

Gentrification as a comprehensive urban transformation process in Pidzamche District of Lviv (2010-2025)

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Abstract

This master's thesis examines gentrification as a complex process of urban transformation in the Pidzamche district (Lviv) between 2010 and 2025. The study analyzes the development trajectory of the district, where the interaction between the municipality, private developers, cultural institutions, and the local community shapes the specific nature of urban change. The central research question is to identify how historical industrial cycles, the rent gap effect, and spatial isolation determine the unique mechanisms of territorial transformation in a post-socialist context. The methodological framework of this study is based on the concept of multi-actor transformation, which allows us to move beyond simplistic interpretations of gentrification. The empirical basis of the study combines spatial audits, analysis of cartographic data, semi-structured in-depth interviews with experts and local residents, as well as surveys. The use of an operational checklist adapted to the local context makes it possible to verify systemic signs of gentrification and assess their impact on the social structure and urban environment. The results of the analysis demonstrate that Pidzamche is undergoing a transition from fragmented, spontaneous changes to a systemic transformation driven by strategic capital investment and the cultural recoding of the space. The study offers a critical perspective on development strategies for depressed industrial areas, emphasizing the importance of considering the social consequences of spatial segregation and the potential of institutional collaboration for sustainable urban planning.

Keywords: gentrification, multi-actor transformation, Pidzamche, rent gap, post-Soviet urbanism, urban planning, socio-spatial segregation.

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1. Introduction

Lviv functions as a strategic logistics hub, whose geopolitical and economic significance is accelerating the development of areas with high rent potential. As Nadiya Sosnova notes (2025, personal interview, Appendix A1), the city has become a site for aggressive development, where vacant lots in industrial zones are the primary targets for capital accumulation. These changes in Pidzamche are not accidental. Instead, they exploit the material legacy of decline and previous cycles of reinvestment, which have created a significant rent gap and paved the way for a massive influx of external capital.

This study is based on the thesis that gentrification in Pidzamche unfolds through a network of actors with divergent strategies. The interests of these actors span everything from municipal plans for aesthetic renewal to the commercial goals of private developers and the experimental practices of cultural institutions. The trajectory of this transformation remains a subject of constant debate, as it combines physical revitalization with a high risk of socio-economic displacement of vulnerable resident groups.

This work fills an empirical gap in our understanding of the mechanisms of contemporary gentrification. The analysis covers the period from 2010 to 2025, integrating data from qualitative interviews with an assessment of urban planning documentation and real estate market indicators.

2. Literature Review

The conceptualization of gentrification originated with the descriptive framework of R. Glass (1964), who characterized the process as a class-based "invasion" of the middle class into London's working-class districts. In her view, gentrification is framed not as an isolated occurrence but as a symptom of wider socio-spatial restructuring, where displacement unfolds incrementally "class by class." While Glass implicitly acknowledges a variety of actors (residents, the state, and the market), she leaves the mechanisms of economic incentives of capital unexamined.

Moving beyond the constraints of a purely descriptive framework, Smith (1979) offers a radical reinterpretation of gentrification, pivoting the analytical focus from individual consumer choices toward the structural logic of capital. His theory of the "rent gap" - the differential between actual capitalized ground rent and the potential rent achievable under "highest and best use" - frames gentrification as a product of strategic maneuvers by both capital and the state. This model is particularly applicable to the Pidzamche neighborhood, where the revitalization of post-industrial landmarks (such as the Jam Factory or !FESTrepublic) serves as a clear market reaction to the widening gap between the undervalued state of derelict land and its significant potential, driven by its proximity to the historic core.

Continuing the structural analysis, D. Harvey (2003) contextualizes this dynamic macroeconomically through the theory of "accumulation through dispossession." Here,

gentrification goes beyond simple market mechanics, emerging instead as a political project in which the state (using instruments such as zoning, infrastructure changes, or tax breaks) orchestrates the redistribution of resources in favor of economic elites. For the Pidzamche district, this perspective helps explain the transformation of state-owned or brownfield industrial sites into private assets. The gradual market integration of these areas through cultural initiatives often acts as a precursor, legitimizing their eventual full-scale commercialization and capital growth.

Nevertheless, the economic determinism inherent in the works of Smith and Harvey leaves unaddressed the specific ways in which a space acquires its appeal to capital. This analytical gap is addressed by S. Zukin (1982), who explores the role of culture as a "precursor" to capital. She frames cultural actors as key agents in the revalorization of space, illustrating how artists and the "creative class" frequently serve as involuntary intermediaries in spatial revaluation. Their presence infuses the district with symbolic capital, curating an inviting brand for prospective investors. Such a trajectory is evident in Pidzamche: the rise of art hubs, festivals, and culinary spaces is shifting the area's mental map from "industrial relic" to "trendy and authentic." This perceptual transformation precedes and fundamentally facilitates the ground for more extensive residential redevelopment.

To structure the temporal dynamics of these spatial shifts, Phillip Clay and Michael Twigge's classic stage model of gentrification offers a foundational framework. This model conceptualizes the process as a sequence of distinct phases. It moves from the initial influx of "urban pioneers"-such as artists and members of the creative class who generate symbolic value for neglected neighborhoods-to late-stage aggressive capitalization and large-scale developer intrusion.

Applied to Pidzamche, this sequential logic helps identify the district's current transitional state, where large-scale commercial and residential projects absorb the symbolic capital accumulated by cultural actors. This stage-based analysis does more than explain how space enters the market circuit; it also demonstrates the irreversibility of the social shifts that structurally accompany the final phases of revitalization.

Such transformation often carries a hidden social cost, as Liz et al. (2008) point out. Criticizing the policy of "social mixing," the researcher argues that the idea of harmonious coexistence of different groups often conceals a mild form of displacement of long-term residents. This caveat allows for a more nuanced analysis of the Pidzamcha revival: initiatives presented as inclusive and open to all are in fact aimed at a new, more affluent audience, creating "symbolic barriers" for the existing residents of the area. Although Liz emphasizes the global spread of gentrification and its various forms, the question of its specific nature in post-socialist cities remains open.

Such a framework enables the conceptualization of cultural practices as a potential vehicle for the "re-enchantment" of urban space a notion specifically pertinent to post-socialist transformations. However, this lens also reveals an underlying tension: as cultural initiatives spark urban shifts, they concurrently set the stage for intensified commercialization and the

potential erosion of their own autonomy. This inherent ambivalence serves as a bridge to analyzing the post-socialist city as a multi-scalar transformation process. Crucial in this regard is Luděk Sýkora's perspective; drawing from the Prague experience, he characterizes the post-socialist city as a temporal formation emerging within a "double transition" (Sýkora, 2009) - the shift from a centrally planned economy to a market system and its subsequent integration into global capitalism.

This framework establishes the theoretical basis for conceptualizing the post-socialist city as a procedural and inherently unstable formation. The transition follows a non-linear and fragmented trajectory: physical, social, and economic shifts unfold at varying paces, and urban space emerges through the friction between the inertia of socialist heritage and the emergent logics of capital. A primary outcome of this process is deindustrialization, which yields brownfield sites as "internal development reserves." The eventual transformation of these sites is driven by a selective investment logic, whereby capital gravitates toward the most lucrative locations, while other territories remain in a state of protracted stagnation.

This inequality is clearly visible within Pidzamche. In particular, some of the defunct territories of the Lviv Flour Mill remain abandoned territories, lacking any active revitalization phase, which clearly indicates a lack of investment interest, despite the significant spatial potential of the site. Conversely, other territories, in particular former industrial warehouses, are being assimilated into the market through housing projects, an example of which is the residential estate "Mistechko Pidzamche". This internal differentiation confirms Sýkora's argument about the selective nature of post-socialist urban transformations.

In this sense, post-socialist gentrification manifests itself as a process of social and spatial exclusion, often driven by new economic elites and transnational capital rather than the local middle class. However, this underlying framework neglects the role of cultural actors in initiating such transformations, an issue that is central to the analysis of Pidzamche.

Refining and expanding this analytical lens through the study of Central and Eastern European urban centers such as Prague, Budapest, and Sofia, Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012) articulate a model of the city as a nexus of three interconnected transitions: institutional, social, and urban. Whereas Sýkora's earlier scholarship (2009) concentrated on the overarching logic of the "double transition," this subsequent framework introduces greater complexity by detailing the multidimensional interplay of these transformations. It posits that while the formal institutional shift toward a market system may be finalized, social practices and spatial configurations exhibit a pronounced lag, transforming at a considerably slower and more fragmented pace.

This perspective underscores the hybridity of transformation by employing the concept of path-dependence, suggesting that the socialist legacy, rather than vanishing, undergoes a recombination with market-driven mechanisms. Accordingly, institutional reforms merely establish the preconditions for transformation without directly dictating its trajectory, thereby challenging a linear interpretation of the post-socialist transition.

The authors further delineate the critical structural attributes of post-socialist urban environments: property fragmentation stemming from privatization and the pervasive formation

of brownfield sites. Taken together, these elements dictate the selective character of revitalization and the intensification of socio-spatial differentiation, broadening the analytical scope of the preceding model. Regarding Pidzamche, this refined framework elucidates why classic displacement of residents is not observed. Marcińczak's (2012) scholarship underscores that such transformations result from a sophisticated interplay between economic and social drivers, where spatial realignments do not necessarily entail direct population displacement. This lens frames Pidzamche's evolution as an element of a wider trajectory of gradual socio-spatial differentiation, consistent with the concept of "soft" gentrification within the post-socialist milieu, as documented in Marcińczak's comparative analysis of Łódź, Kraków, and Warsaw.

Synthesizing post-socialist transformations on a European scale, comparative research into socio-spatial segregation reveals that cities in Central and Eastern Europe are following a trajectory of mounting inequality, albeit with a dynamic that diverges from Western precedents. Correspondingly, Roman Cybriwsky's (2013) study of Kyiv illustrates that gentrification manifests as a localized and fragmented phenomenon, primarily clustered in central neighborhoods and driven by the revalorization of the Dnipro riverfront. His argument that these shifts are shaped by the interplay between market forces and the lingering effects of post-socialist property arrangements resulting in pronounced unevenness and selectivity is congruent with the conclusions drawn by his European counterparts, namely Marcińczak and Sýkora & Bouzarovski.

This distinctiveness resonates with wider observations of the Ukrainian urban landscape. Notably, P. Fedoriv (2019) observes that given the high rate of residential privatization, classical displacement unfolds in a manner distinct from Western paradigms. Consequently, these transformations frequently manifest as incremental functional shifts rather than sudden social upheavals.

In the context of Lviv, these dynamics are further nuanced by the city's historic urban fabric. As N. Sosnova (2011) points out, gentrification in this locale is inextricably linked to a built environment that is physically dilapidated yet culturally significant, providing a fertile ground for revitalization. Consequently, the convergence of "heritage conservation" and the "reclamation of derelict areas" gives rise to a distinct mode of transformation characterized by a profound interplay between cultural and economic drivers.

Within Pidzamche, these tendencies are expressed through "functional gentrification" characterized by a sluggish evolution of the residential housing stock in contrast to the rapid transformation of the district's commercial and public spheres. However, current scholarship remains largely descriptive, failing to adequately address the agency of cultural actors as catalysts for spatial reconfiguration - a gap that constitutes the specific research niche of this study.

3. Research Gap and Research Question

A critical review of the literature exposes a significant research gap at the intersection of post-industrial urban transformation theory and empirical studies of the post-Soviet space. Classical Western gentrification theory traditionally concentrates its analytical focus on urban centers as the primary arenas of capital accumulation and socioeconomic displacement (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1979). For decades, post-Soviet urban scholarship mirrored this analytical lens, treating gentrification primarily as a localized phenomenon confined to the historic centers of major cities (Cybriwsky, 2013). Consequently, peripheral post-industrial brownfields long remained excluded from critical socio-spatial analysis. In the specific case of Lviv, early scholarship explicitly dismissed the possibility of these dynamics unfolding outside the historic core, arguing that the gentrification of industrial zones occurred neither economically nor culturally due to the absence of systemic capital incentives (Sosnova, 2011).

This conventional theoretical posture creates a stark analytical contradiction with contemporary spatial realities. The empirical evolution of the Pidzamche district from 2010 to 2025 demonstrates a reversed trajectory; a once-isolated industrial periphery has rapidly become a zone of intensive capital accumulation. The underlying research gap stems from a lack of analytical tools capable of explaining how gentrification operates on the post-industrial periphery of post-socialist cities, particularly under conditions of widespread housing privatization. Current models fail to explain how interactions among emerging actors overcome structural isolation and activate the rent gap without triggering the widespread socioeconomic displacement typical of Western contexts (Fedoriv, 2019; Marcińczak, 2012).

This conceptual impasse motivates the primary research question of this study: Do the transformations in the Pidzamche district between 2010 and 2025 constitute systemic gentrification? To unpack this overarching inquiry and operationalize the empirical data, the study addresses three subsidiary analytical questions:

1. What spatial transformations have taken place within the district since 2010?
2. To what extent do these physical changes accompany a broader socioeconomic transformation?
3. At what stage of development does this transitional process currently stand?

Answering these questions does more than merely document empirical shifts in a single neighborhood; it establishes a theoretical model of functional gentrification specific to the post-industrial spaces of Ukrainian cities. The following subsection details the research design, the selection logic for the informant sample, and the methodology used to integrate spatial and qualitative data.

4. Research Design

The investigation of the gentrification process in the Pidzamche district of Lviv is based on a case study design utilizing a mixed-methods approach. The integration of spatial modeling, fieldwork audits, and sociological assessment tools enables a comprehensive verification of the urban environment transformations between 2010 and 2025. The primary research question "Do the transformations in the Pidzamche district between 2010 and 2025 constitute systemic gentrification?" functions as a continuous analytical line through every stage of data collection and interpretation.

To test this hypothesis, this study implements an author-developed operational checklist (Appendix B1) of gentrification indicators, synthesized from the theoretical frameworks of N. Sosnova (2011) as well as E. Campbell and R. Donaldson (2021). This tool facilitates a clear distinction between deep structural gentrification and localized commercial revitalization of the urban fabric. The gathering and analysis of empirical data unfold in a strict logical sequence that corresponds directly with the narrative structure of the empirical analysis section.

4.1. Spatial and Chronological Boundaries of the Study

A functional-historical interpretation of the Pidzamche district defines the spatial boundaries of the study area. Because this toponym lacks officially designated administrative boundaries, the study synthesizes historical mapping of the industrial hub, contemporary electoral and postal zoning, and residents' cognitive maps of the neighborhood. The resulting operational boundaries encompass the area bounded by the slopes of High Castle mountain, the local railway infrastructure, and the major arterial axes of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Zamarstynivska, Chornovola, and Lypynskoho streets.

The chronological scope of this research spans from 2010 to 2025, a timeframe critical for testing the central hypothesis. The baseline year of 2010 aligns closely with the arguments advanced by urban scholar Sosnova (2011), who asserted that industrial gentrification could not occur in Lviv due to a lack of systemic prerequisites and capital investment. Tracking these spatial dynamics through 2025 provides a fifteen-year window to empirically test this claim, capture the final outcomes of flagship real estate developments, and evaluate the long-term impacts of neighborhood capitalization.

4.2. Retrospective Modeling of Urban Cycles and Historical Preconditions

The study of the historical genesis of the spatial structure of Pidzamche relies on the method of retrospective historical-morphological modeling. This tool reconstructs the successive phases of capital accumulation, industrial consolidation, and subsequent post-industrial decline that led to the modern spatial and economic rent gap within the district. The analysis draws on archival master plans and digital assets of the Center for Urban History. The historical research focuses on key infrastructural and demographic shifts that led to the structural isolation of the area.

The analytical focus targets the role of the Pidzamche railway station (1869) as a primary instrument of spatial segregation that physically severed the working-class periphery from Lviv's administrative core. The next step models the Soviet phase of modernization, specifically the creation of a monofunctional industrial zone along Promyslova Street and the establishment of AC-2 as a logistical gateway for managed labor migration from rural regions. This retrospective mapping traces how historical and Soviet planning decisions encapsulated the specific morphology of the district and preserved large-scale brownfields as spatial assets for contemporary multi-actor urban transformations.

4.3. Field Methods and Aesthetic Environmental Audit

To document material improvements and verify the physical dimension of changes in the district, this study uses semi-structured field observations and aesthetic environmental audits. Primary data collection is based on a building-by-building assessment of the district's main transport corridors, including Bohdana Khmelnytskyi, Zamarstynivska, and Promyslova streets. A standardized assessment scale assesses the condition of facades, the quality of the streetscape, and the accessibility of public spaces, ranging from significant reductions in investment to complete modernization. Comparison of these direct field measurements with archival Google Street View panoramas from 2015 quantifies the speed and spatial geometry of capital deployment over a defined fifteen-year period.

A distinct layer of the fieldwork audit involves spatial mapping of the monumental street art landscape, utilizing media photo (Trush (2016), ProLviv (2018), and Rubryka (2021)). Drawing from the theoretical lens of E. Campbell and R. Donaldson, the analysis conceptualizes public murals as instruments of artwashing. Geolocating large-scale institutional wall paintings and two dynamic open-air galleries located within the REMA plant compound and at 29 Zamarstynivska Street identifies whether sanctioned visual art acts as a spatial precursor to commercial real estate expansion and rebrands former industrial brownfields for affluent consumers.

4.4 Qualitative and Participatory Methods of Sociological Assessment

To explore the sociocultural dimension of urban change and uncover hidden identity conflicts, this study uses the participatory mental mapping methodology, adapted from C. Lynch's (1960) spatial model. This tool captures the subjective perception of the built environment in different cohorts of users against the backdrop of an intensive expansion of the real estate market. Primary data collection combined text-based map-making during interviews with the transect walk methodology. Mobile interviews were conducted with 29 residents: 17 women and 12 men of various ages. The duration of respondents' interaction with the area ranges from short-term stays (approximately one month) to long-term residence (over 70 years), which allows us to take into account both established and new perceptions of the spatial structure of Pidzamche. The walk-alongs followed a defined route from the Jam Factory art center (124 Bohdana Khmelnytskyi St.) to the railway bridge underpass (42a Bohdana Khmelnytskyi St.) (Figure 4.3.A; 4.3.B), which allowed respondents to visually identify the non-administrative boundaries

of the district, the symbolic core, autonomous sub-districts (Rohatka, Zamarstynivska, Promyslova), and critical structural barriers directly in the physical space (Figure 4.3.C).

To extract rigorous scientific insights from individual sketches and construct a generalized spatial model, the analysis processes the mental maps through a four-stage digital synthesis procedure:

- **Digitization and Standardization:** All collected hand-drawn mental maps are scanned and brought to a unified scale, ensuring structural comparability and enabling subsequent graphic overlay analysis.
- **Georeferencing:** Each digitized layer is aligned with a base GIS map of Lviv by orienting individual drawings toward key anchor points of the urban fabric, such as the railway infrastructure, major industrial compounds, and historical landmarks.
- **Overlay Analysis:** Superimposing the georeferenced layers isolates zones characterized by the highest density of spatial overlap, while simultaneously mapping territories of maximal divergence regarding boundary definition.
- **Qualitative Synthesis and Generalization:** The processing weights recurring imageable elements based on four analytical criteria: the frequency of specific element mentions, the spatial consistency of perceived borders, the typological repetition of infrastructural barriers, and verbal-visual congruence between respondent narratives and graphic markers.

The qualitative framework includes semi-structured and expert interviews with targeted urban stakeholders to contextualize the spatial findings. The first module draws on an in-depth interview with urban researcher N. Sosnova (personal interview, May 18, 2026), focusing on the evolution of her original theoretical framework from 2011 and verifying contemporary indicators of “false gentrification” and emotional displacement across the district. As retrospective data on rental rate dynamics in Pidzamcha for the period 2010–2025 are absent in open archives and public registers, this study relies on a qualitative toolkit. To fill this empirical gap, semi-structured interviews were conducted with local real estate agents, whose many years of practical experience allowed to verify the economic transformations of the district. The second module uses brief interviews with local real estate agents to clarify market demand, the rent gap, and the changing demographic profile of homebuyers entering the market. The empirical data of the study mark the full-scale invasion and the influx of IDPs as significant factors of the intensification of changes in Pidzamcha during the studied period, which act in conjunction with development strategies, and not as an independent cause of urban transformations.

4.5. Quantitative Methods and Micro-Survey Tools for Resident Assessment

The final stage of the study uses a quantitative micro-survey methodology, structured as a rapid sociological assessment, to obtain a primary verification of socio-cultural and economic shifts in

everyday practices of the Pidzamche district. Primary data collection relies on a standardized digital questionnaire distributed via Google Forms through targeted localized communication channels, including thematic groups on Facebook ("How Pidzamche Lives"), district Telegram channels, and chat rooms of apartment building co-owners' associations (OSBB) of newly built residential complexes. The use of a friendly, non-technical narrative in the recruitment publication encouraged active participation from both permanent residents and recent homebuyers and temporary users of the space. Thus, responses were collected from 56 residents, 80.4% of whom were residents of the Pidzamche district.

The internal architecture of the survey directly operationalizes the main research question and meets the criteria of the author's operational checklist, transforming subjective perceptions into specific analytical indicators to test for the presence of systemic gentrification:

- **Socio-Demographic Profiling:** Metrics recording residential tenure and age cohorts function as analytical cross-tabulation filters to compare the lived experiences of the indigenous population against incoming residents, exposing patterns of socio-spatial segregation.
- **Environmental Dynamics and Temporality:** Evaluation modules focusing on the acceleration of the urban pace of life measure whether spatial users perceive physical upgrades as structurally integrated transformations or as localized, fragmented instances of "urban recession" outlined by N. Sosnova.
- **Commercial and Cultural Displacement:** Closed-ended inquiries regarding the replacement of traditional "corner-shop" functions by third-wave coffee shops, specialized services, and arts venues directly quantify functional intensification and the structural footprint of artwashing.
- **Emotional Displacement and Sense of Place:** Dedicated parameters evaluating neighborhood attachment and spatial alienation ("feeling like a stranger") capture the psychological displacement of vulnerable groups, while the final open-ended prompt yields authentic qualitative narratives to triangulate and validate the statistical data in Section 5.

5 Analysis of the Pidzamcha Area

5.1 Spatial Boundaries of the District

Pidzamche is a historical Lviv district that experienced prolonged decline. Austrian-era residential and industrial buildings cover the area. Due to historical and infrastructural factors, residents mentally center this space around the Pidzamche railway station, which shaped the neighborhood's development for decades. Due to the absence of official administrative borders, defining the district's boundaries served as the necessary first step for this analysis.

The study employs a combined approach to establish the territorial polygon, integrating postal geography and socio-spatial analysis. The initial spatial localization relies on postal codes 79019, 79024, and 79009 (Figure 5.2.1A.). This index cluster covers the former Zhovkivskyi suburb, providing a basis for collecting market and demographic data. According to official data, there are currently 7,810 registered residents within these boundaries. However, strict cartographic borders do not reflect the community's actual living space. Consequently, mental mapping served to adjust this perimeter. The mental mapping results, detailed in the following section, show residents' actual spatial perceptions and their daily mobility limits.

Combining geographic data and social perception allows for mapping the district boundaries through specific infrastructural objects. The Pidzamche railway station and its tracks rigidly bound the space to the south, separating it from the city core. Low-density housing forms the eastern edge. This sharply replaces the district's typical block layout behind the Jam Factory and gradually transitions into public use further up B. Khmelnytskyi Street. Chornovola and Lypynskoho arterial streets define the western and northern borders. Historically, this area was a swamp, so construction occurred later, mostly during the Soviet period, when drainage technologies became available. The visual difference between Austrian and Soviet building typologies also acts as a mental boundary. These elements function as spatial anchors, enclosing the functional enclave. Because these spatial borders created strict physical isolation, the next stage of my research analyzes the specific physical barriers that directly regulate capital access within this enclave.



Figure 5.1A; *Boundaries of the Pidzamche study area*; Source: Author's own elaboration.

5.2 Spatial Configuration of Pidzamche as a Precondition for Structural Isolation

Pidzamche's spatial organization directly determines its transformation trajectory. The district's topography and geology actively regulate investment flows and set the speed of gentrification. Physical barriers isolate the district and create a substantial rent gap, forcing capital to absorb higher development costs.

5.2.1 Topography as a Barrier and Determinant of Investment Risks

Castle Hill acts as a distinct physical barrier that cuts Pidzamche off from Lviv's central tourist area. With an elevation drop from the hill's peak (413 m) to the Pidzamche railway station (264.88 m), the district sits in the spatial "shadow" of the center (Karpatium, n.d.). This morphological disconnect restricts natural business expansion from the historic core, turning Pidzamche into a peripheral enclave (Figure 5.2.1.A).

Transit accessibility across this barrier remains minimal. Opryshkivska Street provides the only automobile route through a narrow corridor between Castle Hill and Knyazha Hill, and it cannot handle heavy public transit traffic. The lack of pedestrian infrastructure along this serpentine road blocks daily mobility and prevents pedestrian integration between the districts. The city attempted to reduce this isolation with a cable car project (2021) to accelerate the district's capitalization. However, suspending this initiative after the full-scale invasion preserves the current state of transport exclusion.

A complex hydrological network of thalwegs and watersheds adds another economic constraint. Geomorphological limits increase the cost of project documentation and construction work. For investors, this requires higher capital expenditures during site preparation, which objectively lowers the land rent compared to flat areas of the city. Consequently, the topography filters out small investors and encourages only large, high-value projects capable of absorbing these risks.

5.2.2 Hydrographic Heritage and Geological Instability as Brownfield Determinants

The Poltva River basin dictates the district's complex geological conditions. Although the main channel, enclosed underground during the 1930s, bypasses Pidzamche's dense built environment, groundwater continues to strongly influence the area. The northern section contains wetlands historically used for industrial facilities that have now become large brownfields. High land remediation costs and regional deindustrialization severely limit development in these zones, turning these plots into "frozen" assets for developers.

Karst processes exert a similar restricting effect. Underground cavities and soil subsidence risks force developers to conduct extensive engineering surveys (4Studio, 2020). This establishes an additional physical barrier for capital. Geological instability actively slows the rate of urban transformation, reducing Pidzamche to a space of isolated, capital-intensive projects separated by long periods of stagnation.

5.3 Boom and Bust Cycles in Pidzamche as Structural Preconditions for Contemporary Urban Transformations

The contemporary revitalization and gentrification of Lviv's Pidzamche district do not represent a developer-driven anomaly or a spontaneous spatial occurrence. Rather, these processes emerge as the logical outcome of historical boom and bust cycles of capital accumulation and devaluation. Examining the urban fabric of this area requires scholars to abandon linear historical narratives. Instead, analysis must focus on the successive phases of functional consolidation, degradation, and spatial reconceptualization. Each preceding developmental stage accumulated physical changes and infrastructural constraints. Over time, these remnants established the structural preconditions for the next wave of transformation. Specifically, historical industrial and administrative barriers generated a distinct spatial and financial rent gap. Between 2010 and 2015, this gap triggered a rapid influx of new capital, ultimately setting the district's gentrification process in motion.

5.3.1 The Pre-Industrial Phase: Establishing Spatial and Institutional Peripherality (13th-18th Centuries)

5.3.1.1 The Princely Era: Lower-City Morphology and Sacred Centers as the Primary Spatial Framework

The urban development of Pidzamche originated in the 13th and 14th centuries, emerging as an integral component of Princely Lviv. Situated at the foot of the High Castle, the district functioned as the lower city (podil). This zone concentrated princely estates, artisanal hubs, and commercial infrastructure. A distinct spatial and social asymmetry between Pidzamche and the subsequent Magdeburg-era city center materialized even at this early stage. While the new urban core expanded along a highly regulated European grid, Pidzamche retained a dispersed spatial morphology heavily dictated by its natural topography.

A network of early sacred centers structured the district's primary spatial framework. These sites reflect the intense urban activity of the period. Pidzamche houses Lviv's oldest religious institutions, most notably the Church of St. Nicholas. As the city's oldest surviving ecclesiastical structure, it has operated continuously since the Princely era. These architectural landmarks did more than merely demarcate the sacred space of the lower city. They functioned as the original anchors of local identity. Yet, despite this dense concentration of cultural and religious markers, the territory evolved in strict physical and administrative isolation from the future civic center.

5.3.1.2 The Staroststvo Yurydyka: Administrative Exclusion and the Formation of a Heterogeneous Social Space

Between the 14th and 18th centuries, a specific legal framework definitively shaped the spatial and social trajectory of Pidzamche. The majority of the territory functioned as a Staroststvo yurydyka—an exempt jurisdiction operating under royal or castle administration. This institutional regime entirely removed the district from the jurisdiction of Magdeburg Law and municipal

self-governance. Consequently, administrative exclusion transformed Pidzamche into a zone of minimal regulatory oversight. This environment directly stimulated the concentration of socially vulnerable, low-income, and institutionally marginalized populations.

Simultaneously, the absence of municipal restrictions turned the yurydyka into a sanctuary for religious and ethnic minorities who faced discrimination and strict spatial segregation within the official city walls. Substantial Jewish, Armenian, and Karaite communities established themselves in this area. This concentration of non-Christian residents, particularly the large Jewish community, remained structurally disconnected from the civic core. The lack of integration into city-wide institutions entrenched the territory's chronic peripherality. Pidzamche evolved as a parallel social space where residents experienced severely limited access to municipal resources and power mechanisms.

Occasional bursts of significant cultural activity did occur, yet they failed to alter the broader structural dynamics. For instance, the printer Ivan Fedorov established a printing press at the St. Onuphrius Monastery between 1572 and 1573 and was buried there in 1583. While historically important, these events remained highly fragmented phenomena. They could not offset the district's absolute institutional isolation.

Ultimately, the pre-industrial period established the spatial dualism of Pidzamche. The district combined geographical proximity to the historical urban core with profound institutional, legal, and social segregation. This historically preserved peripherality established critical structural spatial preconditions. It provided the initial resource and spatial baseline that private capital and state institutions would radically exploit during the subsequent industrial phase of urban development.

5.3.2 The Industrial Phase: Functional Consolidation and Integrated Isolation (Late 18th-Early 20th Centuries)

5.3.2.1 Railway Infrastructure as an Instrument of Primary Capital Accumulation and Spatial Segregation

Following Lviv's incorporation into the Austrian Empire in 1772, Pidzamche underwent a radical functional reconceptualization. The district transformed from a legal and ethnic periphery into the city's primary industrial suburb. The construction of the Pidzamche railway station in 1869, part of the strategic Lviv-Brody line, initiated this new cycle of urban transformation. Executed by the Privileged Society of the Carl Ludwig Galicia Railway, this massive infrastructural project demonstrated the absolute dominance of economic utility over the area's historical urban fabric and commemorative landscape.

Speculative dynamics in the real estate market directly dictated the station's location. Private capital and the Lviv Magistrate sought to minimize land acquisition costs, which had surged after the railway plans became public. To avoid these expenses, the city expropriated its own reserve lands on the northern slopes of the High Castle. This territorial optimization systematically erased the district's historical memory. The railway established tracks directly

through the northern section of the Paparivka (Zhovkva) cemetery. This action destroyed most of the 17th- to 19th-century burials and irreversibly deformed the ancient street network, completely eliminating historical routes like Studenna Street.

The introduction of the railway hub established a spatial dualism in Pidzamche, sealing the district's developmental trajectory for the next century and a half. On one hand, the logistical advantages of the station triggered a massive industrial boom. Proximity to the transit line maximized production profitability, turning the area into a magnet for large-scale capital. Factory complexes, steam mills, and storage terminals rapidly concentrated in the district, forcing the station to expand with a second track in 1897.

On the other hand, the railway tracks established a rigid, almost insurmountable spatial barrier. This massive infrastructure physically severed Pidzamche from Lviv's representative and administrative center, choking off transport and pedestrian connectivity. This artificial isolation locked the district into an exclusively industrial and working-class status. It severely restricted civilian investment in housing and forced the development of an enclave-like spatial morphology. In the long term, this specific infrastructural barrier drove the area's severe devaluation during the post-Soviet period. Ultimately, it generated the exact physical preconditions—cheap, post-industrial brownfields—necessary to trigger the contemporary wave of gentrification.

5.3.2.2 The Channelization of the Poltva River: Engineering Modernization as the Infrastructural Foundation for Industrialization

Alongside railway construction, a large-scale transformation of the hydrographic network—specifically, enclosing the Poltva River within a subterranean collector during the second half of the nineteenth century—drove the intensification of industrial development in Pidzamche. Before these engineering works, the open riverbed functioned simultaneously as a natural waterway and an unregulated municipal sewer for domestic and industrial waste. This dual role turned the adjacent areas into an epidemiologically hazardous zone that repelled investment. The municipal initiative to gradually enclose the riverbed and integrate the Poltva into a closed city-wide sewage network served as an act of radical sanitary modernization.

This engineering overhaul yielded distinct spatial and economic outcomes, establishing the preconditions for land capitalization:

- **Removing Environmental Constraints:** Confining the river to an underground system significantly improved the district's sanitary and hygienic conditions. This intervention mitigated epidemic risks and rendered the area viable for a dense, permanent working-class population.
- **Reclaiming Spatial Resources:** Engineering control over the floodplain eliminated topographic barriers to high-density construction. Industrial capital could now continuously lay foundations for new factories without the threat of seasonal flooding.
- **Consolidating the Industrial Profile:** The upgraded subterranean infrastructure supplied manufacturing enterprises with the necessary capacity to discharge industrial

wastewater. This capacity permanently anchored Pidzamche's status as the city's premier production cluster.

Consequently, the channelization of the Poltva operated as a deliberate infrastructural strategy to fuel industrialization rather than a mere public health measure. Through these engineering networks, state and municipal authorities constructed a physical platform that private industrial capital exploited to maximize factory density and intensify land exploitation.

5.3.2.3 Transit Infrastructure as an Instrument of Asymmetric Spatial Integration: From Horsecars to Electrification

The evolution of urban mobility in Pidzamche during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflects a pragmatic approach to supporting industrial production. Transport networks expanded primarily to serve the interests of capital rather than the local community. In May 1880, the Trieste Tramway Company (Società Triestina Tramway) introduced the horsecar, marking the first systematic attempt to bridge the spatial gap between Lviv's administrative center and its northern periphery. Laying tracks toward Pidzamche physically linked the main railway station with factory and warehouse zones, securing the district's initial consolidation as the city's primary industrial hub. However, this logistical model quickly reached its limits. The low speed and restricted capacity of horse-drawn transit created an economic bottleneck, driving an objective need for a more technologically advanced infrastructure.

The electrification of the tramway network, which began in Lviv in 1894, exposed deep structural socio-spatial inequalities and a hierarchical modernization process. While the initial electric routes served the prestigious administrative, recreational, and ceremonial needs of the city center—such as connecting the railway station to the Galician General Exhibition in Stryiskyi Park—industrial Pidzamche relied on horse traction for another decade. The municipality and private investors delayed upgrades to the northern route until 1908-1909, when workers finally regauged the tracks and built a new tram depot near Promyslova Street. This intervention modernized local mobility and permanently anchored the area's industrial-infrastructural morphology.

Despite significant gains in transit speed and regularity, the large-scale rollout of electric streetcars remained highly asymmetric. Authorities integrated Pidzamche into the city-wide transit network based purely on utilitarian efficiency, aiming to transport large volumes of workers rapidly and reliably to manufacturing zones and post-industrial brownfields. Ultimately, the modernization of rail and tram networks functioned as a dual instrument. It intensified Pidzamche's functional integration into broader economic processes of capital accumulation, yet simultaneously entrenched its symbolic and social peripherality. This pattern locked the working-class enclave into prolonged cycles of urban decay, denying it true urban privileges and civic comfort.

5.3.2.4 The Concentration of Industrial Capital: The Formation of a Production Cluster and an Expressive Spatial Morphotype

Pidzamche experienced its greatest economic expansion during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, evolving into a highly diversified industrial hub. Rapid land capitalization occurred where the railway's logistical advantages intersected with access to the channelized Poltva network, cheap land, and minimal municipal oversight. These factors fostered a unique, high-density industrial cluster defined by an occasionally chaotic overlap of functions, where large-scale factories operated alongside small manufactories.

Four sector-specific case studies illustrate this increasing economic complexity and the creation of a distinct spatial framework:

- **The Distilling Industry (The J.A. Baczewski Factory):** The construction of its primary production facilities in 1908 marked the peak concentration of private capital in the district. The factory triggered a powerful agglomeration effect, drawing a network of auxiliary production sites and warehouses to the area while permanently anchoring Pidzamche's symbolic status as Lviv's primary space of production.
- **Food Processing (The Jam Factory):** Dependent on regional agricultural networks, this sector demonstrated the high adaptability of local businesses. Small-scale enterprises, such as Josef Kronik's facility, capitalized on plots adjacent to the railway, expanding the functional diversification of the urban periphery.
- **Strategic Infrastructure (The David Axelbrad & Son Steam Mill):** Established in the late nineteenth century on Zhovkivska Street, this complex became one of the district's most prominent architectural and industrial landmarks following a major modernization project in 1905. Equipped with advanced steam engines, the mill provided significant urban and functional stability, allowing it to dominate the surrounding area throughout the twentieth century.
- **Precision Engineering (The Winrech Scale Factory):** Located on Tkatska Street and owned by the Winter brothers, this enterprise reflected a qualitative shift during the interwar period from primary raw material processing toward knowledge-intensive engineering solutions. The factory integrated advanced technologies, increasing the complexity of the neighborhood's overall industrial profile.

This industrial boom radically reshaped both the area's social structure, where a resilient working-class identity took root, and its physical appearance. Because natural and artificial barriers compressed the available land, industrial architecture adopted a permanent, monumental character with distinct aesthetic expression, ranging from red-brick industrial romanticism to early constructivism.

5.3.2.5 Spatial Morphology: Pre-Modern Mixed-Use Fabric as the Structural Foundation for Post-Industrial Redevelopment

The spatial morphology of Pidzamche, established during the Austrian period, reflects pre-modern urban development principles that entirely precluded strict functional zoning. Unlike later modernist planning approaches that rigidly segregated residential, industrial, and recreational spaces, the district's urban fabric evolved as a highly integrated system. Workplaces and residential quarters coexisted in immediate physical proximity.

Three primary structural factors generated this specific non-zoned mixed-use fabric:

- **Decentralized Planning:** The industrialization of Pidzamche unfolded organically and incrementally. The absence of a comprehensive master plan drove a chaotic layering of diverse building typologies.
- **Spatial Compression:** Severe territorial constraints—bounded by natural obstacles like the Poltva River and complex topography, alongside infrastructural barriers like the railway—forced capital to exploit available land with extreme intensity. This density left no room for functional specialization.
- **Minimizing Spatial Friction:** Physical proximity to the workplace remained a critical economic necessity for the historical working-class population. This reality stimulated the construction of housing directly adjacent to manufacturing facilities.

The interaction of these factors produced a distinct neighborhood structure in Pidzamche. Large factories, storage terminals, artisanal workshops, and residential buildings intermingled organically. Dense tenement blocks and working-class housing formed the district's residential stock, integrating directly into the production environment. The complete lack of demarcation lines between residential and industrial spaces forged a unique character of daily life. Industrial production operated as an inseparable component of the community's living environment.

This pre-modern mixed-use fabric dictated long-term consequences for the future trajectory of Pidzamche. On one hand, it established severe morphological complexity, a chronic deficit of recreational zones, and an extreme density of land use. On the other hand, this exact diffuse structure transformed into the primary precondition for revitalization and gentrification in the twenty-first century. Because early builders originally wove industrial facilities directly into the residential fabric, contemporary post-industrial capital seamlessly adapted the vacant brownfields. Investors repurposed these sites for new commercial, cultural, and residential functions without disrupting the broader urban context.

5.3.2.6 The Conclusion of the Industrial Phase: The Formation of Integrated Isolation

Summarizing this stage, the industrial phase of Pidzamche's development is best defined as a period of functional consolidation. The district secured a clearly delineated, vital role within the urban economy as Lviv's primary industrial core. However, this integration possessed a deeply paradoxical character. While capital and state institutions fully embedded Pidzamche into

city-wide economic and logistical networks, the district remained completely isolated. The railway established an insurmountable spatial barrier, and the area's working-class identity enforced a strict symbolic marginalization. Ultimately, this accumulated structural imbalance dictated the neighborhood's severe vulnerability to subsequent historical crises.

5.3.3 The Phase of Traumatic Rupture: Wartime Destruction, Ghettoization, and the Loss of Social Continuity (1939-1945)

5.3.3.1 The Radical Cleansing of Social Space and the Dismantling of Local Communities

The Second World War triggered a catastrophic rupture in Pidzamche's developmental trajectory. This conflict completely deconstructed the district's socio-cultural fabric and erased the historical continuity of its generations. The Soviet occupation and expropriation between 1939 and 1941 marked the first stage of this spatial and social collapse. During this period, the new regime executed a total nationalization of industrial enterprises. Soviet institutions liquidated private capital and removed former owners from factory management. These actions destroyed the district's established economic networks and subordinated the local infrastructure to strict command-and-control administrative planning.

The subsequent and most tragic phase of destruction occurred during the German occupation (1941-1944). The Nazi regime transformed Pidzamche into the physical foundation for a massive infrastructure of terror. Several structural factors-the district's location behind the railway barrier, its historical isolation, and its long-standing concentration of Jewish residents dating back to the *Staroststvo yurydyka*-directly dictated the selection of this territory for the Lviv Ghetto in November 1941. The occupation administration forcibly confined over 136,000 Jews in this area. This policy weaponized the urban fabric, converting working-class neighborhoods into a closed zone of forced labor and extermination. Throughout 1942 and 1943, the Nazis deported the majority of prisoners to the Belzec extermination camp or murdered them directly on site. Combined with the victims of the nearby Janowska concentration camp, these operations resulted in the deaths of more than 250,000 people.

5.3.3.2 Memory Erasure as a Precondition for Post-Industrial Displacement

Ghettoization and the Holocaust in Pidzamche caused more than a demographic catastrophe. These events irreversibly altered the district's social subjectivity through the total destruction of the local community and the erasure of urban memory (memory erasure / structural silencing). The complete physical removal of the Jewish community, which had acted as a key agent of local development for centuries, prevented the reproduction of pre-war social practices, collective memory, and local identity. This traumatic rupture deprived the neighborhood of its cultural and social core, locking its physical structure into a state of deep degradation.

From an urban perspective, the phase of traumatic disintegration established critical preconditions for future waves of gentrification. The radical cleansing and marginalization of social space stripped the district of its capacity for sustained collective resistance against

incoming capital. Because authorities dismantled deeply rooted traditional communities and replaced them during the Soviet era with new residents who lacked historical ties to the area, Pidzamche evolved into a space of fractured identity. In the long term, this deficit of social capital and local solidarity maximized the district's vulnerability to contemporary displacement processes. Consequently, developers face almost no resistance as they displace the remaining working class.

5.3.4 The Soviet Phase: Functional Stabilization and the Preservation of Spatial Structure (1944-1991)

5.3.4.1 Stalinist Infrastructure Reconstruction: Architectural-Ideological Hegemony and the Preservation of Barriers

During the post-war period, Soviet state institutions reconstructed Pidzamche as a critical industrial hub within the command planned economy. Authorities prioritized restoring strategic transit infrastructure-primarily the railway hub-to secure the logistical chains required for total urban reindustrialization. The comprehensive 1947 rebuild of the Pidzamche railway station, which sustained severe wartime damage, clearly manifested this shift in political and ideological regimes. Moving away from nineteenth-century Austrian utilitarian architecture, the station complex assumed the monumental features of Soviet Classicism, often termed the "Stalinist Empire" style. This intervention did more than resolve transport challenges; it symbolically marked the state's ideological presence at Lviv's northern infrastructure gateway.

While this infrastructure upgrade permanently secured the station's role as a major distribution node, it simultaneously preserved the historical spatial barrier. The railway continued to rigidly sever the northern working-class enclave from the historical core of Lviv. This isolation in planning has hindered the integration of citywide cultural and recreational functions into the urban environment.

5.3.4.2 Command-and-Administrative Industrial Consolidation: Extensive Growth and Capital Aggregation

The Soviet modernization project radically overhauled Pidzamche's manufacturing sector through forced consolidation, nationalization, and centralization. State authorities reorganized the fragmented, small-scale capitalist factories of the Austro-Hungarian and interwar eras into massive, monofunctional industrial complexes. This structural shift permanently cemented a strictly proletarian social fabric across the district. Specifically, the state alcohol monopoly absorbed the remaining independent infrastructure of the Baczewski and Stadtfeld factories. Authorities also consolidated numerous private leather workshops-including the well-known Mazega and Pallis tanneries-into the Lviv Leather Production Association "Svitanok." Meanwhile, the former David Axelbrad & Son steam mill became the large-scale Lviv Bakery Products Plant, effectively monopolizing the food sector of the local economy.

This production surge exhibited a pronounced, extensive character, leading to industrial hypertrophy. Planned employment targets and artificially inflated production volumes sustained

high economic activity within the territory. However, this process occurred entirely without any qualitative upgrades to the housing stock, spatial humanization, or social infrastructure development. The district operated solely as Lviv's utilitarian workshop, where manufacturing interests entirely overrode the needs of the local community.

5.3.4.3 The REMA Plant as a Driver of Spatial-Functional Transformation and Monofunctional Encoding

The genesis of the Radioelectronic Medical Equipment (REMA) plant clearly illustrates Pidzamche's spatial-functional transformation during the Soviet era. The enterprise emerged from the nationalized Winrech scale factory, originally owned by the Winter brothers at 10 Tkatska Street. Soviet authorities initially merged this facility with the P. Gastman & Son enterprise to form the Lviv Scale Factory. Driven by an all-Union strategy to expand high-tech instrumentation, state institutions later overhauled the plant's production profile and initiated an aggressive physical expansion. The REMA plant gradually absorbed adjacent city blocks. This expansion forcibly displaced small-scale residential properties to make way for massive, multi-story workshops built from silicate blocks and reinforced concrete.

This growth drastically altered the spatial morphology of Tkatska Street and the surrounding neighborhood. Soviet construction permanently eliminated the authentic, pre-modern mixed-use fabric. It replaced a flexible residential-industrial zone with a brutal, high-density monofunctional built environment, resulting in monofunctional landscape. The immense industrial volumes of the REMA plant and neighboring enterprises generated the exact type of post-industrial brownfield resource that lost all value following the collapse of the Soviet Union and its command economy. This intensive Soviet industrialization and the subsequent decay of these giant workshops established a deep spatial and financial rent gap. Ultimately, this gap attracted the first cultural pioneers and developers of the twenty-first century.

5.3.4.4 Soviet Migration Policy and Infrastructural Adaptation: Bus Station № 2 as an Agent of Demographic Transformation

Beyond reorganizing and consolidating pre-war enterprises, Soviet state institutions launched an unprecedented campaign of extensive industrialization in Lviv's northern sector. This intervention radically overhauled the district's spatial morphology. Along Promyslova, Khimichna, and Vuhilna streets, authorities established a new, completely segregated monofunctional zone dedicated to manufacturing and warehousing. Unlike the Austrian-era mixed-use fabric, this new Soviet industrial setting comprised massive enclosed brownfields, logistical bases, transport enterprises, and physically isolated workshops. However, these ambitious expansion plans immediately encountered a severe demographic deficit. Following the Nazi Holocaust and the post-war forced deportation of the Polish population, Pidzamche lost more than 80% of its native inhabitants.

To supply the newly created factories and logistical hubs with labor, the state engineered large-scale, managed labor migration from rural regions and surrounding towns across the Lviv oblast. Bus Station №2 (the Northern Bus Station) served as the primary urban mechanism and

logistical gateway for this demographic influx. Established during the 1960s on Krynychna Square near the Pidzamche railway station, the bus terminal created a high-capacity transit node that integrated daily commuters into the district's production system. In the late 1970s, growing passenger volumes and an expanding industrial zone prompted the city to relocate the station to its current site at the roundabout of Bohdana Khmelnytskoho and Lypynskoho streets. This relocation further cemented the northern periphery's status as a transit hub.

The bus station's transit infrastructure facilitated a critical shift from temporary commuting to permanent settlement. To retain workforce talent, manufacturing enterprises constructed numerous worker dormitories and densified the existing housing stock, placing incoming laborers into apartments once occupied by exterminated or deported residents. This migratory model triggered a rapid ruralization of the urban environment and completely transformed its social profile. Ultimately, a total demographic rupture severed ties with the pre-war city. A new proletarian community emerged in Pidzamche, with its daily life and identity rigidly bound to factory gates, warehouses, and company housing.

5.3.4.5 The Politics of Memory as an Instrument of Symbolic Devaluation

longside spatial restructuring, Soviet ideological memory politics executed a systemic recoding and simplification of Pidzamche's symbolic status. During the Second World War, the district served as the epicenter of the Lviv Ghetto tragedy and the deportation of thousands of Jewish citizens to extermination camps. Despite this history, Soviet institutions deliberately stripped the territory of its specific commemorative subjectivity. The state entirely excised the Holocaust from public and academic discourse. Authorities replaced this history with a homogenized Soviet narrative regarding the "death of peaceful Soviet citizens at the hands of German-fascist invaders" (structural silencing).

This ideological leveling drove total memory erasure and severed the connection between the physical built environment and its traumatic past. In the urban imagination, Pidzamche became marked as an "empty," purely utilitarian transit space completely devoid of architectural or historical value. The district secured legitimacy solely through its production capacity. This precise symbolic devaluation during the Soviet era greatly facilitated the decontextualization of Pidzamche for future developers. For a long time, post-Soviet society refused to recognize these neighborhoods as historical heritage. This collective amnesia removed the moral barriers to their radical commercial redevelopment in the twenty-first century.

5.3.4.6 The Conclusion of the Soviet Phase: The Accumulation of Structural Imbalances

Analytically, this period operates as a phase of functional stabilization that entirely lacked qualitative spatial development. Preserving nineteenth-century planning flaws and infrastructural barriers—primarily the railway tracks—allowed the district to maintain its status as Lviv's industrial core. Simultaneously, this preservation drove the accumulation of deep spatial and social crises. The chronic degradation of the housing stock, the absolute absence of recreational zones and public spaces, and severe ecological strain caused by the hypertrophy of factory and warehouse zones generated a latent rent gap.

Following the inevitable collapse of the Soviet command economy and subsequent deindustrialization, this accumulated imbalance transformed the monofunctional Promyslova micro-district and the entirety of Pidzamche into a classic expanse of devalued post-industrial brownfields. Ultimately, these physical remnants provided the ideal territorial resource to fuel future post-industrial redevelopment and gentrification.

5.3.5 The Post-Soviet Phase: Deindustrialization and the Creation of the Capitalization Gap (1991-2010)

5.3.5.1 The Collapse of the Planned System and the Era of "Wild Capitalism": The Space of the Informal Economy in the 1990s

The collapse of the Soviet command economy in 1991 triggered a rapid and painful deindustrialization of Pidzamche, stripping the district of its urban-forming functions. A systemic crisis, marked by the closure or radical downscaling of Soviet industrial giants, generated extensive post-industrial brownfields. Yet, during the first post-Soviet decade, these vacant facilities did not remain entirely dead architectural relics. Amid the profound economic crisis and regulatory vacuum of the 1990s, the physical space of Pidzamche's former factories and warehouses became the primary platform for the expansion of "wild capitalism" and informal economic practices.

Local actors organically privatized and repurposed former administrative buildings, hangars, and workshops belonging to the REMA plant, the "Svitanok" association, and numerous logistical bases along Promyslova Street. They converted these structures into wholesale warehouses, auto repair shops, semi-legal shoe or furniture workshops, and private trading firms. Proximity to Bus Station № 2 and the railway hub once again served a highly pragmatic function. The district transformed into a flexible logistical gateway that accommodated shuttle trading (*chovnykarstvo*) and primary capital accumulation. Despite the intense economic activity of this grassroots capitalism, profits did not flow back into the urban environment or the renewal of the architectural fabric. Socially, the period brought the rapid dismantling of established working-class communities, a sharp drop in formal employment, an exodus of skilled residents, and a profound marginalization of the social space. Consequently, Pidzamche slid into deep isolation, permanently cementing its reputation in the broader urban imagination as a criminalized, hazardous, and neglected industrial periphery.

5.3.5.2 The Institutionalization of UNESCO Heritage: The Ambivalence of Legal Regulations

A significant institutional turn that injected inherent ambivalence into Pidzamche's future occurred on December 5, 1998, when UNESCO added the district's architectural blocks to the World Heritage List as part of Lviv's historic center. This international status operated as a dual instrument of spatial regulation. On one hand, the implementation of strict preservation regulations protected the district from chaotic capitalist demolition and the radical developer expansion of the early 2000s. Without these rules, this initial wave of development could have irreversibly destroyed the authentic industrial and residential spatial morphology.

On the other hand, UNESCO's institutional recognition formally secured the socio-cultural and symbolic value of the former working-class periphery. The international status legitimized Pidzamche as an integral component of a historic European city, establishing the preconditions for its future revalorization. This specific legal barrier restricted rapid speculative redevelopment. It forced large-scale capital to temporarily bypass the district, thereby preserving its physical resources until more sophisticated investment strategies emerged.

5.3.5.3 Rent Gap Theory and Culture as the Vanguard of Capital: The Case of the Jam Factory

The intersection of physically decaying post-industrial brownfields and their geographical proximity to Lviv's highly capitalized historic core generated a classic rent gap, as detailed by urban geographer Neil Smith. This mechanism relies on a substantial disparity between the low current capitalization of Pidzamche's degraded territories and their exceptionally high potential profitability if developers shift the land to its "highest and best use." Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the district's prolonged stagnation paradoxically functioned as the city's investment reserve. This period effectively stockpiled cheap land and substantial buildings for future market absorption.

The case of the Jam Factory (formerly the Josef Kronik & Sons enterprise) clearly illustrates the practical unfolding of this theoretical model during the early 2000s. When the enterprise permanently ceased production in 2008, a local Lviv entrepreneur purchased the entire building complex with the intent of executing a purely commercial redevelopment. However, the global financial and economic crisis of 2008-2009 derailed these initial plans, forcing an involuntary pause in capital investment. This institutional vacuum opened the space for alternative land-use scenarios, a dynamic that directly aligns with Sharon Zukin's concept of culture operating as an instrument to legitimize capital.

In September 2009, the large-scale "Contemporary Art Week" festival established the first precedent of injecting artistic practices into the Jam Factory's post-industrial space. Cultural actors operated as urban pioneers, exploiting the brutalist industrial aesthetic to host experimental performances and exhibitions. This intervention launched a rapid reconceptualization of the location's mental map. Subsequently, the factory space began regularly hosting independent art initiatives, theatrical performances, and urban festivals. Inadvertently, these cultural practitioners endowed the abandoned structure with immense symbolic capital. They decriminalized the site in the eyes of the city's residents, transforming the space into a trendy, safe, and attractive destination for external, affluent consumers.

5.3.5.4 Conclusion of the Post-Soviet Phase: Preparing the Symbolic Ground

The post-Soviet era (1991-2010) functioned as a phase of latent accumulation, quietly building transformational potential. Systemic industrial collapse, the rise of the 1990s informal economy, and widespread environmental degradation established the primary resource baseline for a widening rent gap. Concurrently, UNESCO's institutionalization of local heritage and early, organic artistic revitalization efforts prepared the symbolic ground to receive incoming capital.

Cultural pioneers successfully rebranded Pidzamche, shifting its public image from a hazardous industrial periphery to an authentic creative space. This symbolic shift served as an essential prelude, clearing the path for intense commercial gentrification and large-scale real estate development in the subsequent decades.

5.3.6. Conclusions

The historical trajectory of urban development in Lviv's Pidzamche district demonstrates a clear sequence of interconnected iterations. Within these phases, the district's functional role, spatial morphology, social structure, and level of integration into the broader urban system underwent systemic shifts. Moving away from linear historical narratives toward an analysis of capital accumulation and devaluation cycles (boom and bust cycles) clarifies the district's contemporary condition. Rather than viewing the area as a developer-driven anomaly, this analytical framework reveals it as the logical outcome of prolonged structural transformations. Each preceding developmental stage accumulated specific physical and symbolic preconditions that subsequently served as the resource baseline for the next phase:

- The pre-industrial period established the district's foundational spatial dualism, combining geographical proximity to the city's historic core with profound institutional, legal, and social exclusion under the Staroststvo yurydyka regime. This stage generated a heterogeneous social space populated by religious and ethnic minorities.
- The industrial phase of the Austrian and interwar periods capitalized on these specific conditions. Railway construction and the channelization of the Poltva River triggered a manufacturing boom, forging a permanent, expressive built morphotype characterized by a non-zoned mixed-use fabric. However, this large-scale infrastructure also established a rigid spatial barrier that locked Pidzamche into the status of an isolated working-class enclave.
- The phase of traumatic rupture (1939-1945) drove the total destruction of the native community and the erasure of urban memory through Nazi ghettoization policies and Soviet deportations. Liquidating the local community's subjectivity stripped the district of its social capital, neutralizing its capacity for collective resistance against future external interventions.
- The Soviet period drove industrial hypertrophy, converting a flexible residential-industrial fabric into brutal, monofunctional manufacturing and warehousing zones, most notably the Promyslova Street micro-district. Managed labor migration and the logistical expansion of AC-2 permanently displaced the population, establishing a proletarian identity rigidly bound to factory gates. Concurrently, Soviet memory politics symbolically devalued the space, framing it within the urban imagination as a purely utilitarian transit periphery.
- Post-Soviet deindustrialization (1991-2010) devalued these massive Soviet production facilities, transforming them into an expanse of post-industrial brownfields. The initial reclamation of these sites by the informal economy of the 1990s and the subsequent

inclusion of these quarters on the UNESCO list preserved the district's physical resources. A deep rent gap emerged precisely at the intersection of physical decay and proximity to Lviv's highly capitalized historic center. In the late 2000s, the first cultural pioneers successfully converted the abandoned industrial aesthetic of the Jam Factory into significant symbolic capital, preparing the location's mental map for safe consumption.

As a result of these successive historical layers, Pidzamche developed a unique and paradoxical combination of spatial characteristics. The district pairs chronic low land capitalization and a large-scale post-industrial spatial resource with geographical proximity to the city's prestigious core and a historically entrenched infrastructural isolation.

5.4. Spatial and Functional Analysis of Pidzamcha

5.4.1 Street Network Hierarchy

The street hierarchy in Pidzamche directly distributes capital and shapes the commercial appeal of its zones. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street, the main transport axis, connects the historic center (from Yaroslav Osmomysl Street) to the Kyiv highway exit at the Halytske intersection. This transit role creates high traffic volume, making the corridor a primary target for commercial redevelopment. High accessibility lowers logistical risks for investors, driving the concentration of major commercial projects along this route between 2010 and 2025.

Major intersections act as socio-spatial markers separating Pidzamche from the rest of the city. The intersection of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Opryshkivska streets, locally known as Rohatka, historically served as an entry control point. Today, it marks the spatial transition from the city center to the former suburb. Functioning as the district's gateway, its high pedestrian and vehicle traffic creates strong potential for services and street retail. Consequently, residents and new businesses perceive Rohatka not just as a geographic boundary, but as a contact zone that triggers the capitalization of Pidzamche's inner areas.

Zamarstynivska Street forms the western transport axis, combining internal integration with external boundary functions. Running north from the Church of St. Nicholas, it structures transit between different functional zones of Lviv. This dual status creates uneven conditions for gentrification. High-end residential developments quickly absorb its initial sections due to their proximity to the center, while the northern segments retain a declining industrial character. This spatial transition shows how a single infrastructure artery can simultaneously accelerate developer capital inflow in some areas and conserve abandoned spaces in others.

Secondary streets show narrow infrastructural specialization, directly shaping local spatial regimes. Promyslova Street serves a technical function due to the tram depot. This cements its industrial status and limits high-end residential development because of constant noise and vibration. In contrast, Zhovkivska Street lacks public transport routes and primarily handles internal private vehicle traffic. This configuration frees Zhovkivska Street from heavy transit,

creates conditions for pedestrian movement, and forms a quiet local environment that attracts the creative class and niche commercial establishments.

The morphology of Pidzamche's internal street grid blocks large-scale spatial integration and creates isolated territorial pockets. Most of the district's inner space consists of a small-scale network of one-way streets, which complicates navigation and reduces traffic speed. This fragmentation prevents the free movement of flows within the district, artificially isolating residential and industrial blocks from each other. In the context of urban change, this internal block autonomy becomes a resource for large developers. It allows them to build gated residential complexes as premium spatial islands that function separately from Pidzamche's generally neglected infrastructure.

5.4.2 Mental Mapping Results and Symbolic Neighborhood Boundaries

To address the primary research question regarding the presence of systemic gentrification, the mental mapping results were evaluated through the criteria of the operational checklist. The analysis specifically targeted indicators of socio-spatial segregation, emotional displacement, and shifts in territorial status (Figure 4.3.C). Spatial processing of the collected mental maps revealed two distinct models of environmental perception, which strongly correlate with the respondents' length of residency (Figure 5.4.2.A).

The data demonstrate that long-term residents conceptualize "Pidzamche" strictly as the historical Austrian built environment. For this demographic cohort, the spatial core is rigidly localized around the railway station and the Church of St. Paraskeva, which serve as primary memory landmarks. In their perception, the district boundaries remain compact and historically grounded.

Conversely, new residents (with less than five years of residency) and transient space users exhibit an expansive perception model. This cohort identifies adjacent sub-districts, specifically Rohatka, Promyslova, and Zamarstynivska, as integral parts of Pidzamche. This blurring of mental borders directly verifies the changing territorial status indicator from the checklist. It captures a dynamic where commercial capital and real estate developers artificially expand the "Pidzamche" brand over former industrial zones to increase their market capitalization.

Overall, the mental mapping data confirm that the district functions not as a unified administrative entity, but as a fragmented space. Different social groups coexist in close physical proximity yet construct conflicting representations of their neighborhood boundaries and identity, indicating a classic symptom of emotional displacement among the local community.

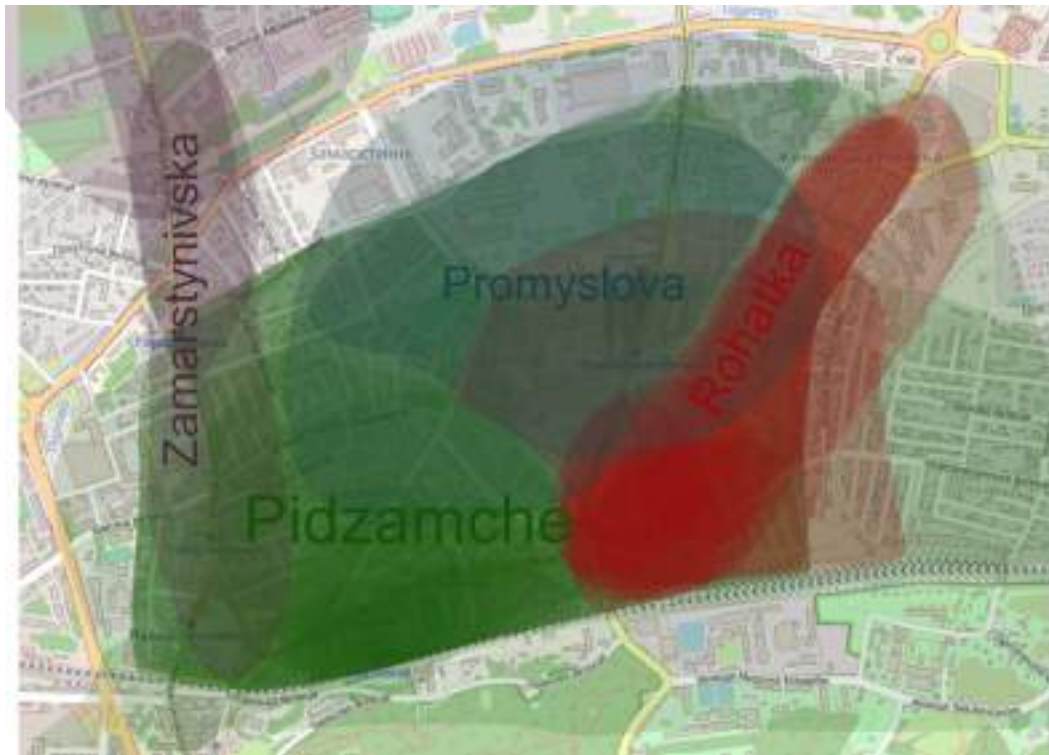


Figure 5.4.2.A; Results of Mental Mapping Analysis; Source: Author's own elaboration based on participant responses.

5.4.3 Building Morphotypes

Pidzamche's functional layout directly reflects its non-linear historical development. Shifting economic eras fragmented the space. The district contains distinct local hubs: Rohatka, Zamarstynivska, and Promyslova zones, each with unique architectural and planning morphologies. Qualitative interviews confirm this spatial differentiation. Local residents identify "authentic" Pidzamche exclusively with the dense Austrian-era blocks, separating it from the industrial grids of Promyslova and Rohatka. This architectural difference divides the district into heterogeneous micro-zones, creating varying mental boundaries and uneven potential for future transformation.

- **Central Pidzamche:** This zone mostly contains Austrian-era residential buildings, religious sites, and basic public functions. It features a dense block grid with small, scattered brownfields. This layout dictates a specific developer strategy. Instead of mass demolition, developers use infill development, integrating new buildings directly into the historical urban fabric.
- **Rohatka Microdistrict:** This area consists of two- or three-story Austrian buildings bordering the Novoznesenska residential sector. It holds large former industrial sites, most notably the Jam Factory and the Lviv Research Oil Refinery, located next to active

markets. The massive scale of these brownfields drives a different investment logic. Developers buy entire factory sites, bypassing density restrictions to build large, autonomous residential complexes.

- **Promyslova Street Zone:** This subdistrict reflects the Soviet modernization model, concentrating large active and abandoned factories. It shows the lowest construction dynamics. New residential development is almost non-existent here. Minor infrastructure changes occur only on the northern edge near Lypynskoho Street, where high logistical accessibility lowers investor risks.
- **Zamarstynivska Subdistrict:** This is Pidzamche's most diversified hub, functionally built around the radial highway leading out of the city. The architectural landscape mixes Austrian housing with active large enterprises, such as the Svitoch confectionery factory. The active combination of industry, housing, and services makes this subdistrict highly resistant to homogeneous commercialization.

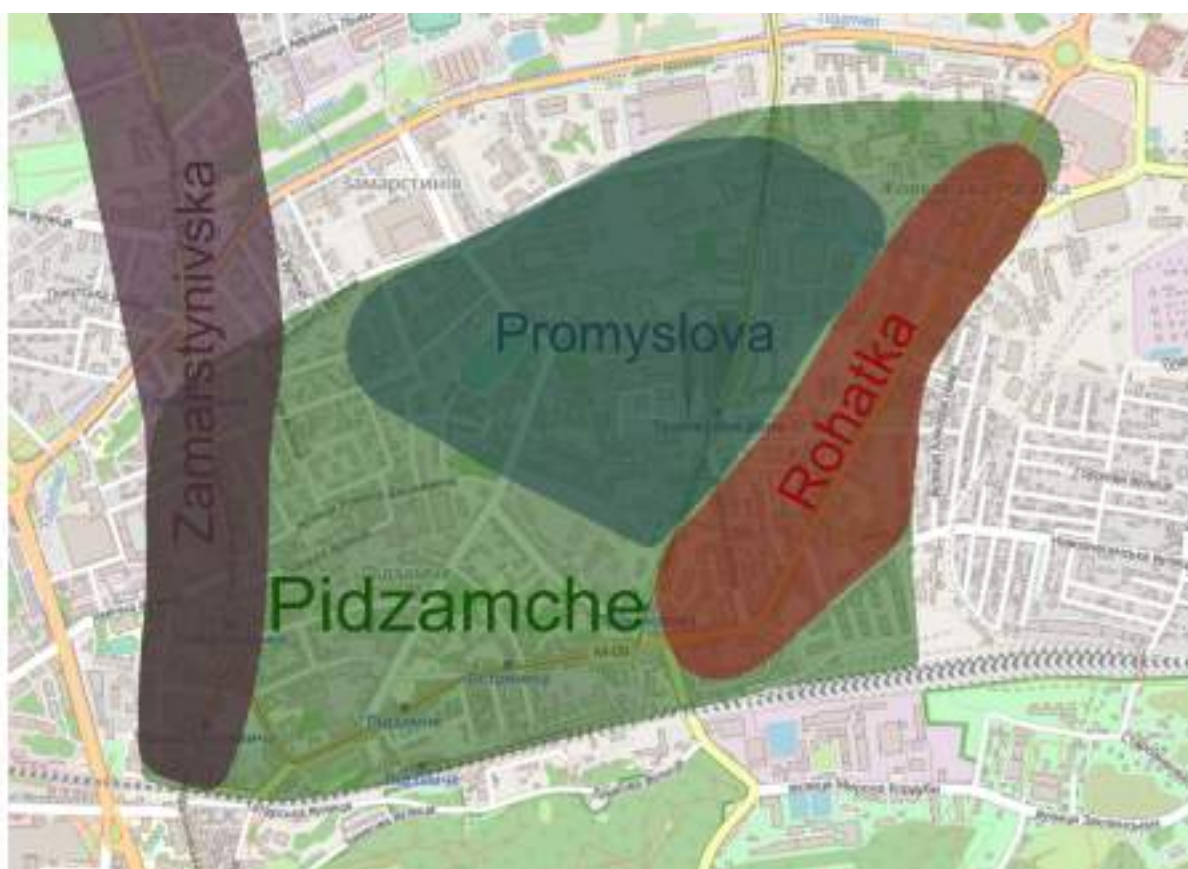


Figure 5.4.3A.; *Map of Pidzamche Microdistricts*; Source: Author's own elaboration.

The formation of internal degraded zones stems from overlapping historical planning systems. Pre-modern Pidzamche developed without strict zoning that would separate industrial and residential sectors. Later, Soviet industrialization adapted and scaled up Austrian infrastructure within the existing grid. This iterative construction tightly integrated housing, factories, and warehouses. During the 1990s economic downturn, this layout created large brownfields directly inside populated blocks. Today, the close proximity of degraded industrial plots to residential buildings maximizes the rent gap. Developers convert this hybrid layout into a commercial advantage, quickly building on former industrial sites while connecting to the existing infrastructure of old communities.

5.4.4 Comparative Analysis of Brownfield Maps: 2010 vs. 2025

A comparison of Google Earth satellite images (September 23, 2010) with Google Maps data (2025) demonstrates the transition of Pidzamche from post-industrial stagnation to intensive construction and functional restructuring. Spatial measurements conducted using GIS tools indicate a reduction in the area of abandoned lands from 5,170 hectares in 2010 to 5,070.6 hectares in 2025. Although the quantitative reduction appears to be moderate, the spatial distribution and functional transformation of these territories indicate significant redevelopment processes.

Spatial Conditions in 2010: Isolation and Decline The 2010 map shows a closed, monolithic structure of industrial zones. A railway network and large gray brownfields physically and visually isolate the district from the historic city center.

- **Morphology:** Massive factory buildings with low usage density, overgrown internal areas, and warehouses dominate the landscape. The poor technical condition of the street network (specifically Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street and adjacent alleys) blocks pedestrian access.
- **Function:** Former enterprise territories (such as REMA or the Kronik/Jam Factory) operate mainly as low-profit warehouses, car repair shops, or stand as semi-ruins. City residents label the district as a depressed, unsafe, and strictly working-class area. The old housing stock does not attract outside buyers.

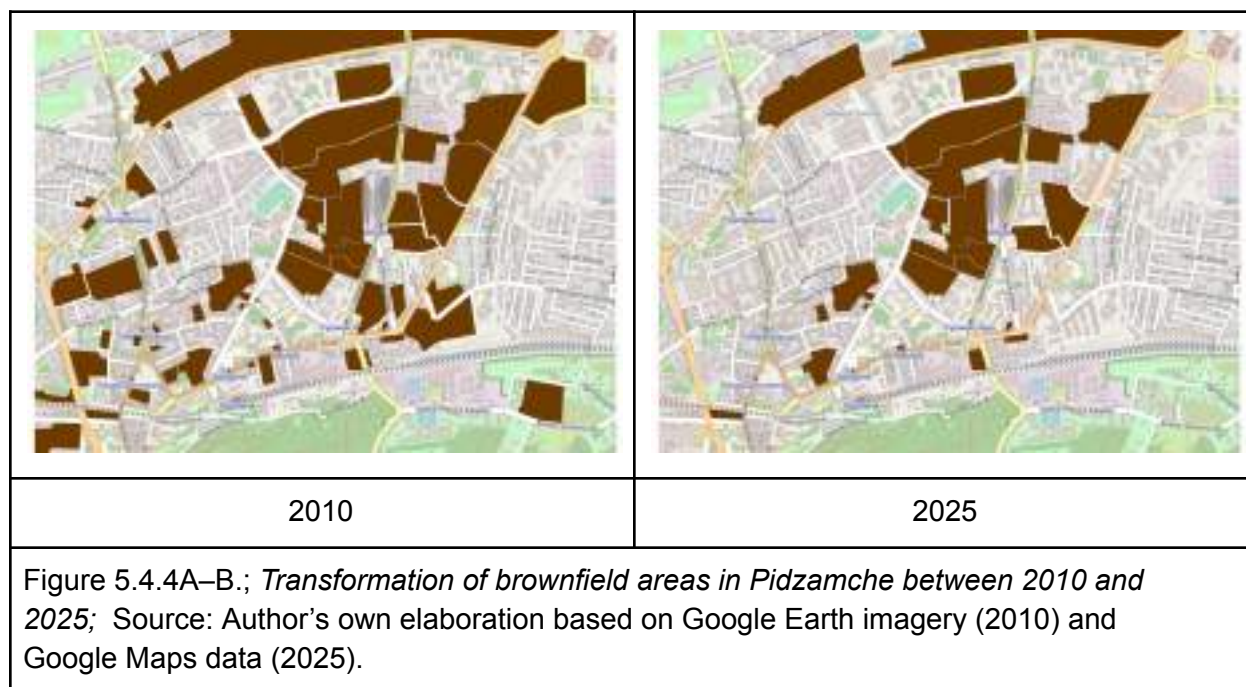
Spatial Conditions in 2025: False Functional-Commercial Gentrification The 2025 map captures a direct shift in the spatial fabric and the breakup of former monolithic industrial zones.

- **Morphology and Developer Expansion:** New construction fragments the brownfields, replacing gray post-industrial spots with colored markers of new objects. Dense residential complexes of a new market segment (e.g., "Mistechko Pidzamche" - "Novyi Fort" section) replace former factory workshops, altering the district's building height and skyline. Reconstructed road infrastructure (Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Zamarstynivska streets) integrates the district into the citywide transport system.
- **Functional Shift (Gentrification through Culture):** The map reveals new capitalization magnets - the Jam Factory Art Center, the creative space at the REMA plant, and the

nearby !FESTrepublic. These objects act as artwashing points that alter the external perception of Pidzamche.

- **New Commercial Infrastructure:** Trendy cafes, creative studios, galleries, and coworking spaces replace industrial and warehouse functions. These businesses target a new social class of affluent city residents, tourists, and creative industry workers.

In conclusion, the contrast between 2010 and 2025 confirms that Pidzamche experienced "false functional-commercial gentrification" rather than basic revitalization. The process started with the cultural appropriation of brownfields, which raised the district's symbolic status, and ended with a massive influx of developer capital. Despite physical upgrades, spatial clearing, and improved lighting and safety along main roads, this process remains selective. Modernization is strictly tied to the borders of new residential complexes and cultural centers, leaving the authentic courtyards of the old housing stock untouched.



5.4.5 Cadastral Analysis and Functional Zoning

The Public Cadastral Map of Ukraine indicates that most Austrian-era apartment buildings lack defined land plots, while former brownfields now possess clear boundaries that perfectly match the outlines of new residential complexes. The map also records a spatial division of property rights: developers build large-scale residential complexes on municipal land under 50-year leases, whereas small plots inside historical blocks transfer to private ownership after development (e.g., the ARTCLINIC medical center, Figure 5.4.5.A). From these spatial data, the study concludes that the municipality retains long-term control over large industrial zones, while developers focus on the rapid densification and privatization of small, fragmented plots.

Occasionally, developers restore historical objects (such as the Baczewski factory entrance by the "RIEL" company) even when the land ownership beneath them remains fragmented.

An analysis of the Detailed Territorial Plans (ДПТ) indicates the regulatory dynamics of spatial changes. The documentation shows that the municipality issued six DPTs for large areas and two for specific objects within the study area. While the earliest document dates to May 25, 2013, the main regulatory boom occurred in 2016-2017, with developers directly ordering the plans. From this data set, the analysis concludes that the municipality uses the DPT tool to selectively alter the functional designation of industrial zones, legally enabling residential development and resolving cadastral collisions regarding undefined historical land (Figure 5.4.5.B).

The current Lviv Zoning Map indicates a rigid functional division of Pidzamche, clearly separating technoparks, manufacturing, public facilities, and low-rise housing (Lviv City Council, n.d.). However, comparing this document with the actual built environment leads to the conclusion that the zoning map is outdated. Developers have already built large residential complexes (such as the "Vezha" complex) on territories designated as public zones and technoparks (the former Lviv Research Oil Refinery). This de facto functional mixing physically merges the Promyslova and Rohatka microdistricts into a single space, confirming the mental mapping results (Figure 5.4.5.C).

The Lviv 2025 Master Plan indicates planned infrastructure solutions to relieve traffic congestion on Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street, specifically proposing the extension of Turkmen Street and the construction of R. Dashkevych Street. The document routes these transport corridors directly through existing brownfields. From this planning decision, the study concludes that the municipality views degraded industrial zones not only as a resource for commercial development but also as the only available spatial reserve for creating a new transport ring (Figure 5.4.5.D).

5.4.6 Social Infrastructure and Emotional Displacement

The condition of social infrastructure in Pidzamche directly reflects the spatial contradictions of commercial gentrification. The area's educational network includes 14 kindergartens (4 of which are privately owned), 5 public schools, and 2 higher and vocational education facilities: the dormitory of the Lviv Banking Institute (53 Zhovkivska St) and the Lviv Professional College of Consumer Services (50a Bohdan Khmelnytskyi St). While the concentration of students in these locations drives commercial street retail, the preschool and school infrastructure shows structural underfunding and a critical capacity deficit.

Survey and qualitative interview data record a rising demographic strain caused by the occupancy of new residential complexes, where private kindergartens remain financially inaccessible to long-term residents. Older respondents highlight the practical impossibility of enrolling children and grandchildren into municipal facilities due to severe overcrowding. In critical urban theory, this resource deficit triggers "emotional displacement" among the native population. Developer expansion over brownfields fails to expand public social infrastructure.

The lack of placement in municipal institutions and the forced reliance on expensive private preschool choices alienate long-term residents, signaling a systemic feature of the gentrification process.

5.5. Transport Accessibility and Mobility

Between 2010 and 2025, Pidzamche's transport infrastructure changed significantly. While the network was degraded at the start of the study period, the city reconstructed all main streets (Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Promyslova, and Zamarstynivska) from 2015 to 2021. The municipality focused on developing public transport and building a new bicycle network. Urban studies generally interpret such infrastructure updates as a classic indicator of transit-oriented development (TOD) and a primary marker of gentrification.

At the same time, the 2025 Master Plan outlines long-term strategic goals for Pidzamche, including the extension of Turkmen and R. Dashkevych streets. This shows that the district's development is ongoing and the municipality remains highly interested in its expansion. In this context, the infrastructure changes result more from top-down municipal policy than from market-driven spatial restructuring. This raises the key research question: do the 2010-2025 transformations in Pidzamche show signs of systemic gentrification?

5.5.1 Pedestrian Accessibility and the Psychological Barrier.

Historically, the railway tracks and the High Castle terrain limited Pidzamche's spatial integration with the tourist center. This physical barrier made the underground pedestrian crossing a key, yet isolated, connection point.

However, between 2010 and 2025, the reconstruction of the main streets (Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Promyslova, and Zamarstynivska) modernized the district's pedestrian space. The city introduced inclusive elements, such as lowered curbs and renewed paving across the district. These physical upgrades transformed the street network, making it safer and more comfortable for pedestrians and people with limited mobility.

Based on the research checklist, these capital infrastructure changes trigger the indicator for "improvement of the basic urban environment." Urban theory views this metric as a primary marker that the area's spatial status is changing, establishing the potential for further socio-cultural transformation.

5.5.2 Public Transport Network Modernization and Spatial Conflicts

The development of Pidzamche's public transport system between 2010 and 2025 reduced the district's spatial isolation. The historical tram network, operating since the horsecar era (1880) and electrification (1908), underwent modernization during the study period. Reconstructing Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street (2015-2021) and Zamarstynivska Street (2017-2019) optimized key routes: № 6 (connecting to the Main Railway Station via Promyslova St. (Figure 5.5.2.A)) and №9 (a circular route around the historic center (5.5.2.B)). The city installed vibration-damping track pads on Bohdan Khmelnytskyi St. and built "Vienna stops" on

Zamarstynivska St. These technical upgrades improved passenger safety and reduced noise for nearby residents. The wheeled transport sector also improved alongside the rail network. Compared to 2010, the district now has a broad network of urban and suburban connections. The current bus route configuration (including city buses №20, №48, route taxis № 25, 58, 59, 62, 63, and suburban expresses № 112, 156, 270) provides high external accessibility, connecting Pidzamche to Lviv's northern periphery. The wheeled transport coverage map (Figure 5.5.2.C) shows that most routes concentrate along the main artery - Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street - and partially cover Promyslova Street. However, they rarely enter the dense residential blocks.

Despite the upgraded rolling stock and road surfaces, local resident surveys reveal several infrastructure conflicts. Some respondents report regular traffic jams at the intersection of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Lypynskoho streets caused by new public transport stops blocking the traffic flow. Specifically, residents criticized the introduction of new trolleybus lines. Since the physical width of these historical streets remained unchanged, the new lines worsened traffic conditions. According to the research checklist, this transformation stage matches the indicator for "infrastructure saturation with local spatial conflicts." Here, municipal investments raise the district's overall status and connectivity but create tension among different groups of urban space users.

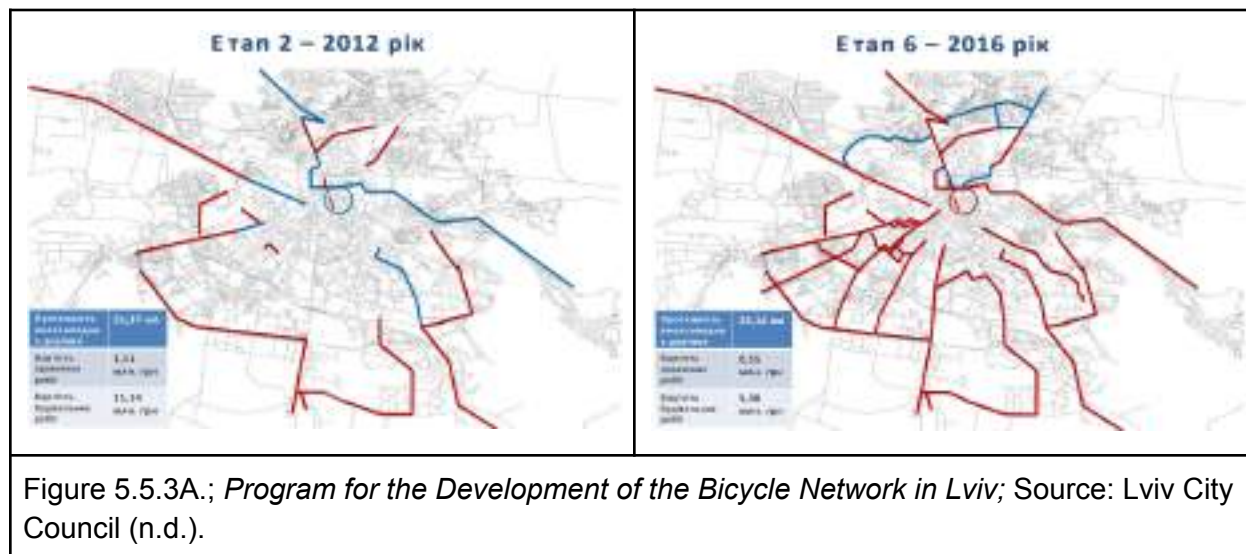
5.5.3 Bicycle Infrastructure

The city's top-down policy, outlined in the "First Stage Program for Bicycle Network Development in Lviv 2011-2019" (Lviv City Council, n.d.), drove the creation of bicycle infrastructure in Pidzamche. The city built its first bike path on the district's northern border along Lypynskoho Street in 2011 (Melnyk, 2011). However, network expansion within Pidzamche itself remains highly fragmented.

Following the 2012 and 2016 municipal plans (Figure 5.5.3 A), the city added the first isolated bike lane during the reconstruction of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street (from Lypynskoho to Volynska streets). The 2016 plan also scheduled a connection through the dense residential blocks from Volynska Street to the historic center, but this segment remains unbuilt.

Despite this incomplete network, the existing bike lanes and the modernized tram system combine to solve the "last mile" transport problem. Connecting main bike lanes with the district's quiet internal streets improved overall local mobility, particularly on sections of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street that lack rail transport.

On the research checklist, this triggers the indicator for "normative-infrastructure space reformatting." Here, the municipality builds alternative transport corridors before actual grassroots demand emerges, signaling a shift in the former industrial district's functional status.



5.5.4. Transit Potential, Parking Regulation, and District Capitalization

Bus Station № 2 (AS-2 "Pivnichna") remains a key element of Pidzamche's external mobility. Located on the district's northern border in the Rohatka zone, it historically shaped the area's industrial profile and connected it to the suburban agglomeration.

Within the district, the municipality addresses the parking shortage by expanding paid parking zones and requiring developers to build underground facilities in new residential complexes. However, rising car ownership and narrow historical streets maintain a high risk of traffic congestion.

5.6. Cultural Heritage and Recreational Potential

5.6.1 Institutional Catalyst of Change: The "Revitalization of Pidzamche" Project

The "Revitalization of Pidzamche" project, implemented between 2013 and 2016 by the Institute of the City (Lviv) and the Institute of Urban Development (Krakow), served as the municipality's first systemic attempt to change the district's spatial status. This initiative interrupted a long period of post-industrial stagnation and established the foundation for subsequent multi-actor transformations. The project's strategy relied on targeted practical interventions. The institutions financed the basic improvement of neglected areas: updating courtyards, restoring historical gates, and installing tourist navigation.

A significant element of participatory planning was the 2014 restoration of a children's playground at the intersection of Zhovkivska and Ostryanytsi streets (Tvoemisto, 2014). Following the project's methodology, the local community directly developed the space's

concept in collaboration with architects. Simultaneously, the project initiated the cultural recoding of the environment by funding the first large-scale murals created by street artists.

In the urban dimension, this project functioned as an institutional signal. Primary municipal and grant investments in basic infrastructure lowered risks for private capital. The project articulated the territory's potential, which later accelerated the closure of the rent gap and stimulated the expansion of commercial developers into the district.

5.6.2 Institutionalization of Street Art as a Tool for Spatial Reconceptualization (Artwashing)

Spatial mapping and the systematization of monumental street art (graffiti and murals) from 2010 to 2025 track the role of cultural actors in Pidzamche's transformation. The collected data on location, authorship, year, and context confirm the theoretical framework of Campbell and Donaldson (2021). These researchers define street art not as spontaneous local expression, but as an "artwashing" tool - a way to aesthetically prepare neglected spaces for commercial capitalization. Spatial analysis shows a clear geographic concentration of these art objects (Figure 5.6.2.A).



Figure 5.6.2.A; *Map of murals in Pidzamcha*; Source: Author's own elaboration.

The data indicate that most large-scale murals are located in Pidzamche's historical core - within the dense residential blocks and along the main roads (Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and

Zamarstynivska streets). Concentrating visual art here serves to symbolically mark the space. New visual objects alter the industrial landscape. This creates attraction points for outside consumers, including the creative class, tourists, and investors.

A chronological review of the data reveals a temporal concentration. Most of the recorded objects appeared between 2013 and 2017 (Figure 5.6.2.B). This period matches the district's initial phase of cultural activation. This synchronized artistic activity shows that visual art precedes commercial gentrification. Art objects fill the rent gap while developers assess investment risks. They establish a favorable image for future construction.

Analyzing Pidzamche's street art highlights its institutional nature. This separates these murals from standard bottom-up subcultural practices. Monitoring results confirm that artists created a large portion of the murals legally. They painted them during organized street art festivals, with local government approval, or as parts of urban revitalization programs.

The open-air gallery at 29 Zamarstynivska Street is an example of this institutional support. The German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) financed and organized the project as part of the "Municipal Development and Renewal of the Old City of Lviv" initiative. This case demonstrates how international institutions participate in building the district's new cultural image. The municipality and external funds use street art as a policy tool to change the territory's socio-economic status.

Mapping results confirm that the visual aestheticization of Pidzamche acts as a managed process. Institutionalized street art constructs a new identity for the district and legitimizes the entry of developer capital into former working-class enclaves.

5.6.3 Formal and Informal Cultural Clusters as Spatial Anchors

The previous subsection demonstrated how institutionalized street art provides the initial visual marking of the territory. The next stage of spatial transformation involves physical art centers acting as systemic spatial anchors.

The Jam Factory Art Center serves as a primary institutional magnet for gentrification in Pidzamche. This facility operates as a cultural phenomenon that legitimizes the revitalization of industrial heritage. It hosts a permanent open exhibition dedicated to the historical development of the Pidzamche and Rohatka microdistricts. In the context of urban change, this exhibition functions as commercial museumification. It converts the working-class district's local history into a structured cultural product for outside consumers, increasing the symbolic capitalization of the surrounding areas.

The revitalized former REMA plant represents another cultural phenomenon of spatial transformation. Unlike the Jam Factory's institutional approach, REMA develops as an ecosystem of independent art initiatives, including galleries, craft workshops, and design studios. These initiatives adapt and customize industrial workshops, integrating the creative economy into the periphery's daily fabric and creating a dense socio-cultural hub (Kachkovska, 2026). To assess the concentration of cultural infrastructure within the district, a spatial analysis

This symbolic spatial differentiation and the creation of a "trendy" status provide the foundation for developer branding strategies, which the next subsection analyzes.



A critical stage in Pidzamche's transition to late gentrification was the launch of targeted place branding strategies. Institutional efforts aimed to alter the historical image of a working-class periphery and construct the status of a "new elite" district of citywide importance. This process combined socio-cultural and developer marketing.

Civil society institutional initiatives drove the first direction. The "Pidzamche.Nareshti" project (2021), implemented by the NGO "Lviv Cultural Center", introduced participatory practices and digitalized the environment, specifically through multimedia AR routes (NGO "LCC" Annual Report, 2021). Following S. Zukin's (1982) theory, such cultural events act as an "artistic detergent." They form a safe and aestheticized image of the territory, transforming the district's mental map for outside consumers.

Commercial capital subsequently absorbed these symbolic achievements. The "RIEL" developer corporation's large-scale advertising campaign for the "Mistechko Pidzamche" residential complex used the slogan "Pidzamche town - the new center of old city." Developer marketing exploits the myth of authenticity created by cultural actors, converting historical toponyms and proximity to the center into high real estate market value.

The analysis shows that socio-cultural branding acted as a facade for commercial expansion. Image improvement efforts legitimized gentrification, accelerating the displacement of the historical context and securing a new elite status for the district.

5.6.5 Building Reconstruction in Pidzamche

The physical renewal of abandoned industrial zones (brownfields) and existing housing stock remains a key spatial aspect of gentrification. Photographic analysis records the dynamics of this process.

The district's reconstruction involves both structural rebuilding and the restoration of individual architectural elements. In 2014, the "Revitalization of Pidzamche" project restored the gate (Figure 5.6.5.A) of a historical residential building (DailyLviv, 2014).

The next stage brought intense infill development. Developers use the existing infrastructure and proximity to transit hubs. A prime example is the infill building at 43 Zamarstynivska Street (Figure 5.6.5.B), which integrates an active commercial ground floor and underground parking. In 2015, developers implemented a similar project at 12 Haidamatska Street (Figure 5.6.5.C). Spatial densification also covers commercial properties, such as a new medical clinic built on a previously empty plot (Figure 5.6.5.D). Developers constructed full-scale residential complexes, including "Lvivskyi Dvoryk" (Figure 5.6.5.E) and a new building at 40 Zamarstynivska Street (Figure 5.6.5.F), directly on former open parking lots and neglected single-story sites.

At the same time, commercial spaces undergo aestheticization. Supermarket chains (Figure 5.6.5.G) transform Soviet retail pavilions into modern, functional areas. The "IFEST" company demonstrates another format of commercial appropriation. Reconstructing a former bakery created the "IFEST hotel. Lemkivska" complex (Figure 5.6.5.H), which houses a restaurant, a gallery, and generates new cultural events.

The appearance of chain and niche cafes functions as a classic spatial marker of gentrification. Local resident interviews confirm this trend. Qualitative survey data (Appendix C) identify the opening of "Lviv Croissants" (Figure 5.6.5.I) on the site of a former low-profile grocery store as a significant shift in the street's social profile. Quantitative data (over 60% of respondents) also

highlight new food establishments as the district's most noticeable transformation. The "Tsikava" cafe (Figure 5.6.5.J) shows a deeper level of reconceptualization. Operating as a third-wave coffee shop, it forms a new student hub due to its proximity to the University of Banking. The interior (Figure 5.6.5.K) commercializes the industrial past through a loft style, preserving authentic brickwork and concrete elements.

Adaptive reuse extends to administrative and hotel functions. A former Soviet administrative building at 102 Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street (Figure 5.6.5.L) underwent energy modernization and now operates as an office center with an active ground floor. The recent restoration of Hotel "Rover" (Figure 5.6.5.M) shows the professional preservation of an authentic historical facade.

The "RIEL" development corporation acts as the key institutional stakeholder in this physical transformation (Figures 5.6.5.N, 5.6.5.O, 5.6.5.P). Between 2015 and 2025, the developer built large-scale residential projects on three former factory sites, changing the district's morphology. New residential blocks with structured landscaping and commercial ground floors replaced closed industrial zones. A specific spatial feature of this project is that all three complexes share the name "Mistechko Pidzamche", yet geographically they sit within the Rohatka microdistrict. This creates an urban collision: the developer artificially expands the Pidzamche toponym to adjacent areas, erasing the historical mental boundaries of Rohatka and reformatting the overall identity of the city's northern sector.

5.6.6 Development Potential

Analyzing gentrification requires examining both completed projects and large-scale planned initiatives. These prospective projects reveal the long-term strategies of the municipality and major capital, directly shaping the district's investment climate and future development trajectory.

5.6.6.1 The Future of the REMA Plant

The former Lviv Radioelectronic Medical Equipment (REMA) plant acts as a systemic object of spatial transformation in Pidzamche. After 2010, the territory changed its functional purpose. Starting in 2015, leasing industrial spaces triggered a bottom-up revitalization process. The first tenants - photographers and artists - established the foundation for a creative cluster. Currently, the factory spaces host various functions: architecture and design studios (urbanideas, RePlus Bureau, Hochu Rayu), contemporary art galleries (ZEFIRINA, 31artspace), craft workshops (FORZATS bookbindery), and leisure or non-formal education facilities.

In-depth interviews with local residents confirm that REMA's refunctionalization changed the social climate in this part of the district. Respondents report increased psychological safety and comfort in the street space. The concentration of the creative class and new cultural objects created an environment for a new target audience. Urban theory identifies the arrival of artists as "gentrification pioneers" as a classic stage in the symbolic appropriation of neglected areas.

The space is now transitioning from informal use to institutional planning. In 2020, the Urban Density Lab research group (Figure 5.6.6.1.A) developed a full-scale revitalization project for the

plant. In 2025, they presented this concept at the Lviv Urban Forum and published it in "City in Transition: Urban Dialogues on the Future of Lviv". Such visions prove the municipality's interest in developing former industrial zones, securing the territory's investment appeal.

5.6.6.2 The Future Cable Car

The proposed cable car project conceptually addresses Pidzamche's spatial isolation caused by its topography and railway infrastructure (Figure 5.6.6.2.A). Initiated in 2019 and updated in 2023, the route connects the historic center, the High Castle park zone, and Pidzamche (The Village Ukraine, 2023). The municipality plans to locate the northern terminal at the former "Almazinstrument" plant - an industrial brownfield currently undergoing active commercial redevelopment (Khmarochos, 2023).

This project carries distinct economic and symbolic meaning. The cable car acts as a spatial integration tool, redirecting tourist and capital flows from the center to the revitalized periphery. Such infrastructure solutions stimulate local real estate value growth and accelerate the closure of the rent gap. Approving this concept reflects a long-term municipal strategy to overcome Pidzamche's marginalization and integrate it into the expanded citywide center.

5.6.7 Visual Spatial Audit of Buildings

A visual spatial audit of the building stock records the physical manifestations of gentrification in Pidzamche. Comparing Google Street View panoramas (2015) with field photography (2025) demonstrates the spatial geometry of capital investments. Adapting the approach of Campbell and Donaldson (2021), the analysis divides the existing buildings into three typological groups:

- **Revitalized objects and new buildings (green marker):** new residential and commercial complexes, as well as buildings with fully restored facades.
- **Authentic housing stock in satisfactory condition (yellow marker):** historical buildings (Austrian and interwar periods) that retain basic structural integrity but show no signs of major renovation.
- **Degraded areas and emergency objects (red marker):** abandoned buildings, ruins, and plots requiring immediate structural intervention.

The spatial audit results appear on the cartographic map (Figure 5.6.6.A). The mapping data reveal a clear spatial polarization. The analysis records a large zone of degraded brownfields in the Promyslova microdistrict, concentrating mainly on the territory of inactive factories. Conversely, large blocks of restoration and new residential construction localize in dense clusters. They appear directly next to already commissioned residential complexes, restored historical buildings, and infill developments, forming continuous zones of renewed capitalized space.



5.6.8 Results of the quantitative survey

To provide a primary verification of the sociocultural dimension of urban transformations between 2010 and 2025, a micro-survey was conducted among the spatial users of Pidzamche. The questionnaire directly operationalized the criteria and indicators established within the research framework to address the primary research question: do the observed shifts constitute systemic gentrification? The empirical data capture intensive processes of spatial and functional recomposition within the district.

The indicators of subjective spatial perception across different groups of respondents are systematized in Table 5.6.8.

Perception Indicator	Long-term Residents (over 10 years / since birth), n = 23	New Residents (under 5 years) and Transit Users, n = 29
The district fully retains its character	69.6% (16 respondents)	27.6% (8 respondents)
Partially feel like strangers in the district	26.1% (6 respondents)	69.0% (20 respondents)
The district has completely lost its former atmosphere	4.3% (1 respondent)	3.4% (1 respondent)

The survey data point toward a shifting socio-demographic structure: 55% of respondents identify new social strata - namely youth, IT professionals, and the creative class - as the primary target group of current urban transformations. Meanwhile, 35% of those surveyed explicitly state that the spatial modifications primarily serve the interests of commercial developers and large corporations. Commercial displacement of the authentic urban fabric is further substantiated by the fact that 65% of respondents highlight the mass opening of new cafes, third-wave coffee shops, and craft venues. Conversely, 35% of participants directly note the displacement of basic, local "corner-shop" services, such as traditional grocery stores and small repair workshops that previously sustained the daily needs of the community.

The transformation of symbolic capital through the adaptive reuse of former industrial giants into creative hubs - such as the REMA plant and the "Jam Factory" Art Center - is viewed positively by 70% of the study participants. However, a quarter of the respondents already label these new cultural sites as "spaces for outsiders". This trend highlights a latent layer of sociocultural alienation, where the long-term local population feels excluded from consuming the newly introduced cultural products.

Economic pressure and the impending risk of displacement are explicitly reflected in the residents' financial assessments: 45% of respondents state that Pidzamche is transforming into an "expensive" neighborhood, characterized by a substantial increase in service costs and housing rents. This alienation symptom is verified by a cross-tabulation analysis of the responses: 48.2% of all participants report that they already feel partially like strangers in their own neighborhood.

The indigenous population views these transformation dynamics with the highest degree of criticism. Despite positively evaluating the reconstructed road surfaces and sidewalks, long-term

residents sharply experience the infrastructural imbalances induced by aggressive residential development. The primary structural drivers of dissatisfaction include critical traffic congestion along main arterial roads, a severe deficit of parking spaces, and the systemic overcrowding of municipal preschool and secondary education facilities under the pressure of incoming housing developments.

6 Analytics

6.1 Sosnova's Methodology

To verify the presence and comprehensive character of the gentrification process in the Pidzamche area, the theoretical model developed by N. Sosnova (2011) was implemented. Based on the empirical data and spatial observations detailed in Section 5, the core structural, functional, and social mutations within the study area were systematized and verified. The analytical matrix structure is adapted into Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Verification Matrix of Gentrification Indicators in Pidzamche Based on Sosnova's Theoretical Model (2010-2025)		
Theoretical Framework	Criteria and Indicators	Pidzamche (2010-2025)
Spatial and Morphological Structure Gentrification	1. Increase in building density	Present. The densification of the urban fabric is realized through infill development and the utilization of underutilized interstitial plots (see Figure 5.6.5.B, Figure 5.6.5.C, Figure 5.6.5.D). This process exploits existing infrastructure networks and local markets, yet the newly added structures are distinguished by active commercial ground floors and integrated underground parking facilities.
	2. Revitalization	Present. A systemic process of adaptive reuse is identified across former industrial zones and brownfields. Industrial heritage sites are undergoing spatial transformation into creative-cultural hubs (e.g., the Jam Factory Art Center, the REMA plant) and large-scale residential complexes developed by the "RIEL" corporation (see Figure 5.6.5.N, Figure 5.6.5.O, Figure 5.6.5.P).

	3. Spatial fragmentation	Present. Industrial lands that experienced chaotic fragmentation among small-scale owners between 1991 and 2010 are currently being consolidated through cooperative initiatives for spatial development (e.g., the "Recreating REMA" framework by the "Urban Density Lab"). Concurrently, fragmented historical buildings are being restored by major developers to serve as high-profile branding landmarks (e.g., the "Mistechko Pidzamche" housing estate). Other large-scale industrial properties are acquired in monolithic tracts, with their functional designation altered via municipal Detailed Territorial Plans (DPTs).
Functional Structure Gentrification	1. Intensification of land use	Present. A profound structural shift is observed in the profile of local commercial infrastructure. All new residential developments introduce mixed-use spaces that blend housing, retail, and service functions. Large residential complexes additionally incorporate declarations for new private preschools and secondary schools. (5.6.4 Symbolic Reconceptualization and Place Branding; 5.4.6 Social Infrastructure and Emotional Displacement).
	2a. Commercial museumification	Present. The historical and industrial heritage of the district is being systematically capitalized upon. The industrial aesthetic is preserved and commodified to attract affluent spatial consumers, transforming the history of the site into added value (see the case of the third-wave coffee shop "Tsikava", Figure 5.6.5.J, Figure 5.6.5.K). Concurrently, the district partially retains its authentic identity, a trend supported by the preservation policies of independent art galleries operating within the REMA plant.
	2B. Adaptation to new urban functions	Present. Micro-districts that previously retained an exclusively industrial profile (such as Promyslova and Rohatka) are gradually being absorbed by residential construction. This process blurs the historical mental boundaries between sub-districts, establishing the toponym

		"Pidzamche" as the primary territorial marker for the entire northern periphery. Civil society organizations and municipal authorities are taking active steps to adapt the area and define its new post-industrial identity.
	3. Deindustrialization	Present. A systemic macroeconomic process of phasing out or decommissioning manufacturing capacities is evident, driven by the municipal allocation of land parcels and construction permits for residential development over brownfields. As noted by N. Sosnova (2025), the perception of the district in the urban imagination as an exclusive space of "labor" has effectively dissolved.
Social Structure Segregation	1. Intensification of the urban pace of life	Present. According to the survey findings, only 11% of respondents report no change in the local pace of life, while the vast majority experience a significant acceleration. This shift is structurally linked to the introduction of high-density housing developments, population growth, and enhanced micro-mobility (transit accessibility).
	2. Environmental theatricalization (Butaforyzatsiya)	Partially Present. Spatial analysis and visual audits indicate that large-scale residential complexes and revitalized cultural centers function as anchors of physical change. However, during these transitional stages, these developments do not manifest as completely gated communities; instead, they improve the immediate streetscape, which partially stimulates the restoration of adjacent historical housing stock.
	3. Community deprivation	Partially Present. Residential real estate expands at a disproportionately faster rate than municipal social infrastructure. Since the primary property buyers consist of young families and creative industry professionals, this dynamic imposes critical strain on existing public educational facilities. While local residents currently evaluate the emergence of a service economy positively compared to marginalized

		Soviet-era relics, in the medium term, this trend risks creating systemic deprivation for the long-term community .
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The analytical results indicate that between 2010 and 2025, the urban transformations in Pidzamche accumulated the majority of indicators characterizing systemic gentrification within Sosnova's theoretical framework. The most pronounced structural shifts are localized in the morphological and functional dimensions, unfolding as a direct product of multi-actor interactions among municipal authorities, private developers, and cultural institutions. Conversely, indicators of socio-spatial segregation remain only partially verified at this stage, although clear long-term trends toward community deprivation and environmental theatricalization are emerging.

At this transitional juncture, the displacement of long-term residents is predominantly indirect and sociocultural rather than direct and physical. This dynamic manifests through the loss of traditional neighborhood retail infrastructure (local corner shops, accessible public education) and a radical re-coding of the district's atmosphere. However, by introducing inclusive urban planning policies and maintaining a structural balance between community needs and developer interests, the acceleration of these negative spatial phenomena could be mitigated. To provide a more detailed empirical verification of these trends at the micro-level of the urban fabric, the study transitions to the next analytical tool: the operational checklist.

6.2 Checklist

The next phase of empirical verification involves the application of an operational checklist designed to detail the macro-structural trends discovered at the micro-level of the district's urban fabric. This analytical tool, adapted from the frameworks of E. Campbell and R. Donaldson (2021) and the theoretical concepts of N. Sosnova (2011), systematizes the results of the spatial audit, mental mapping, and semi-structured interviews. Utilizing this checklist allows for an objective assessment of the systemic nature, scale, and depth of urban transformations in Pidzamche between 2010 and 2025 through concrete spatial, political, and infrastructure indicators. Furthermore, it categorizes these gentrification markers into positive (+) and negative (-) impacts on the urban environment.

1. Systemic Nature and Scale of Changes

- ☐ **Absence of fragmentation (+):** Structural mutations are not confined to an isolated building or its parts but encompass entire city blocks or streets simultaneously.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: The transformation of the urban environment has moved beyond scattered, piece-meal developments and assumed a comprehensive,

block-by-block character. Former industrial lands that experienced chaotic fragmentation among small-scale owners between 1991 and 2010 are currently undergoing consolidation. This trend is verified both by institutional stakeholder cooperation to implement large-scale spatial designs (such as the "Recreating REMA" framework by the "Urban Density Lab") and by the extensive brownfield redevelopment regulated by municipal Detailed Territorial Plans (DPTs), where defunct industrial zones are replaced by unified quarters like the "Mistechko Pidzamche" housing estate (see Subsection 5.4.5; Subsection 5.6.4).

- ☐ **Shifting status of the area (+):** The district begins to be perceived as a "new elite" or "trendy" neighborhood at the city-wide level, rather than just within isolated nodes.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: Between 2013 and 2016, research and participatory efforts under the "Revitalization of Pidzamche" project initiated a fundamental re-conceptualization of the neighborhood, triggering primary spatial upgrades (see Subsection 5.6.1). Subsequently, targeted place-branding strategies articulated and reinforced the district's modern post-industrial identity (see Subsection 5.6.4). Commercial real estate developers currently exploit and promote this image, framing Pidzamche as a natural and prestigious extension of Lviv's historic core.

- ☐ **Infrastructural connectivity (+):** The emergence of a network of new infrastructure assets (transit, street lighting, public safety) operating as a unified system to serve incoming residents.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: Throughout the 2010-2025 period, the municipality reconstructed all major arterial roads within the district, modernized the tramway network, updated rolling transit stock, and introduced supplementary bus routes while establishing initial bicycle lanes and inclusive pedestrian pathways (see Subsection 5.5). In the medium term, the master plan routes additional connecting streets to relieve traffic congestion (see Subsection 5.4.5) and proposes large-scale infrastructure solutions, including a panoramic cable car system (5.6.6.2 The Future Cable Car).

- ☐ **Political-economic incentive (+):** The presence of targeted municipal revitalization programs, tax exemptions for developers, or focused state investments.

Status: Absent.

Argumentation: Although the local government enacted several Detailed Territorial Plans (DPTs) to regulate specific plots, no specialized developmental strategies or economic incentives exist specifically for Pidzamche. Municipal development plans and public investments primarily target Northern Lviv (specifically the

Shchurata micro-district), leaving the redevelopment of Pidzamche dependent on private corporate capital (Львівська міська рада, 2025).

- ☐ **Functional intensification(+):** An increase in the density of urban processes and services per unit area, particularly through the conversion of basements, ground floors, and former residential courtyards into retail spaces.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: Since 2010, the concentration of active ground floors has grown rapidly; all residential complexes erected during this fifteen-year window are designed exclusively with commercial lower tiers (see Subsection 5.6.5). Empirical data document the intensive proliferation of new private entities, including dental clinics, corporate postal branches, beauty salons, and floral retail shops (see Appendix A3).

2. Cultural Transformation

- ☐ **Deployment of art as a "detergent" (+):** Artistic events or large-scale murals are used to mask architectural decay, alter the mental map of a distressed space, and attract initial investment capital.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: Large-scale murals, introduced between 2013 and 2014 by the grant-funded "Revitalization of Pidzamche" project, served as the primary instruments for the aestheticization of the district (see Subsection 5.6.2). A comparative spatial analysis of the distribution of these murals (see Figure 5.6.2.A) reveals that, with few exceptions, the geographic concentration of street art directly aligns with zones that later underwent intensive residential redevelopment by private corporate capital (see Figure 5.6.6.1.A). This empirical convergence demonstrates the strategic deployment of institutionalized street art as an aesthetic "detergent" to cleanse the area's image, matching the theoretical model of Campbell and Donaldson (2021).

- ☐ **Stigmatization of the past (-):** New art forms or emergent cultural institutions entirely ignore the local working-class history, replacing it with globalized or abstract narratives.

Status: Absent.

Argumentation: In contrast to classical Western paradigms of gentrification, the flagship cultural institutions established in Pidzamche do not stigmatize or erase its industrial legacy; instead, they actively engage with and research local history. For instance, within the revitalized complex of the "Jam Factory Art Center," a permanent open exhibition is dedicated specifically to documenting the historical evolution and daily lived experiences of the Pidzamche and Rohatka sub-districts (Jam Factory Art Center, n.d.).

- ☐ **Cultural differentiation (-):** The emergence of a distinct "gentrification aesthetic" (hipster coffee shops, barbershops, art galleries) that constructs symbolic barriers and induces a sense of sociocultural alienation among long-term residents.

Status: Partially present.

Argumentation: Hipster coffee shops are beginning to pop up in the neighborhood, such as Tsikava, which actively incorporates the industrial aesthetic of the area where it is located (Figure 5.6.5.J, Figure 5.6.5.K); however, locals do not view them with hostility (Appendices A4).

- ☐ **Museumification and "Disneyfication" (-):** The transformation of the historic environment into an artificial space of pure consumption, where authentic local history is reduced to a theatrical backdrop to stimulate corporate sales.

Status: Absent.

Argumentation: The findings of the quantitative survey (see Subsection 5.6.8) demonstrate that less than 2% of respondents perceive the district as an environment being redeveloped to serve tourist flows. At present, Pidzamche remains one of the most authentic residential and post-industrial quarters in Lviv, retaining a rich architectural fabric (see Subsection 5.3). Due to its prolonged historical and infrastructural isolation behind the railway line, the neighborhood has successfully avoided the radical commercial "Disneyfication" characteristic of Rynok Square

- ☐ **Creation of "arts districts" (+) :** A dense concentration of independent artists, creative studios, and cultural industries that capitalization spatial resources, acting as a precursor to the intrusion of major development capital.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: The spatial ecosystem of the former REMA plant at 31 Zavodska Street has developed into a powerful bottom-up creative anchor, integrating architectural bureaus, artist workshops, independent galleries ("ZEFIRINA", "31artspace"), and artisanal spaces like the "FORZATS" bookbindery (see Subsection 5.6.3; Subsection 5.6.6.1). Similarly, the institutional anchor of the "Jam Factory Art Center" catalyzes its immediate urban surroundings, stimulating the proliferation of smaller creative initiatives across industrial and transitional zones (see Figure 5.6.3.A) alongside the professional restoration of adjacent historical facades, such as the "Rover" Hotel (see Figure 5.6.5.M).

3. Socio-Spatial Segregation

- ☐ **Shifting socio-demographic strata (-):** The incremental displacement and replacement of long-term residents with lower socioeconomic status by incoming groups characterized by higher income and educational levels.

Status: Partially present.

Argumentation: The quantitative survey findings indicate that 52% of respondents explicitly perceive the district as being developed primarily "for youth, IT professionals, and the creative class moving here". Although a local real estate agent reports that market demand remains highly pragmatic - with a substantial share of buyers being local residents expanding their living spaces - affluent young professionals constitute the second most active group of buyers (see Appendix A2). Direct, forced physical displacement is not widely observed yet, as the historic housing stock remains undervalued on the market (see Appendix A3); however, the initial symptoms of sociocultural pressure on the long-term community are clearly documented.

- ☐ **Community fragmentation (-):** The division of the urban fabric into isolated "islands" of elitism and commercial prosperity set against the generally neglected, distressed infrastructural background of the peripheral neighborhood.

Status: Partially present.

Argumentation: 3Spatial audit data (see Subsection 5.6.7) demonstrate that large-scale residential developments function as local anchors of physical upgrading. At this transitional stage, they do not operate as entirely isolated, gated communities; instead, they integrate high-quality, open public spaces into the neighborhood. Concurrently, established commercial and transit nodes - such as the intersection of Haidamatska and Zamarstynivska streets - act as powerful catalysts for developer expansion, triggering rapid residential construction and the privatization of surrounding underutilized or vacant plots (see Subsection 5.6.5).

- ☐ **Emotional displacement (-):** The loss of a psychological "connection to place" (loss of place) and sense of belonging among long-term residents due to the rapid, radical re-coding of the district's symbolic and functional meaning.

Status: Partially present.

Argumentation: Symptoms of emotional and moral displacement among long-term inhabitants manifest clearly through the deformation of traditional daily practices, as detailed in Subsection 5.4.6. The primary drivers of this trend include the aggressive replacement of basic local corner shops by an expensive commercial service economy alongside a severe deficit of free, municipal social infrastructure. This psychological rupture is further widened by the total dissolution of Pidzamche's identity as a space of industrial "labor," an evolution verified by the lived narratives of the residents (see Appendix A1, Appendix A4).

4. Physical Environmental Renewal

- ☐ **Revitalization of assets (+):** The systemic modification and adaptive reuse of historical industrial and administrative structures to accommodate new urban functions.

Status: Present.

Argumentation: A large-scale adaptive reuse process targeting Austrian and Soviet-era industrial facilities is unfolding across Pidzamche. Defunct factory structures are being systematically converted into cultural hubs (such as the "Jam Factory Art Center" and the REMA plant) and mixed-use residential quarters developed by the "RIEL" corporation. This functional re-coding of brownfields and its integration into the contemporary urban economy is analyzed in detail in Subsections. 5.4.5 *Cadastral Analysis and Functional Zoning* та 5.6.4 *Symbolic Reconceptualization and Place Branding*.

- ☐ **Aesthetic improvement of the built environment (+):** Large-scale restoration of historical facades, streetscape upgrades, and the creation of clean, safe public spaces that attract the middle class.

Status: Partially present.

Argumentation: Spatial analysis and mapping data from the building condition audit (see Subsection 5.6.7) confirm that the facade restoration of residential and commercial housing stock has been successfully initiated and demonstrates annual progress. However, at this juncture, this aesthetic renewal has not yet become pervasive across the entirety of Pidzamche, as a significant portion of the district's large-scale brownfields is still awaiting the final phases of corporate real estate acquisition and full redevelopment.

To optimize the interpretation of the verification findings, the presence or absence of core gentrification metrics is systematically structured in tabular form (see Table 6.1). For analytical differentiation, specific markers designate the character of these indicators' impact on the urban environment: positive outcomes are marked with (+), negative consequences with (-), while processes with dual or neutral impacts are left without a corresponding symbol

Analytical Category	Specific Indicator	Impact Character	Verification Status
Systemic Nature and Scale of Changes	Absence of fragmentation	+	Present
	Shifting status of the are	+	Present
	Infrastructural connectivity	+	Present
	Political-economic incentive	+	Absent
	Functional intensification	+	Present
Cultural Transformation	Deployment of art as a "detergent"	+	Present
	Stigmatization of the past	-	Absent
	Cultural differentiation	-	Partially present
	Museumification and "Disneyfication"	-	Absent
	Creation of "arts districts"	+	Present
Socio-Spatial Segregation	Shifting socio-demographic strata	-	Partially present
	Community fragmentation	-	Partially present
	Emotional displacement	-	Partially present
Physical Environmental Renewal	Revitalization of assets	+	Present
	Aesthetic improvement of the built environment	+	Partially present

The analytical findings derived from cross-tabulation and spatial mapping demonstrate that the Pidzamche district is currently undergoing a comprehensive gentrification process, with most of its core manifestations in an active phase of expansion. This dynamic is appropriately explained by the classic stage model of Phillip Clay and Michael Twigge. According to this theoretical framework, Pidzamche occupies a transitional phase: moving from stage one, characterized by the influx of local artistic initiatives and the primary re-coding of the industrial aesthetic by spatial pioneers, toward intermediate and late stages, where the symbolic capital accumulated by

cultural actors is systematically converted into large-scale commercial and residential developer projects.

At a primary descriptive level, the district is visually dominated by the positive manifestations of spatial upgrading: a radical shift in the status of a once-isolated periphery, intensified housing density, an influx of the creative class, enhanced transit connectivity, and the expansion of retail networks. However, the open-ended responses and financial evaluations from the quantitative survey (see Subsection 5.6.8) document the initial symptoms of emotional and moral displacement among long-term residents. These structural imbalances - where the elimination of local workplaces and environmental commercialization unfold without a corresponding expansion of municipal social infrastructure - led N. Sosnova to classify this specific transformation path in Pidzamche as "false gentrification". Consequently, the empirical data support the conclusion that the urban mutations between 2010 and 2025 constitute a systemic, albeit highly contextual, post-industrial gentrification.

7. Conclusions

This comprehensive study provides a definitive answer to the primary research question: the urban transformations unfolding in the Pidzamche district between 2010 and 2025 constitute a systemic gentrification process, deeply conditioned by its post-industrial and post-socialist context. The triangulation of spatial audits, mental mapping, and empirical sociological data demonstrates that the district has rapidly shifted from a state of prolonged structural isolation toward intensive real estate capital accumulation.

In analyzing the structural nature of these mutations, it is vital to embed the perspective of urban scholar N. Sosnova, who characterizes the local trajectory as "false gentrification"(A1) because the process in Ukraine diverges from classical Western paradigms, developing through unique transitional stages where aggressive housing capitalization and physical aestheticization occur without the synchronous generation of local workplaces or municipal social infrastructure. Furthermore, the empirical evidence captures a distinct spatial phenomenon: current developments blur not only functional land-use zones but also the historical mental boundaries of traditional sub-districts (Promyslova, Rohatka). This process unifies the northern urban periphery under a singular commercial brand, "Pidzamche," driving the gradual erosion of localized historical identities.

To mitigate the negative externalities of gentrification, such as the emotional displacement of the long-term community and systemic infrastructure deprivation, the following practical policy recommendations are proposed for Lviv's municipal planning:

- **Integrating Modern Public Spaces into the Existing Housing Stock:** The municipality, in structural collaboration with real estate investors, must fund the development of high-quality recreational zones within authentic Austrian and Soviet-era courtyards, rather than restricting spatial upgrades to new residential complexes, thereby reducing socio-spatial segregation.

- **Enacting Inclusive Social Planning Regulations:** The approval of Detailed Territorial Plans (DPTs) must be strictly conditioned upon the parallel construction of public municipal preschools and secondary schools alongside new residential square meters to eliminate the chronic capacity deficit.
- **Sustaining Economic Diversity and Local Employment:** Local governance should introduce economic support mechanisms and subsidized rent schemes for small-scale neighborhood enterprises (repair workshops, traditional grocery stores) to prevent their wholesale displacement by a homogeneous service economy.
- **Institutionalizing Local Memory and Spatial Openness:** Preserving the distinctive identities of the sub-districts through the symbolic and physical preservation of historical industrial anchors (such as the REMA plant or the Axelbrad mill) while legally prohibiting the formation of isolated, gated communities.

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Appendices

Appendix A1. Interview Transcript: Nadiia Sosnova (May 18, 2026)

Note: Informed consent for the recording and use of this interview for academic research purposes was obtained.

Interviewer: I have several questions for you.

Nadiia Sosnova: Please, go ahead.

Interviewer: The first block concerns the evolution of urban processes. From your perspective, what has changed between 2011 and 2025? Given that fifteen years is a significant period for urban development, I would like to focus on your previous assertion that gentrification in industrial districts was largely fragmented and spontaneous, suggesting it did not meet the criteria for a formal gentrification process. Have you observed any shifts in this trajectory, particularly regarding the Pidzamche district?

Nadiia Sosnova: Generally, I argue that gentrification in Ukraine follows its own specific trajectory, as is often the case with many domestic processes. I would hesitate to define the transformations in Ukraine, or specifically in Pidzamche, as conventional gentrification, as they do not follow the classical Western -and particularly the American -path. In the Western context, gentrification often begins when art traders and creative communities enter distressed or marginalized neighborhoods, effectively revalorizing these areas and creating new market opportunities for capital that has become saturated elsewhere and is seeking new, undervalued assets. In Ukraine, and specifically in Pidzamche, we are observing a different operational logic.

However, there is one factor of gentrification where the Ukrainian experience aligns with global trends: the displacement factor. This involves the displacement of the most vulnerable population groups, who possess the fewest resources to resist urban restructuring processes, and their subsequent replacement by wealthier actors. This phenomenon is clearly observable through real estate market data. A longitudinal analysis of property prices in the Pidzamche district across 2011, 2016, and 2025 serves as an excellent empirical verification of this trend.

We observe a significant pattern: during the period of independence, and even prior to 2011, Pidzamche remained the most economically disadvantaged district. In my urban sociology lectures, I have sometimes referenced the concept of "bidonvilles" to describe the socio-economic status of Pidzamche at that time -although this comparison is inherently limited, as it does not fully capture the district's character. While I maintain a critical stance regarding many aspects of the district's development -which I will elaborate on further -the data from real estate agents confirms that, during that period, Pidzamche was consistently the most affordable district in the city.

From a sociological perspective, it is important to note that the displacement process often originated in the city center. Real estate agents would incentivize less affluent residents to relocate to Pidzamche by purchasing apartments for them there, as it was the most affordable area at the time, in exchange for their centrally located properties. This displacement targeted vulnerable, and at times marginalized, social groups. I acknowledge this may lead us away from our primary focus, yet it remains a crucial context. Today, housing prices on Zamastynivska Street have reached three thousand dollars per square meter in new developments, which provides clear empirical confirmation of the gentrification process.

Interviewer: Do you believe that "emotional displacement" is also a factor here? As you noted, unlike in the United States or Western countries, Ukraine has a high rate of private home ownership, which makes mass evictions significantly more difficult. However, I suspect that emotional displacement occurs when the new urban infrastructure is not designed for the local residents. This manifests when institutions, such as exclusive private schools, replace local facilities, or when local cafes and services become unaffordable for the existing population. How would you assess this phenomenon -is emotional displacement a defining characteristic, or is the process primarily driven by the physical displacement of residents through property acquisition?

Nadiia Sosnova: We are witnessing both physical and emotional displacement occurring in parallel. In fact, emotional displacement is extremely potent; I have experienced it personally, which allows me to speak to it directly. I lived my entire life in the central part of the city, on Halytska Street, and about ten years ago, I felt this powerful, emotional displacement.

There were no more acquaintances, no familiar locations, and the original residents were largely gone, replaced primarily by tourists and businesses catering to them. There were no longer any objects or services suitable for daily life. Specifically, basic, functional grocery stores were replaced exclusively by cafes -cafes that immediately occupied the sidewalk right in front of the entrances. When you walk out carrying trash bags, you are forced to navigate between tables, which is ultimately very uncomfortable. Additionally, parking a car became impossible, along with all the other associated challenges.

This is what another acquaintance of mine, who also spent her entire life in the city center, described as moral displacement: "I walk through the city, through familiar streets, but the environment feels completely alien to me; I no longer feel like I belong here, despite having lived here my whole life." In this way, the displacement of the local, indigenous population from their familiar locations occurs, though this is a global phenomenon. It is problematic primarily because it leads to the "buffoonery" or stage-setting (butaforyzatsiya) of the urban environment.

Interviewer: I also wanted to ask you about this stage-setting, as you have mentioned it previously. To what extent is this issue currently relevant, and in your opinion, does it continue to persist?

Nadiia Sosnova: This is highly relevant to our city center. The central area -specifically Rynok Square and the surrounding blocks -has become deeply theatricalized; it functions more as a stage designed to satisfy tourist expectations. All of the city's cultural markers have been integrated into hospitality venues that adopt names referencing iconic Lviv features, yet these spaces are fundamentally staged. However, this is a global phenomenon.

Interviewer: This leads to my next logical question: to what extent do you believe the gentrification occurring in Pidzamche is commercially viable? Furthermore, what is the influence of various actors -such as Jam Factory, the REMA plant with its significant development plans, and FESTrepublic -on this gentrification process? Is their impact positive for the district, or are they primarily displacing local residents?

Nadiia Sosnova: With this gentrification, the Pidzamche district has acquired... well, I would also provisionally label it as gentrification. Just as there is a concept of "false urbanization" -where residential construction proceeds without the corresponding creation of workplaces -what we are witnessing here is "false gentrification."

It manifests as the beautification of city blocks. The modern residential architecture in Pidzamche is indeed beautiful, trendy, and sophisticated, but its development has displaced a critical element. Historically, Pidzamche was defined by a concentration of large-scale industrial facilities.

Subsequently, these industrial areas were fragmented, becoming home to numerous smaller industrial activities ranging from furniture assembly and repair services to automotive workshops and small-scale storage facilities, such as those used by IKEA. In essence, people were able to utilize the remaining infrastructure of the former industrial district by leasing garages and small workshops. This created a hub for local small and medium-sized enterprises, serving as a vital center for employment.

Nadiia Sosnova: Currently, these territories are being redeveloped for residential use, and the business model does not prioritize the creation of workplaces; that is not its objective. The developer's primary goal is to sell, not to provide employment. Consequently, both local residents and those who worked within the district are being displaced. Regardless of their tax status, numerous small production workshopsoften occupying spaces as small as 100 square meterspreviously existed along Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street.

Interviewer: I have a question regarding urban morphology. Pidzamche is physically isolated by the railway and the steep topography of High Castle (Vysoky Zamok) mountain. There is essentially only one pedestrian underpass connecting it to the city center. Given the pre-full-scale invasion plans, such as the funicular project included in the general plan, how significantly does this morphological separation influence the area? To what extent will Pidzamche realistically become an "old city center," as advertised on various banners throughout Lviv? Furthermore, can the architectural and morphological barriers change, or are they permanent, and how does the current bottleneck on Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street, where all traffic is funneled under the bridge, affect this development?

Nadiia Sosnova: In reality, this isolation was one of the factors that hindered the district's development pace. However, the location of this area is extraordinary; it is only three kilometers from the center of Lviv. For a city with a population of over a million, this distance is negligible; it is effectively within walking distance. Therefore, Pidzamche is destined to develop and genuinely extend the city center, as the center has already reached its critical capacity and can no longer accommodate the influx of tourists.

Regarding morphology, I would offer a different perspective focused on transport infrastructure. I had high hopes for the large, contiguous former industrial territories that are currently undergoing intensive gentrification. These were the last intact land parcels in the city that could have been utilized to partially resolve our transport issues by establishing corridors for optimal transport connectivity.

However, the wholesale sale of these territories, or their lease for 49 years to developers who construct multi-story residential buildings knowing full well that this housing will not be demolished once the lease expires represents a profound loss for the city. We are losing the last remaining areas capable of resolving structural transport problems. Instead, we will be left with pockets of beautiful, isolated territories that will face severe, long-term transportation challenges.

Nadiia Sosnova: This is incorrect; it represents both false urbanization and false gentrification. Yet, it serves as further evidence that business and investors currently wield more power than any common sense. Everyone expects that they will eventually retire abroad using the proceeds from these investments.

Interviewer: You have perfectly anticipated my next question. Given this, how do you think the full-scale war has changed the Pidzamche district?

Nadiia Sosnova: Indeed.

Interviewer: It has likely affected all of Lviv, but Pidzamche in particular, given the high volume of new residential construction. I conducted a survey where the majority of local residents responded that they do not feel this place is designed for them, but rather for young IT professionals.

Nadiia Sosnova: So, the consensus is that they view this area as a space for young professionals rather than for the indigenous population?

Interviewer: Exactly.

Nadiia Sosnova: The war has fundamentally altered Lviv, much as it has influenced regions like Zakarpattia. These cities, perceived as relatively safe, have seen such rapid construction that it is unprecedented in urban planning across many decades and various countries. Essentially, we have become a testing ground for the entire world, and in terms of urbanism, we are currently a fascinating case for study.

Calculating the density of newly added housing is also quite interesting, and I am currently processing these quantitative metrics. For instance, if you look at Vynnyky, a small town near us, the influx of new housing and displaced persons represents a very significant percentage relative to the indigenous population, which ultimately alters the demographic profile of the resident. I have not conducted this specific research for Pidzamche, but I suspect the narrative is identical -the demographic landscape is changing. Furthermore, because the architecture is modern and stereotypical, it feels alien to the existing Pidzamche community.

I have another line of research regarding why new developments are perceived as beautiful and of higher quality compared to all previously constructed architecture. There is a distinct trend here. Even though these spaces are beautiful, trendy, and feature well-designed urbanism and high-quality public spaces, the previous architectural stock does not provide the same standard of living. Would you agree that such trends are currently prevalent?

Interviewer: Could you clarify which specific housing you are referring to? How old is the housing stock in question?

Nadiia Sosnova: I believe that modern, trendy public spaces are now being created in conjunction with new multi-story residential complexes. These spaces are positioned as a "must-have" that everyone aspires to. However, all existing residential infrastructure built prior to this is perceived as less aesthetically pleasing and of lower quality.

My position is that to ensure gentrification occurs more organically without traumatizing the local community, it is necessary to integrate comparable public spaces into the existing urban fabric. Specifically, the city, in collaboration with investors, could integrate this contemporary style of public space design into previously constructed housing, particularly in multi-story residential buildings from the Soviet period.

Interviewer: However, this does not apply to the Pidzamche district. Before the restoration of "Jam Factory" (I recall attending a theatre festival there in 2009 when it was essentially in ruins, and artists were attempting to utilize the space), I believe the process was occurring more organically. Similarly, I remember the REMA plant when it was still operational and how there were also attempts to develop the site.

Nadiia Sosnova: These locations were created beautifully, and I find them very appealing. They have significantly increased the capitalization of Pidzamche.

Interviewer: Indeed, and as you mentioned, they have utilized local heritage. For instance, in the areas that developed into the Pidzamche townsite, they branded the project "New Fort." Furthermore, they restored the site of the former Baczewski factory, preserved the historic gate, and maintained the original appearance of the initial buildings. The developments occurring further beyond those structures are a separate issue. However, you are aware that there were intentions to build a funicular -a cable car connecting to the High Castle?

Nadiia Sosnova: The cable car was intended to be located elsewhere. I will clarify for you, Interviewer: the route was planned to start from the Heavenly Hundred Heroes Memorial.

Interviewer: Correct, from the Heavenly Hundred Heroes Memorial to the High Castle, with a descending station planned near the Baczewski site.

Nadiia Sosnova: I see. I recall attending on the first phase of this lift project that I had partially overlooked the second phase. Essentially, connecting all these attraction sites is a logical business decision.

Appendices A2

Interview Transcript: Real Estate Agent (May 19, 2026)

Note: Informed consent for the recording and use of this interview for academic research purposes was obtained.

Interviewer: To keep this brief, I would like to ask: do you focus exclusively on residential real estate, or do you also deal with commercial properties?

Real Estate Agent: I specialize in residential real estate. We generally avoid the commercial sector, although I do have some previous experience with commercial property cases.

Interviewer: Great. I would like to ask about your perspective on how residential real estate prices in the Pidzamche district have changed over the last 15 years. Have they increased, and if so, did they follow the city-wide trend, or did you observe specific patterns where growth in this district outperformed the rest of the city? Perhaps you can recall a specific benchmark or a point of reference based on your experience?

Real Estate Agent: Generally, prices rise most rapidly along the city's primary transport arteries and in areas already densely populated. Ultimately, demand dictates price; the higher the demand, the higher the price.

Between 2010 and 2016, development primarily occurred along the city's major arterial roads. In the Shevchenkivskyi district, this was focused on Chornovola Avenue. In other districts, development concentrated in the near-center areas, such as the dense construction along Kniahyni Olhy Street, as well as Velykoho and Naukova streets, where large-scale projects like the Riel "America" residential complex emerged on available land plots.

Regarding district demographics, while I lack precise data, it appears that the Frankivskyi district is significantly more densely populated than the Shevchenkivskyi district, despite the latter appearing larger geographically. When I observe the density of the Frankivskyi district and Sykhiv -with their numerous panel nine-story buildings and *khrushchyovkas* -it is evident that a large population resides there. Furthermore, few residents are willing to relocate outside of their familiar districts. Consequently, the demand within the Frankivskyi district has been significantly higher. This serves as the necessary background for my assessment of the Pidzamche district.

Real Estate Agent: Specifically, we are referring to Chornovola Avenue, which was developed by companies like "Riel" and "Intergal-Bud." I believe "Intergal-Bud" initially constructed five-story buildings there, followed by "Riel" -if I am not mistaken, their development is named "Monet," the complex that frequently experiences flooding when the sewer collector bursts. Subsequently, "Intergal-Bud" expanded to larger structures, and "Skhid Sontsia" (Sunrise) also appeared; consequently, Chornovola Avenue underwent active development.

Regarding Pidzamche, active construction only began toward the end of the decade, closer to the present day. This is because the district is primarily industrial, with a significantly smaller residential population; historically, particularly toward the end of the Soviet era, people largely traveled there only for work. In fact, my university professor, Bohdan Kozak -a Shevchenko National Prize laureate and People's Artist of Ukraine -always took pride in having grown up on Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street, often referring to it as a "bandit district".

Real Estate Agent: Since my university years, I frequently heard that Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street was a "bandit district". I struggled to understand why until I realized that this area was primarily where industrial workers were housed. Because the local workforce consisted of laborers rather than management -staffing facilities such as the diamond factory, oil pumping station, and tannery -these residents and their families were often not considered particularly affluent, especially during the Soviet era.

Consequently, even today, when driving past Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street beyond Zamartynivska Street, one can see a different type of architecture just past the railway bridge: it is significantly simpler, cheaper, and lower in scale. Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street itself features primarily two- and three-story buildings. Overall, this has historically been an economically disadvantaged district, and combined with the prevalence of large-scale enterprises, the residential population density was never particularly high.

Real Estate Agent: The demographic and urban landscape shifted in the late 2010s when the developer "Riel" initiated several projects in the area. Their developments include the following sites: the area near the vodka distillery on Volynska Street⁶ portion of the former diamond factory site, following earlier projects at the Baczewski factory location, significant section of Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street, branded as the "Pidzamche Town" (*Mistechko Pidzamche*) project, situated in the central part of the street where oil-loading stations were formerly located.

While some have previously characterized this area as a ghetto, the actual location historically referred to as such was situated between Chornovola Avenue and Zamartynivska Street. Since these developments, the district has begun to improve incrementally.

However, as a real estate agent, I observe that demand remains limited because the area is not familiar or appealing to many prospective buyers. Furthermore, the construction quality is characterized by the use of aerated concrete, positioning these projects in the "economy" to "minus-comfort" class segment. Consequently, the price per square meter in Pidzamche remains significantly lower compared to other districts in Lviv.

Despite current limitations, I view the future of this district as highly promising. This potential is supported by several factors: The district possesses essential arterial roads and tram access. Unlike other districts, Pidzamche retains significant vacant land for further development, including large portions of the former oil-loading station site that remain unbuilt. The developer Riel is currently working to connect two residential projects: the Vezha complex, which is part of the Pidzamche Town development, and their new project, Fazer, located on Promyslova Street. According to the detailed territory plan, the intent is to integrate these two residential complexes into a single cohesive space, which will significantly increase the district's residential population.

Although prices are no longer extremely low, for the Fazer complex, which began construction last year, the price is 1550-1600 dollars per square meter for a building that is not yet finished, as it is still being walled and lacks windows. In comparison, one can currently purchase completed units in the Pidzamche Town complex for 1450-1500 dollars per square meter.

Interviewer: To summarize, in your opinion, the district remains accessible, and if prices are rising, they are doing so at the same rate as real estate across the rest of Lviv, is that correct?

Real Estate Agent: Prices there are growing more slowly. They grow more slowly because the demand is lower. As I mentioned, many people find this district unusual and distant.

Consequently, people only move there under one condition: if the price per square meter is advantageous. However, this is gradually changing. The demand has increased slightly, but if you compare it with Lypynskoho Street, Naukova Street, or Volodymyra Velykoho Street, the price in Pidzamche remains lower. If you compare new developments in the near-center with those in Pidzamche, or old Austrian buildings in the near-center with those in Pidzamche, Pidzamche remains a cheaper and more accessible option.

Interviewer: Yes, absolutely. And perhaps you could describe a generalized portrait of your client. Who wants to settle in Pidzamche? Are they IT professionals, young people, artists, or perhaps older individuals or families? If possible, could you provide such a client portrait, and has this profile changed between 2010 and now?

Real Estate Agent: It is difficult to speak about 2010, as there was virtually no new housing development in the district at that time. Residents then were primarily individuals who lacked the funds to move to more accessible districts. During my student years, I considered that district for housing simply because it was banal and cheap; students were certainly looking at that area. Regarding new developments, the primary demographic consists of young people already living in the Shevchenkivskyi district who want to move closer, or those who lack the funds to purchase expensive housing elsewhere. I encounter many young families there, which is a significant advantage as the district is undergoing a demographic renewal. Infrastructure and recreational spaces are appearing; in the Pidzamche Town complex, I see mothers with strollers using the playgrounds. Consequently, it is most often young families who move there as their first home.

Interviewer: Do you happen to encounter internally displaced persons (IDPs), and how do they perceive this district?

Real Estate Agent: IDPs represent a diverse group with varying levels of financial resources, ranging from average to very high. The decision ultimately comes down to price. Pidzamche is currently one of the few districts near the city center that offers advantageous purchasing conditions, where one can still find good options. However, there are notable drawbacks, specifically the lack of developed infrastructure. The district lacks large shopping and office centers, coworking spaces, or large supermarkets. Residents currently must travel to the end of Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street for the "As" market or to Chornovola Avenue for "Ashan" or "Silpo". While this is a significant disadvantage, it contributes to making the housing more affordable.

IDPs do consider this area; however, for those with a limited budget, the priority shifts from choosing their preferred location to securing what is available.

Interviewer: So, to summarize: it seems that in 2010, the client portrait was primarily people with limited financial means who chose this area for its sheer affordability, rather than due to forced displacement from the center, simply because there was nowhere to live there. And now, the portrait consists of young families, locals expanding their living space, and those looking for an affordable price, is that correct?

Real Estate Agent: Yes, exactly. However, I would clarify regarding 2010: it was not a case of mass displacement because construction was practically non-existent in Pidzamche at that time. There was physically no significant amount of new housing, and the residential stock consisted of buildings such as the private houses on Novoznesenska Street. The district was simply not accessible for mass settlement, so displacement as such did not occur. Now, the situation is different: the district is undergoing demographic renewal as young families move in, viewing these new developments as their first home.

Interviewer: Right, okay. Then another interesting question .. You've already answered how the area is perceived. But what about galleries? I mean, Jam Factory opened, and FESTrepublic opened -though that probably leans more toward Znesinnia -there are many art spaces, a cultural boom is happening at "REMA," and coffee shops are popping up. How do clients react to this? Do they notice it or not? Do you feel that commerce in Pidzamche has changed? If so, in what direction, and how do your clients respond to it, if they do at all?

Real Estate Agent: All these openings and renovations certainly have a positive impact on the general perception of the district. These are the kinds of features that are pleasant to recall and talk about. Even the Jam Factory itself I remember how terrifying it looked back in 2009 - 2010, but even then, it had potential. It has become one of the "pearls" that make the district attractive. At the very least, when you drive down the street, you see something beautiful nearby rather than crumbling ruins.

Interviewer: Then I think that's all. Thank you very much.

Real Estate Agent: Thank you. Thank you very much, Sofia. I wish you nothing but success in the preparation and realization of your project.

Interviewer: Thank you. Have a good day.

Real Estate Agent: Likewise. Take care.

Appendices A3

Personal interview notes with a real estate agent (May 12, 2026) *Note: Authorization was granted to use these personal conversation notes for academic thesis purposes.*

Dynamics of Real Estate Value on the Primary Market Data indicates a substantial increase in housing values in the Pidzamche district. During the initial stages of active development, the price in new buildings was \$600 per square meter. Currently, the average value of a one-room apartment on the primary market reaches \$1600 per square meter .

Nature of Demand and Buyer Profile Despite active development, Pidzamche currently does not show a rush in demand. The total cost of housing remains the main criterion for most buyers. Due to this pragmatic approach, isolating a clear social or demographic buyer profile in this district is difficult.

Condition of the Secondary Market and Historical Housing The district's old housing stock has an undervalued market price because these objects require significant capital investments for repairs and modernization. However, the expert defines this phenomenon as temporary, noting signs of a changing trend and a gradual growth of interest in secondary real estate.

Impact of Martial Law on Pricing The sharp price increase for new buildings during the full-scale invasion results from a critical increase in construction costs rather than an increase in buyer demand. The main factors include:

- Destroyed logistics chains and halted manufacturing plants, which led to a substantial price increase for construction materials.
- An acute shortage of qualified labor due to the mobilization of specialists, which caused a sharp increase in the cost of construction and installation works.

Drivers of District Capitalization The appearance of new residential complexes works as the main catalyst for capitalizing the surrounding space. New buildings stimulate the opening of new commercial objects (shops, services) and ensure the influx of new residents. This process improves the overall infrastructure, which automatically increases the value of neighboring secondary housing.

Appendices A4

Interview Transcript with a Local Resident Regarding the Transformation of the Pidzamche District (February 18, 2026) *Note: Authorization was granted to use this interview for academic thesis purposes.*

Interview transcript with a resident regarding the transformation of the Pidzamche district, February 18, 2026. The respondent granted permission to use this interview for academic thesis purposes.

The onset of transformation and the emergence of cultural hubs:

The resident noted visible changes in Pidzamche in recent years. She observed that theoretical shifts began around 2010, but the district experienced a major upgrade starting in 2015. This occurred when property owners began leasing local factory premises for offices and studios, primarily attracting artists and creatives. A photographer opening a studio marked the initial step, triggering further development.

Changes in the social climate and perceived safety:

The respondent now considers the area a center for the creative class, citing new galleries, a bar, a club, a fitness studio, and various arts classes. These additions made previously unsafe streets feel comfortable. She feels secure because the surrounding pedestrians share her age demographic and interests.

Development, new housing, and expanding the "center" boundaries:

The city began repairing local roads primarily to support new construction. Developers artificially expanded the definition of the city "center" to include Pidzamche, extending this label as far as the end of Rohatka or the entire Zamarstynivska Street. This marketing strategy successfully convinced relatively affluent young people to settle in the area. Consequently, developers demolished old factories to build new housing, which subsequently led to road repairs, visually improving the district.

Commercial infrastructure and services:

The resident noted the opening of new commercial establishments. The first chain cafe, "Lviv Croissants," opened at the intersection of B. Khmelnytskyi and Promyslova streets, replacing low-end establishments that previously served marginalized groups. Current local amenities include new fitness studios, beauty salons, additional cafes near the station, post offices, a flower shop, and numerous dental clinics. While the area still lacks a large supermarket nearby, overall services have become highly accessible, and commercial construction continues.

Revitalization of old buildings and medical facilities:

Renovations updated older buildings, such as the local college, which received a painted facade that altered its previous Soviet appearance. Near the Church of St. Paraskeva Pyatnytsya, investors replaced a former rehabilitation center with a modern, high-level medical facility.

Beautification failures (the pedestrian underpass case):

The respondent highlighted negative examples, specifically the local pedestrian underpass. While the city successfully leased and renovated underpasses in other districts, this approach failed in Pidzamche. The underpass has remained unsafe since the 2000s. Authorities previously renovated the space and installed small retail kiosks, but these businesses closed due to low pedestrian traffic. Eventually, the city dismantled the kiosks, and the space reverted to its previous neglected state.

Appendix B1

Checklist

1. Systemic Nature and Scale of Changes

- ☐ **Absence of fragmentation:** Structural mutations are not confined to an isolated building or its parts but encompass entire city blocks or streets simultaneously.
- ☐ **Shifting status of the are:** The district begins to be perceived as a "new elite" or "trendy" neighborhood at the city-wide level, rather than just within isolated nodes.
- ☐ **Infrastructural connectivity:** The emergence of a network of new infrastructure assets (transit, street lighting, public safety) operating as a unified system to serve incoming residents.
- ☐ **Political-economic incentive:** he presence of targeted municipal revitalization programs, tax exemptions for developers, or focused state investments.
- ☐ **Functional intensification:** An increase in the density of urban processes and services per unit area, particularly through the conversion of basements, ground floors, and former residential courtyards into retail spaces.

2. Cultural Transformation

- ☐ **Deployment of art as a "detergent":** Artistic events or large-scale murals are used to mask architectural decay, alter the mental map of a distressed space, and attract initial investment capital.
- ☐ **Stigmatization of the past:** New art forms or emergent cultural institutions entirely ignore the local working-class history, replacing it with globalized or abstract narratives.
- ☐ **Cultural differentiation:** The emergence of a distinct "gentrification aesthetic" (hipster coffee shops, barbershops, art galleries) that constructs symbolic barriers and induces a sense of sociocultural alienation among long-term residents.
- ☐ **Museumification and "Disneyfication":** The transformation of the historic environment into an artificial space of pure consumption, where authentic local history is reduced to a theatrical backdrop to stimulate corporate sales.
- ☐ **Creation of "arts districts":** A dense concentration of independent artists, creative studios, and cultural industries that capitalization spatial resources, acting as a precursor to the intrusion of major development capital.

3. Socio-Spatial Segregation

- ☐ **Shifting socio-demographic strata:** The incremental displacement and replacement of long-term residents with lower socioeconomic status by incoming groups characterized by higher income and educational levels.
- ☐ **Community fragmentation:** The division of the urban fabric into isolated "islands" of elitism and commercial prosperity set against the generally neglected, distressed infrastructural background of the peripheral neighborhood.
- ☐ **Emotional displacement:** The loss of a psychological "connection to place" (loss of place) and sense of belonging among long-term residents due to the rapid, radical re-coding of the district's symbolic and functional meaning.

4. Physical Environmental Renewal

- ☐ **Revitalization of assets:** The systemic modification and adaptive reuse of historical industrial and administrative structures to accommodate new urban functions.
- ☐ **Aesthetic improvement of the built environment:** Large-scale restoration of historical facades, streetscape upgrades, and the creation of clean, safe public spaces that attract the middle class.

Appendix B2

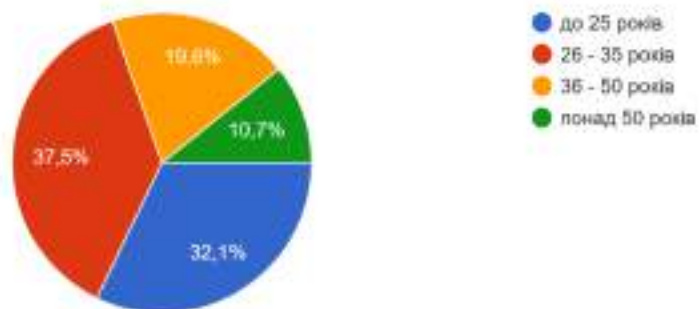
The Positive Aspects of Gentrification (+)	The negative aspects of gentrification (-)
Absence of fragmentation	Stigmatization of the past
Shifting status of the are	Cultural differentiation
Infrastructural connectivity	Museumification and "Disneyfication"
Political-economic incentive	Shifting socio-demographic strata
Functional intensification	Community fragmentation
Deployment of art as a "detergent"	Emotional displacement
Creation of "arts districts"	
Revitalization of assets	
Aesthetic improvement of the built environment	

Appendix B3

Survey Results

1. Ваш вік?

56 відповідей



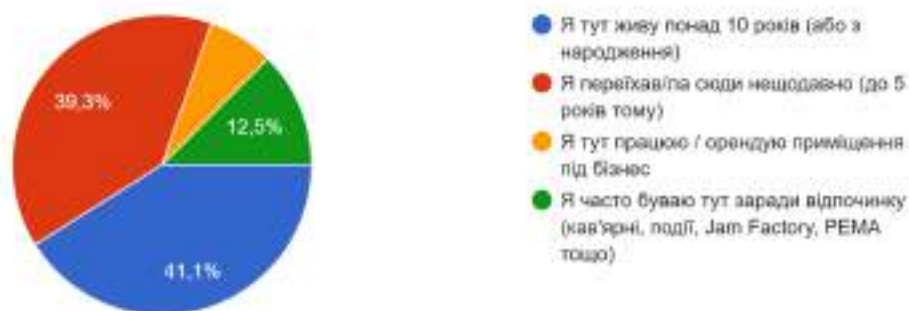
1. Your age?

56 answers

- up to 25 years old
- 26 - 35 years old
- 36 - 50 years old
- more than 50 years

2. Ваш зв'язок із районом Підзамче?

56 відповідей



2. What is your connection with the Pidzamche district?

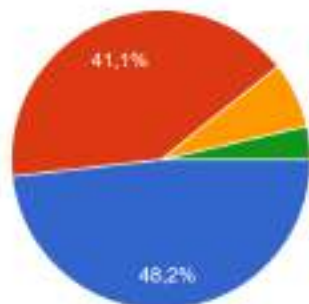
56 answers

- I have lived here for over 10 years (or since birth)
- I moved here recently (up to 5 years ago)

- I work here / rent space for business
- I often come here for relaxation (coffee shops, events, Jam Factory, PEMA, etc.)

3. Згадайте Підзамче 15 років тому і подивіться на нього зараз. Як, на вашу думку, оновлюється архітектура та будівлі?

56 відповідей



- Район оновлюється комплексно: ремонтують цілі вулиці, з'являється сучасна інфраструктура.
- Зміни точкові (фрагментарні): поруч із новим дорогим ЖК стоять занедбані старі будинки.
- Район майже не змінився візуально, все залишається як було.
- Район швидше занепадає, ніж розвивається.

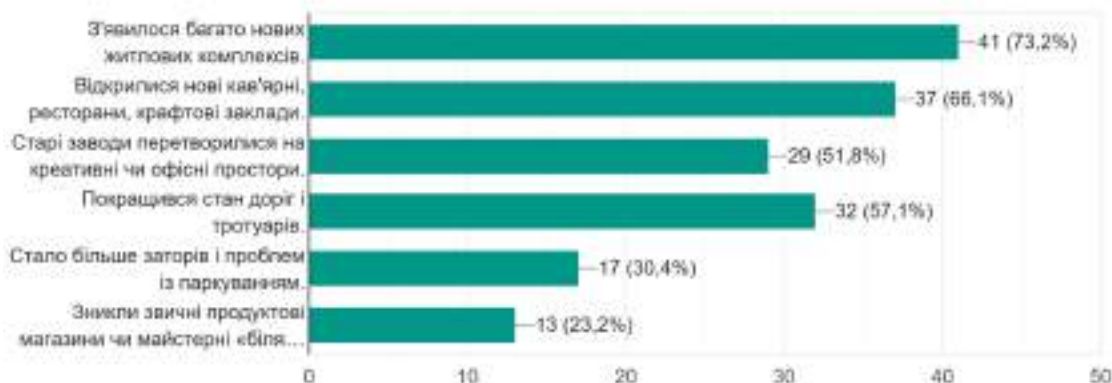
3. Think back to Pidzamche 15 years ago and look at it now. How do you think the architecture and buildings are being updated?

56 answers

- The district is undergoing a comprehensive renovation: entire streets are being renovated, and modern infrastructure is being created.
- Spot changes (fragmentary): abandoned old houses stand next to a new expensive residential complex.
- The area has hardly changed visually, everything remains as it was.
- The area is declining faster than it is developing.

4. Що найпомітніше змінилося в інфраструктурі району за останні роки?

56 відповідей



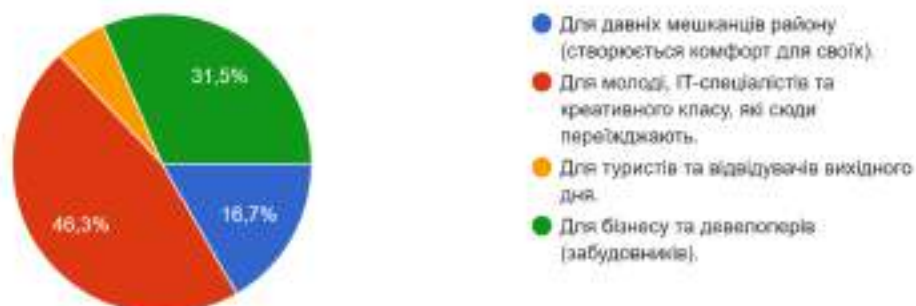
4. What has changed most noticeably in the district's infrastructure in recent years?

56 answers

- Many new residential complexes have appeared.
- New coffee shops, restaurants, and craft establishments have opened.
- Old factories have been transformed into creative or office spaces.
- The condition of the roads has improved and sidewalks
- There have been more traffic jams and parking problems.
- The usual grocery stores or workshops "nearby" have disappeared.

5. Для кого, на вашу думку, зараз найбільше розбудовується і змінюється Підзамче?

54 відповіді



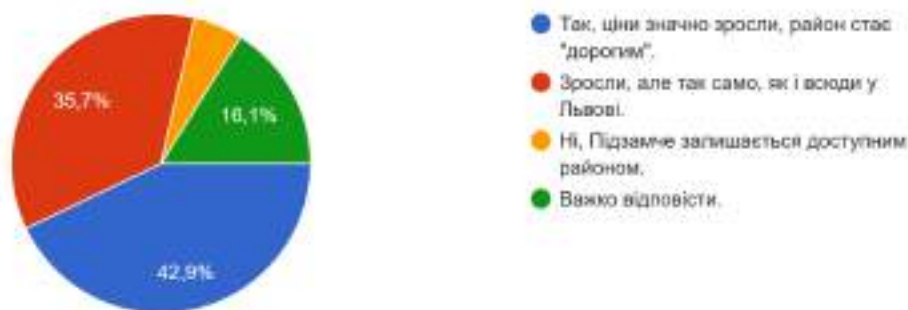
5. For whom, in your opinion, is Pidzamche being developed and changed the most now?

54 answers

- For long-time residents of the area (creating comfort for their own).
- For young people, IT professionals, and the creative class who are moving here.
- For tourists and weekend visitors.
- For businesses and developers.

6. Чи відчули ви на собі зростання вартості життя на Підзамчі (оренда житла, ціни в місцевих закладах) порівняно з іншими районами?

56 відповідей



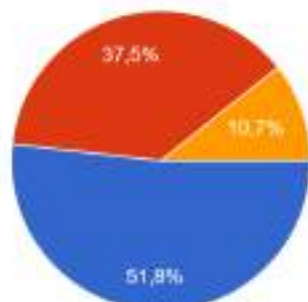
6. Have you experienced an increase in the cost of living in Pidzamcha (housing rent, prices in local establishments) compared to other areas?

56 answers

- Yes, prices have increased significantly, the area is becoming "expensive."
- They have grown, but just like everywhere else in Lviv.
- No, Pidzamche remains an accessible area.
- It is difficult to answer.

7. Як змінився темп і атмосфера життя на вулицях району?

56 відповідей



- Район став набагато жвавішим, з'явилося багато нових, незнайомих людей.
- Темп трохи пришвидшався, але місцевий колорит зберігся.
- Життя залишилося таким же тихим і відокремленим, як і раніше.

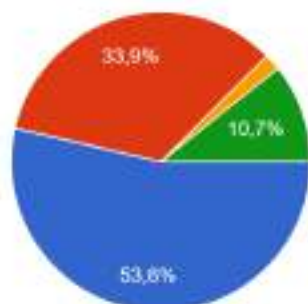
7. How has the pace and atmosphere of life on the streets of the district changed?

56 answers

- The area became much livelier, with many new, unfamiliar people.
- The pace has picked up a bit, but the local flavor has been preserved.
- Life remained as quiet and secluded as before.

8. Останнім часом старі промислові об'єкти (як-от Jam Factory, PEMA) перетворюються на культурні центри. Як ви до цього ставитеся?

56 відповідей



- Дуже позитивно: це оживляє район і робить його безпечнішим та красивішим.
- Нейтрально: це гарно виглядає, але ці простори існують «для чужих» (туристів/гостей), місцеві туди рідко...
- Негативно: через це район втрачає свою справжню історію і стає занадто комерційним.
- Важко відповісти.

8. Recently, old industrial facilities (such as Jam Factory, REMA) have been transformed into cultural centers. What is your opinion on this?

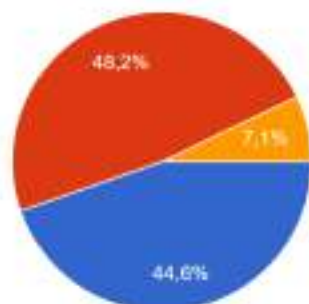
56 answers

- Very positive: it revitalizes the area and makes it safer and more beautiful.
- Neutral: it looks nice, but these spaces exist "for outsiders" (tourists/guests), locals rarely go there.

- Negative: This causes the area to lose its true history and become too commercial.
- It is difficult to answer.

9. Чи відчуваєте ви, що Підзамче досі «належить» своїм мешканцям (зберігає своє обличчя)?

56 відповідей



- Так, повністю. Я відчуваю себе тут як вдома.
- Частково. Є місця, де я почуваюся чужим у власному районі.
- Ні, район повністю втратив свою колишню атмосферу.

9. Do you feel that Pidzamche still “belongs” to its residents (retains its face)?

56 answers

- Yes, completely. I feel at home here.
- Partly. There are places where I feel like a stranger in my own neighborhood.
- No, the area has completely lost its former atmosphere.

10. Назвіть одну річ, яка вам найбільше ПODOБАЄТЬСЯ в змінах на Підзамчі за останні 10-15 років, і одну річ, яка вас найбільше ТУРБУЄ.

Зробили нові зупинки. Мене не те щоб щось турбує в тому районі.

Відповідь загальна, позаяк не житель району. Jam Factory став крутим об'єктом, заради якого є нагода відвідати район (в дитинстві цим об'єктом була дитяча бібліотека). А турбують дороги — місця під забудову ще є, а розширення дороги навіть не всюди є можливість зробити. Гадаю в майбутньому це спричинить

10. Name one thing you LIKE most about the changes in Pidzamcha over the last 10-15 years, and one thing that CONCERNS you most.

They've built new bus stops. It's not that anything in that neighborhood bothers me.

This is a general response, since I don't live in the neighborhood. Jam Factory has become a cool spot that gives me a reason to visit the area (when I was a kid, that spot was the children's library). But the roads are a concern—there's still space for development, yet road widening isn't even possible everywhere. I think this will cause problems in the future not only for neighborhood residents

проблеми не лише жителям району, а й львів'янам і гостям міста загалом	but also for Lviv residents and visitors to the city in general
Все супер кращій район Львова :)	It's the best neighborhood in Lviv :)
Краща інфраструктура +, більша тиснява -	Better infrastructure +, more crowds -
Мені дуже зайло що район трансформується з такого затурканого індустриального центру в щось сучасне та цікаве. Турбує те, що цей процес ще далеко не закінчений, немає ще цілісного результату	I'm really excited that the neighborhood is transforming from such a run-down industrial center into something modern and interesting. What worries me is that this process is far from over; there isn't a complete result yet
Подобається - з'являється багато нових жителів, ВПО, студентів, молодих сімей. Вулиці стали безпечніші стало менше бомжів. Негатив - вулиці не розширюють. Запустили тролейбус через який вся вулиця стоїть. Наробили велодоріжок замість розширення вулиць. Дітей в районі стало більше, але садків і шкіл не стало всі переповнені, онука неможливо влаштувати в садок.	I like it—there are a lot of new residents, IDPs, students, and young families. The streets have become safer, and there are fewer homeless people. The downside is that the streets aren't being widened. They launched a trolleybus that causes traffic jams on the entire street. They built bike lanes instead of widening the streets. There are more children in the neighborhood, but there aren't enough kindergartens and schools—they're all overcrowded, and it's impossible to get my granddaughter into a kindergarten.
Подобається що дійсно відкриваються нові заклади, простори, оживає цей район, раніше сірий був	I like that new establishments and spaces are actually opening up; this neighborhood is coming to life—it used to be so gray.
Закриття та виніс промислових підприємств за межі району, а турбує транспортний колабс по вул. Б.Хмельницького та Липинського (зупинки громадського транспорту які блокують транспортний потік, та кільце з розв'язкою).	The closure and relocation of industrial enterprises outside the neighborhood is a positive, but I'm concerned about the traffic gridlock on B. Khmelnytskyi and Lypynsky Streets (public transit stops blocking traffic flow, and the roundabout with the interchange).
Розвинулася інфраструктура, затишний район, тихі вулиці	The infrastructure has developed; it's a cozy neighborhood with quiet streets
Реновація Jam Factory / викладення вулиць і тротуарів бруківкою «для	The renovation of Jam Factory / paving the streets and sidewalks with cobblestones “just

галочки», без комплексного переосмислення простору, сучасного освітлення, озеленення, тощо	for show,” without a comprehensive reimagining of the space, modern lighting, landscaping, etc.
Будують дуже багато незрозуміло для кого. Базар спорожнів там якісь дітиська ходять п'ють пиво. Сьому школу відремонтували	They're building a lot of things, but it's unclear for whom. The market has emptied out; now some kids hang out there drinking beer. School №7 has been renovated
Відкриття Jam Factory, а турбує відсутність реального детального плану розвитку території	The opening of the Jam Factory, but the lack of a real, detailed development plan for the area is concerning
Спокійний тихий район, відкрили студії танців і йоги. Дешева оренда для відкриття власної справи. Турбує багато шуму від пашин	A calm, quiet neighborhood; dance and yoga studios have opened. Affordable rent for starting your own business. The noise from the construction sites is a concern
Ремонт доріг	Road repairs
Ремонт доріг, пішохідних зон і озеленення. Ніщо не турбує	Road repairs, pedestrian zones, and landscaping. Nothing bothers me
Сучасність і багато людей	Modernity and lots of people
Дороги, кав'ярні, новобудови	Roads, coffee shops, new buildings
розвиток , і затори	Development, and traffic jams
нічого не міняється	Nothing is changing
Стоянок стає менше все тепер платне і дороге.	There are fewer parking spots; everything is now paid and expensive.
Дороги зробили бо такий жах був. Освітлення поставили. Не страшно дітей самих пустити гуляти. в школі ремонт зробили.	They fixed the roads because they were such a nightmare. They installed streetlights. It's not scary to let the kids walk around on their own. They renovated the school.
Подобається те, що з'являються нові місця куди можна сходити «відпочити головою» (скажімо як зробити ковток свіжого повітря). А не подобається те, що у зв'язку з будівництвом нових жк побільшало заторів.	I like that new places are popping up where you can go to “clear your head” (like getting a breath of fresh air). But I don't like that traffic jams have increased due to the construction of new residential complexes.

Ще нічого не турбує, подобається скільки новобудов багато нових людей і бізнесів відкриваються	Nothing bothers me yet; I like how many new buildings there are, and how many new people and businesses are opening
добре що - Стало багато молодих сімей з новобудов. Більше дітей в районі з'явилося. Менше наливайок, район безпечніший нові трамваї їздять. Погано що ринку поруч немає в супермаркет далеко їздити є лише близенько всюди	It's good that there are now many young families from the new buildings. More children have appeared in the neighborhood. There are fewer liquor stores, the neighborhood is safer, and new trams are running. It's bad that there's no market nearby—the supermarket is far away, and there are only small shops everywhere.

Figure

Figure 4.3.A.; Participants completing mental mapping exercises during the field survey.;
Source: Photographs taken by the author. All participants consented to the use of their
photographs for research and publication purposes within this thesis.

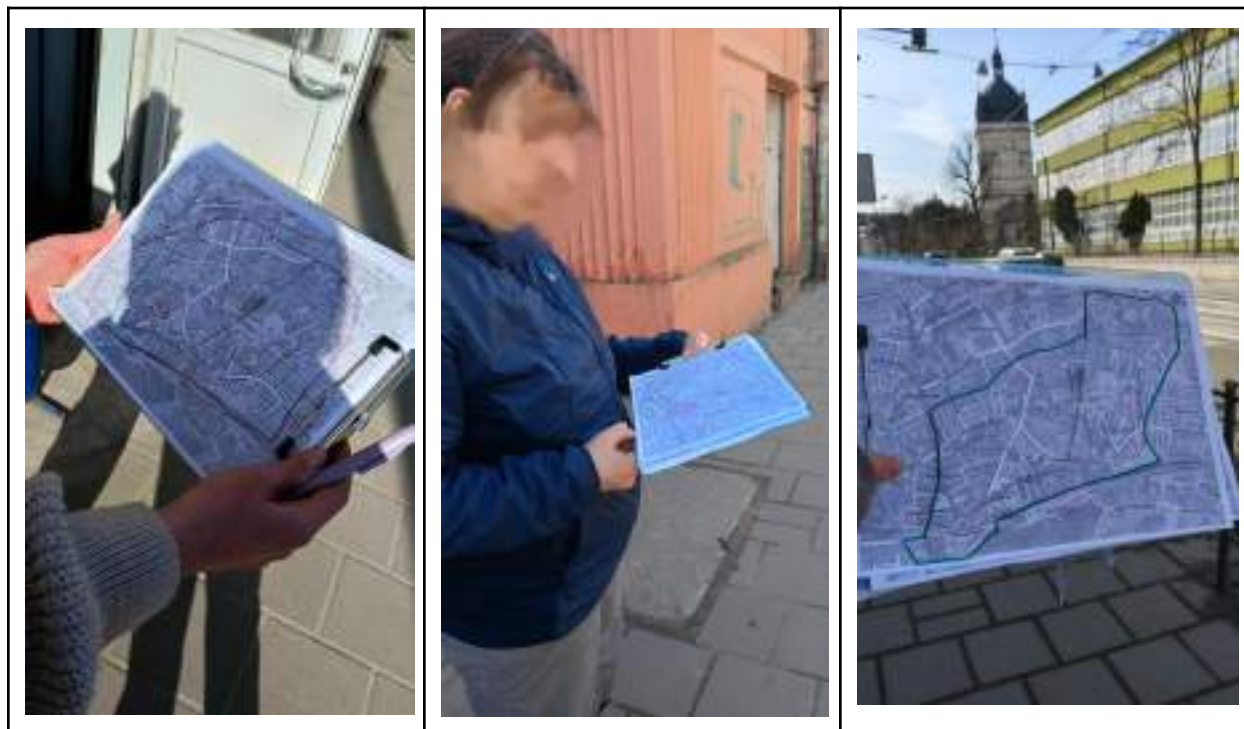


Figure 4.3.B; Participants completing mental mapping exercises during the field survey.;
Source: Photographs taken by the author. All participants consented to the use of their
photographs for research and publication purposes within this thesis.







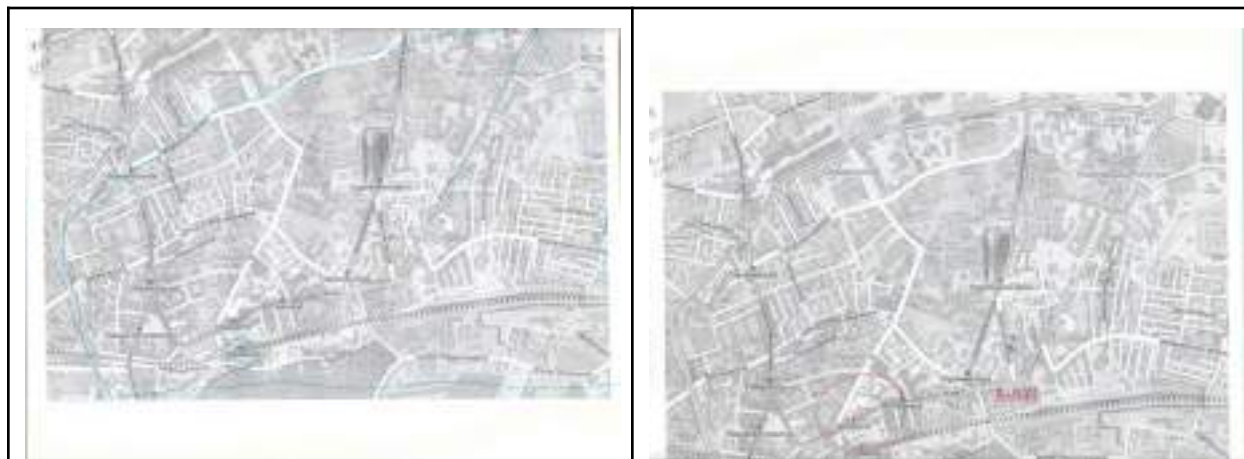


Figure 4.3.C.; Perceived boundaries of Pidzamche based on mental mapping exercise.; Source: Author's own elaboration based on participant responses.

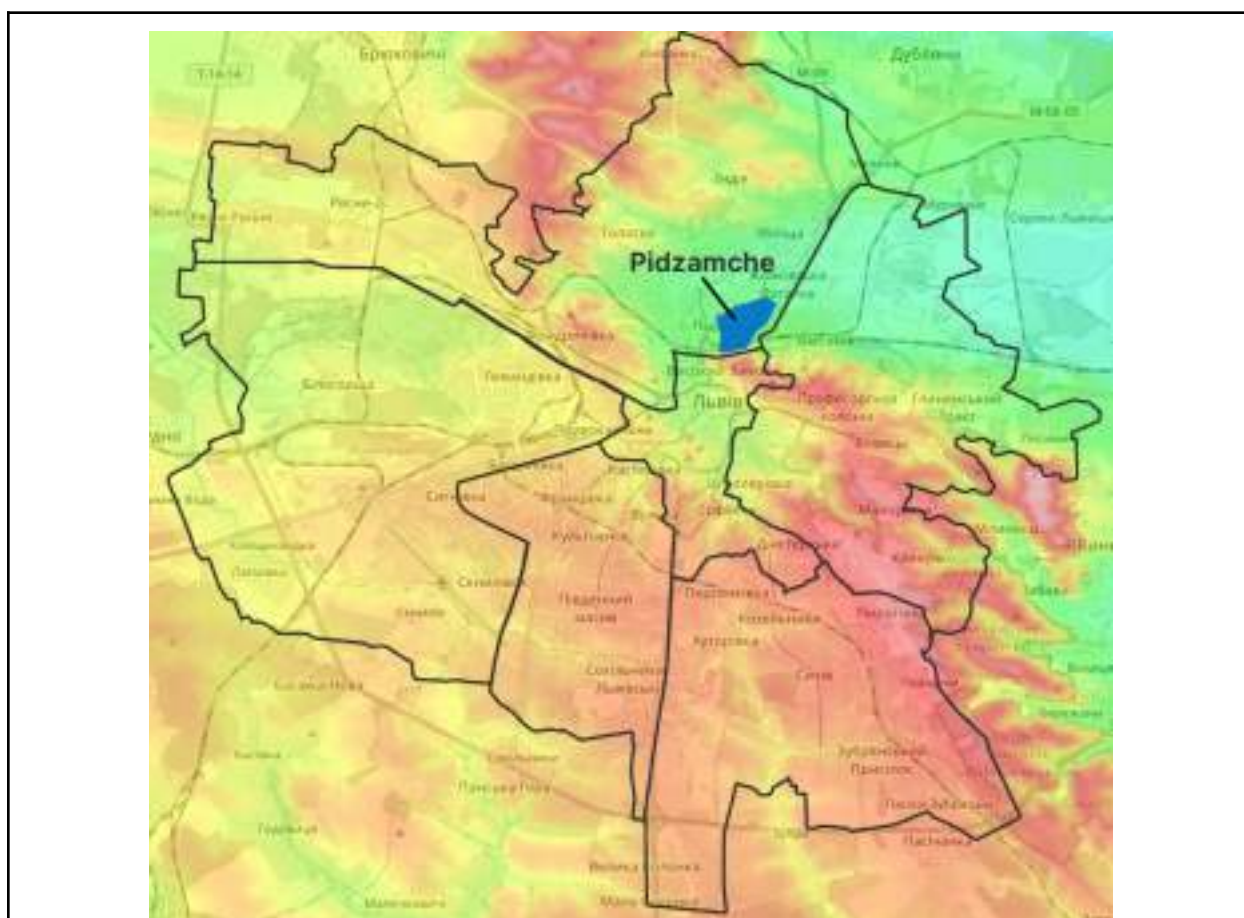
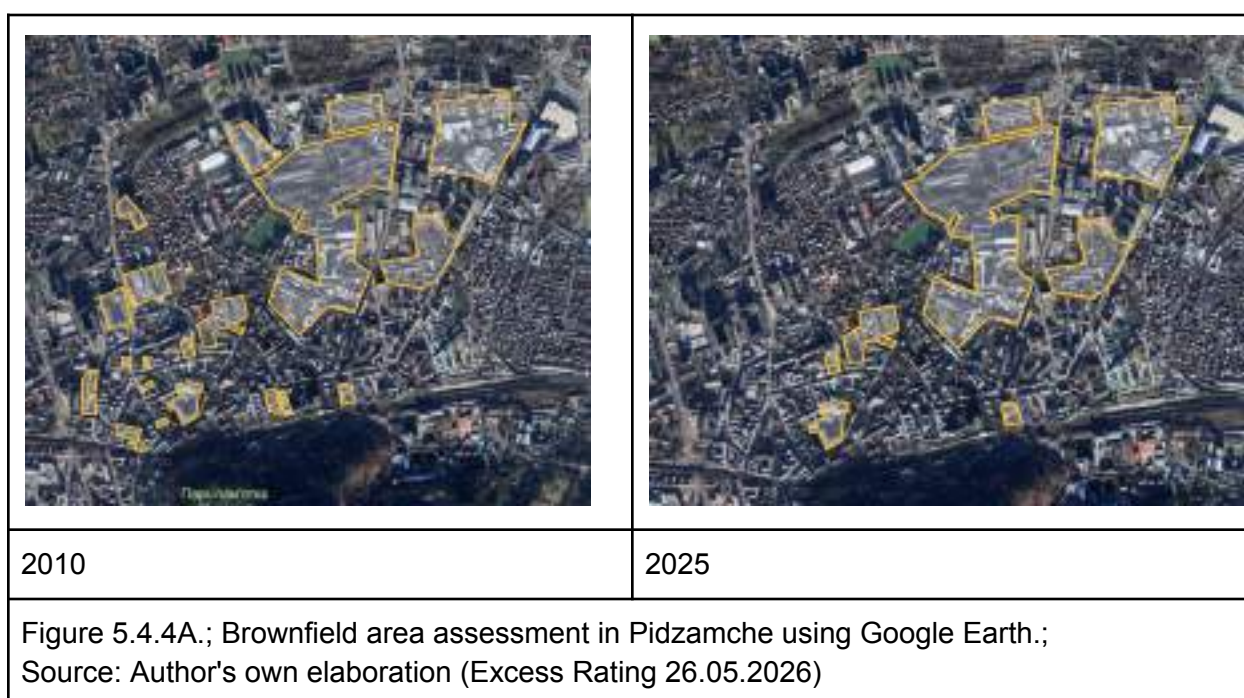
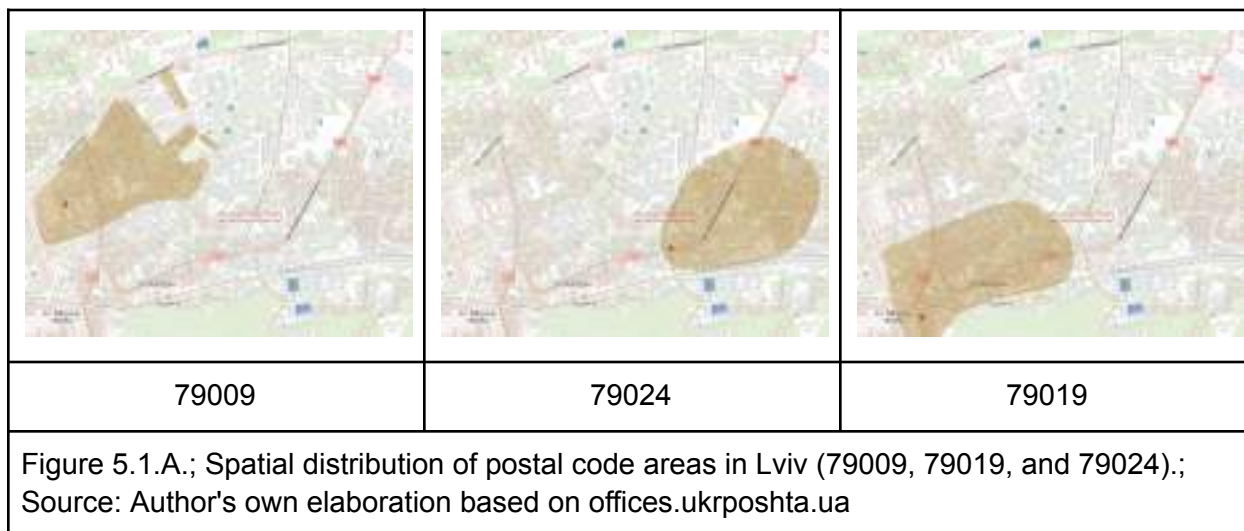


Figure 5.2.1A.; Topographic context of Pidzamche within Lviv.; Source: Author's own elaboration.



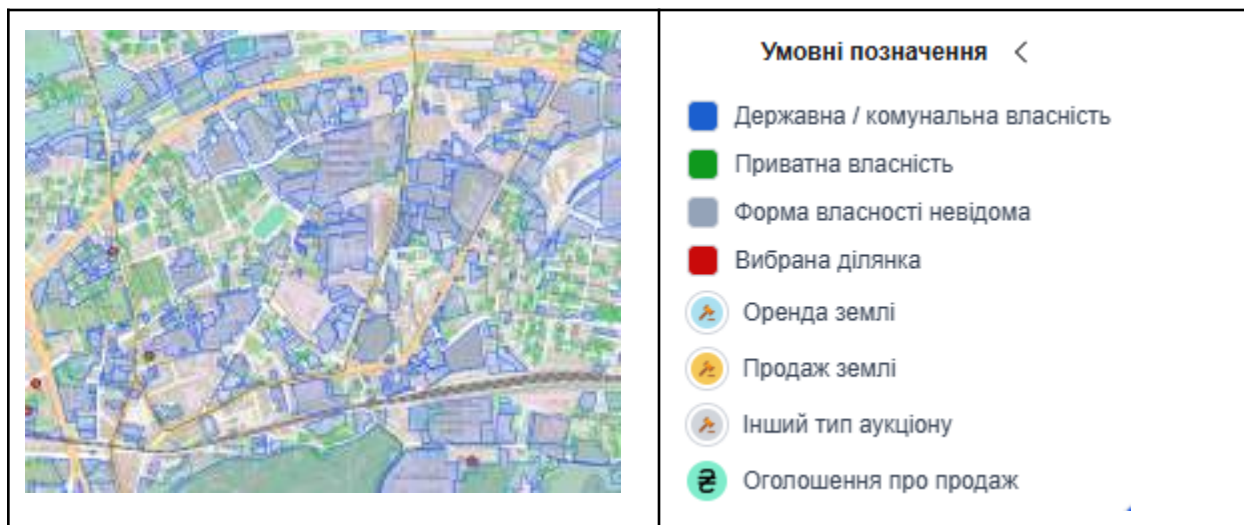


Figure 5.4.5.A; Land ownership structure in Pidzamche.; Note. Legend (top to bottom): state/municipal property, private property, ownership status unknown, selected area, land lease, land sale, other auction type, and property sale; Source: Public Cadastral Map of Ukraine (Excess Rating 26.05.2026).

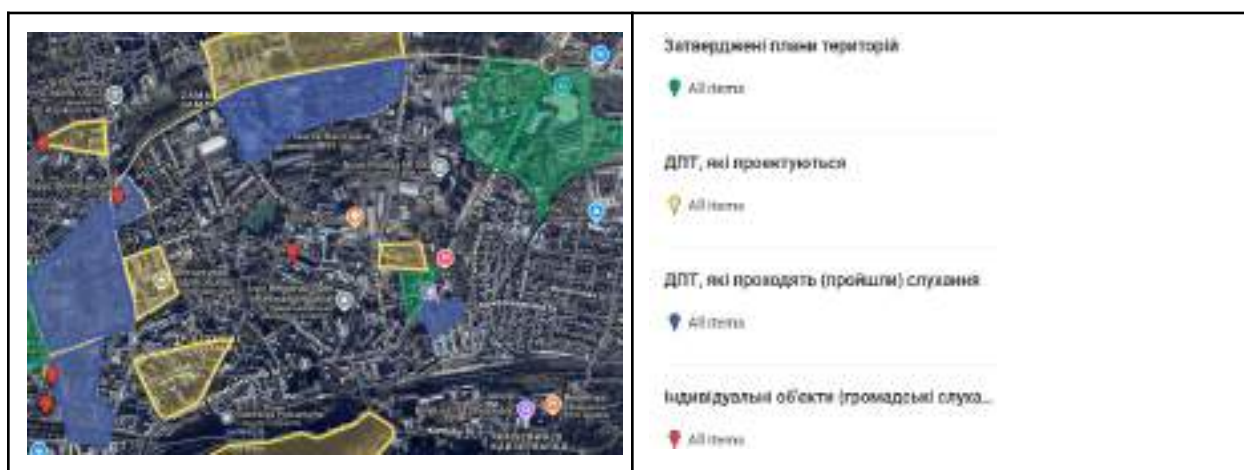


Figure 5.4.5.B.; Detailed plans of territories (DPTs) in Pidzamche. Note. Legend (top to bottom): approved detailed territory plans, DPTs under development, DPTs undergoing public hearings, and individual development projects subject to public consultation.; Source: Google My Maps (Excess Rating 26.05.2026).

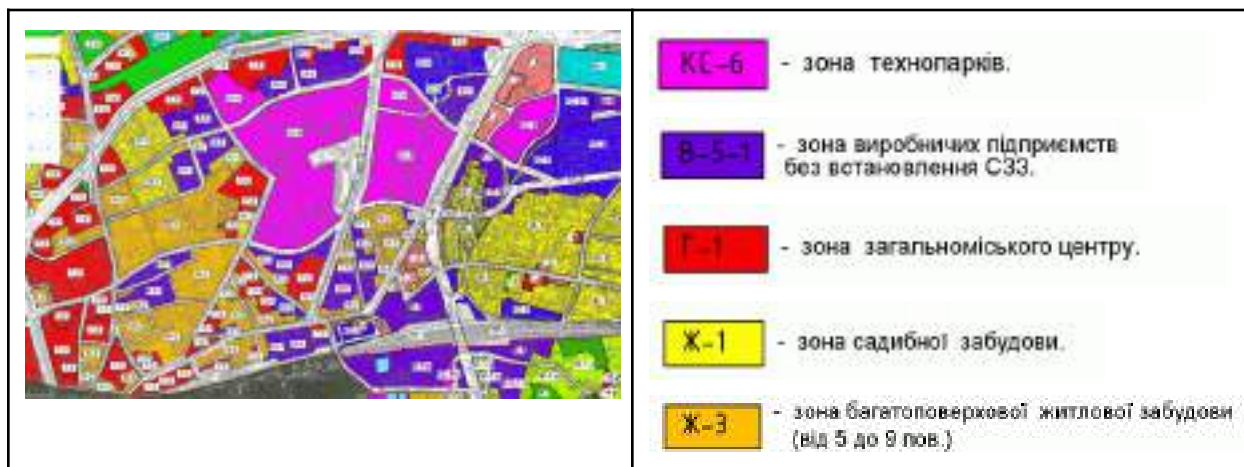


Figure 5.4.5.C; Lviv Zoning Map; From top to bottom (zone of technoparks.; zone of production enterprises without installation of C33.; zone of the city center.; estate development zone.; zone of multi-storey residential buildings (from 5 to 9 floors);) Source: Lviv City Council (Excess Rating 26.05.2026).

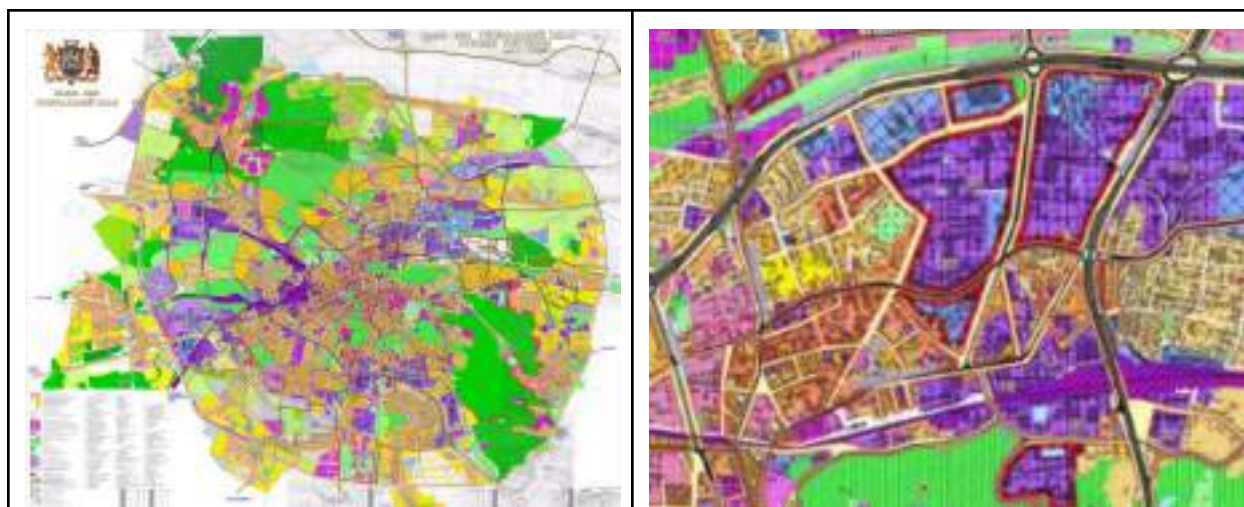


Figure 5.4.5.D; Lviv Master Plan 2025; Source: Lviv City Council (Excess Rating 26.05.2026)

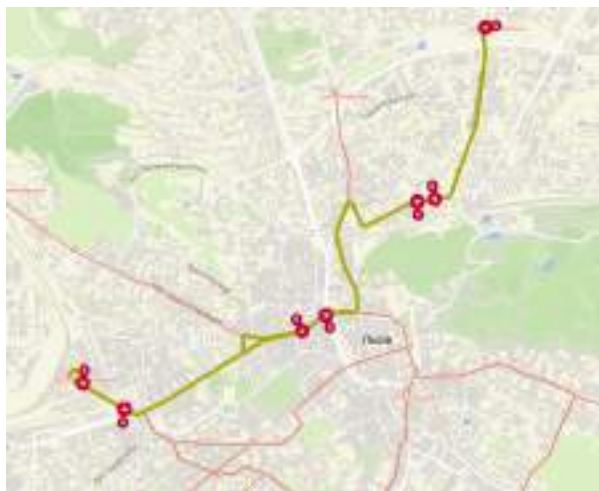


Figure 5.5.2.A Route of Tram №6 in Lviv.
Source: eWay (19.04.2026).

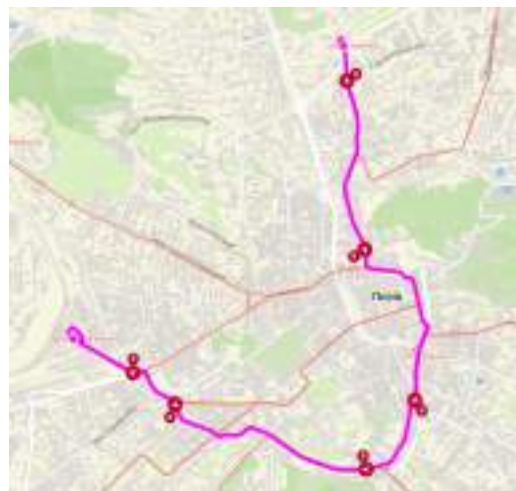


Figure 5.5.2.B Route of Tram №9 in Lviv.
Source: eWay (19.04.2026).

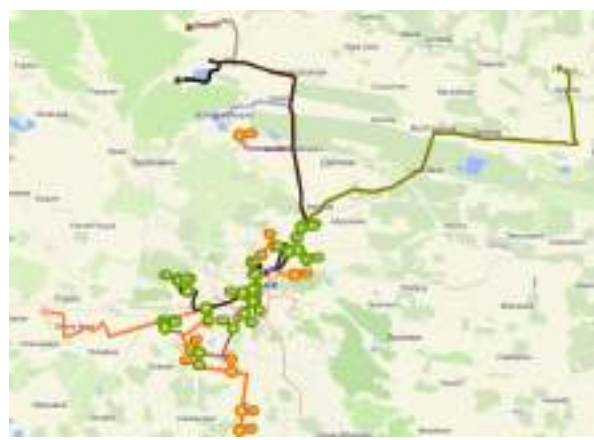


Figure 5.5.2.C; Public transport network in the Pidzamche district.; Source: eWay (19.04.2026).



"Artistic Interaction"

Location: 2 Zhovkivska Street, Lviv

Year: 2013

Created as part of: *Revitalization of Pidzamche* project

Artists: Feros, Arm, Mate, Nais, and Viska



"The First Mural"

Location: 4 Pidzamche Street, Lviv

Year: 2013

Created as part of: *Revitalization of Pidzamche* project

Artists: Arm, Rust, White, Tonek, Nais, Pedro, Feros, Dilk, Keno, and Viska



"Birds"

Location: Intersection of Zhovkivska Street and Ostrianytsi Street (26 Ya. Ostrianytsi Street), Lviv

Year: 2014

Created as part of: *Revitalization of Pidzamche* project

Artists: Dilk, Mate, Keno, White, Arm, Tabu, Brat, and Viska



"Lviv Street Gallery"

Location: 29 Zamarstynivska Street, Lviv

Year: 2015

Initiated as part of: *City Workshop (Maysternia Mista)* and GIZ



"Freedom"

Location: 39 Zavodska Street, Lviv

Year: 2015

Artists: Kickit Art Studio (Arm, Tabu, Keno, Feros, and Dilk)



"The MARVELous Day '15"

Location: K. Skydana Street, Lviv

Year: 2015

Artists: Feros, Tabu, Open, Dilk, Feno, Def, Mank, Marvel, Arm, Rain, And, Saint, Sid, Weak, Saint, Viska, Wkar, Kushch, Martyr, Alien, and Ash

**"Cat on the Wall"**

Location: 22 Donetska Street, Lviv

Year: 2016

Artist: Andrii Prysiazhniuk

**"Social Gravity"**

Location: 49a Zhovkivska Street, Lviv

Year: Created in 2017 as part of the *Lviv WalkKing* mural festival

Artist: Serhii Radkevych



Open-Air Gallery "Painted Fox"

Location: REMA industrial site, 31 Zavodska Street, Lviv



"The Collector"

Location: 74 Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street, Lviv

Year: 2018

Artists: Vitalii Hreh, Serhii Hreh, and Taras Dovhaliuk



"Children's Games"

Location: 4 Haidamatska Street, Lviv

Year: Created in 2017 as part of the *Lviv WallKing* mural festival

Artist: Keno (KickitArt Studio)

Figure 5.6.2.B.; Inventory of murals in the Pidzamche district and their characteristics.;
Source: Author's own elaboration based on Trush (2016), Rubryka (2021), ProLviv (2018),
and Lviv.Travel (n.d.).



Figure 5.6.5A.; Restored gateway of the Schulz townhouse in the Pidzamche district.;
Source: DailyLviv (2014).



