



Changing the Symbolic Language of the Urban Landscape: Post-socialist Transformation in Kyiv

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Abstract

This chapter studies the major transformations in an urban environment during the post-socialist period. Kyiv, a city with more than a thousand-year history with distinctive features of Soviet planning, was chosen as an example of a city where new spatial concepts are applied in analyzing its recent development.

The authors identified the main challenges of globalization and neoliberal urbanization facing modern urban development as well as their impacts on the urban territory. Among them are changes of the city's economic structure, growth infrastructure, and considerable transformation of the city's image, and digitalization, all of which increase the diversity of social movements and a reshaping of cultural spaces.

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S. D. Brunn, R. Kehrein (eds.), *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73400-2_117-1

For a detailed analysis of the current urban landscape transformations, we identify nodal areas of the city, defined as places or strategic points (foci) that have free access and are located at the crossroads of important transport routes. Concentrations of these routes and nodes are also associated with a large number of urban functions that impact centripetal and centrifugal flow. Special attention is paid to the processes of gentrification, commercialization, tertiarization, unification, and homogenization and their influence on nodal areas. Approaches to the improvement of the city's development policy in accordance with the principles of new urbanism are also suggested.

Keywords

Urban space · Urban planning · Globalization · Neoliberal urbanization · Transformation · City nodal areas · Kyiv

Introduction

Historically, cities are generators and repeaters of global changes, the “framework” of the world economy from their early beginning. These are centers associated with Wallerstein and Braudel’s world-system – “powerful accelerators, able to adapt to changes, and, in turn, stimulate them” (Braudel 1993). These are modern global cities, the peaks in the world geopolitical and geo-economic landscape. While there are dozens of other cities which are only beginning to achieve the upper levels of the hierarchy, at the same time, the urban environment is also the first recipient of global changes with all the accompanying threats and benefits.

For post-Soviet states, to which Ukraine belongs, global impulses are superimposed on a number of internal features, many of which can be attributed to relics of the previous era. This strengthens the complexity of the urban landscape transformation and poses problems of preserving its attractiveness while increasing functionality and innovativeness. In the sociopolitical aspect, it also refers to an incomplete transition from rigid regulation and directive planning to a competitive business environment and active involvement of citizens involved with governance. Kyiv, as a large metropolitan area and as one of the main acceptors of global impacts in Ukraine, is of particular interest for studying such a transformation.

Theoretical Background of the Research

Space is considered as a social product in the works of critical geographers and sociologists, including Harvey (1973), Jacobs (1961, 1970), Castells (1977), Al-Hamarnah (2011), Lefebvre (1968, 1970, 1974), Foucault (1967), and others. Attention is focused on the fact that in current conditions related to urban planning, the priority is often directed to economic interests and the needs of the local population are not taken into account. Soja (2008), in his research on postmodern

urbanization, seeks to emphasize that the urban space creates innovation, creativity, and economic growth but at the same time establishes additional hierarchy, inequality, social polarization, and injustice.

Under the influence of globalization, cities are becoming involved in the processes of world competition. This involvement changes the economic and cultural functions and tasks of the city and thus transforms the concept of urban planning. Social studies on the concept of global cities are considering applying the neoliberal concept of urban development as the best way to survive international competition. According to the studies conducted by the “Globalization and World Cities Research Network” led by Peter Taylor (Taylor et al. 2007, 2010), urban planning is primarily aimed at creating a favorable business climate and restructuring the urban space and its manifestations in the spheres of architecture, image, and perception in order to meet certain standards that allow the city to attract international capital. As a result of these efforts, the economic, social, and environmental structures of the city are changing. International consulting agencies, investors, and architectural firms dominate the decision-making in urban planning and design.

Functional organization also changes as the city becomes divided into certain zones, some of which perform neoliberal functions. The city’s modified economic structure creates new socio-spatial structures. The overlapping effects of market liberalization, international migration, globalization of culture, and urban businesses, combined with changes in architecture and urban planning, lead to the process of world homogenization in terms of the visual and functional organization of cities, especially large urban areas.

The results of the research group including Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez (Moulaert 2000; Moulaert et al. 2001a, b; Swyngedouw et al. 2002) are very important in studying the abovementioned issues. Their research was developed further particularly by the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO) Working Group “Urban Development in the Arab Gulf States.” This group is based on a study known as “Neoliberal Processes of Urbanization in Cities of the Arab Gulf States,” which is supported by the German Research Foundation. The study is carried out by the Centre for Research on the Arab World at the University of Mainz, especially by researchers Al-Hamarnah, Margraff, Meyer, and Scharfenort. On the basis of an analysis of the development trends in several European and Gulf Cooperation Council cities, they modeled a new theoretical concept about modern neoliberal urbanization processes. The authors noted that the interaction of three phenomena is responsible for changing the order of urban development (Fig. 1). These are a *neoliberal economic policy* of the state that is related to market liberalization, deregulation, and privatization; a *new urban policy* in which coalitions between the public and private sectors, as well as political and economic trends, entered the sphere of urban planning and development; and *urban development projects* that are aimed to discover new economic potentials and generate money. However, on the other hand, everyone is well aware that a large part of the population associated with such projects is simultaneously excluded from the planning and management process, which, as a result, leads to socio-spatial polarization. In these planning initiatives, priorities for sustainable

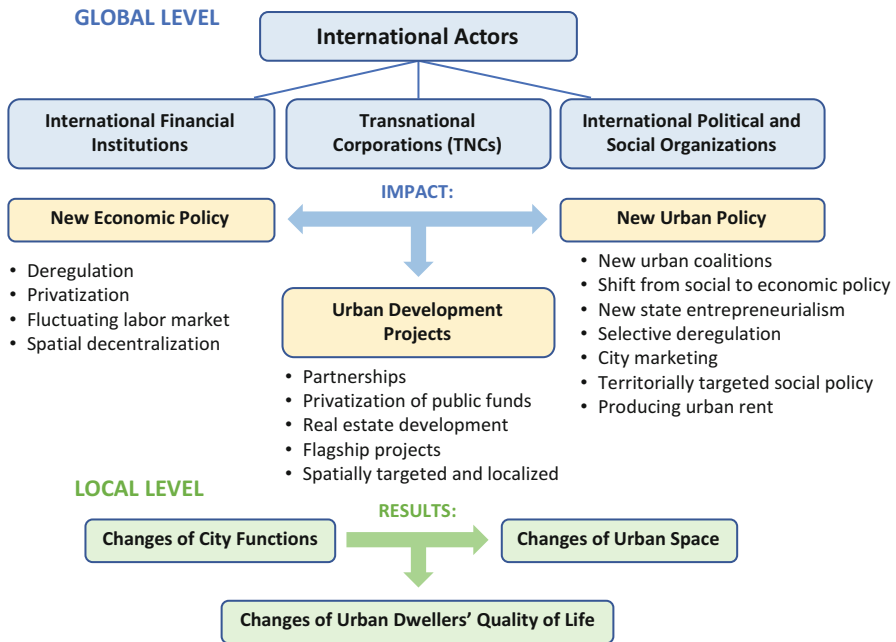


Fig. 1 Neoliberal urbanization: expression at city level. (After Moulaert (2000), Moulaert et al. (2001a, b), Swyngedouw et al. (2002), and Al-Hamarneh et al. (2013))

development are ignored. In general, the main purpose of such urban planning is to create a rent from real estate and separate urban planning from the social development of the city.

Such processes are inherent for cities in countries around the world. Cities in post-Soviet countries immediately began to apply this approach in their urban management practices following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In recent years, changes in urban space under the influence of neoliberal globalization processes are receiving considerable attention in Ukraine. Over the past 3 years, the Institute of Geography of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine published two international collective monographs edited by Rudenko on this topic. Some sections were largely related to the issues raised above (Rudenko 2013, 2015). The impact of globalization on various aspects of capital city development is also discussed by Maruniak (2007, 2013); Mezentsev and Mezentseva (2012); Mezentsev et al. (2015); and Mezentseva (2017). The theoretical basis of the research on neoliberal urbanization and the context and transformations of city nodal regions are covered in Al-Hamarneh et al. (2013) and Dronova et al. (Dronova and Al-Hamarneh 2013; Dronova and Poleshko 2017). An analysis of the problems and prospects of capital city development is made by Nudelman (2013, 2015), and a review of the postindustrial transformation of major cities in Ukraine was conducted by Pidgrushnyi (2015). The notion of the cities' nodal areas and their

transformation under the influence of modern economic and social processes is raised by Sosnova (2011).

Transformations of Post-Socialist Cities Under the Globalization

Globalization became a key element of world development in the twenty-first century when governments and societies in most countries realized the close interconnectedness and the problems caused by it. There are many indicators of globalization processes and the accompanying rapid progress, including those that characterize the flows of goods, services, investments, and labor as well as transport and communication facilities.

The specificity of the tendencies which are usually associated with the impacts of globalization is, first and foremost, the complexity of cause-and-effect relationships which precludes a clear differentiation of changes in the social, economic, political spheres, etc. For example, the direct result of the application of technologies is the economic effect. However, to assess objectively the consequences of technological changes, when expressed in social settings, genetics, ecosystem services, as well as potential economic “boomerangs,” is almost impossible. However, it is quite possible to formulate the primary and secondary associative rows of globalization trends and challenges (Table 1).

An important role is played by information and communication connectivity and the accessibility of the world community, linkages which are increasing every year. Today significant communication restrictions are observed only in countries with a clear isolation policy. The space is slowly modified from geographic to geo-economic, “socializing,” and “economizing.” This observation can be traced in many studies which analyze the social and economic constructs of space and thereby demonstrate a paradoxical phenomenon of the growth of spatial characteristic significance in the context of allegedly abandoning spatiality.

The overlapping effects of market liberalization, international migration, globalization of culture, and urban businesses, when combined with changes in architecture and urban planning, have been leading to homogenization in terms of visual and functional organization of cities, especially large urban areas. It should also be noted that although cities are distinguished in the polarized socioeconomic space of countries and regions, their qualitative and quantitative dimensions are significantly different than the well-known lines of “fracture” (center-periphery, rich-poor, North-South).

The issues of contemporary urbanization discourse in terms of global trends are evident in the following areas: scale of connections, influence, and concentration of resources in global cities; growth of inequality at all spatial levels, which brings additional challenges especially for cities of lower ranks; and growth of social, economic, environmental risks and conflicts of urban development.

Each of these points contains a number of problems. This concerns the potential and feasibility of the city desiring to acquire features and the status of the global city,

Table 1 Globalization: Trends and challenges

Trends (primary prospective)	Challenges (secondary prospective)
The exacerbation of inequality and competition in the world-system, the polarization of development Formation and growth of the influence of global actors (transnational corporations, international organizations), transnationalization (including crime) Proclaimed domination of “space of flows” – Technological shifts, transport accessibility, digitalization Unification of values and standards, their rapid, aggressive propagation	Growing dynamic, complexity, and connectedness, the “network character” of the world-system, stochasticity as the main feature of development Increasing intensity of conflicts and risks, global instability Growth of the population’s number and mobility Loss of national, cultural identity Growing consumerism Growing pressure on the environment and humankind

the correlation of the national and transnational city networks, suburbanization, the possibilities of sustainable development in large cities, the decline of small and medium-sized towns, and polarization. Therefore, it is quite obvious that in the context of urban development policy, the state must ensure a reasonable organization of all units of the spatial framework as well as any differentiation of functions.

The overlapping effects of market liberalization, international migration, globalization of culture, and urban businesses, when combined with changes in architecture and urban planning, lead to the process of world homogenization in terms of the visual and functional organization of cities, especially large urban areas.

Challenges of Globalization Facing Post-Soviet Kyiv

We observe the following challenges that face post-Soviet cities in Ukraine and elsewhere:

Rapid urbanization. The consequence of increasing the rate of urbanization is the polarization of space, the increase in the number of depressed territories, as well as hypertrophic development of major cities. The weakness of state policy leads to the deterioration of the urban environment, which leads to unemployment, criminalization, the outflow of human resources, and the destruction of infrastructure and housing. Such phenomena might be found in the urban areas of former Soviet republics.

Marked social hierarchy. The pace of simultaneously increasing inequalities and a social hierarchy of the urban population vary depending on the country, but the factors of spatial differentiation remain quite universal – income and professional affiliation.

Information and communication oversaturation. The city becomes a “hub of communications” – the internet, radio, television, newspapers, advertising media, and vehicles, all which are part of everyday urban life.

Increasing presence of global actors. There is a range of organizations that have obvious or implicit global influence; these include banks, corporations, international organizations, and even private individuals.

Loss of urban landscape originality. When conditions exist that the municipalities and citizens do not control for the implementation of development standards, the city loses its original appearance and becomes a place associated with all kinds of investment projects.

Strengthening multiculturalism and multiethnicity of the urban environment.

Becoming a part of the global landscape, a city attracts new people from the entire world. Students, white and blue-collar workers, refugees, and tourists from different countries create a new spirit and diversity in urban life. It is especially noticeable in post-socialist countries (Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Ukraine, Belorussia, etc.) which have been more or less “closed,” “mono-national,” or at least “Slavic” for a long time.

Growing risks of urban life. Quite often, the city is called a “stone jungle,” where the strongest survive. Indeed, economic growth in a globalized environment is often followed by increased transport load (respectively, pollution and accidents), rising crime, the spread of infectious diseases, and the emergence of mass riots and terrorism. In addition, large cities reveal and demonstrate impressive contrasts between different social groups, which in turn become a precondition for conflicts, both for the groups themselves and the individual members.

Accelerated pace. Accelerating of the pace of life, the rhythm of the city, increasing the value of individual space and time take place. The successfulness of modern life is largely based on mobility and communication. This influences the lifestyle and the rhythm of life of the city dwellers which are significantly different from the countryside and also vary in cities of different rank. The human in the urban environment is tied by growing flows of information, contacts, and meetings. It leads to growing importance of “private time and space” without unexpected impacts. At the same time, there is a phenomenon of “loneliness,” when the individual for certain reasons is “excluded” from the cycles of social activity and is no longer of interest to the community.

Sustainable development. Ignoring environmental problems and the necessity of sustainable development are typical of urban space in developing countries. Pursuing their own interests, municipalities often avoid the development and implementation of effective spatial plans and strategies. This leads not only to nontransparent land use (an investor obtaining land does not comply with the necessary regulations) but also to poor management in other areas (waste, emissions, water, energy). There is also the problem of globalization in corrupt societies.

Spatial Indicators

Kyiv still is not officially recognized as a global city, but it *is changing significantly under the influence of globalization processes*. The main spatial indicators of these changes, which are evident in the city, are:

Changes of the city's economic structure. It means the decline of employment in the sphere of production in favor of services and the gradual transfer of industrial enterprises outside the city. While some old industrial enterprises remain within the city, their activity is essentially lower when compared to Soviet times.

Growth of business activity infrastructure. First, this is evident in the overall growth of the quantity of the business and exhibition centers and offices of transnational corporations and international organizations. The part of *Kyiv* identified as a central business district includes about 80 business centers. Among the most prestigious are "Podol plaza," "Leonardo," "Prime," "Eurasia," "Horizon Park," "Renaissance," and "Eleven."

Increased number of shopping and entertainment malls. These forms of consumerism are seen in the "cult of shopping" as a lifestyle and also as a means of communications. At the same time, the "central shopping axis" of *Kiev* is still very far behind similar places in global cities.

Increased number of premium hotels. There are well-known chains such as Hyatt Regency, Fairmont Grand Hotel, Holiday Inn, Hilton, Radisson, Marriott, and Sheraton.

Growth of cottage enterprises in peri-urban areas. These are seen as a reflection of the image of "American dream," the implementation of which in Ukrainian cities is much more complicated than in the West. (The difficulties extend from waste disposal to transport accessibility.)

Paradoxical simultaneous increase in healthy and unhealthy lifestyle infrastructure. The first category includes places like fitness centers and gyms (more than 100); the second includes night clubs, fast-food restaurants, etc.

Constant increase in plastic waste. This is a result of the growing production and consumption of plastic materials.

Destruction of historical and architectural monuments, green spaces, and open spaces. The greatest impact is caused by the construction of elite real estate (residential buildings, business centers, hotels). A well-known example is St. Sophia's Cathedral which almost lost its place on the "UNESCO" List of World Heritage Sites after skyscraper construction began within its buffer zone.

Considerable transformation of the city image. We are addressing the *selective deregulation* of urban spaces when the urban tissue is fragmented and designed to match the demands of the global investors. The spatial fragmentations ignore the needs of the local communities and exclude them from the process of planning at all levels. In cases when public hearings are held, often their decisions are ignored when implementing projects. We can see in *Kyiv* many examples of such negative impacts of neoliberal globalization, which encourage the



Fig. 2 Kyiv Center: Changes of urban landscape. (Photo: Maruniak 2016)

replication of monotonous types of space exploration and which eliminate its national and cultural identity and undermine the “sense of place” (Figs. 2 and 3). As an example, we recall the process of a modern reconstruction of the historical part of the city, the Andriyivskyy Descent, where a 30-story hotel is currently proposed and which has been accompanied by permanent protests from the local communities (Figs. 4, 5, and 6).

Increase in number of automobiles. Intensity of automobile traffic results in traffic jams, increased levels of harmful emissions, a shortage of parking spaces, and increases in commuting time.

Total digitalization and computerization. These are reflected in the structure of urban flows as city residents face the problem of electromagnetic fields or properly utilized technics.

Aggressive marketing and advertising. Today, in Ukraine there are about 90,000 outdoor advertisement surfaces in 60 cities. Kyiv has the highest (40%) of the all-Ukrainian advertising budget. Other large cities with over one million inhabitants have 6–7% of the budget each, while the rest of the towns have roughly 1.5% each (Oohmasterad 2013).

Increased social movements. Social movement activities increase in number, scale, and diversity. Among activity markers are protest actions, bike rides, flash mobs, and performances aimed at the raising of social awareness.



Fig. 3 Kyiv Center: Changes of urban landscape. (Photo: Maruniak 2016)



Fig. 4 Andriivskyy Descent: Protests. (Source: <https://ua.censor.net.ua>, 2017)



Fig. 5 Andriyivskyy Descent: Protests. (Source: <https://ua.censor.net.ua>, 2017)



Fig. 6 Andriyivskyy Descent: Example of a new design without public involvement. (Source: <https://ua.censor.net.ua>, 2017)

Increased crime. The growth of crime, including economic, becomes transnational.

And there are significant differences among cities of Ukraine and in districts within the same city.

Increased immigration. The number of migrants (from China, Vietnam, and Afghanistan) grows in specific districts of the city.

Reshaping of cultural space. Art centers, art studios, and aqua parks emerge. An interesting related indicator is the increased number of different countries' cuisines, which, as a rule, carry a whole complex of traditions.

Innovations and technologies in both transport and housing. Among them are e-services in public transport, taxi, smart apartments, and houses.

Toponyms

An impressive element of the post-Soviet urban transformations is the language of toponyms (urbanonyms). In the case of Kyiv, one should look deeper and define several stages.

Soviet transformations (1919–1991). This period was related to renaming of the streets in honor of Soviet government, “heroes” of the revolution (e.g., Proletarian, Revolutionary, Heroes of Arsenal, Red Guard). The city had been constructed following the tradition of displaying the names of USSR outstanding personalities and events of Soviet history, creating urbanonyms. There were few examples of streets named after Ukrainian writers and artists recognized as “suitable,” consistent with the communist party ideas, by the Soviet authorities. The best example is Taras Shevchenko Boulevard, named for the famous Ukrainian poet and painter (1814–1861), which was previously called Bibikovsky Boulevard after Bibikov, a statesman in Russian Tsarist Empire and Kyiv military governor (1792–1870). Some surnames of foreign artists loyal to Soviet power, such as Henri Barbusse, a French writer and Marxist (1873–1935), or Wanda Wasilewska, Polish and Soviet novelist (1905–1964), also became part of the urban landscape. At the end of the period, construction of a large district “Akademmistechko,” intended for families of Ukrainian scientists, led to the appearance of “academic streets” (named after academicians such as Vernadsky, Palladin, Krzhizhanovsky, Dobrokhotov). An unusual phenomenon, the combination of Russian and Ukrainian languages, should be noted. The names of streets were displayed in Russian (typical for other Ukrainian cities and towns, Fig. 7), while the names of most infrastructural objects were displayed in Ukrainian (shops, theaters, hotels, restaurants, etc., Figs. 8 and 9). Inscriptions in English (or other languages) are missing.

The first stage of the post-Soviet transformations (1991–2014). The main feature of this stage was partial renaming of the “Soviet” streets and squares. Among the first renamed was the central square of the capital of Ukraine, which obtained the name Maidan Nezalezhnosti (meaning Independence Square). Previous names include Kreschatytska (1830–1876), Dumska (1876–1919), Soviet (1919–1935), Kalinina (1935–1977), and October Revolution (1977–1991). Historical names mostly did not return (e.g., Lenin’s Street, the former Fundukleevsky

Fig. 7 Lenin Street in the town of Zmiiv in the Kharkiv region. (Source: <http://prostir.museum.ua/post/28265>)



Fig. 8 Signboards of the shops, Nizhniy Val St. bld. 19, 21, 1980. (Source: <http://starkiev.com/%d0%b2%d1%80%d0%b5%d0%bc%d1%8f/1980-2/>)

Boulevard, named for Fundukley, a statesman in Russian Tsarist Empire and Kyiv civilian governor (1799–1880), was renamed in honor of Bogdan Khmelnytsky, a Ukrainian Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host (1595–1657)). Almost all streets are named in Ukrainian. At the same time, the first markers of globalization (economic integration) have become noticeable as English names of urban infrastructure in ownership of retail chains, hotel chains (e.g., McDonalds, Zara, Hilton, etc.), and cell



Fig. 9 Slavutych Hotel, Rusanivka District, 1982. (Source: <http://starkiev.com/%d0%b2%d1%80%d0%b5%d0%bc%d1%8f/1980-2/>)

phone companies. Business centers and shopping malls also have obtained English names (e.g., Senator, Dream Town, Ocean Plaza). Moreover, national producers are often presented in English (e.g., Roshen Corporation, System Capital Management).

The second stage of Post-Soviet transformations (after the Revolution of Dignity, 2014). This was a stage of completed “decommunization.” The city lost all communistic monuments and other symbols of Soviet era. The names of all streets and squares of the “totalitarian regime” were changed, for example, Chervonoarmiyaska Street (named after the Red Army) became Velyka Vasylkivska Street, Prospekt Vozyednannyya became Prospect Sobornosty, which changed the meaning from unity with Russia to unity within Ukraine itself. Names of certain streets were changed in the context of Russian aggression. Thus, Moscow Square was renamed Demiivska Square according to the historical name of the surroundings; Moscow Avenue became Stepan Bandera Avenue, named for the head of the national movement in the twentieth century. In 2017, in order to “overcome the consequences of the Soviet occupation,” the Kyiv City Council decided that in Kiev, all names of institutions, enterprises, organizations, signboards, posters, public announcements, advertisements, and any other forms of audio and visual advertising products, as well as information for consumers, have to be performed in Ukrainian. The new official format of the tables (signs) indicating the name of Kyiv streets in Ukrainian and English is shown in Fig. 10. The owner of such information may duplicate it in English and in any other language. This does not apply to official

Fig. 10 Table (sign) on a building on Kyrylivska Street. (Source: <https://hmarochos.kiev.ua>)



representative offices of international organizations, as well as to legally recognized trademarks (which affords the opportunity for transnational companies to use their language, signs, and symbols).

Thus, today Kiev has linguistically returned and acquired its own unique history and rid itself of the influence of Soviet labels, which are still visible in architecture. At the same time, more and more often, the signs of a unified “global landscape” have become a part of urban life.

Nodal Areas in Kyiv

Due to globalization, the transformations of urban space are most evident within a city’s nodal areas. American urbanist Kevin Lynch (1960) over 50 years ago defined nodes as the leading spatial element in the mental map of the city – strategic points in which the observer can freely enter. According to Lynch nodes can be presented by squares, parks; the city’s central districts; subways or railroad stations; extended linear spaces; and also separate cities (at a higher hierarchic level).

We can identify city nodal areas as places or strategic points (foci) of the city which have free access, are located mainly at the crossroads of important transport routes, have a concentration of a large number of urban functions, and are characterized by both centripetal and centrifugal flows. The intersections of transport routes are particularly important for the residents of the city because the transition from one transport communication channel to another is perceived as moving from one structural element to another. Therefore, the concept of a nodal area is close to the concept of “transportation hub” which is treated as a point where different types of transport converge and there is a transfer of passengers and goods from one mode of transport to another.

In this context the nodal areas of the city are city squares, another intersection of important transport routes of the city. Some streets are crucial for the functioning of the city. Metro stations are the part of an invisible system of routes that also have nodal areas. Railways and bus stations also remain key nodes of the city despite the fact that their importance may decrease over time. However, traffic connections are not the only important part of nodal areas. While formulating the definition of nodal areas, we consider it appropriate to start with the notion of “process,” which can be defined as “the passing, progression, a logical and consequent change of events, conditions and stages of development. Geospatial processes are the processes of interaction between geographical objects” (Alaev 1983).

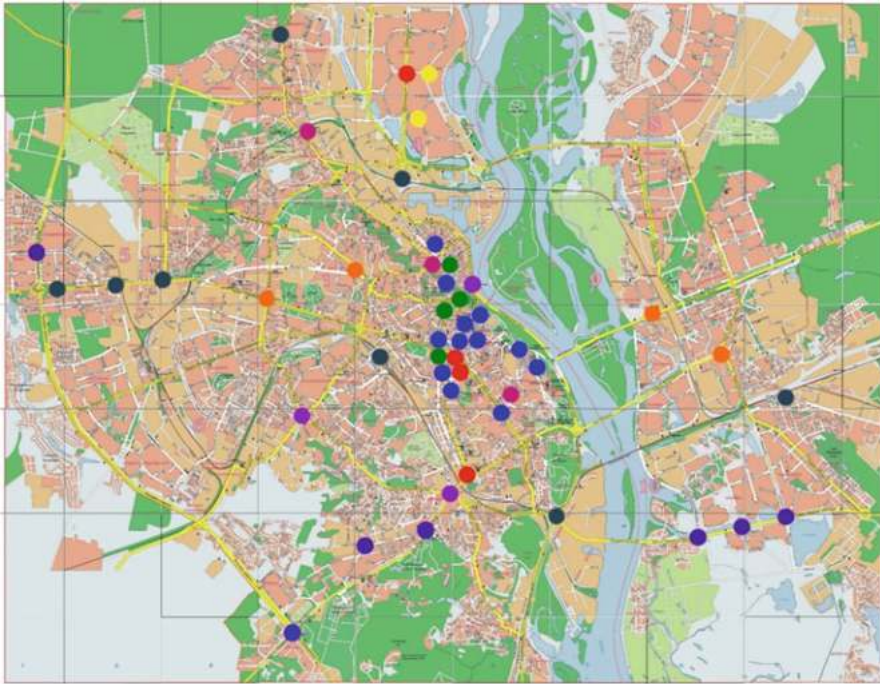
City nodal areas are strategic places with their leading role in urban planning structure due to the concentration of the processes essential to the life of the city as well as related functions of the city. These are intersecting places of material and spiritual paths, transport and human flows, information and communication links, concentrations of interests of representatives of different forms of ownership, and places of origin and the resolution of conflicts. The emergence of intersections of processes leads to a concentration of functions: transport, cultural, economic, social, managerial, communication, and service, among others. The detailed methodological research of the properties and criteria for identifying city nodal areas are represented in (Dronova and Poleshko 2017).

Some nodal areas play the role of etherealization and become the spiritual centers of the city (Mumford 1961). They are, in particular, the historical centers of cities, territories that are memorable for the citizens because of events that happened there, squares that are distinct because of their religious, and architectural and educational institutions. Theoretically, city nodal areas should acquire additional cultural and symbolic value through historical significance. However, in practice, city nodal areas currently are a cause of great concern about the value of their architectural appearance and stability.

In places where functions and processes are concentrated, the process of permanently replacing functions, as well as the corresponding reorganization of the city structure, is the most noticeable. Under the influence of neoliberal globalization processes, city nodal areas become the most attractive for various activities, and in the case of a constant change of actors and priorities, they are dynamically variable. Thus, among all urban areas, they are the most vulnerable because of permanent globalization changes. But we must remember that their language of cultural and architectural symbolism bears the burden of responsibility for their uniqueness and territorial identity associated with the whole city.

Around 50 nodal areas can be defined in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Today they perform mainly the functions of road interchanges as well as representative, communication, service, and commercial functions. The last two are dominant for all the nodal areas of the city; sometimes they replace the representative, cultural-aesthetic, and recreational functions.

The majority of Kyiv nodal areas have been influenced by global neoliberal processes. However, there are differences in the display of such transformations in the city. Considering these differences as well as defining the criteria of nodal area,



Nodal areas:

- *Nodal areas of Kyiv Centre* (Andriyivskyy Descent, Arsenalna Square and Mariyivsky Park, Khreshchatyk Street, European Square, Square near the "Zhovten'" Movie Theatre, Lesi Ukrainky Square, Lva Tolstogo Square, Slavy Square, Ivana Franka Square, Teatralna Square, the area around the Golden Gate, Troitska Square);
- *Nodal public spaces of special social significance* (Kontraktova Square, Maidan Nezalezhnosti, Mykhailivska Square, Tarasa Shevchenko Park, Sofiivska Square);
- *Nodal areas significantly transformed due to the emergence of shopping malls* (Bessarabska Square, Lybidska Square, Minska Square, Sportyvna Square);
- *The reconstructed city nodal areas with transport as the predominant function* (Demiivska Square, Sevastopolska Square, Poshtova Square);
- *Nodes that perform transport functions and require reconstruction* (Darnitska Square, Lukianivska Square, the area around the metro station "Livoberezhna" and the area around the metro station "Shuliavska");
- *City nodal areas that perform transport functions including intercity, national and international routes* (Vokzalna Square, Tarasa Shevchenka Square, Heroiv Brestu Square, Pryvokzalna Square, the area around the metro station "Petrivka" and the area around the metro station "Vydubychi").

Territories that have the potential features of nodal areas:

- Development caused by construction of new subway stations
- Formed in newly built residential areas
- Historically perform the role of markets

Fig. 11 Kyiv City nodal areas

the following groups can be distinguished in Kyiv (Fig. 11): nodal areas of Kyiv Centre, nodal public spaces of special social significance, nodal areas significantly transformed due to the emergence of shopping malls, the reconstructed city nodal

areas with transport as the predominant function, nodes that perform transport functions and require reconstruction, and city nodal areas that perform transport functions including intercity, national, and international routes.

Some squares that historically performed and still perform the functions of markets also have the features of nodal areas (Zhytnorzhka, Pecherska, Petropavlivska). These squares were formed in the second half of the twentieth century in the newly built residential areas (Mikhaila Zahorodnogo Square, Santiago de Chile Square, Obolon Square). Territories that developed due to the construction of new subway stations (Amurska, Holosiivska squares, and the exit from the subway station. “Akademmistechko” and “Kharkivska”) also have the features of nodal areas.

A number of Kyiv squares that were formed at the intersection of newly paved streets are not included in the list of nodal areas (Ankara Square, Panteleimona Kulisha, Kerchenska, Volhohradaska, Internatsional’na squares). Today, these places only perform the function of road intersections and do not attract residents to spend leisure time there. We can assume that eventually these territories will acquire other functions (due to their transport accessibility). At the same time, in case of preserving current trends, the space of these areas is under the risks being transformed into a routine landscape of shopping centers, kiosks, and mobile trade facilities.

Modern Transformations of Kyiv Nodal Areas: Images, Patterns, and Trends

Due to the transition from socialism to post-socialism political regimes to the market economy, the main nodal areas of Ukraine’s capital experienced great changes. Historically, most of the squares performed council and trade functions and served as meeting places and places where residents could communicate. Today, the vast majority of them have lost their natural functions and only serve as transport road interchanges.

The areas in the central part of Kiev (Upper Town, Podil, Pechersk) are particularly affected by the loss of primary functions. These areas have a huge potential for development, such as the presence of highly aesthetic buildings and green areas in close proximity and cultural and historical heritage. However, they not only do not develop, but actually they disappeared. Today their space is occupied by shopping and entertainment centers, hotels, parking lots, temporary constructions, outdoor advertising facilities, and unauthorized trade. The more nodal areas are occupied, the more green areas decrease. Kyiv was once on top of the list of the greenest cities in Europe; today it holds the 30th place with an index of 32.33 out of 100 (European Green City Index 2015).

We identify these developments with the processes of commercialization, verticalization, spatial unification, and homogenization, all which significantly influence the environment of nodal areas. For some the revitalization, sacralization, and social polarization are processed against the backdrop of general trends of tertiarization, gentrification, and significant growth in the city population.

The population of Kiev annually increases by about 20,000, a fact that is reflected in the real estate market and which also creates pressure on the infrastructure of the city.

We recognize that a particularly negative fact for the present and future of the capital of Ukraine is that the main driving forces for change in the unique image of the city are developers. Developers with significant capital institutions with power are primarily interested in making quick profits. Here we can see manifestation of the negative side of new (neoliberal) urban policy, which prompts replication of monotonous types of space development, thereby eliminating its national and cultural identity.

As a result, in the central part of the capital of Ukraine, in the nodal areas, including those in the protected zones of architectural monuments of world significance, the huge newly built multistory buildings are visually dominant. They deform the face of the city, creating a threat to its diversity. The green areas are declining and the “sense of place” is being undermined.

The processes of active city development, especially of its central part, include construction of the multistory apartments and shopping or office centers. It usually happens without the public being involved in the decision-making processes. Many problems have become commonplace for the capital of Ukraine in recent years, such as violation of the spatial structure and architectural ensembles of certain areas, destruction of green spaces, emergence of problems with insulation in neighboring houses as a result of the creation of new structures, and unauthorized addition of upper floors of residential buildings. These and other problems often are associated with protests by local residents (Al-Hamarneh et al. 2013).

In the process of transforming central Kyiv’s nodal areas, spatial schemes and architectural forms of neoliberal urbanization are enhanced by the construction of so-called *architectural monsters* – usually fairly tall and cumbersome buildings that violate normal building practices and do not fit into the urban landscape (Tsybrivsky 2012). “Architectural monsters” existed in the Soviet era as well; however, now it is worth noting that new monsters of Kyiv are advertised as progress and modernization for the city, whereas in reality they are no more than profit-making schemes.

In Kyiv there are plenty of recently constructed buildings that serve as examples of “architectural monsters.” They include (1) the helicopter deck and the house at Hrushevskogo 9-A, built on illegally taken Mariinsky Park zones; (2) a 25-story building on Institutskaya 18-A, where the chestnut trees of the former governor’s park were cut down to build it; (3) a variety of buildings on Podil district (in particular, the Podil-Prestige Business Center, built in 2015 with violations of permitted altitude – called by the public “The Monster on Podol”) and Andreevsky Descent; and (4) a 48-story skyscraper on the Klovskiy Descent 7. The destruction of this building was demanded by UNESCO because it spoils the view on the Kyiv-Pecherska Lavra and, finally, (5) a whole neighborhood of poorly constructed pseudo-historical buildings called Vozdvizhenka.

We should also mention the housing complex “Diamond Hill,” a 20-story apartment building located on Slavy Square directly above the historical area called Askold’s Grave. The building is located on the same slope as the Lavra and other



Fig. 12 Diamond Hill and the house at Hrushevskogo 9-A, view from the left bank of Dnipro River. (Source: <http://www.vorog.info>, 2016)

important historical and architectural monuments of the city. The special form of the building is also symbolic. Its significant size and miniature shape are crowned with its own dome. Such domes have become quite common for new prestigious apartment complexes throughout the Ukrainian capital. This architectural trend today can be interpreted as “establishing authority over the other inhabitants of the city and its space” (Tsybrivsky 2012). Apartments in the complex are only affordable for very wealthy people, which leads to social stratification. Tsybrivsky (2012) mentioned ten traits that characterize this and similar structures in Kyiv which serve not as an example of urban modernization, but a “monster.” Among them is the fact that this structure despises Ukraine, destroying the originality of its capital, absorbs a park, imposes itself on the canonical Kyiv landscape, and adversely affects the image of the city (Fig. 12). The housing project was not coordinated with the citizens of Kyiv or the power authorities.

Undoubtedly, if the city wants to succeed in the global economy and become a respected capital among the largest cities in Europe, it needs modernization and its portion of modern glass and steel high-rise buildings. However, Kyiv citizens need to learn to differentiate where it is a question of real modernization and where it is fictitious. In order to avoid irreparable damage to people, history, and the aesthetic qualities of the city, it is necessary to establish strict control over making decisions about city development.

The processes of *tertiarization* and *commercialization* significantly influence the state of nodal areas. Uncontrolled commercialization of public space leads to a domination of economic functions and then *spatial degradation – unification and homogenization*. Because of buildings and their distinctive features, they must blend

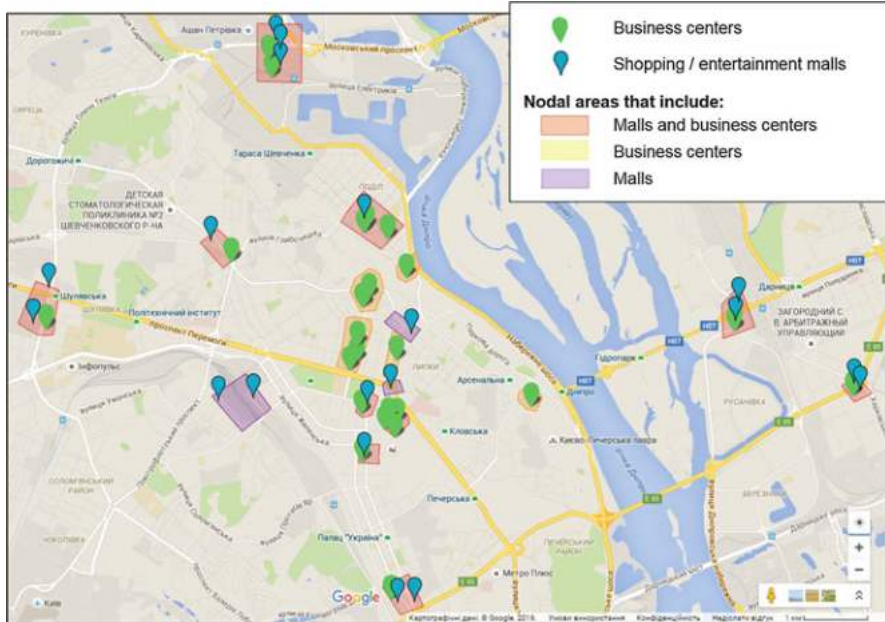


Fig. 13 Kyiv nodal areas affected by shopping malls and business centers. (Compiled using data from Encyclopedia of buildings at novobudovy.com and Colliers International – Leading Commercial Real Estate Services Company (Ukraine) at <http://www.colliers.com>)

or unify with surrounding features. The spaces around homogeneous shopping malls or office complexes are equally faceless, which results in “blurring” of the image of the territory and the city as a whole.

In the struggle for urban resources, new functions often displace less relevant or less competitive. The space of the city is often imitated in the mall, creating “landscapes of consumption.” Urban space is actually transferred to the building of the mall. One of the consequences of this commercialization is that people leave the traditional public places for rest and leisure on the streets and move inside buildings within the mall. While these spaces are the same all over the world, the urban landscape becomes monotonous, and the cities are all alike. Worst of all, in such centers you can buy and sell, but not communicate.

The largest malls in Kyiv are located within the nodal areas, such as Lybidska Square, the area around the metro station “Shuliivska,” Sportyvna Square, Minska Square, and Podil. Nodal areas where business centers have a large area for rent include Sportyvna, Teatralna, Kontraktova, and Lybidska squares (Fig. 13).

Private outdoor advertising along the roads, on the benches, bins, poles, mailboxes, telephone booths, etc. significantly affects the formation of the perception of city nodal areas. Thus, the so-called *privatization of the image of streets and squares* occurs (Mezentsev and Mezentseva 2012). Over the last decade, spaces of nodal



Fig. 14 Private outdoor advertising at Baseina Street. (Source: dmytrofomenko.com, 2017)



Fig. 15 Bohdan Khmelnytsky Monument against the background of the Hyatt Regency Hotel. (Photo: Pedro J Pacheco, Wikipedia, 2013 Creative Commons)

areas have become a source of private profit using sidewalks and facades for advertising. One example is Baseina Street in the direction of Bessarabska Square, Shevchenko Boulevard (Fig. 14).

The growth of business activity and the trend toward further postindustrial urbanization stimulate the concentration of diverse *service functions* in the city's nodal areas. More and more areas of squares and parks are occupied by trade and restaurant entities. The high-tech structures of hotel complexes are built in places of historical significance. For example, McDonald's restaurants (36 in Kyiv) are opened in public places on Darnitska and Sevastopolska squares near many metro stations and the railway station (Wikipedia 2018). Glass buildings of Hyatt Regency and Hilton hotels degrade the value of spaces near the St. Sophia and Vladimir Cathedrals (Fig. 15).

It is noteworthy that the nodal areas with high transport accessibility, without exception, face dominance of commercial facilities, both legal and illegal. For example, the areas around the subway station "Petrivka" or Lukianivska and Lybidska squares currently perform trade functions, and for many people, they are more associated with major trading areas, not transportation hubs. We should also mention the problem of poor visible conditions of the small architectural forms around kiosks and spontaneous markets, especially near subway stations.

In the capital, there are at least four organized markets of secondhand (flea markets) – around the Lisova, Demiivska, Poznyaki, and Akademgorodok metro stations. They are dirty and noisy and have a very negative effect on the surrounding landscape. This phenomenon, combined with the gentrification of certain nodal areas (Arena City quarter on Bessarabska Square, Diamond Hill – Slavy Square, Obolonsky Lypki), contributes to the emergence of *social polarization and fragmentation* (Figs. 16 and 17). One of the most vivid illustrations of the process of social polarization in Kyiv is a gentrified complex "Arena City" and the renovated Central Universal Department Store.

For example, the remains of historic Bessarabskyi Quarter were demolished for the construction of "Arena City" at this site in 2001. This quarter was once an important part of Jewish Kyiv. Now Arena City includes an expensive mall, Mandarin Plaza, luxury bars, and nightclubs. This space in general cannot be called "democratic," unlike the quarter that preceded it. It is designed only for rich people, while ordinary people are treated here with suspicion, and their actions are watched through security cameras.

The processes of *revitalization* in the capital are less related to nodal areas. Probably, over time some of the Kyiv former industrial zones will have the chance to turn into nodal areas, completely reorienting their functions. However, some industrial giants of the previous century are still located in the downtown area, for example, the plant "Arsenal." However, its capacities have been significantly reduced compared to the Soviet period.

Examples of the revitalization of Kyiv industrial objects are (1) emergence of the new shopping mall "Bilshovyk" (now – "Cosmopolit") on the site of the part of former plant with the same name; (2) art and the exhibition complex "Mystetskyi Arsenal" in the buildings of the plant "Arsenal" (Fig. 18); (3) Art Factory "Platform"



Fig. 16 Social polarization in Kiev: Arena City (compare with Fig. 17). (Source: Arena-city.com, kiev.segodnya.ua, 2017)



Fig. 17 Social polarization in Kiev: Secondhand market at Lisova metro station (compare with Fig. 16). (Source: Arena-city.com, kiev.segodnya.ua, 2017)



Fig. 18 Art and the exhibition complex “Mystetskyi Arsenal” in the buildings of the plant “Arsenal.” (Source: litcentr.in.ua, 2015)

in the former Darnytsia Silk Factory; (4) the Donetsk Art Center “Isolation” that was moved to the premises of the Kiev ship-repair and shipbuilding plant at Podil; and (5) art center “Closer” in the former textile factory.

At the same time, there are many industrial zones where manufacturing stopped, but revitalization did not happen (Fig. 19). Nowadays in Kyiv, there are about 23 industrial zones which have partially or completely lost their primary function. In the world there are many examples of revitalization of similar spaces. Examples include The High line Park in New York; the Cultural Industries Quarter on the site of industrial complex in Sheffield, UK; cultural and entertainment complex Manufactura in Lodz, Poland; Wunderland Kalkar amusement park on the site of nuclear reactor in Kalkar or the landscape park on the site of steel-making plant in Duisburg, Germany; cultural symbol of Madrid – Art Center ABC Museo in the building of a brewery (Spain); park on the site of the former coal-gas plant on the shore of Lake Union near the center of Seattle, Washington, USA; and “green” offices in the former factory 780 Brewster in Montreal, Canada.

In many Kyiv parks and city squares, the *re-sacralization* or the construction of new religious buildings (the dominant Orthodox ones) is taking place, thus making public spaces not available for everyone, but only for the supporters of a certain confession. Examples of such sacralization of public spaces are the square near Pivdennyi railway station where the Church of St. George was built in 2001, Ostrovsky park near Solomenska Square where the Holy Transfiguration Church was built in 2003–2007, and attempts to rebuild the Church of Tithes or the construction of chapel in the park of O. Honchar.



Fig. 19 Building of the former Kyiv Engineering Works Bilshovyk. (Source: <https://www.slovoidilo.ua>, 2017)

Current chaotic high-rise construction destroys the city's image concealing the well-combined old architecture and unique Soviet modernism examples. The vast majority of these buildings of constructivism style are located near the city's nodal areas, and, therefore, there is a potential danger of getting another shopping center or restaurant in their place at some time. Despite all the criticism of realized and unrealized modernist solutions, it is worth remembering that many cities sought to subordinate urban space to the needs of society (the ideal modernist city had an exemplary structure as opposed to the individualistic culture that currently divides and privatizes the common space). We can use as an example the "Plate" building near the "Lybidska" metro station where the Ukrainian Institute of Scientific and Technical Expertise and Information is located. This building is one of the most famous landmarks of architectural modernism in the entire post-socialism space. Now it is almost invisible among modern buildings and is under the threat of disappearance or absorption by the "Ocean Plaza" shopping mall (Figs. 20 and 21).

Another example of Kyiv modernism is a complex of buildings associated with Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv on Glushkov Avenue. The exclusiveness of the image of these buildings is "eaten" by various chaotic buildings around. This architecture, probably, still needs to be protected from mercenary developers not the least because they are unique in their surroundings. By exploring the functions and form of the examples of modernist heritage, we can find much useful information for modern planning solutions. When deciding to demolish such



Fig. 20 Kyiv soviet modernism: The “Plate” building, Lybidska Square. (Source: <http://kievlast.com.ua>, 2016)



Fig. 21 Kyiv soviet modernism: Salut hotel, Slavy Square. (Source: <http://kievlast.com.ua>, 2016)

Table 2 Distinctions between Soviet, post-Soviet, and European approaches to spatial planning

Category	USSR	Post-Soviet Ukraine	Europe
Initiative	“Top-down approach”	“Developers-down approach” Initiative goes from developers and other interested actors (mostly authorities)	Balance of “bottom-up” and “top-down” approaches. Coordination of interests of different forms of ownership
Major focus	Allocation of productive forces	Rent, profit making	Society and nature
Environmental sub-goals	Use of resources	Are not specified	Landscape revitalization and use
Stakeholders and target groups	Communist party and management authorities using scientific recommendations	Developers in coalition with public authorities	Public authorities, all citizens, business representatives (investors and developers), NGOs, local people
Priorities	Sectoral (industrial)	Economic (profit making)	Integrated development of the territory
Value of information	Low	Medium	High
Methods	Building regulations and standards, cities master plans, local building schemes; comprehensive assessment of natural resources and environment	Scientific approaches to development of the built environment are mostly ignored	Integrated concepts and strategies of territorial/urban development, environmental impact assessment
Concept of landscape	Natural system	Not specified in practice	Socio-natural system
Levels	From state to local	From state to local	From transnational to local

buildings, citizens should remember that the city, where the past is ignored and new buildings are built on the place of old ones, is doomed to lose its uniqueness forever.

Conclusions and Discussions of Potential Ways to Solve the City Problems

Certainly, the unification of urban space cannot be considered as a strictly neo-liberal phenomenon. The processes of urban space formation in the Soviet period were influenced by the centralization of urban planning and architecture design. The communist party model of city management provided a top-down approach to decision-making (Table 2). A Soviet city type with specific buildings, planning, an architectural image, as well as the specially designed quality of the urban

environment was created. During that time, urban planning in Ukraine was subject to strict norms and standards for the regulation of urban space. The traditional Soviet city management system was created to ensure the implementation of the main political tasks – mobilization and control over the population. Construction was carried out on the basis of functionalism canons, which led to the fact that cities turned mostly into “settlements serviced the enterprises” and had, in many cases, faceless and standard decisions. The monotony of buildings of the typical residential areas of Khrushchev era (khrushchivkas), the same standards of urban centers in the planning districts of towns during the Soviet period, left us a legacy of depressed homogenized territories of the post-socialism urban space. However, it should be noted that in those times, new planning and construction decisions were always made in compliance with norms, rules, and standards of the organization of green areas, the density of citizens and housing constructions, the social infrastructure, and places of recreation. Unfortunately, today all scientific approaches to the design of urban space are ignored which has led to a number of issues highlighted in this chapter. They are intensified by the hypertrophied development of the capital of Ukraine, where the population is constantly growing, as noted above, due to internal migration.

The course of the neoliberal economic policy is chosen by the state, and it is now strengthened by the influence of international financial structures. In combination with new trends of urban management, these processes launched a neoliberal urbanization in Ukraine. The state almost completely lost control over the development of cities and settlement systems in difficult times of constant reforms after 1991. Progressive planning approaches of socially oriented urbanization such as the integrated management of urban development, the creation of social housing, free housing for certain categories of the population, or the provision of benefits for the purchase of housing are not found in the modern Ukrainian urban practices. Or, if they appear somewhere, they are quickly “drowned” under the pressure of economic elites in power. There could be a way out of the crisis, for example, as many stagnant small towns have a declining budget-forming base. Government assistance with housing in small towns and reformatting of the old residential areas in old cities could enhance the processes of creating new jobs in Ukrainian peripheral regions that experience significant processes of depopulation today. Such activity would be a strategic decision in the revitalization process of the peripheral cities and at the same time harmonizing the disproportions in the urban settlement system in the country.

Regulation of the mechanisms of local democracy and instruments of direct democracy have been established in the Ukrainian legislation for many years. However, for a long previous time, the centralized system of public administration, local self-government, and local democracy experienced a period of despair and existed only in paper form. After the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, for the first time in the history of independent Ukraine, it was possible to consolidate at the national level the necessary legislative and financial basis for the revival of genuine European local self-government. Now the main task relates to the transformation of community thinking and awareness. It should be realized that, within the existing updated

legislative and financial framework, nobody, except local people, will be engaged in ensuring community welfare and in resolving urban development issues.

Thus, the advantage of the globalization processes at present is that the public, guided by numerous examples in other regions of the world, has realized its right to participate in decision-making on spatial, economic, and social urban development. The increase in number, scale, and variety of social movements in Kyiv shows an increase in the level of public awareness as well as consciousness of citizens regarding their responsibility for the city's future. Events such as the contest of public project proposals include the former "Yunost" sewing factory space rearrangements; the arrangement of the Nebesna Sotnia Park by local community; the development of the Manifest "Kiev is a comfortable city"; the Kyiv Street Design Manual; the holding of urban festivals and other events (e.g., PARK(ing) Day); and the creation of a large number of public organizations and the public movement in defense of the Gostynnyi Dvir at Kontraktova Square. All these examples clearly show the emergence of a fundamental background for public involvement designed to control decisions by city authorities and to respond promptly to violations of citizens' rights.

The revised Strategy of Kyiv City Development until 2025 ("Strategy" 2018) can now be considered as a definite reference point for coordinating the actions of all stakeholders in the city's socioeconomic relations when planning their operational activities. The document offers a set of specific indicators for achieving strategic development goals for the capital. However, the Kyiv Strategy cannot be implemented separately from the development of the suburban territory as well as other settlements and regions in Ukraine. In addition to the development of the capital, it is necessary to ensure the appropriate development of other territories, including peripheral territories. It is necessary to develop major economic, financial, social, and cultural functions in other regional centers of the country. Since Ukraine has chosen the path of integration within the European Union, polycentric development of country and regions on the basis of sustainable spatial development of large urban areas should become the main way for present and future urban strategies according to the European Spatial Development Perspective.

Some regional centers in Ukraine, for example, Chernihiv, Vinnytsa, Cherkassy, and Zhytomyr can also play the role of "backup cities," which can assume a number of administrative, financial, and other functions now in the capital, thus unloading some. The transferring of some important functions from Kyiv to these cities will create new jobs and attract investments there. On the other side, it could restrain the population outflow directed to Kiev and allow capital to develop in more restrained and sustainable ways, with an emphasis on ensuring social functions and preserving green areas. Such changes will meet the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 adopted by the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2015.

Optimal use of Kyiv nodal areas is possible in the light of socially oriented concept of New Urbanism. Even now, despite the difficult political and economic situation in Ukraine, it is necessary to create a legislative basis to attract these kinds of approaches to design the city to be comfortable for people. The idea of a compact, resident-oriented city for people of all ages and with different abilities is an essential element of urban development from the perspective of a new urbanism. The city,

friendly to its inhabitants, creates a sociocultural environment, where a city dweller is formed as the basis of a nation.

According to the Congress of New Urbanism (<http://www.cnu.org/>) and the European Urban Charter II: Manifesto for a New Urbanity (<http://www.nalas.eu/knowledge-center/Manifesto-for-a-new-urbanity-the-Congress-has-adopted-the-European-Urban-Charter-II>), the new urbanism principles can be briefly stated as follows: balance with nature and traditions, use of the best expedient environmental friendly technologies, human scale and social interaction, efficiency, a matrix of opportunities, regional integration, sustainable movement in the city, and institutional integration. Of course, taking into account the territorial size and the number of Kyiv residents, it is reasonable to apply the new urbanism approaches at the level of planning of distinct districts, individual nodal areas, or infrastructure projects, as it is done for the capital of the USA.

Bringing scientific research to the urban management processes, adapting the best western practices and approaches to local environment is a necessary condition for Ukraine capital climate harmonization. Kyiv residents have to learn to negotiate and cooperate with the scientific community. We must realize our joint interests and try to coordinate them to create a very friendly and comfortable city. Many conflicts, especially in the field of urban development, arise from the lack of professionalism of power authorities, a lack of proper information, and an unwillingness to have a dialogue.

The city nodal areas are the most vulnerable under the neoliberal influences and transformations because they have a special attraction for private and public spheres of activity. That is why, in our opinion, attention should be paid to the issues of their allocation, functioning, and development, not only on the theoretical and cognitive levels but also on managerial levels, because nodal areas are a kind of “face” of the city. Their state depends on joint actions of scientists, architects, and regional and urban planners on the one hand and through urban development on the other hand, that is, communities, residents of the city through the realization of their right to the city.

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