This study used EU-guidelines as well, based on a set of reasons. First, Ukraine has been actively implementing EU-harmonization laws since 2014 in the process leading to the single market association with EU. Secondly, Ukraine was historically related to the European city planning and architecture as well as historically being part of different countries that now joined the EU (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania). Thirdly, Ukraine has been striving towards integration and accession to the European Union, which is enshrined in the Constitution of Ukraine since 2019. Lastly, If EU guidelines are applicable to such post-socialist states as Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria, that have similar urban contexts (as is evident from the literature review chapter), Ukrainian urban planning can also be expected to be evaluated in this framework. The key documents are the New Leipzig Charta, Urban agenda for EU (Amsterdam pact), and EU Handbook of sustainable urban development strategies.

The results of this synthesis are presented in the chapter 5, before the analysis of the empirical case studies.

### ***Converging scales and planning approaches***

Of course, these documents present the recommendations on somewhat different spatial and governmental levels. To complement the analytical table a layer of highly relevant categories of analysis were outlined on the level of spatial planning (see Table 3.5.2). This did not preclude that other categories were irrelevant, but prioritization can help to identify the most critical issues on each of the scales and make the evaluation more grounded.

**Table 3.5.2**

Scales in the analytical framework

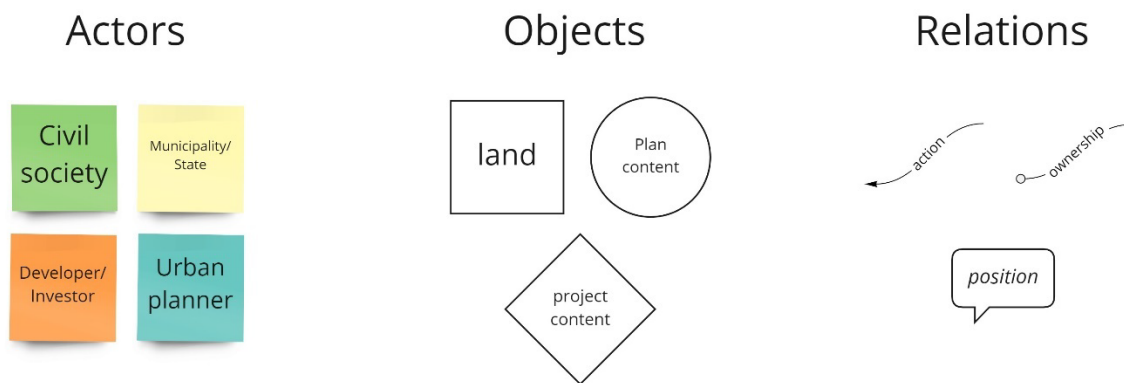
Scale	Priority categories(topics)	Key guidelines
Urban region/ Metropolitan	Strategic, Flexibility, Ecological sustainability, Integratedness,	SDG / International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning
City scale	Strategic, Integratedness, transparency, formality, Ecological sustainability, Spatial quality, Socio-economic equitability,	NUA/ EU Handbook of SUDS/ New Leipzig Charta
Neighbourhood scale	Flexibility, Stakeholder participation, Spatial quality, Socio-economic equitability	New Leipzig Charta

***Analysis of actors***

Actor-centred institutionalism brings an advantage of looking on the composition of actors behind plans/strategies generation and contextualize the planning practices and approaches. Based on the methods mapping of actors according to the logic of project was conducted. This tool served a supplementary role in expanding the critical understanding the planning process, creating more points of comparison and adding the dimension of the subject's engagement with the institutionalised framework of spatial planning. The mapping consisted of identifying the actors, categorizing them and drawing the relations between them in the project.

**Figure 3.5.1**

Template of actor mapping



*Note.* Actor types are the following: Orange: private developers, yellow: municipality/mayoral office or state, green: civil society actors and citizens, turquoise: planning offices. Relations consist of positions that are simplified in the comment boxes and interactions as arrows and links

### 3.6 Scope of research

The research is a comparative case study with a very specific structure of research. Although the 3 different planning projects are reviewed, their representativity of the

planning in Kyiv as a whole is stressed. Therefore, this research combined elements of a comparative case study with a single-case study elements.

Uwe Flick (2018) outlines the approach to generalization, “in which the emphasis is not on the generality of the findings or interpretations so much as on their case-to-case transferability” (p. 112). What is meant here is that the discovery of the general conditions of the validity of theory under all similar conditions is not necessary. Still the ‘transfer’ of knowledge to other cases is possible when the situation under investigation possesses key conceptual theoretical similarities. Yin describes this strategy as ‘generalizing to theory’. “If two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed” (Yin, 2003, pp. 32-33). Louis Albrechts (2015) maintains that “strategic spatial planning is as much about process, institutional design, and mobilization as it is about the development of substantive theories” (p. 511). This work may not reach the level of substantive theory but is aimed to be a step in that direction, where generalization is not seen as an ultimate goal. Provincialization of the theory and its substantivization can go hand by hand. It is also what Bodnar calls “implicitly comparative or quasi-comparative method” (Bodnar, 2001).

As Lyasheva (2019) has stressed in her work on Kyiv,

“a single case could contribute to the scientific development and resonate with elements, dynamics, and relations from the field. The data will be collected for one city, but it will constantly be referred to the broader urban theoretical framework and global urban phenomena. (...) [B]ased on a specific city, (it is possible) to tell a globally relevant story and enrich the empirical and theoretical work on their subjects” (p. 6).

Choice of the case study for this research was motivated by several factors. Among them are internal to logic of the research, following the research questions, and external, coming from the practical feasibility considerations (language, access to information, knowledge of legislation). Kyiv remains in a unique position remaining one of last of the capitals in the FSU (Minsk being the only other) not to change the main conditions of planning framework and legislation.

Building upon the HI and Actor-centred institutionalism, a system of analysis was developed which allowed to capture the evolution of the planning in Kyiv, provide a big picture of actors and their interests, and to evaluate the planning projects. To do so three cases of contemporary urban planning in Kyiv were reviewed, which met the criteria of representing planning approaches on the level of the neighbourhood, city district and metropolitan planning:

- 1) Plan of Unit City plan spans 91 hectares (of them only 25ha planned) fairly central in the city, thus representing neighbourhood scale.
- 2) Detailed plan of Poznyaki-2 has an effective territory of around 220 hectares and is located on a more peripheral area, corresponding to a scale of a big district.
- 3) General plan of the village of Sofiivska Borschagivka covers 1810 hectares and reaches from the outskirts to suburbia, with a high relevance for metropolitan level of planning.

### ***Limitations***

I had not managed to contact municipal authorities, as they either ignored my official letters completely or wrote back to wait until the COVID-19 related restrictions are over. Those were Department of spatial planning, Department of land use in Kyiv and village administration of Sofiivska Borschagivka. Also, due to Covid restrictions access to archives on planning projects and documentation was exceedingly limited, therefore I had to rely on online sources.

Sample size is far too limited for a complete answer to be given on the planning situation on the city, as there should have been several cases in each category. Due to the time limits, this, unfortunately, was not possible.

Already mentioned radical lack of research on the topic was exacerbated by issues of translation of terminology and legal documents. Cross-checking with other studies would be an important step to validate the proper use of wording and meaning.

My personal bias as a native person from Kyiv is an issue in the research. It could have shaped my analysis and project review in a considerably partial way. However, I analysed planned territories I have no personal attachment or relation to.



## Chapter 4: Analytical framework of urban planning projects

### 4.1 Guidelines in detail

The second step in my research design was to create a solid analytical framework for planning projects. Based on the categories deducted from the literature review and chosen planning guidelines criteria of analysis. Although not expected from the beginning of the research, in all the previously defined categories of the analysis it was possible to quote relevant propositions and outline key points. In most of the documents reviewed there remains much hope in long-term and complex planning. Below the key excerpts from these normative documents related to the framework:

#### ***European Handbook of sustainable urban development strategies***

Social inclusion and equality: *Even urban areas (...) are not exempt from growing socio-economic polarisation, which often corresponds to spatial segregation of the most vulnerable population. Cities and urban areas develop strategies of neighbourhood regeneration, applying an area-based approach (p. 12).*

Strategic planning: *Emerging and long-standing urban development issues require the development of a strategic framework, and challenge traditional approaches to urban policy and planning (p. 7).*

#### ***International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning***

Need for strategic dimension: *Local authorities, in cooperation with other spheres of government and relevant partners, should: (a) Develop a shared strategic spatial vision*

*(supported by adequate maps) and a set of consensual objectives, reflecting a clear political will; (p. 12).*

*Focus on the process: Urban and territorial planning is more than a technical tool, it is an integrative and participatory decision-making process (p. 8).*

*Participation: Spatial plans should be elaborated in a participatory way and their various versions made accessible and user friendly, so that they are easily understood by the population at large (p. 24).*

### ***New Leipzig Charta 2020***

*Coordination: All areas of urban policy have to be coordinated in a spatial, sectoral and temporal manner (p. 3).*

*Strategy: In order to ensure resilient and long-term development, local authorities need to take into account strategic and future developments and risks (p. 3)*

*Ecology: Reducing land take, prioritising the renewal and complex regeneration of urban areas, including brownfield redevelopment, to limit soil sealing; Land use should balance urban density by favouring green and blue infrastructure, to increase urban biodiversity and enable climate-neutral (p. 4).*

*Culture: Culture is at the core of any sustainable urban development, including the preservation and development of the built and other cultural heritage (p. 7).*

## ***New Urban Agenda***

Strategy: *15.C.3 Reinvigorating long-term and integrated urban and territorial planning and design in order to optimize the spatial dimension of the urban form and deliver the positive outcomes of urbanization;*

Integratedness: *15.C.1. building integrated systems of cities and human settlements and promoting cooperation among all levels of government to enable the achievement of sustainable integrated urban development;*

Participation: *41. Allow meaningful participation in decision-making, planning and follow-up processes for all, as well as enhanced civil engagement and co-provision and co-production.*

Sustainability: *86. We will anchor the effective implementation of the New Urban Agenda in inclusive, implementable and participatory urban policies, as appropriate, to mainstream sustainable urban and territorial development as part of integrated development strategies and plans.*

## ***Sustainable development goals (SDG)***

Planning over formal boundaries: *Target 11.a Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, per-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning*

Integrated planning: *Target 11.b By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience to*

*disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels.*

### ***Urban agenda for the EU (Pact of Amsterdam)***

Inter-municipal cooperation: *12.2 Governance across administrative boundaries and inter-municipal cooperation: urban-rural, urban-urban and cross-border cooperation;*

Limiting the sprawl: *12.8 Urban regeneration, including social, economic, environmental, spatial and cultural aspects, also linked to the brownfield redevelopment with the objective of limiting greenfield consumption*

All the policies mentioned above have a direct connection to the mainstream planning theory of integrated, sustainable and strategic planning issues. In sum, the contemporary outlook of the planning theory and normative documents puts forward a clear message for a strategic, long-term and municipality-driven planning, that can secure the future for the diverse, sustainable and equitable cities against the ongoing ecological crisis, resource depletion and ever-widening gap between rich and poor.

### ***Arriving at the analytical framework***

How do we know exactly if a planning project is any good? Salet and Faludi (2000) have argued that

“spatial planning contains virtually no intrinsic measures of “quality” which remain static under all circumstances. Spatial perspectives must continually strike a new balance in the social and very dynamic arena of advancing and retreating occupants” (p. 4).

To ‘strike a new balance’ knowledge of the best available theory and practice is often necessary. The aim of this table was to serve as an evaluation tool, that helped to assess the scale on which planning projects comply with aims outlined in the planning theory. Based on the integration of the normative planning documents in the categories of analysis, the criteria of quality were set. The analysis framework (see Appendix A, Tables A1, A2, A3) reflects contemporary best available knowledge operationalized to analyse planning projects.

#### **4.2 Limitations and application issues**

Of course, there is no “one-fits-all” evaluation system, but the need to assess the production of planning *not on its own terms* is crucial to uncover the possible path-dependencies, limitations of thinking and knowledge transfer. However, there are necessary practical and conceptual remarks on the use of the framework.

##### ***Criteria, questions or indications?***

At this level of detailing the criteria in the framework function as questions. Projects are evaluated as if they included considerations on this point and how specifically they do it. Therefore, no quantitative measurement or specific indicator can be given. Perhaps further detailing and concrete work with the local conditions can provide an even more detailed and considerably more specific answers than this research.

##### ***Guidelines and timespan***

Some guidelines predate the creation of planning projects reviewed in the study, while others are set well-after the plans were approved and became a part of urban

development agenda. This contradiction is, regrettable, unsolvable as such. There is no purpose of building the criteria based on outdated documents as they will not provide any relevance for the contemporary analysis. On the side of the case study method, it is obviously problematic to assess “future projects”, as they have not completed the planning process phase. Therefore, all the projects and guidelines are chosen from the last 5-years’ time. This is the aimed to minimize discrepancies in the methodology.

### ***What is a plan and what is not?***

The planning projects analysed here mostly consist of a single plan that covers the whole area. This is an issue, as in most of the planning literature we find planning analysis as a comprehensive evaluation of different plans and strategies covering the area and often overlapping or being integrated. In this research study, however, it is rarely possible to draw on any other planning projects, be those complementing or competing.

### ***Data comparison***

Even though the official forms and standards of data representation are very rigid, somehow various data representation variants are present. Moreover, all three-official land-use documents feature different terminology for the land-use and population occupation projections. Sometimes categories combine recreational, warehouses and industrial use in one without distinguishing them, or feature “undetermined/other” zoning category. These categories often differ even within single document which poses obstacles to calculating the change in functional use. Due to the time and resource limits,

the same evaluation to build coherent categories could not be conducted, therefore, direct comparison in this part is impossible and it can serve only an indicative role.

### ***Categories in tension***

**Strategy vs Flexibility.** Often Strategic plan are seen to be set in stone as long-term agreed aims. Also because of the fixed timespan, strategic projects involve specific targets related to deadlines and phases. But the need to reinvent the plan and to tackle arising challenges is also there. It can be helped by defining the key(strategic) aims or characteristics, that are not questioned during the project timespan, while areas, contents and measure are open to re-evaluation and assessment. However, devil is in details, and too much incremental changes can drown the strategic planning project creating a big compromise instead of a radical change.

**Strategy vs Legality.** This tension is an issue for all of these planning project types. Set for informality as a negative side to be fought against, as corruption, unclarity and illegitimacy seen to arise from it. Spatial regulation, construction and planning codes are all un-designed to be read in different ways and do not offer a lot of room for interpretation, needed to encompass strategic aims. A set of legally-binding, informal and strategic instruments can serve as a strong platform for decision-making in planning for the public good.

**Transparency vs Participation.** This conflict is an issue as vividly outlined by Marantz and Ulibarri (2019). Because the mechanisms of transparency are deeply enmeshed in planning practice, they merit more critical scrutiny from planning scholars than they have received to date. Sometimes they block the essential preparatory

participation process or take all attention from the real participatory engagement towards informing and showcasing.

***Legislation and overarching processes***

While some of the criteria correspond to normative positions laid out in the program papers, some of them are contingent on the legislation in place. However, it is stressed in every document, that it is never enough to stick to the rules, but to produce quality spatial planning projects it is necessary to have an engaged ambitious approach. This paper shares the need of the planning projects to go far beyond prescribed formal instruments (especially inherited from 20-30 years ago) and to define the boundaries anew.



## **Chapter 5: Setting the scene. History, actors and institutions in action**

### **5.1 Soviet spatial planning:**

Immense attention to the spatial planning in the USSR was a result of the various strategic aims of the state. Richardson (Shaw, 1991, p. 1) argued that

“The concept of city planning has always found a ready place in the Soviet ideology of centrally directed social change, and Soviet thinkers have long argued that national ownership of land and central planning of the economy are essential to its success.”

Firstly, industrialization as a tool to modernize the state required the economic and spatial planning to go hand in hand to deliver expected results the 5-year plans. Soon the planners turned to the whole city as an area of action, to integrate the growing industrial enterprises and living areas for the workers (Kholodilin & Meerovich, 2018). This binding logic was not overthrown until the collapse of the USSR, and as this chapter shows, remains in place until today.

Secondly, social responsibility of the state (especially during and after Khrushchev's rule) to house its citizens and subsequently improve the conditions of living was a paramount driving force behind the hierarchical and system-wide application of low-cost planning and construction (Harris, 2013). Large-scale planning projects of the 1960s and 1970s were conducted all over the country, slightly rising the status of the profession and increasing theoretical research and practical inquiries in the field (Shaw, 1991).

Lastly, ideological value of representation of the USSR as a mighty technological superpower called for showcase projects, such as scientific cities (Zelenograd, Novosibirsk, Tolyatti), sport complexes (Olympic infrastructure in Moscow, St. Petersburg) and large memorial sites all around the country (Ulyanovsk, Volgograd, Kyiv). All this signature architecture was relatively well-funded, though extremely exclusive to the mainstream practice.

The whole system in fact was built around typified construction. On all urban scales typified schools, hospitals, and housing blocks/houses with very specific number of possible functions and deviations were part and parcel of it (up to a single café or shop in the microdistrict). Such precision (in theory) allowed to evenly distribute the access to services and public amenities. In practice, however, financing of second tier functions such as polyclinics, libraries, sport halls and especially third-tier functions such as theatres, concert halls, museums/galleries was lagging behind (Shaw, 1991). Sometimes by decades. It was easy to see people living on the city fringe in a new housing without basic infrastructure for years.

Ideal logic of hierarchical system of spatial planning, inscribed in laws and regulations looked as following (GOSGRAZDANSTROY, 1982) :

State spatial plan(republic-wide) -> Regional plan (scale of the rayon or oblast) -> General plan (city scale) -> detailed plan (district/microdistrict scale) -> construction plan (plot scale)

The need to coordinate ministries, local administrative decisions made increasingly difficult to create coherent plan. System was too complicated to perform its tasks,

responsibility for the realization of the plan was in the end blurred. In fact, the system itself was not as monolithic as it seemed. Heterarchy, a term coined by Peters (2016), that comes from cybernetics, helps to grasp the idea better:

“The command economy contained in its operations the cybernetic seeds and complex sources of its own undoing—nonlinear command and control, informal competition, vertical bargaining, and what I am calling heterarchical networks of administrative conflict” (Peters, 2016, p. 57)

To outline how the institutional framework evolved to the current situation it is important to understand that despite the seemingly of clear and hierarchical legally binding planning system, in the 1980s different dissonating voices criticized the rigid and inflexible model, citing its inability to cater for the growing complexity of urban realm. This means the system of planning was considered radically obsolete (Alekseyeva, 2019).

Prerequisites for and practices of informality and corruption existed already, as a few sources of the organizational dissonance, including heterarchical networks of institutional interests (were) underlying the Soviet command economy and its state administration” (Peters, 2016, p. 12). Among them were the ability of powerful ministries (defence or Industry) to challenge the urban planning provisions. Party leaders could press the issue over the table and demand for speeding up of the specific projects benefitting them: prestigious housing or a road construction to their dachas.

Another issue was the hierarchical dependence of the municipality on the competences of the state and finances from Moscow (Shaw, 1983). Closed decision-

making system was inherited and protected urban planners at least from the public outrage, if not from the clients inadequate demands (Vanagas et al., 2002).

## **5.2 System of General plan in Kyiv: an unresolved conflict?**

“The plan of 1986 didn’t exhaust itself; you know. I developed the program of scientific and methodical maintenance for the general plan, but then the deputy mayor – one of these democratic guys who didn’t know what it at all was, said – «Write a program.» I wrote the long-term program of comprehensive design work, submitted it for consideration. And it was there on the table, and he did not consider it. And then comes the day when he calls me to the office and says, «How so? You should stand on the doorstep; you should not let me into the office until I approve it.» (After this) I realized that there would be no real work and left the planning sphere for good» (I2)

Although in the Socialist era land was not evaluated in the logic of market – certain strategic logic of land-use was utilized. Firstly, preservation of the existing natural reserves of the forests and river areas were the issue at stake for the socialist planners. They have already seen the urban expansion and natural habitat loss in the first part of the century, both due to the forced urbanization and lacking control systems for industrial expansion. Secondly, valuable agricultural land on the west bank of the Dnipro had to be safeguarded against the land seal, as it was a part of the command economy nutrition system for the city of 2 million. Thirdly, Soviet economists compared the potential losses due to new agricultural production on the fertile lands and gains from the housing construction, arguing for the need to use low-lying flooded areas on the left

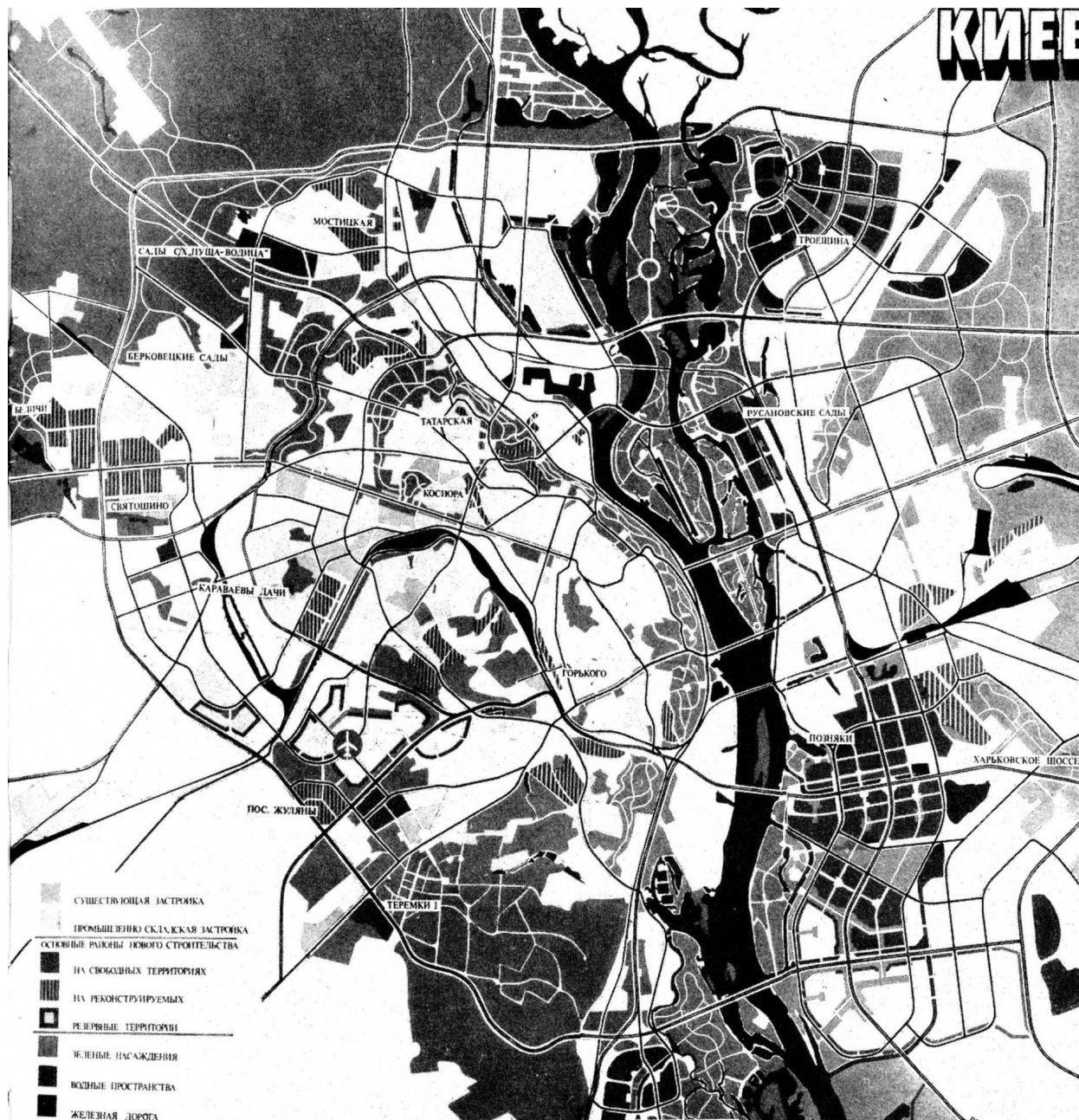
bank for new development (*Kiev during the Socialism*, 1986). New districts were created on the marshlands by bringing sand from down the river Dnipro. Districts such as Rusanivka in 1960s (50 thousand people), Obolon' in 1970s (220 thousand people) Osokorky in 1980s and 1990s (150 thousand people) were all built on the wetlands and marshlands (Kucharskyj, 2018).

To confront and control urban and industrial growth, General Plans were developed throughout the: in 1938, 1946, 1967, 1986, 2002 and 2015/2020. One of the obvious critical questions is the reliance on the same planning instrument after 30 years of the dissolution of the USSR. But before diving into the current processes, there is a need to clarify the inheritance in planning and highlight several path-dependencies.

Last socialist General plan developed from 1980 until 1984 was based on a highly sophisticated scientific system that accounted for most of the processes in the large city of a command economy (see Figure 5.2.1). Plan now forbade further enlargement of industrial areas and otherwise highly polluting industries. But its attempt at coordinating everything proved a great problem, as new high-tech industrial areas were never built due to the looming economic crisis of the USSR. As my respondents argued, planning solutions were extensive, and were designed with the top-down financing by the state. For instance, the enlargement of the city area was planned with the highly extensive and costly transport network, previously funded directly from Moscow. New urban center of an immense scale was planned to be developed on the Left bank of the river. Large-scale monofunctional districts remained the main form of urban development as the construction companies were extremely slow to adapt their technologies of prefabrication and construction.

**Figure 5.2.1**

Main drawing of the General plan of Kyiv, approved in 1986



*Note.* All right reserved. Image credits: Valentin Yezhov, “Polveka Glazami Architekтора”, Kyiv, A+C, 2001.

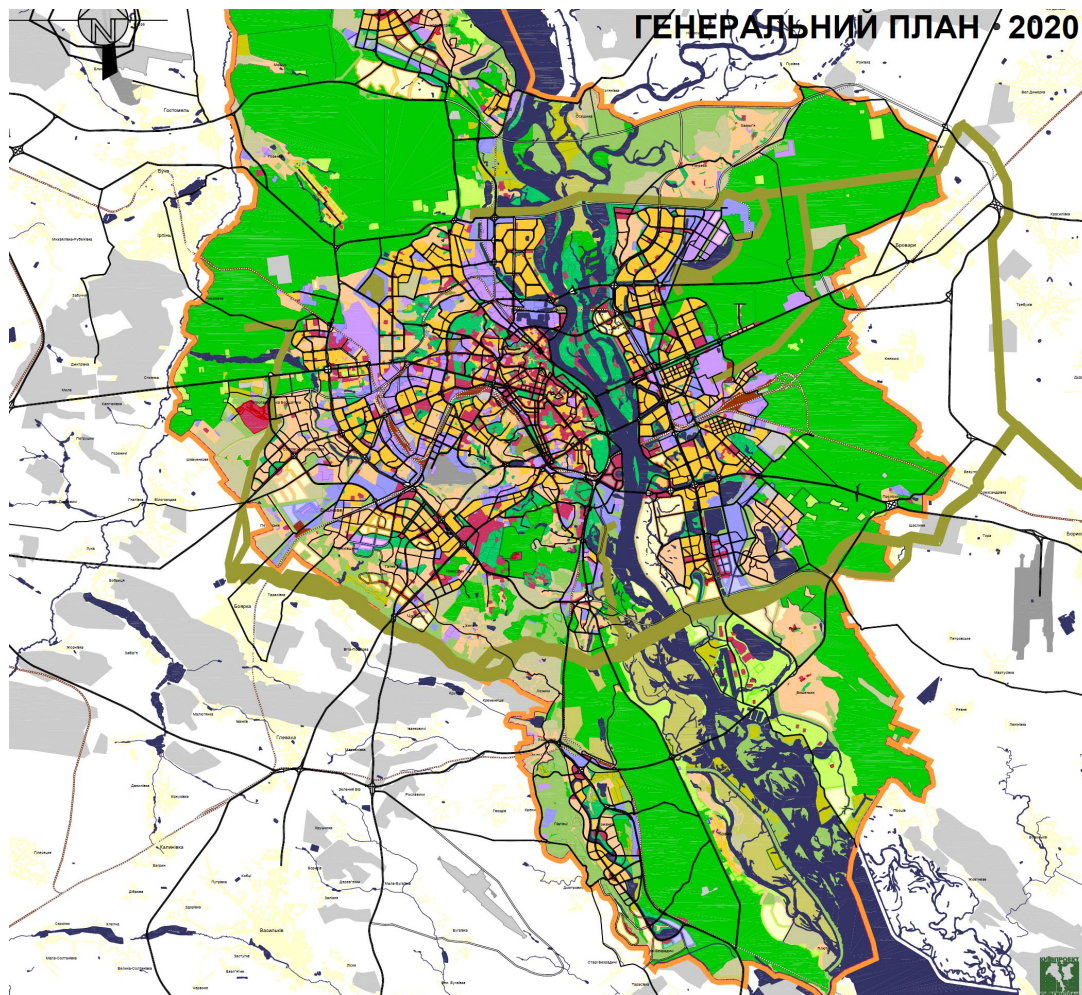
Kyiv has developed and adopted in 2002 only one new General plan since the Soviet era that was projected to cover the city development until 2020 (see Figure 5.2.2). Private ownership was not seriously considered, although land was already partially privatized and citizens' land plots were seen as spaces of opportunity to develop new districts and infrastructure (I1). This little to no understanding of how to deal with private property, led to legal and extra-legal conflicts between municipality and citizens all over the detached housing areas (I2).

Historical conservation principles were outdated, and no zoning plan was integrated, leading to difficulties in precise implementation and guidance of new development. New functions or industries rarely critically understood, placed accordingly to socialist logic of functionalism. Set mainly in accordance to the Soviet planning standards, where no mixed-use districts and soft mobility was present, importance of industry was seen still paramount, although Kyiv already had a service-oriented economy at that time.

City was planned to grow beyond previous limits incorporating nearby settlements which went against the laws on local government and right to local self-determination. Therefore, its relationship with the political-economical structures in the nearby lying villages and cities was left unrealized and undetermined. Until today its legal status is challenged (I4).

**Figure 5.2.2**

Main drawing of the General plan of Kyiv, approved in 2002



*Note.* This plan is a public domain image due to the Law of Ukraine “About the access to public information” (2939-VI). Accessible via <https://kga.gov.ua/generalnij-plan/genplan2020>

Since 2010 there is an ongoing process of the development of the new plan that had to mitigate the problems inherent in the 2002 version, especially the focus on the industry and inclusion of private land development logic. Even the conceptual documents were contested by the civil society (Vladina, 2010) and especially ecologists



(General Plan of Kyiv will lead to the destruction of green areas, 2011). Nevertheless, there were several attempts to update the plan and clandestinely legalize construction that was happening not in accordance with legal provisions (Ogorodnyk, 2020). The two last versions of General plan renewal were presented in 2015 and 2020 but met with fierce resistance (Lykhowid, 2020). Since they were not ratified by the council, they no legal power, although often related to by the planners as conceptual ways of development of territories contrary to the existing plan.

These processes generated a positive feedback effect(loop): illegal projects (not in accordance with the GP) created the need to cover the tracks and create a plan that legalizes them (Will the City Authorities Listen to Kyivites?, 2011). The weaker the plan as a legitimate project, the easier it is to criticize the whole logic of spatial planning institution and prove the need to dismantle the regulation completely (Patlay, 2019).

Among the many discontented voices, the chief architect of Kyiv, the head of the Union of Architects and the head of the planning department of the General plan of 1986 argue that a deep crisis is underway in the planning sphere, and a lot of institutional arrangements and controls were weakened or have perished without any new having taken their place (Yerofalov, 2013). Interest to have a weak controlling institution and to keep the system afloat is named among legislative and structural problems (Anisimov, Ponomaryova, & Ryan, 2020).

### 5.3 Evolution of housing and land provision

In a similar vein as the planning institutional framework, housing supply and real-estate market went through their own evolutionary processes that had critical junctures, unequal power geometries and interested actors.

In the post-war socialism housing was developed in large numbers and almost evenly distributed (Harris, 2013). Individual ownership persisted in Soviet cities as a form of decommodified personal property. Poor management system of *Zheks (Zhilischno-kommunalnaya kontora, management enterprise)* was in place, structure on quantitative indicators, but not quality of housing maintenance. Also, housing policies of the socialist age mostly prevented or limited massive construction of single-family housing, even in the rural regions.

Vlasenko (2018) has shown how the retreat of the state has created a distinct crisis-management model in urban housing:

“For instance, an obvious failure to regulate use of shared property and public spaces in apartment housing, which houses 80% of the country’s population, was caused by absence of legal and organizational mechanism of interaction between owners of private apartments and organisations that provide household services and supply public utilities” (p. 8).

Absence of city- or state-led initiatives on social housing development and inability to establish practices of the inclusion of social housing construction in urban plans leads to developer-negotiated prices of flats. Unstable market, low interest rates, weak state regulation and virtually absent safety net push people into house ownership as a secure

asset for the future. As Fedoriv (2017) and Lyasheva (2019) have argued, since 1990s the system of housing provision remained in the hands of a few developers. Stakeholder arrangement did not change until mortgage market was established at the end of the 1990s and economy started to grow slowly after a long recession.

**Table 5.3.1**

Housing, economy and state in post-Soviet Kyiv

Period	Macroeconomic conditions	State role	Housing finance, production and distribution
Stagnation in the 1990s	Shrinking of the state production of housing, mass privatisation of industrial base, weak interest in real estate	Chaos caused by break down on Soviet power vertical, underfunding of public institutions	Privatisation and capture of housing, state-owned construction enterprises and land
Gradual growth in the end of 1990s and early 2000s	Establishment of the FIGs, international trade, first accumulation of capital from the privatised SOEs	Establishment of new power vertical and consensus between two oligarchic blocks	Investment of the individual savings, public funds and accumulated capital in the real estate
Boom in 2000s-2008	Rise of international trade revenues, arrival of foreign financial capital, dollarisation of economy	<i>De facto</i> dollar peg, legal framework for housing finance and mortgage system	Intensive growth, mostly through housing due to the consumer FX loan mechanism
Crisis and recovery between 2009 and 2014	Rise of state indebtedness through IMF credits and banks' bailouts	Re-establishing of banking and mortgage system in domestic currency	High level of NPLs, but growth through mortgage lending in UAH, attempts to launch subsidized housing programme
New crisis and construction boom in 2014 - 2018	Strong devaluation of UAH, so incomes and housing prices decrease	No fiscal policies to strengthen the national currency as it enables capital accumulation	Boom through the investment from the individual savings and income in foreign currency

*Note.* Reproduced from Lyasheva, 2019, p. 68

Based on this research summary, there could have been at least 3 potential junctures: the first one in the early 1990s, when the state has decided to privatize the whole housing stock and city/state owned development companies. The second one in the wake of 2008 financial bubble crash, when prices plummeted, neither the city nor the state managed

to introduce viable controls or compensate the people who were left with unfinished flats. And the political revolution and last financial crash in 2014 could have change the balance of powers in the, but the issues of municipal governance and housing policy were again not on the agenda.

A set of reasons related to policy design and actors (in)activity has characterized the development of the housing in Kyiv in the last decades:

- City is not often officially selling its land. It gives lease rights without expiry term instead or a fixed-term rent contract to develop housing/retail/offices) In both ways developers skip the land tax completely.
- Land tax is low. By law it cannot be higher than 3% of the land price in Kyiv for land tax, starting from 1 hectare of land ownership. But because of poor land value assessment it rarely is anywhere close to serious numbers. Value assessment was conducted in 2013 and resulted in the ridiculously low mean price of 25 EUR per sqm (State Service of Ukraine for Geodesy, 2021).
- Suburbanization in the city region is not regulated + not taxed, because of hundreds of tax exemptions for individuals. For instance, 0.1 ha is the minimal size land plot taxed (far above the standard land plot size).
- Property tax is flat 1,5 EUR per sqm on property over 60sqm, and there is no progressive tax neither on the size nor on the number of apartments in ownership. This allows people to personally own 600 hundred apartments (Zhezhera & Kostenko, 2017).

- City is not gathering statistics on housing. For instance, it is not known if the flats inhabited or remain unoccupied for speculation? How much living area per person different specific social groups possess? What amount of what kind of housing units are being built? What types of ownerships are in place? As a result, social housing need is not transparent with a waiting list system inherited from the USSR both for flat ownership and renting.
- Legal rental market in housing is virtually non-existent (Fedoriv & Lomonosova, 2019) Although originating in the USSR as a method to avoid 'propiska' (legally binding registration of the home address) it became a social norm to not be registered at the place where you live. However, unofficial rental agreements do not suffice for families for long-term rent and tenants are susceptible to price increase and contract termination.
- State or city-owned housing is also non-existent, and state relies on state-supported mortgages to cater for those in need, but the very poor remain totally out of the housing system provision (Fedoriv & Lomonosova, 2019).

With the low interest rates, speculation in real estate becomes a real issue. People register flats on their family members and manage them as assets. Such medium-sized real-estate enterprises operate undercover avoiding taxation on profit return by selling flats or giving them away as gifts individual to individual, with transactions often in cash (*Residential real estate market*, 2019). Last year around 450 000 operations were conducted, among them nearly 120000 were gifts (Estate, 2021). Tax system does not verify if these transactions are truly gift-related or if they are simply tools to avoid potential revenue disclosure. High profitability of such investments can be considered a

path-dependence, as developers have a reliable revenue prospect from such 'real-estate companies' and push new development projects further.

#### **5.4 Contextualizing and reframing the contradiction of actors and institutions**

The theoretical challenge to combine and provincialize HI and Actor-centered institutionalism this study offers a perspective on placing actors in the institutional frameworks inherited from the past, yet continuously challenged and changed by the actors and larger socio-political forces.

“In the actor-centred institutionalism planning would be seen as a set of institutions governing the field of action of planners, clients, civil society and others. Actors that engage in the production of plans often (un)consciously follow the pre-defined institutional arrangements” (Sorensen, 2018, p. 617).

Although that may sound generally valid for a stable democratic context, there is a need to outline the path-dependencies in the specific post-socialist institutional arrangements. Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2011) in their succinct analysis of the transitions of post-socialist institutions have argued for 3-tiered transformation: of political/economic institutions, social transformation and, lastly, urban transformation. This may be true for countries having a more or less clear direction of transformation (especially those that entered the EU), but Ukraine and Kyiv specifically cannot be set in this directed way. Institutional transformations are far from over and it is still hard to disagree today with the statement that “even though transforming societies, countries and cities do not share the same post-communist development paths, as they are moving in a similar direction away from communism” (p. 45). That direction is though, hardly

clear, as the geopolitical vector has been dramatically challenged by revolutions in 2004 and 2013/2014 and subsequent war with Russia.

Such a development path can be understood as an institutional framework seen evolving in time. In Ukrainian (Kyivan) case institutions of planning, urban development and housing provision has developed to include powerful market players that oversee drawing, ratifying and implementing the plans. Since Ukraine does not feature a strong rule of law, has high perceived levels of corruption (133<sup>rd</sup> among 180 countries) (*Corruption Perceptions Index 2020*) or democracy index (considered a hybrid regime) (*Democracy Index 2020*), it is hard for the planner alone to disentangle and challenge coalitions of private finance and political power. Furthermore, as the construction sector is one of the most corrupt sectors of the economy worldwide (Hardoon & Heinrich, 2011), there is no doubt it is much so in Ukraine.

However, legal sphere still has a great impact on the way the planning is conducted as it is one of the constituent parts of 'rules of the game'. For instance, Law on Urban Development (N3038), adopted in 2011, further entrenched the position of developers allowing them to pay for the development of the city planning documentation. Anti-corruption Prozorro e-procurement system of governmental purchases made the situation even more complicated, as now spatial plans go through the tender procedure as simple services to be bought and sold, not as highly complex multi-step processes (Chaplinsky, personal communication, 21.05.2021).

Taken together, these conditions led to two positive feedback loops developing simultaneously: emergence of the pocket firms that serve the developer's needs in producing Detailed plans and old soviet planning institutes responsible for cheaply

producing city or district-wide General plans (under market price via price-based tenders). Absence of a real market competition has a long-standing detrimental effect on the professionals, as they are torn between illegal but profitable project and under-priced planning for the 'public good'. This reinforced the weak ability of the city to manage its own land.

Summarizing the chapter, it can be argued that both positive feedback effects and critical junctures in the spatial planning framework occurred in the years following the fall of the USSR. Perhaps, these issues are implicit and not often called to a fore of the discussion, but the need to address them is clear, and this will be done after analysing contemporary cases of planning projects in Kyiv.



## Chapter 6: Empirical cases and findings

### 6.1 Sofiivska Borschagivka

“Urban planning documentation lives its own life, and this life is focused on the allocation of land for developers. That is it if we talk about the Kyiv subregion. Therefore, the short answer is that I do not know of examples of coordination (of spatial planning and regional strategies)” (I3).

This case touches upon the metropolitan level of planning in Kyiv, offering a big scale for strategic and formal planning approaches. Since the start of the research, the villages have created an amalgamated hromada (new form of local governance), but the planning documentation and projects remain relevant until changed or substituted.

**Figure 6.1.1**

Prospective drawing of the General Plan of Sofiivska Borschagivka



*Note.* This plan is a public domain image due to the Law of Ukraine “About the access to public information” (2939-VI). Accessible via: <https://sb-rada.gov.ua/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/GP2-19071.pdf> and <https://sb-rada.gov.ua/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/GP1-19071.pdf>

***Historical context and area planning conditions (by 2019):***

The territory is a historic village with few remaining signs of its past. It had been a part of the lands in the possessions of the Kyiv monastery since mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. In the period of Soviet industrialization and due to the changes in the administrative structure it was included in the Kyiv Oblast as a part of the Kyiv-Sviatoshinsky rayon (district). Since then and until 1991 it was developed as a village with little urban development devised to cater the food consumption needs of the capital under the command economy. However, after 1991, it came under developers’ focus as a well-connected suburban area with a potential of high returns because of little restriction on the land-use. It was also included in the General plan of 2002 as an area of future housing development and was intended to be incorporated in the city, but this never happened.

The area is a fast-growing suburb just outside the city border. A small area of forest is left in the center of the planning area. Most of the territory is no longer used as agricultural areas but await the upcoming urban development in the forms of vacant plots. The existing village structure predominated the part near the city border and the highway. Access to the river that is crossing the whole territory is obstructed by private plots.

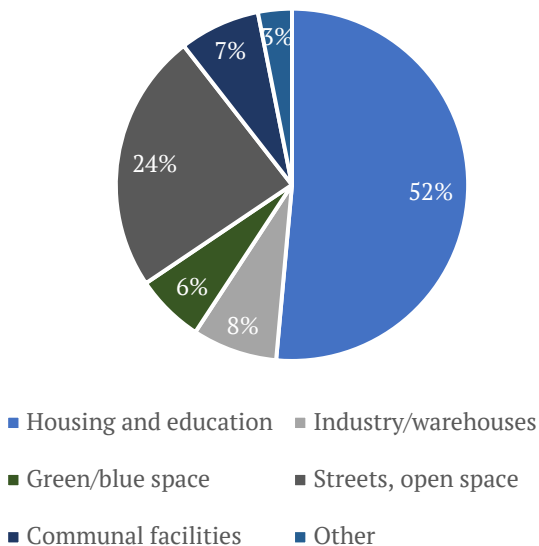
### ***Planning process and aims***

General plan: 1<sup>st</sup> version 2015 and updated 2<sup>nd</sup> version 2019. Planning area: 1810 ha.

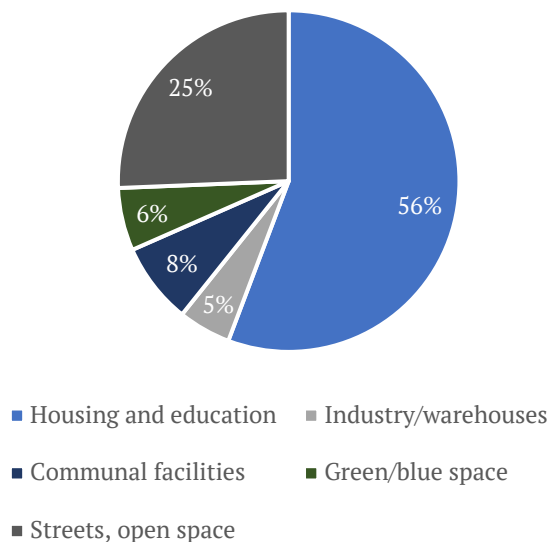
The land use (Figures 6.1.2 and 6.1.3) is planned to change in favour of slight increase of the housing and educational facilities. This is not as most of the plots are zoned for development already, though they are standing free until the investment comes. This is evident from the population increase (see Figure 6.1.5). Number of ‘villagers’ is expected to increase from 32355 to 191038 people in year 2035 (which is a hardly conceivable 560% increase in population in 16 years). If the zoned land was already built up, this prognose would be impossible to fulfil with a small 4% increase in the land use change in favour of housing. Therefore, an immense amount of vacant land is open for patchy redevelopment at the same moment.

**Figures 6.1.2 and 6.1.3**

Current land use in Sofiivska  
Borschagivka (2019)

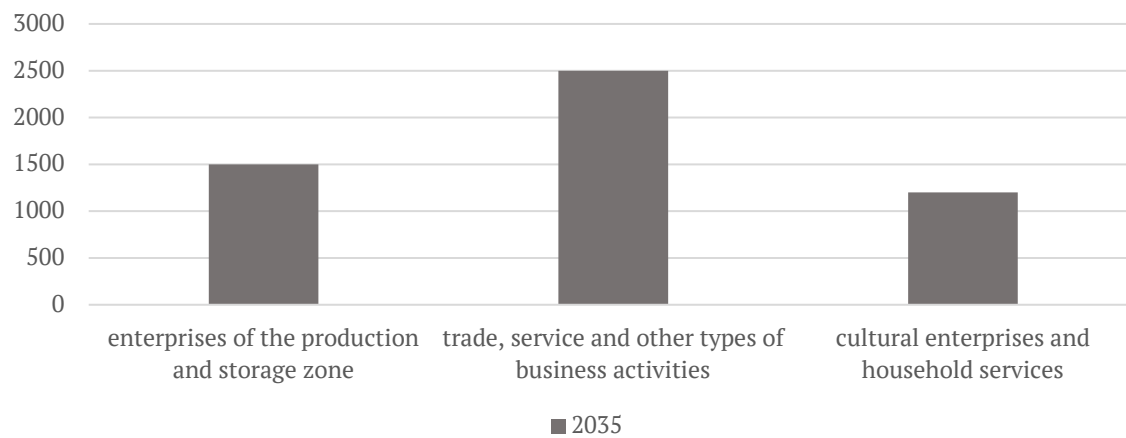


Future land use in Sofiivska  
Borschagivka (2035)



**Figure 6.1.4**

## Employment change projection in Sofiivska Borschagivka



*Note.* No data in the planning documents was given for the current employment structure.

**Figure 6.1.5**

## Population projection in Sofiivska Borschagivka



### ***Actors and institutions***

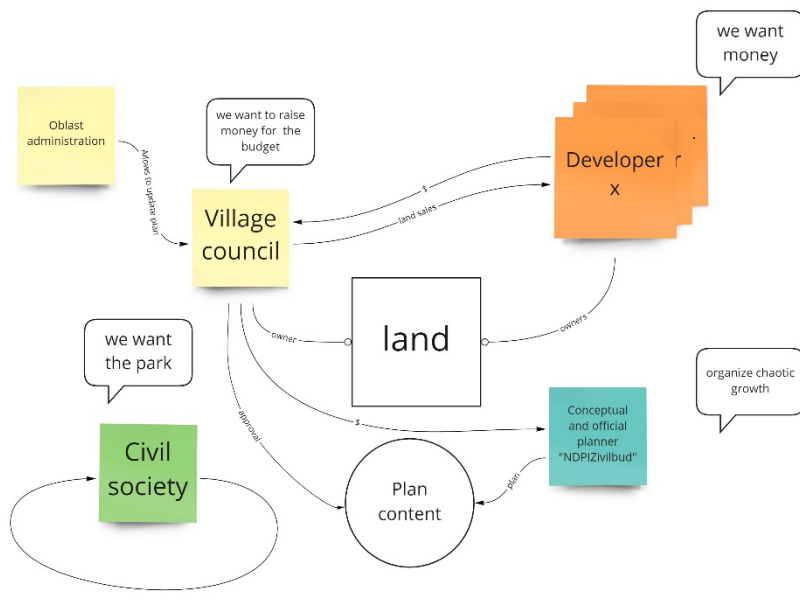
As Sofiivska Borschagivka was (at the time when the research was started) an independent municipality in the structure of the Kyievo-Sviatosynsky Rayon, it had sovereign rights to create own planning documentation and planning projects ("Law of Ukraine "On local self-government in Ukraine", 1997). Oversight from the Oblast state administration was not exactly clearly mentioned in this case. The set of actors is the following:

- Developers and landowners
- Oblast state administration
- Village council official planning client
- State planning office Ukrnpizivilbud
- Civil society representatives

In this case actors have different approaches to the territory. Village council and administration is hardly capable of administering the whole area of the project, but it relied on the state design institute to provide a comprehensive solution to the problem (Segodnya, 2019). Land is sold for private developers for construction based on this plan and subsequent re-allocation of land from agricultural to housing land use purpose. This is however contested in courts by civil society is not present in planning, as it is too weak in the case of a village and is mostly concerned with the old wood in the center of the village to be conserved, and not turned into a park, as with the case with a nearby commune (Activists saved a forest, 2021). However, as the process is continuously remolded, a lot of legal issues arise.

**Figure 6.1.6**

Actor network in Sofiiivska Borschagivka

***Plan qualities***

**Strategic level** of planning is relatively well-discussed, but hardly present in the drawings and plan provisions. This area was thoroughly analysed in the report on metropolitan governance, but this seemingly did not yield any results (Council of Europe, 2019). Its relation to the neighbouring planning areas is weak, no opportunities for the cooperation with Kyiv or nearby municipalities are outlined. One of the main critical issues is the undefined phasing of the infrastructural, social and housing projects. Absence of the main aims and characteristics of the area leads to business-as-usual planning solutions with no alternative scenarios and poor use of place potential. Land policy is reactive and failing in the sense of its management by the village council, as

there are hardly any provisions on the land policy and the land is mostly sold instead of leased or rented out. Land reserves therefore are absent.

Questions of **adaptability** are best shown by the planning process itself. The plan of 2015 had to be dramatically redone in only 3 years after approval. Adaptability of the General plan as an instrument is problematic, but also it has no clear options to phase the development. Project coordination is absent, leading to chaotic enclaves of built structures 'in the field'. Logic of adaptation is more of a kind of plan adapting to the built reality, therefore, losing any of its projective power.

**Integratedness** is questionable. Some of the solutions are based on the provisions of the General Plan of Kyiv, such as a tram-line connection and the outer ring road, but the general logic of its relation to the city and the countryside is not clear at all. Use of the higher-level planning documentation is welcomed, such as planning scheme for the Kyiv-Sviatoshynsky rayon, however the institute that developed it is the same as one responsible for the planning project. Because of the new ecological legislation on strategic environmental assessment from 2018, several provisions of the plan correspond to regional (Oblast level) strategies in the domain of ecology. On a more detailed look though, these provisions do not correspond directly to the aims of regional strategies. Missing the opportunity to build upon the existing plans of action is regrettable. Due to the absence of socio-economic strategy or plan for the village, planners are but left to define the typology of functional areas and their character by themselves.

### ***Political conditions***

**Transparency** of the project is by far poor. The choice of the contractor was made without a tender and without any preliminary competition. Only report on the signed contract has been published in the Prozorro procurement system (Sofiyivsko-Borshchahivska village council 2019), as the price was lowered to be under the mandatory tender procedure minimum cost. The other reasoning behind that were the legal rights to the planning document of 2015, which was created by the same institution, essentially prohibiting any chance of second opinion and public discussion.

**Stakeholder participation** was very limited. Especially that this project was developed in the direct work with the village administration that did not possess its own urban planning department. Public engagement did not take place except in the wake of short post-factum consultation, that was held mostly online in the form of replies without comprehensive feedback in 2019. This is especially odd, as the planned road and the tram line has to cut through the existing detached housing area of around 70 plots.

**Formally legally-binding**, but clearly lacking comprehensive solutions for conflicting ownership rights and. It was approved based on the argument of the failure of the previous plan to control development, though it seems none of the new solutions are clearly backed by the policies or any other public provision. Also, because of the multiple ownership structure, some of the decisions are conflicting with the private interests and existing land-use allocation and no clear way to solve these issues is laid down.



### ***Planning provisions***

Decisions in the field of **ecological sustainability** are at a very deficient level. Land seal of previously agricultural areas is immense, whilst density is often critically low. Car-dependence is a mainstream practice realized here, even though private cars are considered a great problem in the analysis of the planning conditions and ecological situation. Green spaces are set up without any network and diversification, which is a great problem for securing equal access to green spaces and recreation areas. Area of the existing river is neglected almost completely; new access points or revitalization program are absent. Complete reliance on the city services of the water, energy, sewage system is outmoded and unfavourable. This dependence is not seen as an issue, and no new energy-generating facilities or positive energy districts are planned even though there were electricity network failures reported.

Solutions regarding **spatial quality** are problematic. Urban diversity is partially present, but in a contradictory and not synergetic way as detached housing faces highways and middle-to-high-rise housing faces the enclosed territories and parks. Also, no intermediary scale is offered, which would suit suburban landscape and offer adequate density for services and mobility.

**Socio-economic concerns.** The rise of population of 560% is an immense stress on the new employment areas are not planned. It is clearly stated the documentation that planners expect people to work and spent leisure time in Kyiv, devoting the area of much needed functional mix and places of attention. On the positive side, it is the only plan where provision of accessible/social housing is included and exists on the plan drawing.

Regrettably, it is hard to understand what process can lead to the creation of such housing, as no specific policy or instruments of provision of these units are detailed.

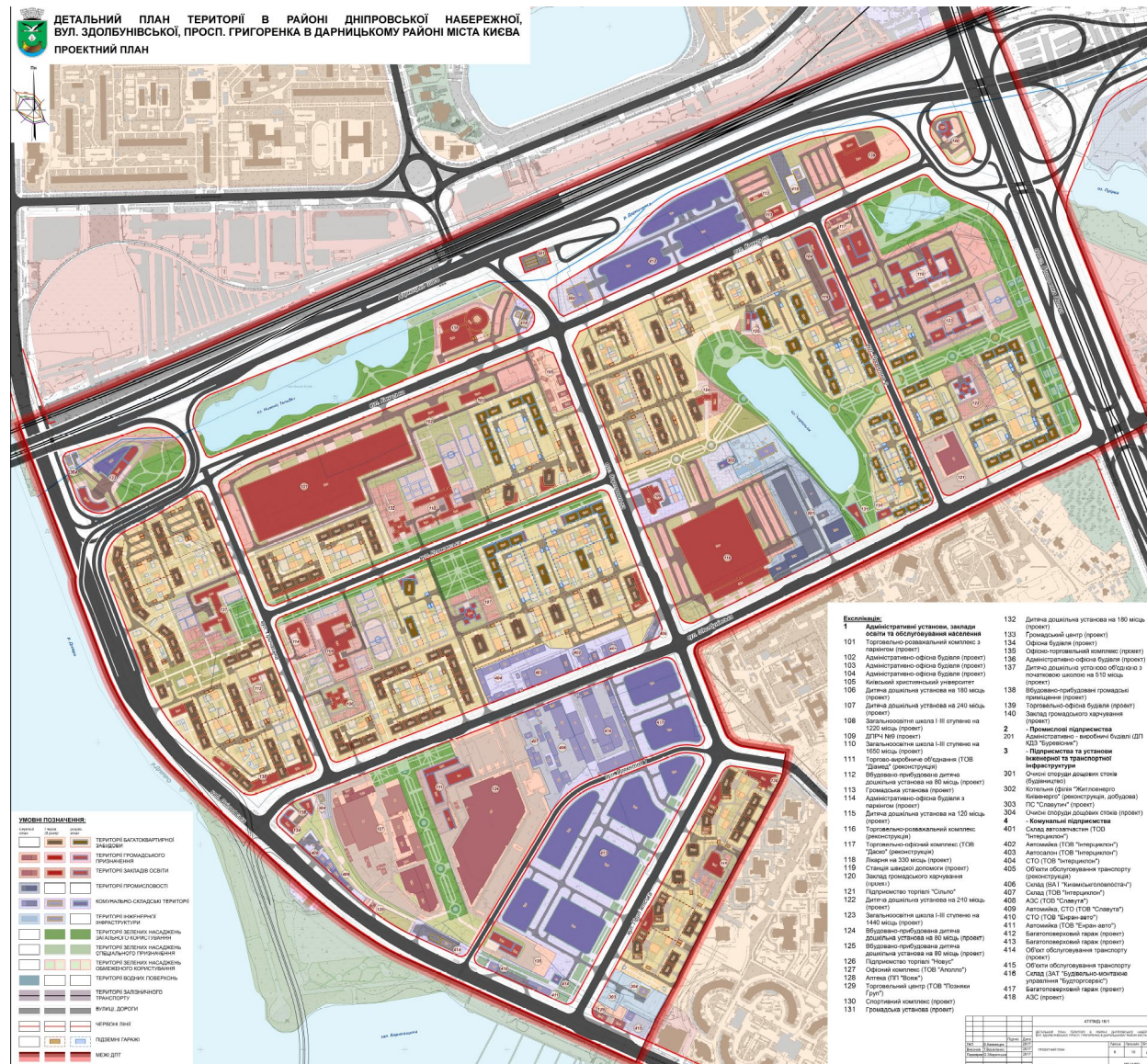
## **6.2 Poznyaki-2**

“Well, how our future develops – we do not know. How is the plan implemented? There is an investor, there is an agreement of his intentions and if his investor intentions correspond to the drawn, so to speak, picture, image and he says – it is quite interesting to me, I want to make this part of the Detailed Plan. If he understands that there will be good sales. And if we did everything badly, well, did our job badly, then such an area will not interest the investor” (I3).

This case concerns the most classical planning scale of the big new neighbourhood being redeveloped almost from a scratch. Scale is comparable to Aspern Seestadt in Vienna. There is no single project developer, and a lot of parties are involved. The only available plan is the “Detailed plan for the territory limited by Dniprovska embankment, Zdobunivska street and Hryhorenka avenue” (see Figure 6.2.1).

Figure 6.2.1

Prospective drawing of the Detailed Plan of the Pozniaky-2 area



Note. Planning area: 227 ha. This plan is a public domain image due to the Law of Ukraine “About the access to public information” (2939-VI). Accessible via <https://kga.gov.ua/detalni-plani-teritoriji/11-ofitsijni-dokumenty/1411-dpt-v-rajoni-dniprovskoji-naberezhoji-vulitsi-zdolbunivskoj-i-prosp-petra-grigorenka-v-darnitskomu-rajoni>

### ***Historical context and current conditions (by 2017)***

Industrial area in the city developed in the post-war era, in the 1960s and 1970s, had a connection to railway and river and good location near the already-existing housing area. Until the 1990s it developed as a complete industrial district with 2 key enterprises: Byrevisnyk plant, DSK-2 plant, and a few others.

New-old railway and car bridge were finished few years ago, new junctions are being planned on the premises of old industrial facilities. New logistics and car services on the old premises of the factories. Upcoming housing development projects from the south-east axis are shaping the connection of the territory to the city

### ***Planning process and aims***

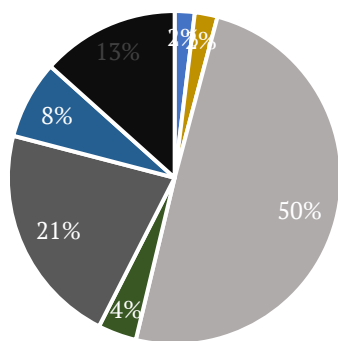
“Well, there are things that are dictated there, and these areas cannot be greatly changed, not because there is developed urban planning documentation and everything, but *because they are used and will be used in this way*, so we have secured the actual development path of this area by the materials of the detailed plan” (I3).

The plan covers the area of 227 ha and was devised on the request of the UKRbud developer. Therefore, most of the area was defined as industrial/warehouses and designed to be repurposed for the housing development (Figures 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). Offices and industry are then included in the same category, perhaps aiming at technopark typology or the combination of retail offices with warehouse space. This logic is evidently put forward by the prospective numbers on employment structure (see Figure 6.2.4). Increase in the jobs in the retail, administrative and office spheres is planned. General

increase of employment is over 4 times: from 3 000 to 11 000 in 2022 and to 13 000 employees in 2037. These very well has to be covered by the dramatic increase of inhabitants in 2022: from 100 people in the detached houses to 22 000 in high-rises (see Figure 6.2.5).

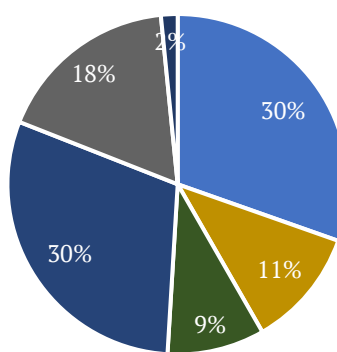
**Figures 6.2.2 and 6.2.3**

Current land use in Pozniaky-2 (2017)



- Housing and education
- Industry/warehouses
- Streets and squares
- Other
- Offices/retail
- Green/blue space
- Communal services

Future land use in Pozniaky-2 (2037)

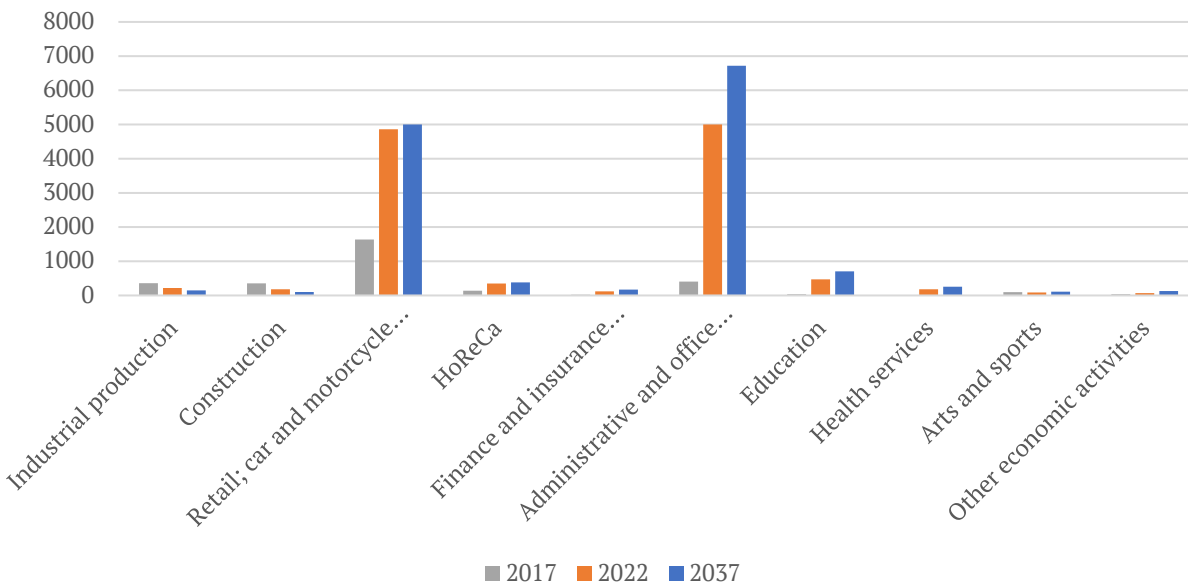


- Housing and education
- Green/blue space
- Services
- Offices/industry/warehouses
- Streets and squares
- Other territories

*Note.* Data from the Detailed plan. Satellite image analysis shows marginal rather than two-fold increase in green areas.

**Figure 6.2.4**

Prospective employment structure in Poznyaky-2



*Note.* Data from the Detailed plan

**Figure 6.2.5**

Population projection in Poznyaky-2



*Note.* Data from the Detailed plan

### *Actors and institutions*

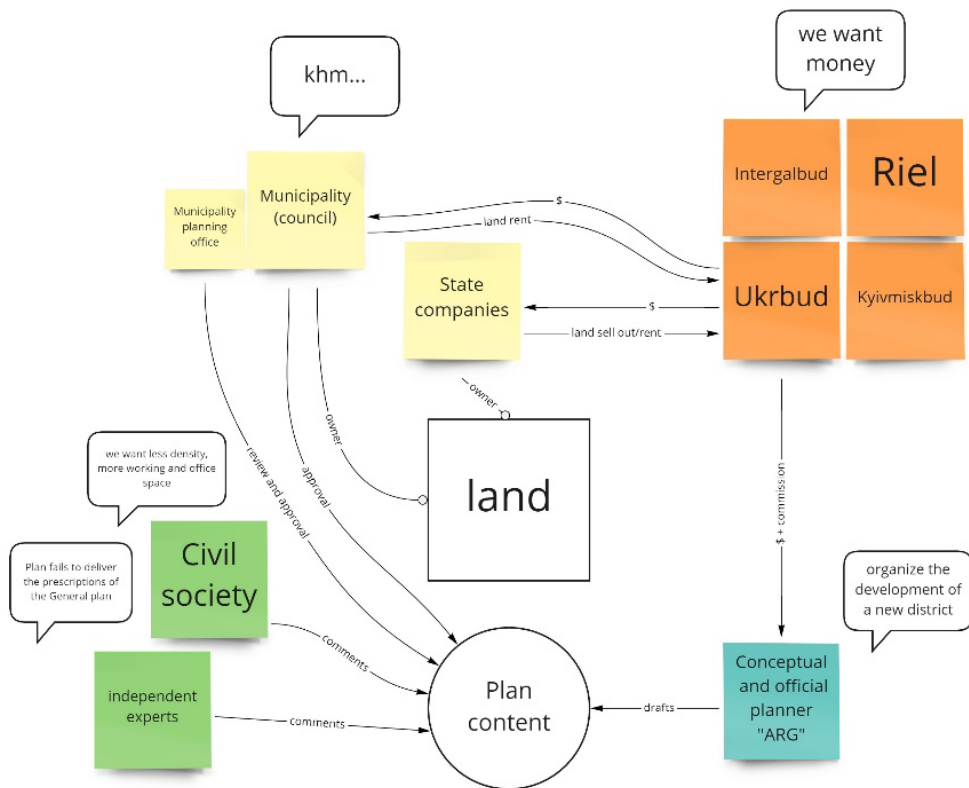
As Poznyaki-2 was an old industrial area, a lot of different landowners were there before the project commenced, such as municipal enterprises and state-owned companies. Some of them eagerly joined the opportunity to increase the value of the land by new project and supported the plan, while others did not engage in the process at all. Citizens and deputies challenged the process, even raising a campaign for an alternative plan to be created (Tomazov, 2017). This, however, seemed to have zero impact on the project, as it was eventually approved by the council without substantial changes.

Set of the key actors was the following:

- Private planning bureau “ATM”
- Main developer (project client) LLC «Ukrbud Spetsmontazh»
- Landowners (city, state, private entities)
- City administration
- City council (landowner)

**Figure 6.2.6**

Network of actors in Poznyaki-2 project

***Plan qualities***

**Some strategic vision** is present as plan looks forward to 20 years and has a 7-year term planned indicators (numbers on housing and infrastructure). On the other criteria however, there is no evidence of project having any central agenda or set of aims, as it tries to fill the area with housing, whereas conceptual and functional role of the project area in the city is not clear. Lack of the ability to work over the plot boundaries confines the implementation to be incremental and dispatched from the city structure. Land use



mainly is not oriented towards securing public interest, and no strategic land reserves or public functions on the long term are planned.

**Adaptivity** is weak and this is partially the result of the planning framework. Although plan on this level dictates the very precise logic of plot construction, specific projects can deviate to a certain degree in the limits of the cadastre parcels. Practice shows this deviation often to take a very considerable scale without any changes to the plan itself (which is a process widely associated with red tape). Land use change is also no longer possible, and in 20 years from now all parcels will (officially at least) remain as coded for function by the project plan. Flexibility to adapt

**Integratedness** is debatable. On the vertical level it is detached from the regulations of the General plan. Concerning horizontal integration there is little evidence of any consideration of the projects in the neighbouring areas. Sectoral integration is partially present as new motorway and road junctions at different levels are planned within the city's plan for the transport infrastructure development are included in the project.

### ***Political conditions***

Talking about **transparency and accountability** of the municipality for the project, it can be argued that it is quite poor. No competition for the design or tendering for the contractor was conducted, as the work was paid for by the private developer UKRbud. Moreover, the city had disclosed any intents to develop this territory earlier and made the process available to questioning. Protocols of the architectural and planning council sessions are available only until 2013. Only post-factum information appeared in the official sources (KMDA, 2017). Planning documentation is written in professional

language and is not comprehensible for citizens, as well as drawings are essentially very technical.

**Participation of stakeholders** is only partially present: developers' interests are there, as they were the clients of the project. No physical public discussion and no on-site events were organized. Though exhibition of the project materials and drawing was held at the district administration office, no data on the amount of people who have visited this space is available. Since they did not leave any comments, it can be assumed, a very small number, if any at all. Exchange of critical comments and replies happened online, where both politicians and experts sent angry letters, most of which were marked as irrelevant by planners in the subsequent report. Landowners were asked, but if their intentions did not correspond to the plan, that was mostly not included in the plan provisions, except for the car retail industry and Christian university.

**Formal and legally-binding** plan was approved illegally despite direct contradictions with the provisions of the General plan of Kyiv, where this area was conditioned as an area of major public functions, and not as housing. A big part of the district is marked as a recreational area around the lake, whilst on plan the area is 2 times smaller and cut by a new road. Another issue is the unclear process of the reconstruction of the private detached housing on the Kocherhy street which is planned as a new hospital and housing area. Whether city possesses any legal and financial instruments to do it, remains a question. Process of its approval was, however, legitimate in the sense of the city commission and subsequently, city council voting for it in session.

### ***Planning provisions***

In the area of **Ecological sustainability**, a lot of issues are of a serious concern. Public transport connection is potentially present, but not secured in project and limited to very marginal options at the 7-year term, as neither tram nor city railway are still not operating now in 2021. Radical dependence on the private car mobility is a mistake that leads to an immense increase of space for parking and roads instead of the streets and local micromobility options are not mentioned. Energy self-sufficiency remains out of the discussion, but the area will take heating, electricity and water from the city networks. Instead of integrated surface water treatment, only grey infrastructure of runoff drainage and purification are planned. Subsequent development of the wetland is also problematic, as the planned district will have a very limited area of permeable surfaces to sustainably balance the water levels in case of droughts and heavy rains, that are now regulated by the two lakes.

**Spatial quality** sphere is poorly managed. Industrial heritage is mostly neglected, the territory is seen as clean field for new development. Except for 1 large machine hall destined to become a shopping mall surrounded by parking lots, no measures of material preservation or recycling are present. Connection to the river is severed by the motorway and planned intersection. Spatial cohesion is disrupted by many major roads crossing the district and cutting its connectivity to the neighbouring districts. Human scale is not considered, both in the scale and height of the development and in the quality and size of public spaces. The territory of cooperative garages, that now serves as a boundary between new and existing districts is retained as a monofunctional large multi-level

parking area, without any considerations on the quality of spaces, its outlook and functional suitability.

**Socio-economic issues** have been dealt with superficially. Housing and workplaces balance is far from ideal but shows an intent to mix the use of land in a multifunctional way. Different housing provision options are not investigated and social housing for vulnerable groups, elderly or students is not mentioned. Only a very limited set of services, such as primary and secondary education, fire brigade and polyclinic are planned, among which none have a clear cultural dimension and public funding. Some of these functions, though, can be integrated in the shopping mall in the reconstructed industrial hall. Their accessibility is not clarified.

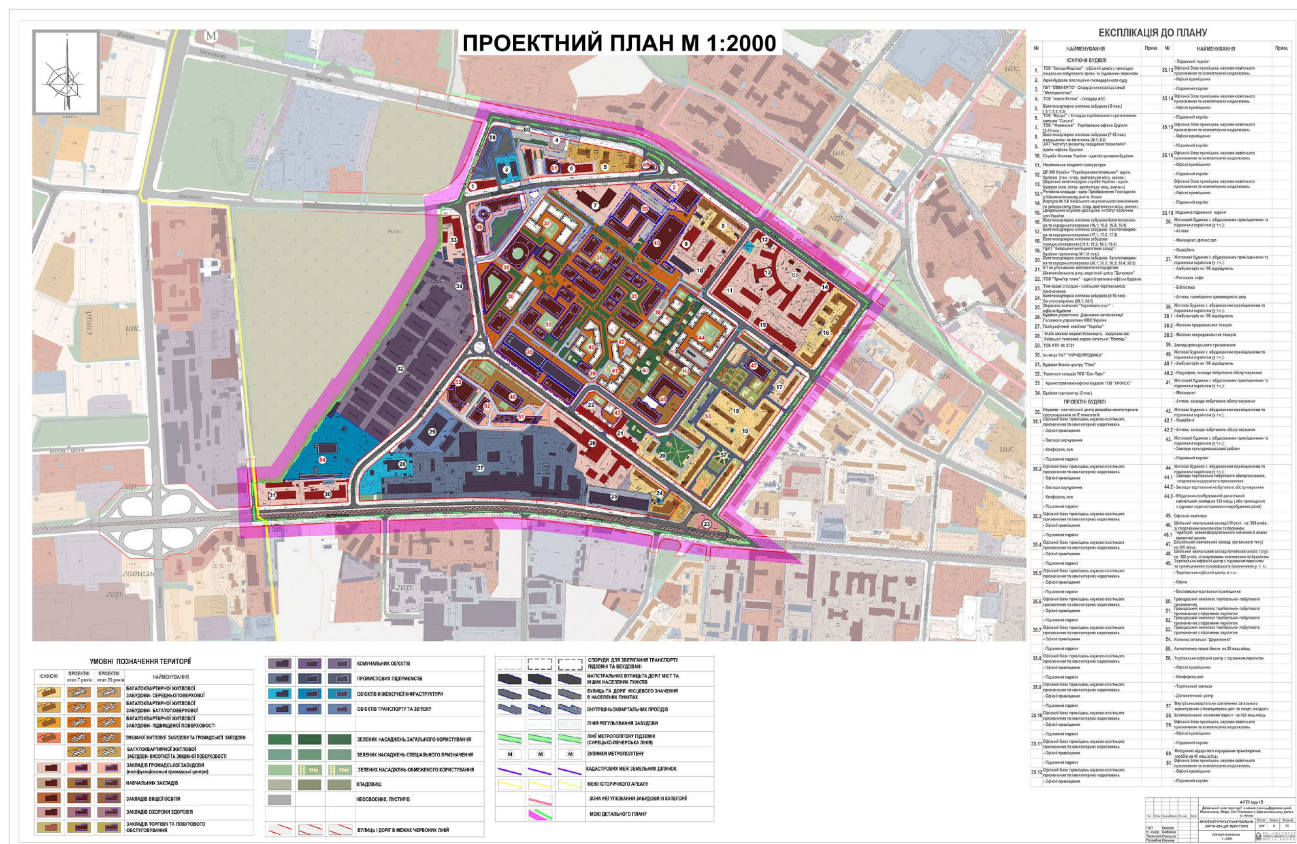
### **6.3 UNIT.City**

“Look, the main story is that this area will be relatively closed, yes. We think it will be a ghetto of IT people” (I5).

This case study is focused on the smaller-scale process. A single developer’s vision distinguishes makes this project and the unique focus on the high-tech park ecosystem could offer a different planning approach and conditions. Here the Detailed plan is reviewed, which is an official document and also a specific development concept, which was produced for the developer’s needs. The project itself covers only 25 of the 92 hectares of the planned area.

Figure 6.3.1

Detailed plan of the Sim'i Khohlovykh, Dorogozhytska, Melnykova and Diehtyarivska streets



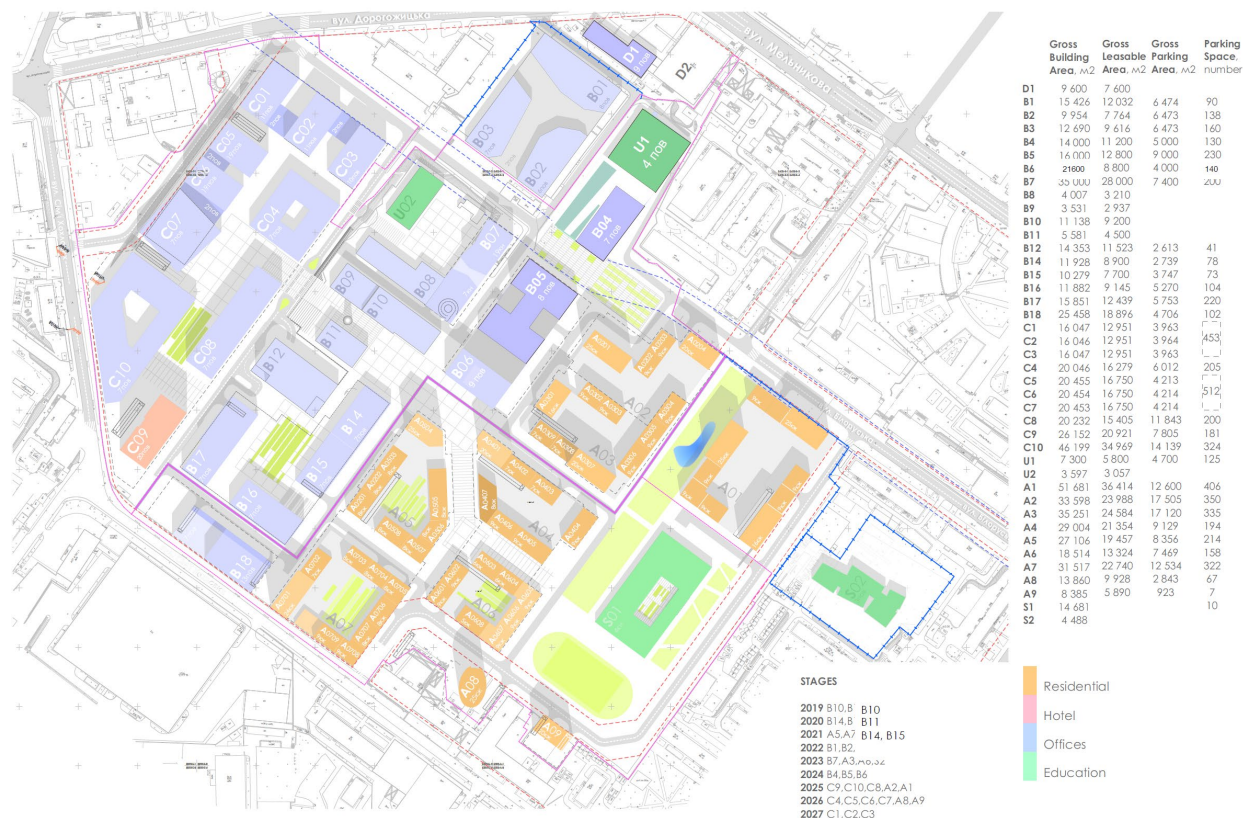
Note. Planning area: 92 ha (26 of them is UNIT.City) This plan is a public domain image due to the Law of Ukraine “About the access to public information” (2939-VI). Accessible via <https://kga.gov.ua/detalni-plani-teritoriji/11-ofitsijni-dokumenti/1423-detalnij-plan-teritoriji-v-mezhakh-vulits-dorogozhitskoji-melnikova-yakira-sim-ji-khokhlovikh>

### Historical context and area planning conditions

The territory was a peripheral city district until the late XIX century. In 1860s a city cemetery was opened in vicinity. Since the Soviet industrialization of the 1930s it was connected to a railway line and developed as a railway logistics hub. After the Second world war it became an area of a new motorcycle factory, logistics center and a state printing company. In 1960s and 1970s a modernist microdistrict was built nearby to resettle the workers of the plants from barracks. Core industrial zone is not functioning anymore, the area is relative well-covered by public transport (tram, trolleybus routes around, metro stations in 25min by foot).

**Figure 6.3.2**

Concept of the Masterplan of UNIT.City



*Note:* Copyright by Archimatika/UNIT.City, 2018, all rights reserved, reprinted by the permission of the copyright owners.

### ***Planning process and aims***

“UNIT will be a multifunctional complex that will connect the BUSSINESS, LIFESTYLE, INNOVATION, LIVING, and EDUCATION zones. The system of public spaces that organize life between the buildings of the complex is an important spatial element. EVENT PLAZA, CULTURAL PLAZA, BUSSINESS PLAZA, INNOVATION PLAZA, CENTRAL PARK are spaces that are the keystones of individual zones and combine with each other to form the backbone of the establishment” (APA, 2018).

The process was conducted in several steps:

- 1) Detailed plan of the first instance (2015), not passed into legislation
- 2) New master plan drawn (2017), physical reconstruction of the one of the hangars into a hub with physical presentation of the new IT-campus to Prime-minister.
- 3) Detailed plan was redone, presented and approved by Municipality in 2017
- 4) General plan of the project construction approved by DABI and Ministry of Culture (2018)

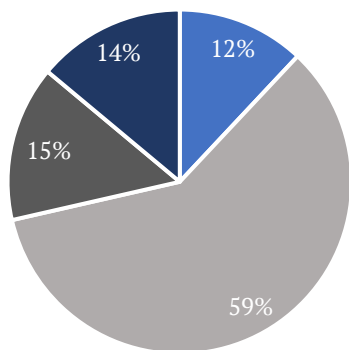
Although the detailed plan captures a bigger area, the key transformation is happening on the 26 hectares of the old Motorcycle factory. Main idea is to convert the industrial zone into a highly productive multi-functional area (Figures 6.3.5 and 6.3.6).

Out of the IT knowledge-intense working places combined with exclusive high-rise housing development (2000-3000\$ per m<sup>2</sup>)

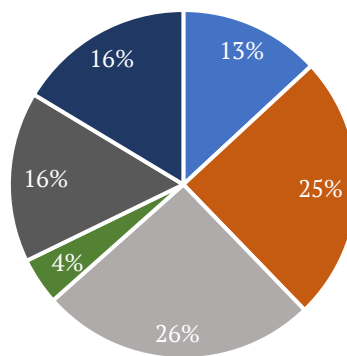
Prospective employment structure in UNIT.city area is not clear. Planning documents set the number for 15 000+ employees in the innovations district alone, while the official website offers a number of 30 000 for the inhabitants and employees combined, among them around 1500 students and 3000 co-workers. Amount of on new prospective jobs is 2850 in the Detailed plan. This confusion cannot be underestimated as it makes predictions on the need for mobility and social service particularly complicated. Therefore, the assessment is also limited in this part. Population change projection is also not clear and conflicting numbers are available, leading to merely superficial evaluation of livable density and necessary facilities.

**Figures 6.3.3 and 6.3.4**

Current land use in the Detailed plan of UNIT.city (2017)



Future land use in the Detailed plan of UNIT.City (2037)



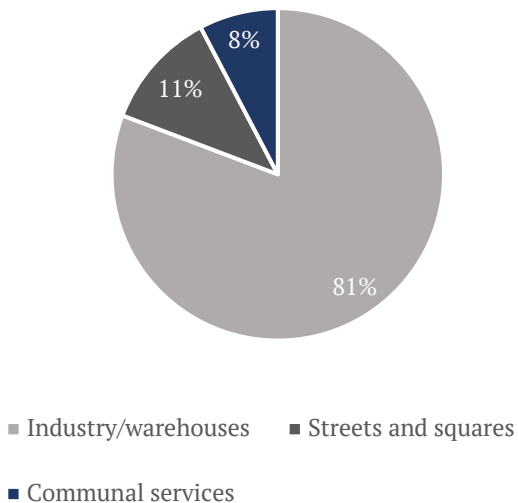
- |                       |                       |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| ■ Housing             | ■ Industry/warehouses | ■ Housing             | ■ Mixed use         |
| ■ Streets and squares | ■ Communal services   | ■ Industry/warehouses | ■ Green/blue space  |
|                       |                       | ■ Streets and squares | ■ Communal services |

*Note.* Data for the Detailed plan for 92 hectares.

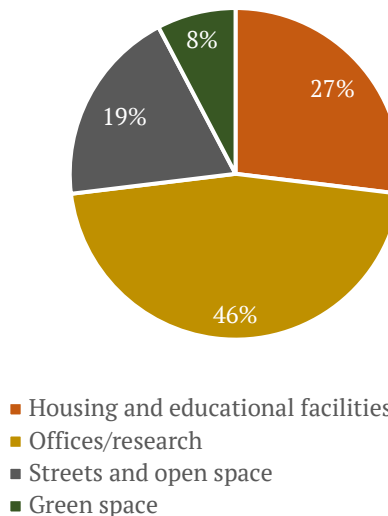


**Figures 6.3.5 and 6.3.6**

Current land use of UNIT.City  
(2018)



Future land use (2025)



*Note.* Assessed data for the 26 hectares of UNIT.City from satellite imagery and planning documentation.

**Figure 6.3.7**

Population projection in the Detailed plan for UNIT.City



### *Actors and institutions*

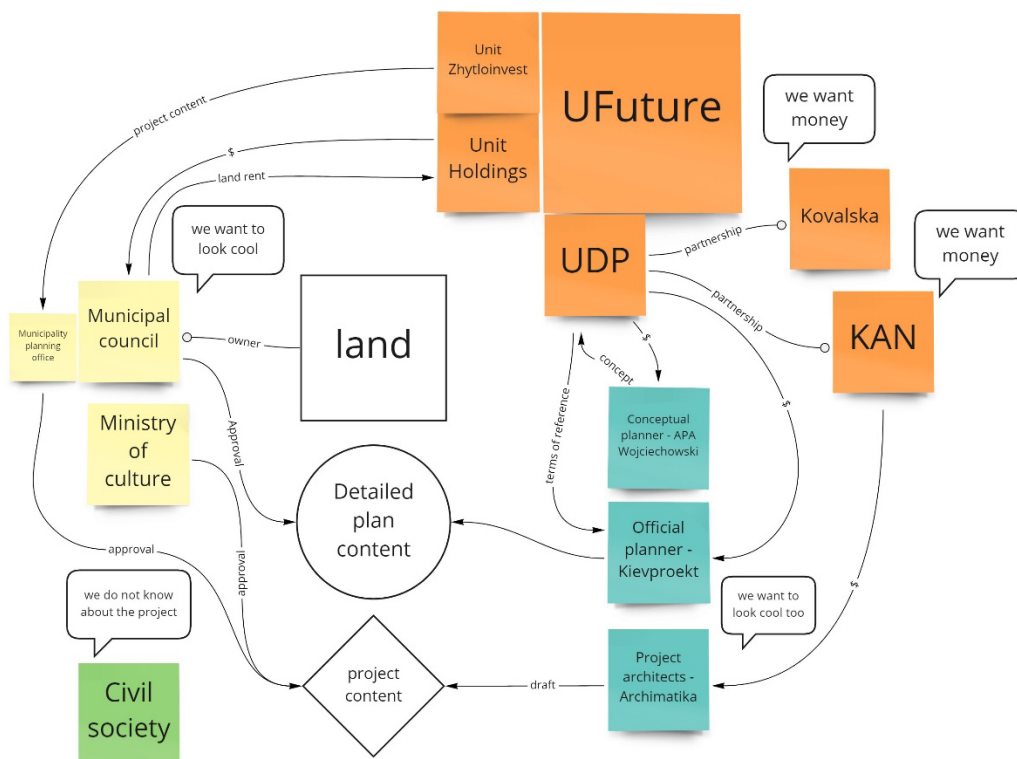
Basically, UNIT.City developed completely without the participation of outer actors. Only private actors and partnerships shape the content of the plan and its implementation (see Figure 6.3.7). After the land was rented out, municipality distanced itself from the project. Civil society is absent in the process, as the territory is not of a serious concern to them by now. Complicated nature of the project development shows the inclusion of several developers for the housing, offices and with their own architectural and planning teams (KAN Development, 2019; APA Wojciechowski, 2018). The oversight remains under the control of the UDP.

The set of key actors was the following:

- Vasyl Khmelnytsky's (26<sup>th</sup> richest person in Ukraine – 2019) companies LLC «UNIT Holdings» and LLC «UnitZhitloinvest», UDP planning office – all parts of Ufuture holding
- Igor Nikonov's (91<sup>st</sup> richest person in Ukraine 2019) construction and development company «KAN», project design contractor «Archimatika»
- Kovalska group (contractor «APA Wojciechowski»)
- Communal planning bureau «Kievproekt»
- City urban planning office
- City council

**Figure 6.3.8**

Map of actors in the UNIT.City project

***Plan qualities***

On the level of **strategic planning**, UNIT City project has its merits. The time frame, though, is explicitly limited and there is very little understanding of how the territory will evolve and interact in 10-15 after most of the construction work is finished and people are settled. Clear aim and positioning as an IT-knowledge hub with the consistent spatial development program is a strong point. However, since there is virtually no involvement of the municipality and adjacent landowners, its strategic spatial dimension is very limited to the confined borders of the land plots.

It provides **flexibility, adaptability** for the ongoing construction, as within the project program there are different development phases and leaseholds that can function, albeit in a limited way, on their own. Project adapts to the conditions of the volatile economic conditions by combining secure investments in selling housing as assets and more unstable market of commercial real estate.

**Integratedness** of the project is poor. Apart from the formalities with the connection to water, electricity and sewage networks, it seems there are no interactions with either the city planning or neighbourhood level. Sectoral areas, such as mobility, public spaces and green areas seem to be overlooked. Again, although very limited number of city-wide programs does not provide a strong framework, there could be synergetic opportunities for the neighbourhood and the city, if the project would aim to create those.

### ***Political conditions***

**Transparency** and accountability in this project are very limited. Land is public but was rented out on a simple request from the developer, no complementary or competing proposals were investigated, where aims or content offered could differ. Planning documentation on the level of the Detailed plan is in general hardly comprehensible for people without deep knowledge of planning practice and legislation. Moreover, other plans and project details are not openly available. Public interest in this project is not mentioned, as all the positive impacts assessed are from trickle-down effects of economic growth. Information on the amount of people that will live and work there are confusing and seems to have changed towards densification during the plan getting more detailed.

**Stakeholder participation** has not happened properly. From the available information it is clear that local residents and businesses were not invited to take part in any stakeholder meetings. Formal review of the reply letters showcased absence of public dialogue before the development of the spatial project

**Legality** is considered to be a, regrettably, a formal issue. The project had a decision of the municipality for the detailed plan and on that point the role of municipality ended.

### ***Planning provisions***

**Ecological sustainability** issues are a factor in the project design. First, it is a more or less comprehensive renewal of an old industrial zone with the provision of new green zones and permeable surfaces. The project aims to turn the land from polluting industry to a 3-rd sector economy. However, reuse of structure and recycling of materials is ignored. Energy self-sustaining is not on the agenda, as well as building with high standards of energy consumption and heating minimization. Some claims about BREEAM certification are although made, which could compensate the material use. Public and micromobility services are present but are clearly lacking for the scale of the new redevelopment though (An innovative park as a source of transport problems, 2017). It is already known that private buses routes bring people to the district from the nearest metro stations.

**Spatial quality** is moderately present. Urban density is manageable, controlled 'public' spaces are abundant, there is a stress on urban diversity and human-scale first-floor services and amenities. Housing typology, however, seems uncreative and simplistic, as well as not responsive to the character of the area around. It is very vivid

by the legend of the general plan drawing being conveniently placed over the existing housing area and all linkages to urban milieu are cut by roads or unpassable green zones. Absence of the program of preservation and place identity enhancement is a negative issue, as the project almost completely erases all traces of the previous urban structure and layout.

**Socio-economic concerns** are the weakest point in this project. The whole area is a closed-off campus on the municipal land, and no state/city/developer sponsored social facilities are explicitly laid down. After the rent period ends the municipality will lose income and still will not be able to execute any power on the project area. Public-sponsored housing is also not mentioned, cheap renting opportunities are absent, and the prices for sqm are far above average. Social mix is not intended, and as a result leisure options are not ignored as such, but premises such as the neighbourhood centre, public event venues are non-commercial public spaces are clearly lacking. Some options such as small cinema, gaming room and art gallery are presumed to happen in some future, however, their pricing policies and audiences are not clear.

#### **6.4 Comparative summary**

Most of the projects exhibit similar qualities, suffering from very limited public participation and developer(s)-led planning and implementation processes. This is peculiar, because radically different levels and scales of planning are compared.

Planning process remains questionable. Among these projects none were designated to competitive choice of implementing organization and there was almost no expert and civil society participation (even though they were conducted before the pandemic). The

procedure of approving a Detailed plan is in grey zone of legality itself, as it cannot contradict the provision of the General plan, while the municipality has the power to override it. This issue exists in every city in Ukraine (Chaplinsky, 2021) and there has not been a clear-cut legal solution found by now of how to deal with it.

Still, there remain large differences in the plan implementation logic. UNIT city showcases a single developer leading the project. UNIT city offers an internally integrated scale, where coordination of the project development is conducted by the landowner under rent agreement with the municipality. Other cases relate to a more diffused ownership pattern and contingent conditions of different investors. However, as there is no public or other official project agreements on the side of owners and developers, there seem to be unofficial accord among them of how to follow the designed plans. Developments at Sofiivska Borschagivka and Poznyaki-2 show that though not everything goes according to the plan, some logic of following the pattern is still present.

Level of integration pattern is similar, as the projects are weakly embedded in the planning network and urban environment. This is an issue in all the projects, where investments from the city and developers are not synchronized and agreed upon. Infrastructure may come in 3-5-10 years or never, as there is no obligation on the side of a city and hardly any financial plan to cover the rising costs of infrastructure construction and maintenance. Plans showcase the general weakness of coordination between developers and the city. City administration and municipal office for planning are mostly not considered to be important players by other actors. Processes of overseeing from the city are not transparent for the general public and, although the office can approve or disapprove plans, it cannot influence contents to a much greater

degree. Beyond the city boundaries the office is not even consulted and play no direct role in plan design. Democratic condition and reflected general attitude of developer-led project, where the decided program is one devised by one or several investors.

Unsurprisingly, with the weak oversight of municipality, issues of social equality and decent quality of life for all citizens are not on the planning agenda. Social housing in any form (rented, leased, owned by cooperatives) is not planned and mechanisms of support for the citizens in need are lacking. Other issues, such as social services – medical, educational, etc. - are designed without an agreed type of ownership as a precondition. Therefore, schools or clinics from the plan can end up being private rather than public and offer only high-end services reserved for the upper-middle class.

Despite the looming climate crisis and problems with soil and air pollution are well-known, topics of ecological, climate-conscious planning are often much visible. Most of the approaches consider the given territory as a clean slate to construct new projects and utilize exceeding amounts of resources and energy. Use of the industrial territories is a great way to evade land seal, but comprehensiveness of the soil renewal and recultivation remain highly questionable.



## Chapter 7: Any opportunity for strategy?

### 7.1 Framework analysis potential as a tool and approach

Devised framework allowed to comprehensively look through the planning projects. Not only planning provisions, but also intrinsic characteristics of the plans, their embeddedness in the institutional framework was successfully analysed. This is important, because when planning *projects* are analysed, it is often hard to distinguish between the contexts of planning, such as legislation, governance structure and high-level planning framework and the contents of a specific planning.

Ambiguity of sectoral evaluation often leads to the lack of comprehensive answers to the quality of the planning projects. Sustainable districts become speculative areas of simple investment return, economical projects often lack spatial quality and identity, or are conducted via undemocratic and non-transparent processes without either public or expert participation. Striving for equitable city with diversity and coherence is a quest where no simple and detached solutions can offer an answer, and the case is that only integrated designs and extensive stakeholder inclusion offer approaches to tackle the most pressing issues in spatial planning. When viewed from different angles, projects performance is better understood, and different qualities are distinguished.

The use of the contents of international guidelines, that also represent the 'best available knowledge' on the topics of urban planning allows to a certain degree universalize the criteria of analysis. Such a framework also invites to think of more ambitious aims of the projects without necessarily sacrificing some areas of action. What can be said though, is that democratic and liberal values underlying the framework can

inhibit its use in the context of authoritarian governance, where the aims of planning are different, as this analysis is focused on the (aspiring) democratic societal context.

## **7.2 Evolution and prospects of strategic planning in Kyiv**

«I cannot say that the importance of city planners has diminished, but that it has become more difficult to work — this is unambiguous. But the significance has not diminished because any investor wants, after going through the stage of primary accumulation of capital, to create something that would somehow, on the one hand, make money, it is understandable, and on the other hand, will perpetuate him» (I1).

How does history matter exactly? Institutions of spatial planning are contingent on the ways the actors redefine rules of the game. Therefore, totality, incrementality and strategy are intertwined. While planning documents in Ukraine pretend to cover all aspects of city development, it is exactly the strategic dimension that is lost. With the highly formalized and depoliticized processes of planning inherited as a framework of action from the socialist time, it is a challenge to shift the focus from plans to planning organizations and processes.

It can be argued that available planning approach and institutional framework do not foster the production of high-quality plans adhering to best available planning knowledge. The weakest points in planning projects are democratic political conditions and their poor ability to confront the looming ecological crisis.

For the practical level, the disintegration of the state and later - the municipal oversight led to the loss of coherence of planning projects. Technical role assigned to

municipal planning office leads to its reactive position, self-(un)conscious distancing from the responsibility to shape the urban future, demand quality and public good in advance. Ethos of planners and planning institutions is defined by their subordinate position in the actor network. Pragmatic orientation observed in the interviews translates into the technocratic positioning of the professional critically limits their ability to challenge the rules of the game and question the aims of planning in the social milieu. Decisions are made for the specificities, not the conceptual wholes, as projects are delivered by private institutions serving the developer's interests. The dependence of these developments on the infrastructure exposes the inability of the city to provide this much needed synchronization in time and with enough scale. Integratedness and coordination as a result, are severely lacking in every project analysed.

Moreover, all of the planning projects contradict the provisions of the General Plan in one way or another. This is the way feedback loops and path dependencies reveal themselves in the planning projects. Ongoing mobilization process of the developers and developer groups successfully defend their interests of the official planning being outdated and hard to implement, and municipalities remaining weak and susceptible to behind-the-door talks. Power relations defining the urban development are often hidden, but nevertheless influence the planning field dramatically.

Strategy has not yet found a place in the spatial planning approaches in Kyiv (see Table 7.2.1). Contemporary situation is dominated by incrementalism, covered up by seemingly comprehensive, but weak and outdated formal planning provisions.

**Table 7.2.1**

Change of dominating forces in planning

	Totality	Incrementality	Strategy
Socialist era	+++	-	+
Transition period	++	+	-
Today's conditions	++	+++	-

Resistance to change is a defining feature of the current situation in spatial planning in Kyiv. As a result, a policy drift can be observed in the case of Kyiv (see Figure 7.2.1). Without active involvement of the state and municipal officials, a clandestine real-estate market has formed. Whether it has happened with their help, or merely due to the absence of desire to challenge the status-quo, remains unknown. Many veto players from local municipalities are limiting the capacity of the city to work on the metropolitan scale (Council of Europe, 2021), and the developer's representatives in the council are blocking the creation of the new rules of game that would expose illegal schemes or corrupt processes. Conditions of planning remain subject to developer's wishes and formalized rules, that are bended in very specific ways. The implications of this analysis are complicated, as the whole spatial planning framework also requires an update to enable the production of high-quality projects.

**Figure 7.2.1**

Policy change in spatial planning in Ukraine

		Characteristics of spatial planning	
		Low levels of discretion	High levels of discretion
Characteristics of political context	Strong veto	Layering	<b>Drift</b> Transformation of planning policy due to changing circumstances
	Weak veto	Displacement	Conversion

*Note.* Adapted from Mahoney and Thelen (2010, p. 19)

### 7.3 What does this mean for theory?

“Patsy Healey (2012) argues for the need to understand the ‘contingent universals’ of any situation: in other words, understanding what is specific to a place and what can be shared learning across different localities and contexts” (Watson, 2016, p. 38).

Use of historic institutionalism approach to identify, evaluate and disentangle the path-dependencies and reinforcing powers of feedback loops has a great potential. opens up a way of how to apply ‘western’ theory to the Ukrainian context – one, where

institutions are still being formed, and the framework is not clear. Indigenous change opportunities arise from the change in actor constellations and from the reformulation of ideas. Employing historical institutionalism also allowed to capture ideas behind the planning projects and outline path-dependencies and their relativity to specific post-socialist institutional arrangements.

This approach allowed to successfully conceptualize processes originating from 40 years ago and link them with the unstable, but still identifiable actor networks. The ability to look ‘in the moment’ is strengthened by more specific optics of what junctures have already happened and which path-dependencies are now being formed. Further research can show how exactly actors learn from experience in spatial planning in contexts of different cities and, in turn, create better comparative outlooks on processes across EEA and FSU.

### ***Strategic spatial planning re-examined***

The idea of strategic spatial planning remains quite potent for future use. Especially that some urban agglomerations and cities found way to create resilient and adaptive urban planning approaches fostering high-quality public realm, sustainable mobility and efficient land-use. In this research it has been revealed that international guidelines indeed do bear resemblances with the theoretical positions of the leading planning scientists. Conceptualization of the best available knowledge to apply to the plan analysis has allowed to challenge the provisions of planning projects from many sides. However, the key propositions of the planning approach are highly unlikely to be on the table without elaborated institutional structure of municipal planning administration,

qualified and professional planning offices and general rule of law. Therefore, there remains a question of redefining the potential use of strategic (spatial) planning theory in the conditions of the weak state.

Perhaps the desired results could be achieved by other than public-led planning? Or should the state and municipality join forces to confront unstable? What would the role of independent experts, associations and civil society be? Knowing the successful and unsuccessful approaches and pathways taken would bring more confidence and argumentation to redefine and provincialize strategic spatial planning. Strategy remains an important conceptual tool with a potential of bringing different stakeholder to the table in very different contexts. Advancing research and critical evaluation of the best planning instruments and projects in the region would allow to systematize productive (historical) pathways towards achieving successful spatial planning.

### ***Leaving post-socialism behind?***

Latest discussions of the post socialist urbanity and city planning argue the need to leave aside the term, apart from the specific historical aspects and look at the cities in their own name in the conditions of local-global actor networks and trends. The overview of the literature on the urban planning trajectories in the CEE capitals further stresses the need to look at the conditions of every specific city, drawing on the best practice of sustainable and integrative agendas, involving questions of democratic governance as well as political will to work against neoliberal processes. Transferability of the research could be of a great potential for the regional context, that shares similar characteristics of the spatial planning framework, whether post-socialist or not.

## 7.4 Recommendations

So far, examined projects fall short of provisions and aims of contemporary spatial planning guidelines. Here, some recommendations for spatial planning in Kyiv, based on evaluating research result, are provided. If there would be an interest to develop democratic, sustainable, socially oriented planning, the next steps would be necessary.

Firstly, there is an urgent need to formulate spatial strategy of the city. Project planners are not in position to gauge the planned and potential logic of development of the bigger spatial areas all over. If the General plan is failing to deliver such frame, a new instrument is essential, which would take on a guiding role and be able to answer key strategic questions on spatial connections and qualities of the areas. Zoning plan, however important, cannot cover these conceptual loopholes.

Secondly, the planning process needs to be reassembled to foster democratic practices and transparency in the projects in agreement with the aspirations and requirements of the planning guidelines. Such measures as introducing preliminary public involvement, rayon municipal planning teams and, last but not least, systematic social research are necessary to bring the citizens in the decision-making.

Thirdly, a strong municipal planning office is necessary to break the feedback loop that diminishes the legitimacy of the planning. It has able to promote an overarching logic and defend public interest in the form of green areas, social housing zoning and its servicing, cultural and leisure opportunities. This very much hinges on the coalitions of interests in the municipal council, that should be persuaded to increase the role of the city in the urban development.



Fourthly, evaluation and independent professional consultation must take place for each of the projects of General and Detailed plans in the city. Research has showed that such topics as climate-conscious districts, zero-net emission areas or viable spatial diversity will not appear on the table without professional critique and involvement. Post-project evaluation, now completely absent as a practice, must be conducted by the city or other civil society actors in a comprehensive matter, allowing to learn from the past mistakes and develop new, evidence and local-based solutions.

Lastly, strong and just cooperation in the form of joint planning office and legal policy is necessary to deliver effective spatial planning in the Kyiv agglomeration. Current poor quality of planning and development oversight on such scale will inevitably lead to the problems on the level of the efficient functioning of the whole country, as mobility, energy and water infrastructure will start failing without the necessary coordination between municipalities and actors.

For the further research in spatial planning there remain many directions where lack of knowledge is critical, and it is necessary:

- To better research and understand the history, nature and qualities of planning instruments retained from the socialist era and their applicability to contemporary context
- To study and reflect on the qualities and histories of professional institutions and organizations, trajectories and evolution of 'the planner' in the CEE/FSU context.

- To draw the connections between critical geography, governance and urban planning, and bridge the disciplinary divisions concerning the research of urban planning processes in the CEE/FSU countries.
- To expose normative dimension of planning theory and its role in shaping societal values within the diverse population and conflicting notions of future.
- To examine the decision-making procedures and trajectories of projects in detail to provide necessary argumentation for the changes in planning and construction legislation and municipal governance.

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7.2.1 Change of dominating forces in planning

## Appendix A: Criteria of analytical framework

Table A1.

	<b>Plan qualities</b>		
	Strategic	Flexibility, adaptability	Integratedness
<b>Criteria 1</b>	long-term aims	process-oriented solutions	sectoral integration between spatial, social, ecological and economic planning
<b>Criteria 2</b>	clear prioritization of strategic aims and their relevance	presence of middle and short-range action plans	spatial integration between district/municipal/regional level
<b>Criteria 3</b>	analysis of alternative scenarios, risks and repercussions	mechanism/procedure of changing the plan is included	vertical integration between different levels of governance
<b>Criteria 4</b>	project area overcoming legal municipal/formal spatial boundaries to offer cooperation	provision of phases or timeframes with different levels of precision	planning level integration of the aims of different overlapping planning provisions
<b>Criteria 5</b>	active land policy for the public benefit	provision of phases or timeframes with different levels of precision	

Table A2

	<b>Political conditions</b>		
	Transparency, accountability	Stakeholder participation	Legality
<b>Criteria 1</b>	competitive qualified choice of the institution drafting the plan	research on potential stakeholders and social groups	provision of formal, legal, but non-binding, and informal instruments
<b>Criteria 2</b>	transparent communication about the aims and scope of the project, possible impact and outcomes,	differentiated forms of expert and public participation (Civil society, experts, landowners, political actors)	corresponding to guidelines and legislation on different scales
<b>Criteria 3</b>	understandability of the planning documents and terms of reference	participation happens before the plan is set in final version	plan approval by the city council in a legal manner and with a proper procedure
<b>Criteria 4</b>		stakeholders participate also participate in implementation	

Table A3

	Planning implementation outcomes)		
	Ecological sustainability	Spatial quality	Socio-economic equitability
<b>Criteria 1</b>	endorsement of soft mobility and non-motorized transport	meaningful urban structure, preservation and creation of a strong identity	working and living mixed-use opportunities,
<b>Criteria 2</b>	creation and safeguarding the wild natural reserves, local biodiversity	human scale and urban diversity,	provision of land for social/affordable housing, and requirements for its construction
<b>Criteria 3</b>	public access to nature green and blue spaces, their connectivity	accessible and abundant public spaces	integration of cultural agenda, facilities and institutions
<b>Criteria 4</b>	re-use of materials and structures	protection and integration of the built heritage	state/city sponsored public social facilities, equitable spatial placement
<b>Criteria 5</b>	minimization of land seal, limiting the urban sprawl		
<b>Criteria 6</b>	energy-self-sufficiency, low/zero-carbon districts		



**Appendix B: List of Interviews**

N	Date	Informant
I1	23.09.2020	Co-author of the General plans of 1986 and 2002
I2	25.12.2020	Chief planner of the General plan of 1986
I3	23.04.2021	Chief planner of the Detailed plan
I4	05.05.2021	Expert on regional economic development
I5	15.05.2021	Chief architect of the area development