

History of housing policy's formation and development in Ukraine

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to reveal specific features of the history of the formation and development of housing policy in Ukraine from the XIX century to the present time has been researched. Obtaining research results became possible due to the application of general philosophical and special methods of scientific cognition. The factors that influenced the development of housing policy have been established. It has been clarified that the problem of providing housing historically was initially considered as the problem of an individual person, and only later – one of the issues of the state policy. Such key stages of the development of housing policy as the initiation of housing policy in the XIX century, the development of housing policy after the First and Second World Wars, modern challenges of housing policy have been analyzed. It has been emphasized that international standards and recommendations for the formation of housing policy were formed at the beginning of the XX century. It has been established that there was a large-scale reconstruction of the housing stock and the construction of typical multi-apartment buildings after the end of the Second World War. It has been emphasized that Ukraine's housing policy after obtaining independence in 1991 had undergone significant changes. It was confirmed by the massive privatization of housing by Ukrainian citizens and the growth of the share of the private housing stock. The authors have offered own periodization of the stages for the formation and development of housing policy in Ukraine, starting from the XIX century and up to nowadays. The importance of the historical approach for further development of housing policy, taking into account economic, social and political aspects, has been emphasized.

Keywords: *Evolution, dwelling, History of housing policy, Housing construction, Housing need, Housing provision.*

1. Introduction

Housing policy, as an area of the state's social policy, was formed gradually. It happened as a result of the natural formation of the principles of accessibility, adequacy of housing, and the formation of human rights. The need to allocate housing policy into a separate area of state and regional policy is due to the importance of housing for human life. It is known that housing in any historical period was an important element of life-sustaining activities, because it ensured the satisfaction of a person's physiological needs in a safe living environment [1]. The housing need has always been primary like the need for food. At the same time, dwelling performed various functions: it provided security from various threats, was a place for private life, and provided an opportunity to get isolation, in particular during a pandemic period [2]. Housing requirements were gradually formed with the development of society, which took into account the climatic conditions of residence, the surrounding environment, land

use patterns, socio-economic policy, etc. [3]. Depending on climatic conditions, socio-economic development of society, sufficient availability of building materials, there was a gradual formation and increase of requirements for the adequacy and availability of housing for living. All this affected the development of housing policy.

Besides, the formation of housing policy is influenced by the political and socio-economic principles of the society's development. Thus, modern renewal of housing policy in Ukraine is taking place against the background of the war. The amount of direct damage caused to the infrastructure of Ukraine during the war reached almost \$155 billion as of January 2024. Due to hostilities, the amount of direct damage from the destroyed infrastructure of the energy sector continues to grow – up to \$9 billion, the agro-industrial complex – \$8.7 billion. There was the growth of losses in the areas of housing and communal services – \$4.5 billion, health care – from \$1.4 billion to \$3.1 billion [4] as of the beginning of 2024.

Taking into account the above and the martial law in Ukraine, there was a need to establish the latest principles of housing policy. This situation is due to the fact that the citizens of Ukraine found themselves in difficult life circumstances as a result of hostilities. Therefore, their personal and non-property rights need additional social protection, particularly in the housing area. We believe that it is possible to form areas for overcoming the housing crisis due to taking into account historical experience. For example, the Ukrainian state and society have already gone through the process of restoring the housing stock after the Second World War.

We believe that the historical principles of the formation and development of housing policy are basic for understanding the significance of housing for a person. The renewal of housing policy is of particular importance in terms of modern challenges for Ukraine, which is not possible without taking into account historical experience. Thus, one should take into account the housing stock situation, housing infrastructure, in particular, in wartime conditions, while formulating housing policy. It has been historically proved that the legal regime of housing policy under normal conditions (uncomplicated by certain challenges) differs from the legal regime of housing policy under the martial law. Therefore, the issue related to the history of housing policy is an urgent area of modern scientific research for any country.

The purpose of this article is to reveal specific features of the history of the formation and development of housing policy in Ukraine. In order to achieve the set purpose, it is necessary to solve the following tasks: to identify the genesis of the formation of housing policy; to reveal the content of housing policy as a legal and socio-economic category; to suggest modern areas for updating housing policy, taking into account historical experience.

The scientific novelty of the research consists in a critical examination of the history of the formation of housing policy in the context of modern challenges and the restructuring of methodological principles. The authors of the research present own approach to a comprehensive review of the retrospective of Ukrainian housing policy, which can be taken into account in further scientific developments of the outlined issue.

2. Methodology

In writing this article, the authors thoroughly analyzed the scientific works of Ukrainian researchers who, to some extent, addressed the issues of the formation and development of modern housing policy in Ukraine. This is especially true for scientific research by scholars dedicated to the problem of housing rights protection. For instance, Teremetskyi et al. concluded that the protection of housing rights includes: meeting the housing needs of persons who cannot meet it on their own due to financial situation, illness, unemployment; acquisition of the right to social housing; creating conditions to prevent homelessness; commitments to overcome housing accidents; protection against forced eviction; ensuring stable and safe use of housing etc. [5].

Furthermore, this publication retrospectively examines certain issues related to the formation and development of discriminatory phenomena in the housing sector. In particular, it is important to

understand housing discrimination as a restriction of the right to housing, as a result of which a person does not have the opportunity to purchase housing and live in it [6].

This scientific research also continues a series of previous doctrinal publications by the authors of this article, aimed at building a new concept of housing policy in Ukraine. This includes both scientific studies dedicated to revealing the peculiarities of the current state and transformational paths of housing policy in Ukraine in general [7], as well as works that address issues related to the impact of meeting housing needs on human health, which need to be considered in the development of a new public health policy for the state [8].

Obtaining research results became possible due to the application of a complex of general philosophical and special methods of scientific cognition.

While writing this article, the authors used the following methods: analysis and synthesis (the analysis revealed separate historical requirements for housing, the synthesis made it possible to group various housing requirements into a single coherent concept); the method of assumptions (allowed us to assume conclusions regarding the gradual formation of sanitary and technical requirements for housing in the future); historical (provided an opportunity to reveal the genesis for the formation of housing policy, to reveal the content of housing policy as a legal and socio-economic category); synergistic (made it possible to consider housing policy as a separate historically formed phenomenon); axiological (was used to emphasize the value of housing law for the development of society); comparative (was used to emphasize the specifics of housing policy of Ukraine in comparison with housing policy of other countries).

The research materials were statistical data posted in open sources of information on the housing stock situation of Ukraine; regulatory legal acts in the field of housing policy; literary and Internet sources.

3. Results

Housing policy is an important component of the state policy in many countries of the world. It includes a set of measures aimed at providing the population with affordable and adequate housing. It should be emphasized that several factors have always influenced the development and formation of housing policy: the housing economy situation, social security conditions, the ideology of the political regime, and the state of human rights in the state. Historically, housing provision was initially considered as a problem for an individual person. Provision of housing to people who needed social protection became gradually a component of charity, and only later – one of the issues of the state policy. With the change in the political regime of the state, the need for housing became a social issue. Later, the need for housing again acquired an economic meaning and it is currently considered as a socio-economic problem. Despite the content load, housing policy was historically formed as one of the areas of the state's social policy.

The history of housing policy reflects the evolution of approaches to solving the housing problem depending on socio-economic conditions and political priorities. The formation of housing policy is directly related to the XIX century. A lot of countries of Western Europe faced the problems of mass resettlement of peasants to cities during that period of rapid urbanization and industrialization. Those processes also took place in modern Ukraine, in particular, the centers of the migration reserve became the Ukrainian provinces of the South. According to the results of the 1897 census native residents made up 64% of the existing population of the cities of Tavria province, 53% of Kherson province; and it was due to the migrations of the last third of the XIX century [9]. The problem of housing provision in the cities arised on this basis. It led to the appearance of crowded and unsanitary city neighborhoods. Fundamental studies of the living conditions of the population on economic and social aspects were initiated to overcome that problem.

One of the first researchers of living conditions of the population was Karl Bücher. He conducted research of living conditions in the city of Basel in February 1889, and made a report based on accurate statistics. The report provided detailed information about each dwelling and its occupants, including the

available space for each of the occupants and the rental charges [10]. K. Bücher's research was used as a sample for further surveys in such cities as Bern, Lausanne, Winterthur, Lucerne, St. Gallen, Frankfurt, Munich and Bremen. One of such surveys was started in Belgrade in March 1906. It was conducted by socialist deputies of the City Council M. Stoianovych and N. Velikovich. They analyzed the local housing situation in the capital of Serbia, and the municipality allocated 44,000 dinars and appointed the Committee to enumerate all workshops, shops and residential premises in the winter of 1906-1907 [11].

We would like to note that the issue of housing provision in the XIX century was regulated at the national legislative level in Great Britain for the first time in the world. Thus, laws such as the Public Health Act 1848 and the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act 1875 aimed at regulating conditions in rented dwellings have been passed in this country since 1840s [12]. In general, the first studies of housing conditions and attempts at their legal regulation made it possible to formulate the concept of housing needs and to determine the basic principles of housing policy.

The period of the XIX century in the field of housing policy formation was marked by the formation of international housing standards and the appearance of the first regulatory acts on housing provision. If the issue of meeting the housing problem in the XIX century was considered at the national level, then that problem reached the international level in early XX century. Thus, the First Housing Congress was held in Vienna in 1910. The Congress became an important event in the history of housing policy, bringing together experts and politicians to discuss and to solve housing problems. It highlighted the growing awareness and need for a structured housing policy to improve living conditions, especially in rapidly urbanizing cities. The need to form housing inspections in the field of municipal policy was also discussed during the Congress. At the same time, it was established that housing inspections should belong to local self-government [13].

At the same time, the Resolution of the Fifth International Congress on housing issues was developed during the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900. That Resolution consisted of nine sections and reflected approaches to solving housing problems in the light of the socio-economic conditions of that time [14]. Thus, the first section was focused on the systems of constructing multi-story buildings, in particular, it was recommended to strive for the improvement of material and moral living conditions during the construction of multi-story buildings. The second section contained recommendations regarding internal regulations and contracts in multi-story buildings. The third section was focused on furnished houses for single men and women. Methods of re-constructing old buildings into renovated and cheap apartments were considered in the fourth section. The fifth section revealed recommendations regarding measures aimed at facilitating the acquisition of small property by workers and craftsmen. Issues of indivisible inheritance of the family house were considered in the sixth section on the basis of stability and an indivisible hearth. The issue of gardens within work-houses was considered in the seventh section. The eighth section contained recommendations on state and community assistance in the field of creating low-cost apartments. The ninth section was focused on the establishment of the Permanent Committee of International Congresses of Cheap Housing [15].

Having analyzed the above, it can be stated that international standards and recommendations for the formation of housing policy were formed at the beginning of the XX century. In particular, housing inspections were introduced within the municipal administration; conditions for obtaining affordable and comfortable housing (credit, housing cooperative) were created; standards for the employment agreement (must be in a written form) and standards for the development of residential infrastructure, which must include transport links were developed; state standards regarding the construction and provision of cheap housing (initiation of the idea of social housing) were formed. Those principles became the basis for the development of European housing policy. However, they were not applied on the territory of Ukraine.

Charitable organizations took care about housing needs in Ukraine at the beginning of the XX century. Thus, "the Association for Struggling with Housing Needs", "the Imperial Humanitarian Association", "the Warsaw Association for the Construction and Improvement of Housing for Working People", "the Kiev Association", "the Zhytomyr Mutual Assistance Association" and other associations

belonging to charitable and parish communities were initiated in 1902. However, there was still no systematic housing policy of the state in that period. For example, the living conditions of factory workers were the worst in Europe. It is evidenced by the fact that all workers slept close to each other on the floor, regardless of gender. And if the factory worked in two shifts, then there was no possibility of cleaning such a “bedroom”. At the same time, it was progressive to install sunbeds and curtains that divided the rooms into certain parts.

We note that separate residential buildings were built for workers' accommodation in Western Europe in contrast to labor barracks in Ukraine [16]. Having analyzed the living conditions of the workers during this period, it can be stated that one of the causes of the Revolution of 1917 was the housing crisis, which arose as a result of the lack of systematic actions of the state mechanism in the field of the formation of housing legislation and the development of affordable housing for the population.

Many European countries faced an acute housing crisis after the First World War. Governments began to actively build social housing. For example, the Weimar Republic implemented ambitious housing construction programs for the poor in Germany [17]. Housing policy, despite the crisis caused by the First World War and the Civil Revolution of 1917, was gradually being formed in Ukraine.

The first housing law within the system of housing legislation of Ukraine at that time was the Supreme Approval of the Regulation of the Council of Ministers “On prohibition to increase prices for residential premises” dated from August 27, 1916, which consisted of 24 Articles. That regulatory act regulated the issues of housing rent, residential rent, repair of residential premises, eviction procedure, benefits related to the extension of the housing lease agreement, etc. After the adoption of that regulatory act, the issue of housing became the subject matter of legislative regulation. For example, the Provisional Government issued a new Housing Law on August 5, 1917 to solve the acute housing crisis. The laws of August 27, 1916 and August 5, 1917 were partly aimed at protecting the rights of tenants [18]. The first Housing Law No. 225 in the Ukrainian SSR was adopted on December 20, 1921 [19]. That regulatory act was divided into three sections and consisted of thirty-seven Articles. The Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR “On Housing Policy” was adopted for the development of housing policy on January 4, 1928 [20]. The tasks of the housing policy according to that Resolution were defined as: strengthening of housing construction; maximum accumulation of funds within the housing economy, in particular due to residential rent; correct and expedient management and operation of housing stock; strengthening and development of cooperative construction; involvement of private capital in housing construction; streamlining the organization of housing construction and reducing its price. The housing policy, which was provided by the Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR “On Housing Policy” of 1928, was changed due to the adoption of the Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of October 17, 1937 “On the preservation of the housing stock and improvement of housing in cities” [21]. That Resolution started the repression within the housing sector, in particular in relation to the housing cooperative [14].

If the 30s of the XX century were marked by housing repressions on the territory of modern Ukraine, in particular, by the continuation of housing nationalization, the restriction of the housing cooperative movement, and the planned distribution of housing. In contrast, the first serious measures of housing policy, which were adopted during the Great Depression, started to be implemented in the USA. The National Housing Act of 1934 created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which was involved in providing housing loans for the construction and stimulating the construction market [22]. The model of liberal housing policy was established in the USA during that period, which made it possible to satisfy housing needs both through mortgage mechanisms and establishing a balance of interests between the tenant and the landlord.

The next challenge to the formation of housing policy was the Second World War, overcoming its consequences. Thus, there was a need to restore the destroyed housing stock, and housing provision

became a priority for many European countries. The Housing Act 1949 was adopted in Great Britain, which stimulated the construction of municipal housing [23]. At the same time, successful social housing programs were implemented in the Scandinavian countries, which became an example for many other countries. For example, two different housing rental models were formed in Denmark and Sweden. Thus, there was a lot of municipal rental housing in Sweden. Denmark had a model where non-commercial rental housing was owned by tenant associations. Home ownership was common in other Scandinavian countries (e.g. Finland, Iceland and Norway) [24]. The US Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 [25] after World War II, which gave veterans access to mortgage loans. That contributed to the development of suburban development and the rapid growth of the middle class. An important factor in the growth of the welfare of the US population was the provision of low-interest loans to purchase housing, farmland or starting a business. Veterans received 4.3 million housing loans with a total face value of \$33 billion up to 1955 [25].

The stage of finishing the Second World War also became important for the history of housing policy in Ukraine, which was part of the Soviet Union. The first years after the war were focused on rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure and housing. Many buildings were destroyed or damaged, as a result of which the state began to form areas of housing policy aimed at restoring the housing stock. Thus, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR adopted on April 27, 1945 the Resolution "On the construction of residential buildings for collective farm workers, industrial buildings, and cultural and household facilities in the countryside". 146,400 residential buildings were rebuilt and built in the villages of the Western regions during 1944-1948 and 10 months of 1949, including by regions (number of residential buildings): Volynska – 31,828, Drohobyt'ska – 13,560; Zakarpatska – 9651; Izmail'ska – 1463; Lviv'ska – 14691; Rovenska – 30769; Stanislav'ska – 17210; Ternopil'ska – 23172; Chernivetska – 40799 [26]. Restoration of the housing stock was carried out in two directions: construction of state / departmental housing stock and stimulation of individual construction at the expense of available loans for the population.

Large-scale housing construction programs were launched in the 1960s, during the leadership of Mykyta Khrushchov. The so-called "khrushchovky" (panel five-story houses) became a mass phenomenon. The main goal was to provide the population with affordable housing. Although those buildings were not very comfortable, they allowed many families to move from communal apartments and barracks to individual apartments. The minimum standard of living space up to 13.65 square meters per person was determined during that period.

Housing stocks of Ukraine of 1950-1960 were divided into: state housing stock, housing stock of cooperatives and other public organizations; individual housing stock. The state housing stock was divided into communal housing stock, state housing stock of institutions and enterprises (departmental housing stock). Creation of experimental demonstration villages has been practiced in Ukraine since 1965. In 1966-1970, 15 such settlements appeared, and their number was almost doubled over the next five years. At that time there were some works on the development of a series of typical projects of residential, cultural and industrial buildings. The government demanded that collective farm villages be gradually transformed into consolidated urban-type settlements with new cultural and everyday living conditions [27].

The right to housing was enshrined at the constitutional level in the 70s of the XX century, in particular in the Art. 44 of the Constitution of the USSR, which was later enshrined in the Art. 42 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, it was declared that the right to housing is the right that is ensured by the development and protection of the state and public housing stock, the promotion of cooperative and individual housing construction, the fair distribution of living space under public control, which was provided in the course of the implementation of the program for the construction of well-maintained housing, as well as low fee for an apartment and communal services [28]. The cited right to housing was based on the laws of the planned economy regarding the free distribution of housing and subsidies in the housing and communal sphere. The Constitution of Ukraine of 1991 does

not promulgate the provision of housing for all citizens, but only specifies that the state promotes the purchase of housing. For example, the adoption of laws that provide the opportunity to purchase housing can already be considered as the implementation of state guarantees regarding the right to housing.

The Housing Code of the Ukrainian SSR, approved by the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR dated from June 30, 1983, entered into force on January 1, 1984. This regulatory act became the basis of housing legislation and regulated relations regarding the acquisition of the right to housing, its operation, eviction, etc. This Code is still valid, although its norms have practically lost their relevance. Its existence in the system of Ukrainian housing legislation inhibits the adoption of fair court decisions and further development of private and legal regulation of housing relations [14].

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine's independence in 1991, housing policy has undergone significant changes. The transition to a market economy led to the privatization of the state housing stock. Many citizens received the right to privatize their apartments, which led to a significant increase in the number of private housing. The Government of Ukraine focused on the development of new housing financing mechanisms in the 2000s, such as mortgage lending. However, economic instability and financial crises have complicated this process. Several programs were adopted to support young families and socially vulnerable population groups.

The start of the war in the Eastern Ukraine in 2014 created new challenges, including the need to provide housing for internally displaced persons. That forced the Government to adapt its housing policy to the new realities by introducing support programs for displaced people, such as providing temporary housing and financial assistance. Modern housing policy of Ukraine is aimed at ensuring the availability of housing for all segments of the population, modernization of the existing housing stock and attracting investments into the construction of new housing. Particular attention is paid to the development of mortgage programs and stimulation of private investment into the housing sector.

4. Discussion

Thus, the principles of housing policy were laid down in the XIX century. The understanding and study of the population's housing needs began at that time. That process took place against the background of significant social, economic and political changes that happened at that time. For example, the abolition of serfdom led to mass migration of peasants to cities. As a result, urban growth and industrial development took place, resulting in the growth of housing demand especially in working-class neighborhoods. Ukraine experienced a period of turbulent social, economic and political changes at the beginning of the XX century. It was also reflected in the field of housing policy, which became the subject matter of ideological state patronage. A number of laws and regulations were adopted that regulated various aspects of housing relations, such as: conditions for providing housing to tenants, sanitary standards of housing. The rapid development of housing policy, which experienced significant changes and transformations, was the outstanding mark for the 1920s and 1930s in Ukraine. This period can be characterized as the stage for the formation of the principles of the national Soviet housing policy. Housing policy of that period was based on socialist principles. It was aimed to provide all citizens with affordable housing, regardless of their social status or financial situation. At the same time, there were manifestations of the policy of repression in the housing sector. The post-war period in Ukraine was marked by large-scale destruction of the housing stock due to the consequences of the Second World War. Housing restoration became one of the priority tasks of the state. That period was characterized by the following key aspects: the Soviet government developed the Program of Housing Restoration, which involved the construction of new housing areas, as well as the repair and reconstruction of damaged buildings; typical projects of residential buildings were used in order to save resources and speed up the pace of construction. That led to the uniformity of architecture and a decline in the quality of housing. The Khrushchov period in Ukraine was marked by a large-scale housing construction, which had both positive and negative consequences. For example, housing cooperatives became a popular way of obtaining housing. They allowed people to become owners of apartments at an

affordable price. Residential construction during the so-called period of stagnation (1965–1985 pp.) was carried out by using outdated technologies, which did not allow improving the quality and energy efficiency of housing. The state had a monopoly on housing construction. There was practically no private sector in this area. Transitional period from a planned to a market economy has began in Ukraine since 1990, which also affected housing policy. The basic event of that period was the privatization of the state housing stock. It allowed people to become apartment owners and stimulated the development of the real estate market. The period from 2000 to 2014 was marked in Ukraine by relative stability and economic growth, which significantly affected the housing sector. New housing formats have appeared at the market, such as apartments, lofts and residential areas with their own infrastructure. However, despite the growth in construction, housing remained unaffordable for a significant part of the population, especially young families and people with low income.

Having analyzed the formation of housing policy in Ukraine, it is possible to offer the following historical stages of its formation. 1) XIX century – the birth of scientific understanding and study of the population’s housing needs, as well as laying down the foundations of future housing legislation; 2) the beginning of the XX century – the development and implementation of legal regulation of housing relations; 3) 1920–1940 – formation of the foundations of the national housing policy; 4) the post-war period (1945–1950s) – restoration of the housing stock, the dominance of the housing distribution system, the lack of market mechanisms for the provision of housing needs, the implementation of housing construction mainly at the expense of state funds and by using typical projects; 5) Khrushchov’s thawing (1950–1960s) – restoration of loans and housing cooperatives, improvement of living conditions of many families due to the construction of typical residential buildings, as well as due to a decrease in the quality of construction and a decrease in the apartments’ area; 6) period of stagnation (1970–1980s) – continuation of massive housing construction, but without significant innovations. That period was also characterized by the expansion of urban areas and the growth of the number of high-rise apartment buildings with the low-quality housing; 7) transition period (1990–2000s) – overcoming the crisis in economic and social relations as a result of the collapse of the USSR economy, which led to significant changes in housing policy of Ukraine. Housing stock privatization also occurred during that period, which allowed many citizens to become owners of their apartments. However, the economic crisis and underfunding of the construction industry led to a decrease in the pace of new housing construction; 8) the period of sustainable housing policy (2000–2014s) – restoration of construction activity, emergence of new projects and construction technologies. That period was also characterized by paying attention both to the quantity and to the quality of housing. It was eloquently evidenced by the appearance of such state support programs as Youth Lending, provision of social housing and the development of mortgage lending; 9) housing policy related to overcoming the consequences of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine (2014 – until now). Since the beginning of hostilities, Ukraine has faced the problem of meeting the housing needs of internally displaced persons and the formation of a temporary housing stock.

5. Conclusions

Housing policy is an important element of a country’s socio-economic strategy. Its history demonstrates how changes in economic conditions, social needs and political priorities affect approaches on solving housing problems. Modern challenges such as urbanization, climate changes and economic inequality require new and innovative approaches to housing policy aimed at providing affordable, quality and sustainable dwelling for all citizens. Housing policy in Ukraine has gone through several important stages, each of them has reflected the general economic and political tendencies of that time. Starting from the mass construction of housing after the Second World War, the period of stagnation and privatization of the 1990s, each stage had its own characteristics and challenges. Modern housing policy is aimed at ensuring the high quality of dwelling and its availability for broad segments of the population. State Support Programs and the development of the mortgage market play an important role in providing housing for Ukrainian citizens.

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