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ТЕМАТИЧНИЙ ВИПУСК: ПАРТИСИПАТИВНЕ МІСЬКЕ ПЛАНУВАННЯ

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INTRODUCTION

URBAN PLANNING PARADIGMS: SHIFT OR PERSISTENCE?

Kostyantyn MEZENTSEV, Oleksiy GNATIUK

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Collaborative planning theory has never achieved the paradigmatic status its advocates desired because of its internal diversity and limited scope; it seems inappropriate and unlikely for planning to coalesce around a single paradigm (Goodspeed, 2016). Planning theory is rather fragmented into a plurality of diverse 'paradigms' (Healey et al., 1982). Moreover, although there were marked differences between the traditional conception of town planning as an exercise in physical planning and design, and the conception of town planning as a rational process of decision-making directed at the analysis and control of urban systems, there was one thing that both these views had in common. Both presumed that the town planner was someone who possessed, or should possess, some specialist knowledge and skill – some substantive expertise – which the layperson did not possess (Taylor, 1999).

However, in the context of the neoliberal approach to urban development, principles and instruments of participatory urban planning have remarkably reshaped the set of interactions between actors of city development. The Central and East European post-socialist countries are not exclusion here. In particular, these changes are manifested through the expansion of initiators of urban projects, the introduction of new approaches and instruments, including those aimed at involving more stakeholders in the urban planning process, but also numerous conflicts due to disagreement with ineffective, inexpedient and injustice city-planning decisions. At least, it is possible to speak about 'a paradigm shift in public outreach programs': cities with successful public outreach programs include a variety of new technologies such as websites, online forums, visualization and participatory technologies (Kaylor, 2005), new technologies can help facilitate the production and distribution of information and are being increasingly used by government agencies to educate and communicate with their citizens (Manadarno et al., 2010).

The practice of implementing new approaches to urban planning and development in different local and national contexts raises a number of questions for theory and practice. Do traditional urban planning instruments remain effective in the new conditions, and should new instruments be relied upon in urban planning decisions? How to strike a balance between effective and participatory urban planning? Who should initiate urban development projects, and who should have the 'decisive word': private business, the public, activists? Is it possible (and how) to ensure consensus between the various participants in the urban planning process, and who in fact will benefit from the transition to the new paradigm? For short, do local planning paradigms shift or persist – why and how?

The aim of this themed issue lies in considering these questions from various perspectives and different angles of view, and in this manner to shed light on the nature of local and national trajectories of urban planning paradigms. To do this, the editorial team tried to collect theoretical and empirical researches, opinions, experiences and insights from the academia, practitioners, and civil society representatives with different professional and national background.

The special issue opens with an article by Anatolii Melnychuk, Olena Denysenko and Pavlo Ostapenko. The authors, intertwinning their academic and practical expertise, presents an analysis of the national institutional context of the urban development planning instruments in Ukraine in view of multidimensional transformations and adaptations in line with new trends of democratization, participation and collaboration. The influence of the main planning and participation instruments on the urban space transformation is revealed by virtue of two cases, Kryvyi Rih and Kherson, both representing second-order Ukrainian cities with different economic and political background. Via the in-depth interviews, the authors scrutinize the assessment of the key old and new planning and participation instruments by different stakeholders involved into the urban planning and development. The findings suggest the ambiguous nature of changing urban planning system in Ukraine with strong influence of local factors on the decision making process and participation of stakeholders. A clear trend towards democratization and increasing transparency of instruments and procedures, gradual rethinking of planning instruments and growing demand for them from both professionals and the public, and the emergence and improvement of new participation instruments occur simultaneously with the modest impact of new instruments on real transformation of urban space, discrediting planning instruments, institutions and urban policy, inadequate trust and cooperation between the stakeholders. In this light, the authors conclude, it is obvious that the urban planning system and its transformation grows out from the complex social process of post-socialist transition, where paradigm shifts in planning, reflecting the general trends of social development in recent decades, have overlapped the whole system of socio-economic relations.

The following article by Carola Neugebauer addresses the current practices and fundamentals of urban renewal planning in Germany. In particular, she seeks to characterize the key stakeholders in urban renewal with regard to their concepts, practices, and opportunities in planning, to reveal the systemic and interdependencies between them with an emphasis on the formal and informal institutions, and to point on critical moments that deserve practical and scholarly debate and exploration, which are valuable not only for the German context but for the countries in (after) transition as well. The paper builds on research in three German cities – Bonn, Arnsberg, and Essen – all

located in the West German Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia, but representing different local political regimes and relationships between the city administrations and the public. Although Germany has far progressed towards a participatory, cooperative and balanced urban renewal planning (in particular, the citizens actively use the multiple opportunities to access urban planning processes, while the local authorities carefully implement the mandatory civic participation), the German participatory urban renewal planning also reveal ambivalent trends and new challenges. In particular, this is an overload of planners and a risk to the fairness and democratic legitimacy of renewal planning due the re-shuffling of political responsibility and accountability in planning, and the uncertainty about the un/intended effects participatory planning, in particular the contradictory role of urban activism, including such negative effects as the retardation of planning or even preventing important projects for the good of the many to be realized. Similar to Ukraine, the local stakeholder arrangements could be quite different depending on political regime in particular city, contrasting between conflictive, such as in Bonn, and the more collaborative and peaceful, such as in Essen and Arnsberg.

Daria Malchykova presents the author's vision of the planning decisions and urban activism prospects in the current transformation and renovation of urban space in Kherson, a city in the Southern Ukraine, in the mouth of Dnieper, focusing on the role of participatory budgeting and urban activism. In view of growing competition with the other cities in the areas of tourism, recreation and logistics, the city needs to overcome development challenges and gear the motion to more comfortable and attractive urban environment, in particular regeneration of brownfields and waterfront, restoration of the historical city centre and creation of new quality public spaces. These problems can be successfully solved only in the case of a dialogue between the city authorities and the city community delivering a true participatory management into the urban governance. However, the findings are not optimistic since only minor share of urban community is involved into the participatory budgeting, and the same refers to the total volume of the participatory budget. Moreover, the majority of the approved projects are solving small "backyard" problems rather than addressing the strategic agenda of urban development. Beyond the participatory budgeting, urban activism is quite sporadic and is driven by "small initiatives" of individual creative groups and entrepreneurs rather than by a top-down strategic plan promoted by the local authorities.

Mikalai Ulasiuk and Carola Neugebauer, balancing the insights, experiences and ideas of an involved practitioner and an external foreign scholar, focus on the current urban planning approaches in Brest, Belarus. This country, following its distinct political trajectory, has been broadly excluded from scholarly attention. Yet, that is why Belarusian experience of urban planning may be interesting for international audience. The authors argue that the urban planning in Brest follows a unique trajectory of gradual post-Soviet transformation that has been too little discussed by scholars and practitioners so far. In comparison with the other countries of the former Soviet Union, Belarus has retained a professional urban planning school and the centralized control over the whole chain of urban development; there have been only small steps to reform the institutions and processes of urban and regional planning. Although it has become mandatory to conduct a public discussion of urban planning documentation, the voices of citizens in urban planning are still soft. At the same time, the current Belarusian planning is substantially aligned with the modern planning approaches in the EU, namely in terms of leitmotifs (contents) and principles. The strong role of the power vertical is considered to be favourable and constraining at the same time. The question that is left open is whether these innovative ideas will trigger broader and incremental shifts within the Belarusian urban planning system.

The issues of participatory urban planning and urban transformation/regeneration are closely linked to the issue of urban conflictogenity. The stakeholders of urban development should have a sufficient level of mutual confidence to effectively use the participatory instruments of urban planning. Simultaneously, urban conflicts show hidden contradictions in society, reveal weaknesses, unmask the conflicting parties and thus may be instrumental in increasing awareness of stakeholders, including the public, in the formal and informal urban planning tools. The authoring team represented by Liudmyla Niemets, Olha Suptelo, Maryna Lohvynova and Kateryna Sehida demonstrates that a city of Kharkiv, being the second largest metropolis in Ukraine after Kyiv, is characterized by a high conflictogenity due to peculiarities of its historical, cultural and socio-economic development. The urban conflicts in the city are driven by a variety of factors, including centripetal migrations from peripheral areas to the city, forced migrations from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, ethno-national and geopolitical divisions (Kharkiv is a geopolitical fault-line city), and last, but not the least, urban planning conflicts and conflicts related to the urban property. The concept of urban socio-geosystem is proposed for better conceptualization of urban conflicts and understanding their anatomy.

Whether or not the residents of cities in Ukraine are content with their comfort, inclusiveness and planning of residential developments? Putting this question, Olena Dronova, Karina Klyui and Diana Khomenko shift the discussion to the local level looking at a new residential complex "Liko-Grad" in Kyiv as an example of neoliberal approach in contemporary urban planning and governance. The survey of residents, as well as expert analysis of open-source data, evidence that neoliberal approach fosters the economic priorities and the accumulation of capital by individual coalitions of the private developers and the city administration. The individual districts are developed against the general vision of the city, and a specific urban space is often considered as a commodity that needs to be sold at the highest possible price in order to maximize short-term profit. At the same time, local people have little awareness about their importance and role in making management decisions regarding urban development. These neoliberal practices, in their distorted and hypertrophied form, are compared with the contrasting experience

from some integrated urban development projects that are being implemented in Ukraine within the framework of international technical assistance and exchange programs. They provide opportunities for all segments of society to understand the consequences of decision-making in a particular area. The authors conclude that the path of Ukrainian cities to participatory democracy is just emerging.

To summarise, despite the overall transition to the more participative and inclusive urban planning, the specific trajectories of transition are highly depended on the local and national contexts. The diversity of national and local political regimes and institutions helps to understand the plurality of existing urban planning paradigms. Another lesson that must be learned is about the absence of a strict interdependence between the democracy and decentralization, on the one hand, and the effectiveness of participation instruments, on the other. The experiences from the more 'advanced' societies (as in Germany) could be promising; however, developed countries often face the same or similar problems like post-Soviet states that only feel way to the new planning paradigm. Simultaneously, in some contexts, the centralized and hierarchical old-fashioned urban planning system in Belarus may provide more real possibilities for public involvement into the decision making, and be more often to 'European' planning approaches compared with the decentralized Ukrainian system. In this respect, there are neither easy nor final receipts, suitable for all cultural and political contexts.

ВСТУП

ПАРАДИГМИ МІСЬКОГО ПЛАНУВАННЯ: ЗМІНИ ЧИ СТАЛІСТЬ?

Костянтин МЕЗЕНЦЕВ, Олексій ГНАТЮК

Теорія колаборативного планування ніколи не досягала парадигматичного статусу, якого бажали її прихильники, через внутрішнє різноманіття та обмежений обсяг; об'єднання всієї різноманітності підходів до планування в рамках однієї парадигми видається недоречним та необґрунтованим (Goodspeed, 2016). Відповідно, теорію планування можна розглядати в рамках множини різноманітних «парадигм» (Healey et al., 1982). Більше того, незважаючи на наявність істотних відмінності між традиційною концепцією міського планування як процесу матеріально-фізичного планування та проєктування та концепцією міського планування як раціонального процесу прийняття рішень, спрямованого на аналіз та контроль міських систем, обидва погляди мали спільну ознаку. А саме: фахівець з міського планування володіє або повинен володіти певними істотними спеціальними знаннями та вміннями, якими не володіє неспеціаліст (Taylor, 1999).

Проте, в контексті неоліберального підходу до розвитку міст, принципи та інструменти партисипативного міського планування істотно змінили форми та характер взаємодій між акторами міського розвитку. Не залишаються обабіч цього тренду і постсоціалістичні країни Європи. Розширення кола ініціаторів містобудівних проектів, впровадження нових підходів та інструментів, зокрема спрямованих на ширше залучення зацікавлених сторін до містобудівного процесу, але водночас і численні конфлікти через незгоду тієї чи іншої сторони з неефективними, недоцільними та несправедливими містопланувальними рішеннями. Принаймні, можна говорити про «зміну парадигми комунікації з громадськістю»: міста з успішними практиками публічної комунікації використовують безліч нових технологій, таких як веб-сайти, інтернет-форуми, візуалізації та технології участі (Kaylor, 2005); нові технології можуть сприяти виробництву та розповсюдженню інформації та все частіше використовується державними органами для навчання та спілкування зі своїми громадянами (Manadarno et al., 2010).

Практика реалізації нової містобудівної парадигми в різних локальних та національних контекстах ставить перед теорією та практикою низку питань. Чи залишаються в нових умовах ефективними традиційні інструменти міського планування, та чи варто покладатися на нові інструменти у прийнятті містопланувальних рішень? Як можливо досягти балансу між ефективністю та партисипативністю міського планування? Хто повинен ініціювати містобудівні проєкти, і за ким має бути «вирішальне слово»: приватний бізнес, адміністрація міста, активісти? Чи можливо (і яким чином) забезпечити консенсус між різними учасниками містобудівного процесу, і хто насправді виграє внаслідок переходу до нової парадигми? Якщо коротко: чи змінюються місцеві парадигми міського планування, і якщо так – то чому і яким чином?

Мета цього тематичного випуску полягає у розгляді цих питань з різних перспектив та точок зору та висвітленні таким чином характеру місцевих та національних траєкторій зміни парадигм міського планування. Для цього редакція журналу намагалася зібрати думки, ідеї та оцінки науковців, практиків міського планування та представників громадянського суспільства, що представляють різні країни та мають різний професійний досвід.

Спецвипуск відкривається статтею Анатолія Мельничука, Олени Денисенко та Павла Остапенка. Автори, що мають досвід академічної та практичної діяльності в галузі, представляють аналіз національного інституційного контексту інструментів планування міського розвитку в Україні з урахуванням багатовимірних перетворень та адаптацій у руслі нових трендів демократизації, партисипації та колаборації. Вплив основних інструментів планування та участі на трансформацію міського простору розкрито на прикладі двох кейсів – Кривого Рогу та Херсона – українських міст з різним економічним та політичним

підґрунтям. Використавши глибинні інтерв'ю як метод дослідження, автори здійснили аналіз поглядів різних акторів, залучених до містобудівної діяльності, на ключові «старі» та «нові» інструменти планування та участі. Результати свідчать про суперечливий характер зміни системи міського планування в Україні та сильний вплив місцевого контексту на процес прийняття рішень та участь зацікавлених сторін. З однієї сторони, спостерігається чітка тенденція до демократизації та підвищення прозорості інструментів та процедур, поступове переосмислення інструментів планування та зростаючий попит на них як з боку фахівців, так і громадськості, а також поява та вдосконалення нових інструментів участі. Водночас, очевидними є неістотний вплив нових інструментів на реальні процеси перетворення міського простору, дискредитацію не лише інструментів планування, але й інституцій та міської політики в цілому, низький рівень довіри та співпраці між стейкголдерами. У світлі цих фактів, на думку авторів, можна стверджувати, що у транзитних країнах система планування міського простору та процеси його перетворення є результатом складних суспільних процесів, де парадигмальні зрушення у сфері планування, які відображають загальні тренди суспільного розвитку останніх десятиліть, наклалися на процеси перебудови всієї системи соціально-економічних відносин.

Каролою Нойгебауер розглянуто сучасні практики та засади планування реновації міст у Німеччині. Зокрема, дано характеристику ключових акторів, залучених до реновації міст, з урахуванням їхніх засадничих принципів, практик та можливостей у процесі міського планування, розкрито систему взаємозалежностей між офіційними та неформальними інституціями, а також вказано на проблемні аспекти, що заслуговують на подальше дослідження й обговорення та можуть бути цінними не лише для розуміння німецького контексту міського планування, але й для (пост)транзитних країн. Емпіричну базу для дослідження сформовано матеріалом трьох німецьких міст – Бонна, Арнсберга та Ессена. Усі вони розташовані у західнонімецькій федеральній землі Північний Рейн-Вестфалія, але представляють різні місцеві політичні режими та моделі взаємодії між міськими адміністраціями та громадськістю. Незважаючи на те, що Німеччина досить далеко просунулась на шляху до учасницького, колаборативного та збалансованого міського планування (зокрема, звичайні громадяни активно використовують різноманітні інструменти участі в процесі планування, тоді як місцева влада ретельно дотримується принципів громадського залучення), планування міського оновлення в Німеччині також має певні неоднозначні тенденції та нові виклики. Зокрема, це перевантаження фахівців-планувальників та ризик для справедливості та демократичної легітимності реноваційного планування через перекладання політичної відповідальності та підзвітності, а також неоднозначна оцінка не/передбачуваних наслідків партисипативного планування, зокрема суперечлива роль громадського активізму, включаючи такі негативні наслідки, як затримка чи навіть повна зупинка реалізації важливих проєктів для блага всього міста. Подібно до України, взаємодія місцевих стейкголдерів та конфігурація їх альянсів може істотно відрізнятись в залежності від особливостей політичного режиму в конкретному місті. Наприклад, висока конфліктогенність міського планування в Бонні контрастує на тлі колаборативного та злагодженого містобудівного процесу в Ессені та Арнсберзі.

Дар'я Мальчикова презентує авторське бачення планувальних рішень та перспектив міського активізму в рамках поточної трансформації та оновлення міського простору в Херсоні, місті на півдні України, зосереджуючи увагу на ролі бюджету участі та міського активізму. З огляду на зростаючу конкуренцію з іншими містами у сферах туризму, відпочинку та логістики, місто стоїть перед необхідністю подолати виклики свого розвитку та рухатись в напрямку до формування більш комфортного та привабливого міського середовища, зокрема регенерацію браунфілдів та набережної Дніпра, реставрацію історичного центру міста та створення нових якісних публічних просторів. Ці проблеми можна успішно вирішити лише у випадку діалогу між міською владою та міською громадою, забезпечуючи справжнє залучення громади до міського управління. Однак результати не є надто оптимістичними, оскільки лише незначний прошарок містян бере участь у формуванні бюджету участі, а загальний обсяг бюджету участі дуже малий. Більше того, більшість затверджених проєктів спрямовані на задоволення суто локальних, тактичних інтересів мешканців та не орієнтовані на вирішення стратегічних цілей розвитку міста. Окрім практики бюджету участі, міський громадський активізм в Херсоні є досить епізодичним та забезпечується «маленькими ініціативами» окремих творчих груп та підприємців, а не стратегічною політикою міської влади.

Мікалай Уласюк, архітектор-практик, та Карола Нойгебауер, університетський вчений, синтезуючи теоретичні ідеї та практичний досвід, представляють аналіз сучасних підходів до міського планування в місті Брест, Білорусь. Ця країна, слідуючи специфічним суспільно-політичним шляхом, не часто стає об'єктом уваги науковців, проте саме тому білоруський досвід міського планування може бути особливо цікавим для міжнародної аудиторії. Автори стверджують, що містобудівне планування у Бресті слідує унікальною траєкторією поступової пострадянської трансформації, яка до цього часу недостатньо обговорювалася вченими та практиками. У порівнянні з іншими країнами колишнього Радянського Союзу, в Білорусі добре збережено професійну школу міського планування та централізований контроль над усім ланцюгом містобудівної діяльності; були зроблені лише невеликі кроки для реформування інститутів та процесів міського та регіонального планування. Хоча проведення публічного обговорення містобудівної документації стало обов'язковим, голоси громадян як учасників містобудівного процесу все ще звучать тихо на фоні інших залучених акторів, таких як держава та запрошені нею інвестори. Водночас, спостерігається істотне узгодження сучасних тенденцій в міському плануванні в Білорусі з сучасними підходами до

планування в ЄС, а саме з точки зору лейтмотивів (змісту) та принципів. Сильна владна вертикаль відіграє для цього як сприятливу, так і водночас стримуючу роль. Питання, яке залишається відкритим, полягає в тому, чи спричинять ці інноваційні ідеї більш широкі та системні зміни в білоруській системі міського планування.

Питання міського планування та трансформації/регенерації міст тісно пов'язані з проблемою міської конфліктогенності. Актори, що беруть участь в плануванні розвитку міста, повинні мати достатній рівень взаємної довіри для ефективного використання інструментів участі. Водночас, міські конфлікти демонструють приховані суперечності в суспільстві, виявляють його слабкі місця та конфліктуючі сторони, тому можуть сприяти зростанню обізнаності стейкголдерів, включаючи громадськість, щодо формальних та неформальних інструментів міського планування та участі. Авторський колектив у складі Людмили Нємець, Ольги Суптело, Марини Логвинової та Катерини Сегіди наводять аргументи на користь високої конфліктогенності міста Харкова, другого за величиною метрополісу в Україні після Києва, що обумовлена особливостями його історичного розвитку, а також сучасною соціально-економічною та етнокультурною ситуацією. Міські конфлікти в Харкові зумовлені широким спектром різних факторів, включаючи доцентрові міграції з периферійних територій до міста, вимушені міграції з тимчасово окупованих територій України, етнонаціональні та геополітичні поділи (Харків як геополітично розділене місто). Не останню роль відіграють також містобудівні конфлікти та конфлікти, пов'язані з питаннями міською власністю. Автори пропонують використання концепції міської соціогеосистеми для кращого осмислення міських конфліктів та розуміння їх анатомії.

Чи задоволені жителі міст України комфортом, інклюзивністю та плануванням житлової забудови? Поставивши це питання, Олена Дронова, Каріна Клюй та Діана Хоменко переносять дискусію на локальний рівень, розглядаючи новий житловий комплекс «Ліко-Град» у Києві як приклад реалізації неоліберального підходу в сучасному міському плануванні та управлінні. Опитування мешканців, а також експертний аналіз відкритих даних свідчать про те, що неоліберальний підхід сприяє реалізації економічних пріоритетів та накопиченню капіталу окремими коаліціями приватних забудовників та міської адміністрації. Окремі райони розвиваються всупереч загальному баченню розвитку міста, а конкретний міський простір часто розглядається як товар, який потрібно продати за максимально можливою ціною, щоб максимізувати короткостроковий прибуток. Водночас місцеве населення слабко усвідомлює свою важливість та роль у прийнятті управлінських рішень щодо міського розвитку. Ці неоліберальні практики у своїй спотвореній та гіпертрофованій формі порівнюються з контрастним досвідом деяких інтегрованих проєктів міського розвитку, що реалізуються в Україні в рамках програм міжнародної технічної допомоги та обміну та дають можливість усім верствам суспільства зрозуміти наслідки прийняття планувальних рішень стосовно конкретної території. Автори приходять до висновку, що шлях українських міст до демократії участі лише перебуває на шляху свого становлення.

Підводячи підсумки: незважаючи на загальний рух до більш інклюзивного та партисипативного міського планування, конкретні траєкторії переходу сильно залежать від місцевого та національного контексту. Аналіз ролі різноманітності національних та місцевих політичних режимів та інституцій допомагає зрозуміти множинність існуючих парадигм містобудування. Ще один урок, який слід засвоїти – відсутність суворої взаємозалежності між рівнем демократії та децентралізації, з одного боку, та ефективністю інструментів участі, з іншого. Досвід більш «передових» суспільств (як у Німеччині) може бути надзвичайно корисним; однак розвинені країни часто зіштовхуються з тими ж або подібними проблемами, як і пострадянські суспільства, які лише «намацують» шлях до нової парадигми планування. Водночас, в деяких контекстах, централізована, ієрархічна та консервативна система міського планування в Білорусі може надавати більше реальних можливостей для залучення громадськості до процесу прийняття рішень і краще імплементувати «європейські» підходів до планування порівняно з децентралізованою українською системою. У цьому відношенні немає ні легких, ні остаточних рішень, придатних для будь-якого культурного чи політичного контексту.

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NEW TOOLS FOR NEW URBAN SPACES? ANALYSES OF PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION TOOLS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE IN (POST)TRANSITIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: For a long time post-socialist countries served as a space for interaction between multiple transformations, urban policy changes and urban planning adjustments on the one hand, and challenging institutional and socio-cultural legacy, on the other. What are the outcomes of these interactions and how the urban space is changing? How effective are traditional ("old") and newly established planning and participation tools? To what extent does the current system meet the expectations of different stakeholders? These are the main issues to discuss in the paper. For this aim we use the experience of Ukrainian planning system changes in (post) transitional perspective, focusing on several planning and participation tools and their performance both on the national and local level.

The impact of the main planning and participation tools on the urban transformations in Ukraine is critically considered in the paper, discussing their outcomes from different perspectives. The local context of using particular tools is discussed through the cases of two cities - Kryvyi Rih and Kherson; this allows to trace the logic of the planning process and practices of urban restructuring, notably by using the tools of participation. Using in-depth interview data,the paper is aimed at revealing how different stakeholders perceive the main planning and participation tools as well as evaluate their effectiveness. Thus, we rethink the changes of planning and participation tools in (post)transitional perspective, their role in urban development processes, their performance in various local contexts and also their compliance with the declared goals and interests of different stakeholder groups.

Key words: post-socialist countries, transition, planning, participation, urban spaces, Kryvyi Rih, Kherson.

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НОВІ ІНСТРУМЕНТИ ДЛЯ НОВОГО МІСЬКОГО ПРОСТОРУ? АНАЛІЗ ІНСТРУМЕНТІВ ПЛАНУВАННЯ, УЧАСТІ ТА ЇХ ДІЄВОСТІ У (ПОСТ)ТРАНЗИТНІЙ ПЕРСПЕКТИВІ

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Анотація: Тривалий час постсоціалістичні країни є простором взаємодії множинних трансформацій, перетворень міської політики, переформатування основних інструментів, з одного боку, та складної інституційної і соціально-культурної спадщини, з іншого. Яким є результат цієї взаємодії та як змінюється міський простір; наскільки дієвими є традиційні "старі" та нові інструменти планування та участі (партисипації), що з'явилися в останні роки; якою мірою сформована система задовольняє очікування різних стейкхолдерів – основні питання, на які покликана відповісти дана стаття. З цією метою ми аналізуємо перетворення системи планування в Україні у (пост)транзитній перспективі, спираючись на кілька основних інструментів планування та участі та аналіз їхньої дієвості, як на національному, так і на локальному рівні.

У статті критично розглядаєтьсявплив основних планувальних та учасницьких інструментів на процеси перетворення міського простору в Україні, представляючи їх результати з різних позицій. Спираючись на кейси двох міст – Кривого Рогу та Херсона – відображено локальний контекст використання різних інструментів, що дозволяє прослідкувати логіку планувального процесу та практики перетворення міського простору, зокрема, шляхом використання учасницьких інструментів. На основі матеріалів глибинних інтерв'ю ми намагаємося відобразити, як різні стейкхолдери сприймають основні інструменти планування та партисипації, а також оцінюють їх дієвість. Таким чином, стаття переосмислює перетворення системиінструментів планування та участі у (пост)транзитній перспективі, їхню роль у перетворенні міського простору та прояв цих інструментів у різних локальних контекстах, а також їхню відповідність декларованим цілям та інтересам різних груп стейкхолдерів.

Ключові слова: постсоціалістичні країни, транзитність, планування, партисипативність, міський простір, Кривий Ріг, Херсон.

Introduction

The transition period from socialism to the market, experienced by the Central and Eastern European countries, was followed not only by the dramatic developments in the socio-economic relations, but also radical social and political transformations, resulting in changing the concepts of common good, public policy, urban governance and urban development. This led to the destruction and subsequent fundamental overhaul of the established concepts and conditions for urban development and urban governance, major changes and restructurings of urban spaces almost everywhere. However, in practice, the transformation of urban space in Ukraine was mostly chaotic and disordered for years, therefore the rethinking of the strategy for urban transformations and the role of individual actors in this process lasted over the past decades. It is in this context that there structurings of institutions and tools for urban development and planning were carried out, along with the concepts about them.

This paper aims at rethinking the system of traditional "old" tools for urban transformations, especially in the field of urban planning, and relatively new tools based on participatory governance ideas (Fung & Wright, 2003; Fischer, 2012), collaborative planning (Healey, 1999; Innes & Booher, 2018) and place-making processes (Friedmann, 2010; Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014) under transition and post-transition stages. The paper aims at furthering the critical reconsideration of the main urban planning and participation tools in Ukraine and their impact on the urban transformations, offering the views of the main actors involved, both on the particular tools and their performance, and also the process of urban transformation and its effectiveness. Thus, the paper is intended to answer the questions: to what extent do the existing tools of planning and participation contribute to the transformation of urban space; how effectively they complement each other, developing a single system; in which direction do they change and to what extent are these changes able to ensure the needs of various actors to transform the urban space, thus establishing a range of certain (im)balances?

Despite the discussions on the completion of post-socialist transformations and rethinking of them (Tsenkova, 2006; Sýkora & Bouzarovski, 2012; Golubchikov et al., 2014; Ferenčuhová & Gentile, 2016; Hirt et al., 2016; Мезенцев & Денисенко, 2018), the role of the institutional legacy of the transition period remains noticeable in many aspects. Urban planning is one of such areas, since the planning institutions are "culturally embedded in the overall process of economic, social and political transition" (Tsenkova, 2014); therefore, all countries of the region were supposed to restructure the planning system during the transition period substantially (for experiences of planning systems restructurings see Golubchikov, 2004; Hirt, 2005; Sýkora, 2006; Vujošević & Nedović-Budić, 2006).

It is worth noting that the very idea of planning was largely discredited during the Soviet period by its close connection to the ideological imperatives (Grava, 1993; Hirt & Stanilov, 2009; Палеха & Олещенко, 2016). This led to long-term negative consequences for planning as a field of activity, where the transition period was accompanied by "broad legitimacy crises of planning" (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009), which was mostly perceived (and sometimes is being perceived) as a relic of the socialist period. From these perspectives debates on the impact of socialist legacy on the transformation of the planning tools and the whole planning process still remain relevant; while searching the new content of the urban planning in a changing environment is an important task for government and society in the face of multiple challenges accompanying urban transformations.

The period of transition as defined by E. Golovakha and N. Panina, was accompanied by the process of so-called "deinstitutionalization" – "the destruction of institutional entities, changes of social rules and apparent (or hidden, latent) rejection of institutional requirements to social behavior" (Головаха & Панина, 2001). The multi-layered system of urban governance and urban planning encountered these processes in a similar way; in fact, the new institutions and tools in the field of urban planning were developed. This process has been pursued more intensively in Ukraine since the second half of the 1990s, when the updating of regulatory framework in the field of urban planning and urban development began.

In this paper we analyze the institutional context of the urban planning system in relation to its multidimensional transformations and adaptations in line with the new trends of democratization, participation, and collaboration, as well as the results of these transformations and adaptations through the vision of the main actors involved. To a large extent, it is also rethinking of the changes in the planning system in Ukraine during the transition period, developed tools and balances established between the main actors. Echoing O. Golubchikov, the transformation of the planning system in market conditions "has introduced a new urban context - new actors and new rules of the game, new challenges, and new structures of decision-making" (Golubchikov, 2004). The new rules and structures, tools and institutions therefore should be tested for compliance with the strategic priorities of urban transformations in today`s reality and the interests of key stakeholder groups.

All the key changes of the post-Soviet planning system of recent decades were marked by several trends, which included: (1) deidelogization – the process of ridding the planning system of ideological and political imperatives from the Soviet past; (2) democratization – the process of increasing the openness and transparency of the institutions, tools, regulatory procedures, and separate documents; (3) decentralization – the process of redistribution of power between different levels of decision-making in the field of urban planning and urban development. These changes actually were resulted from fundamental social transformations and have reflected the increasing demand for restructuring of public institutions and implementing the new forms of governance: the people "come to think about development and governance" (Healey, 2010) in a different way.

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Analysing cities as "sites of serial policy failure" (Peck et al., 2009), many current challenges encountered by post-transition countries can be seen as common concerns for any country when facing urban restructuring needs and expectations for collaborative governance. Such concerns to a large extent are related to ability of urban planning system and particular tools to meet the demands for effective urban governance and planning in the face of multiple challenges. At the same time, interpreting of "distinctive national, regional and local contexts, defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices and political struggles" (Peck et al., 2009) in the light of urban restructuring needs play a cruicial role for understanding the main existing barriers in this regard.

In order to interpret both the national and local context of urban restructuring in Ukraine in post-transitional perspective, this study is based on the analysis of a range of urban planning and participation tools and their changes, on the one hand, and in-depth interviews with different stakeholders, drawing on the experience of two cities – Kherson and Kryvyi Rih, on the other hand. Involving in-depth interviews from two case-cities allows to reflect different local contexts and, consequently, the views of different actors on the planning and participation tools as well as their performance. Consequently, the analysis reveals various practices of urban planning and participation, implemented by local actors; typical distortions and violations when realizing urban planning policy and also development of some new local tools and initiatives, thereby providing a view on performance of the planning and participation tools.

This paper starts with an analysis of the main planning and participation tools related to urban transformations, in particular, their normative framework and the main trends of their numerous adjustments under transition and (post)transition period. Then, using the cases of two cities, it looks at how the main actors, involved in urban restructurings, perceive the particular tools, taking into consideration their functions and goals they are expected to achieve. Finally, the paper reinterprets the system of tools developed through the multiple practices from the perspective of their impact on urban transformations and balances established between involved actors, offering several criteria for estimation the performance of particular tools.

Planning tools under the new conditions of (post)transition

Recognizing that planning "is always a product of particular social relations" (Golubchikov, 2004) and "is always historically grounded" (Friedmann, 2005), not surprisingly, the new socio-economic reality and new social context of transition required changesin approaches to planning, planning institutions and the tools themselves. However, this process has proceeded much slower than expected and required significant efforts in overcoming the institutional and socio-cultural legacy of the previous era. Therefore, changes in the approaches to planning and dynamic adjustments the tools themselves continued in parallel to the rethinking of planning and its functions. In this regard, the negative image of planning and spatial planning in particular was one of the major barriers to overcome under which "urban planning and policy was perceived as a contradictory to the market" (Sýkora, 2006).

"…Post-communist planning has been generally weak, passive and reactive" (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009), it contained numerous signs of communist ideology inherited from the Soviet times (Маруняк, 2014), thus the planning had to "re-establish itself as an important societal function" anyway (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009) or even be "reinvented in a reinvented state" (Van Assche et al., 2010). This process began in the region of Central and Eastern Europe in the 2000s (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009), with establishing of a new institutional framework for planning and changing of its principles and objectives. Planners started to address less known issues and challenges, in particular "learned to pay attention to urban competitiveness, cohesion and sustainability, learning that these issues are high on the European urban agenda" (Sýkora, 2006).

In Ukraine, as in other countries of CEE, a new institutional framework for urban planning and development was generally established in the early 2000s. In 2000, the Law of Ukraine on Planning and Development of Territories was adopted, where "legal and organizational grounds for planning, building and otherwise utilizing of territories" were set (Закон України Про планування і забудову…, 2000). This Law, as declared, was aimed at "ensuring sustainable development of settlements". In 2002, the Law of Ukraine on the General Scheme for Planning the Ukrainian Territory was adopted, approving the General Scheme and providing the mechanisms for its further implementation and monitoring. It was expected, that establishing "priorities and conceptual solutions to planning and using territory of the country" will contribute to ensuring the sustainable development of settlements. Generally, the period of the late 1990s and early 2000s is marked by focusing mainly on addressing the challenges at the national and regional levels, typical for a country in the post-Soviet reality, requiring rethinking of spatial development on a completely different scale and implementing completely different regional and planning policies.

Since the 1990s the institutional framework in urban planning has been regularly updated and planning tools transformed, thus contributing to involvement new actors and improving the regulations in this field. Although the planning process as much as its results remained quite secret, but it must be recognized that some legislative changes were intended to open up the window. To illustrate how the overall process of legislative developments in urban planning looked in (post)transitional perspective the most important documents could be mentioned. In 1992 the State building regulations (DBN) "Planning and development of urban and rural settlements" were adopted and remained in force to 2019, when new building regulations were adopted. In order to deal with the composition and content of the master plan as a main planning tool the building regulations were developed first in 1997 and later in 2012, and also for a detailed plan of the territory – in 2009 and 2012 respectively. In 2011 the new tool in the field of urban planning – zoning –

was introduced by the Law of Ukraine "On Regulation of City Planning Activity", which had replaced the Law of Ukraine "On Planning and Development of Territories", adopted in 2000. The adoption of the Law in 2011 resulted from several unsuccessful attempts to develop a single urban planning code. As a result, legal provisions regulating various aspects of urban planning activities at the moment are scattered between six different Laws of Ukraine – "On the Principles of Town Planning" (1992), "On Architectural Activity" (1999), "On the General Scheme for planning the Ukrainian territory" (2002), "On comprehensive reconstruction of Blocks of Buildings (Micro-districts) of the Outdated Residential Housing Stock" (2006), "On Construction Regulations" (2009), "On Regulation of City Planning Activity" (2011). Such a scattering of provisions between different legal actsto a certain extent indicates to ongoing transitional processes in the field of urban planning and development, since the efforts to integrate the provisions governing one process into a single code and develop the integrated approaches to urban policy failed owing to complicated interactions between all stakeholders concerned.

One of the above-mentioned laws – Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of Town Planning", which "determines the legal, economic, social and organizational principles of town planning" (Закон України Про основи містобудування, 1992) although had been adopted in 1992, it still in force. Particular attention hereneeds to be focused on the term "town planning" (town-construction, if reproducing Ukrainian term *mistobuduvannia* word for word (equivalent to *gradostroitelsvo* in Russian)), which is still officially used as the key notion in Ukrainian planning. According to the Law, town-planning (or town-construction, if literally) is "purposeful activity of state bodies, bodies of local self-government, enterprises, establishments, organizations, citizens, unions of citizens related to creation and maintenanceof full value living environment" (Article 1, Закон України Про основи містобудування, 1992). In fact, the concept of "town-construction" and its content (despite some modernization) largely reflects the transitional character of urban planning and urban governance (both by name and by essence), and contains a strong imprint of the past era. On the one hand, "establishments, organizations, citizens and unions of citizens" together with the state and local self-government bodies, according to the Law, are considered as actors in creating the living environment. On the other hand, the interpretation of urban planning ("town-construction") as a result of the activities of state bodies, in particular purposeful activities designed to achieve certain goals still reflects the core idea of Soviet planning and governance. However, in transitional reality the objectives of planning and therefore the role of particular planning toolshave changed significantly, facing with intense urban transformations and threats of polarization, fragmentation and other negative phenomena. This, in turn, requires both the new conceptual frameworks in planning, and relevant content of urban planning and urban policy tools.

Three main groups of tools (Fig. 1) currently influencing urban transformations and restructurings can be considered: tools mainly oriented towards planning, public participation and regulation of urban development. Each of them, in fact, reflects different dimensions and stages of urban governance and planning process, forms of engagement and actors involved, character of interactions between the actors and their responsibilities. The planning tools include both well-known tools that have been used for decades in the field of planning, such as master plan and detailed plan of the territory, and also relatively new, such as municipal zoning, urban development strategy, concept of integrated urban development, and other tools related primarily to the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of planning and also implementation the goals of integrated development. While introducing the "new" tools reflects the need to respond the multiple transformations and other challenges, in particular, the enhancement of various actors in the restructuring of urban space, including civil society and expert community, the "old" tools also could not escape adjustments. To reflect this, several planning tools are analyzed below in terms of their role in the process of urban restructurings in (post)transitional reality.

Whereas in Soviet times the master plan, along with other tools, was primarily considered as a "mechanism for the physical implementation of state goals" (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009), in post-transition perspective the master plan had to provide a completely different task – to propose a valid strategy for long-term spatial development of the city. Since the Soviet master plans were essentially focused on the conception of "location and growth" (of resources, people, infrastructure, etc.), the transition to the conception of "creating and development" required considerable efforts and time, therefore the new conception could not be implemented for several years, it required decades both for rethinking and implementation.

The definition of the master plan in the Law of Ukraine adopted in 2000 (Закон України Про планування…, 2000) and current Law in 2020 (Закон України Про регулювання, 2011) remains unchanged: it is "planning documentation that defines the principal decisions for urban development, planning, construction and other use of the territory of settlements", designed to "substantiate the long-term planning and development strategy". In practice the "long-term planning strategy", ironically, can be viewed from the Soviet perspective: we estimate that about a quarter of all cities (mainly small towns) have master plans developed before 1991. At the same time, about a quarter of cities have master plans approved after 2011 – in completely new socio-economic reality and conditions. These are mostly (but not only) big and medium-sized cities (so-called cities of regional significance).

The master plan validity period is typically about 20 years or even more (according to current legislation it is not time-restricted), that in transition reality means radical changes in urban development and causes criticism about the planning tools and planning itself. A major criticism is the relevance of master plans, their compliance with the existing conditions and the real situation, their ability to respond to the needs of urban renewal and investment plans and to balance the interests of all actors concerned. Quite often, master plans are becoming obsolete once they are approved, as this process could take years due to

underfunding and other reasons. Therefore, it is difficult in such circumstances to expect an elaboration of successful spatial strategy in the master plan and its transformation into the real tool of urban development. This situation forces to look for alternatives both in terms of updating the types of planning documentation (introducing the new tools), changing the master plan itself, and supplementing the formal tools with new informal ones.

Municipal zoning is a "planning documentation which defines the conditions and restrictions on the use of the territory for urban development needs within certain zones" (Закон України Про регулювання…, 2011) and belongs to the new tools in urban planning that could be elaborated both as a part of the master plan, and as a separate type of planning documentation, which, however, should be agreed with the master plan. In practice planners do not always manage to ensure consistency between different types of planning documentation, sometimes leading to opposition between the actors, which is accompanied by allegations of legitimizing the illegal developments and use of the territory contradicting the master plan. Since zoning is relatively new tool (introduced by the Law of Ukraine in 2011),we estimate that only about one third of Ukrainian cities have elaborated and approved zoning plans.

Consequently, the planning tools in transitional reality have been significantly transformed to ensure their compliance with the new paradigms of urban development and urban governance, passing a long way of institutional changes. In the following parts we will consider to what extent planning tools are able to address the challenges of urban transformations as well as their weakness in this regard and also look at how the various actors involved interact with the main tools, assess their performanceas well as their ability to meet the needs.

Participation tools under the new conditions of (post)transition

Public participation and citizen engagement in urban transformations and urban planning have come a long and difficult way in Ukraine as one of the post-communist countries. In this regard there is left a rather specific legacy from the Soviet past, related to the low social activity and low interest in urban planning issues. In the Soviet system of governance this was a matter of exclusive competence of the state bodies and in part local authorities, thereby rethinking this stereotype so far seems to be a challenging task for most post-socialist countries. Istenič & Kozina in their research on how post-socialist cities encourage the involvement into decision-making basing on five different municipalities of CEE (Istenič & Kozina, 2020) "revealed that participatory planning remains a great challenge in a post-socialist urban context" even now.

For a long time in post-Soviet countries participatory governance and planning due to a number of circumstances, was not considered a priority both for the state and for the citizens: "Often, people do not care, and rank planning low on their priority list" (Van Assche et al., 2010). This affected the public demand for both the quality and priorities of urban transformations and also demand for being engaged in these processes as well as requirement for the tools facilitating citizen engagement. Development of participatory tools in Ukraine generally continues to proceed in fits and starts, being closely related to the political situation and reforming institutions in planning, construction and related fields, along with increased public monitoring of local authorities' decisions. At the same time, the overall context of increased demand for openness and transparency in the activities of different agencies remains unchanged as well as awareness-raising, enhancing the participation and tools encouraging it. While a decade ago Hirt & Stanilov in their report assessed the state of public participation in Central and Eastern Europe as being placed in-between levels 2 and 3 of Arnstein "ladder" (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009), but describing the current state of affairs in Ukraine, we may note that quite often citizens are informed of plan-making, which corresponds to the third level of public participation ladder, and in some cases citizens are even consultants, when transforming urban spaces, and "are directly involved in plan-making", which corresponds to the fourth step. At the same time, this should not create the illusion about existing state of affairs with overall transparent citizen engagement in urban restructurings process as it is frequently declared, while in practice citizen engagement is more often used as a tool to legitimize the contentious decisions and also a tribute to the changing political culture or even as an imitation of the public dialogue between actors involved, resulting in numerous conflicts when urban spaces are transformed (for example see Neugebauer et al., 2020).

The overall trend of the last decades, related to strengthening the communicative approach in planning and "redefinition of planning in collaborative terms" (Gualini & Bianchi, 2015), in turn, affects the tools linked to urban transformations. However, in the (post)transitional reality, establishing communicative tools and practices as well as any other interactions between the actors is being developed in a specific way, taking into consideration that each actor over and over again realizes, re-estimates and re-establishes their role in the urban restructurings and modernizations under regularly changing circumstances. Therefore, the actors' understanding of the urban transformations evolve quite rapidly, and practices which were common and acceptable some time ago, today could be considered inappropriate. Also it is entirely clear that different actors mainly have "different understandings of democratic politics" (Van Wymeersch et al., 2019) at this stage and values behind the notion of urban restructuring, therefore they argue for respective adjusments in urban planning and restructuring policy. The general climate of such adjustments can be interpreted as a part of the "postcommunist culture" (Durnová, 2021), which, however, manifests itself quite differently in different institutional contexts, reflecting in such a way deep-rooted attitudes to planning and restructurings. Therefore, the development of tools for participation and collaboration is related to rethinking the interactions between all parties involved in planning and transformations, as well as their vision of acceptable outcomes of these processes.

Although there has been a broad discussion on the importance of increasing public participation and tools encouraging it, but balancing interactions between the main actors in transitional reality seems rather complicated process. Each time space is producing as a result of interactions under slightly different conditions, when a lot of tools are somehow modified. Therefore, a lot of urban spaces developed or changed in times of transition mirror the constituted balances between the interested parties very clear, as well as their evolution. These spaces together with reflected practices and behaviors are often criticized by many experts and activists for concepts used and disbalances embodied, thereby making the "institutional gaps" (Головаха, Панина, 2001) and other weaknesses particularly evident and contributing to the rising demand for publicity and collaboration.

The publicity of state agencies and local authorities, making decisions in urban planning and development became one of the crucial trends in recent years,shaping the agenda and facilitating modifications of the planning and participation tools. Growing publicity both contributes to changing the planning tools, increasing their accessibility, timeliness, along with interest in them and also promotes the emergence of new tools, particularly the tools of e-democracy. Although the latter are not directly related to urban planning, in practice they are largely focused on urban development issues. This is taking place in a variety of ways: by establishing reliable facts and increasing accessibility of information that may be of public interest; by involving interested parties in various forms of collaboration; by increasing public engagement and interest, and, therefore, the emergence of public debate on urban transformations and urban planning, and subsequently their enhancement.

The main tools of participation provided by the laws of Ukraine include local referendum, public comment, public hearings, request for information, citizens' communications, e-petitions, e-consultations and participatory budget (Fig. 1). The Laws of Ukraine On Local Self-Government in Ukraine, On Citizens' Appeals, On Access to Public Information, On Regulation of City Planning Activity and the Law of Ukraine On Strategic Environmental Assessment provide the legal framework for participation tools in urban development and planning. Some tools in the past few years have become an important basis for involving citizens in the place-making processes and local communities development. Despite the variety of the tools, their different objectives and impacts, participation tools significantly influence (implicitly or explicitly) the process of urban transformations, encouraging its transparency and accessibility as well as interest and communication on urban planning issues, development and strengthening of the new values behind planning and spatial changes. Regulatory developments of participation tools, which are being actively undertaken since 2015, is the same "first (technical) step for… [citizen] involvement" (Istenič & Kozina, 2020), while increasing the variety of tools allows not only to "address different population groups" (Istenič & Kozina, 2020), but also contributes to development of participation and collaboration at different stages of urban restructuring. An overview of the main participation tools in regard to the urban restructurings and developing the interactions between actors concerned is given below.

Public hearings as a part of the overall process of urban planning documentation development and approval provide an important platform for interactions between the key interested parties: city authorities, urban planners, local businesses and citizens. Even the first version of the Law of Ukraine On the Principals of Town Planning in 1992 provided for "participation of citizens and associations of citizens in the consideration of urban

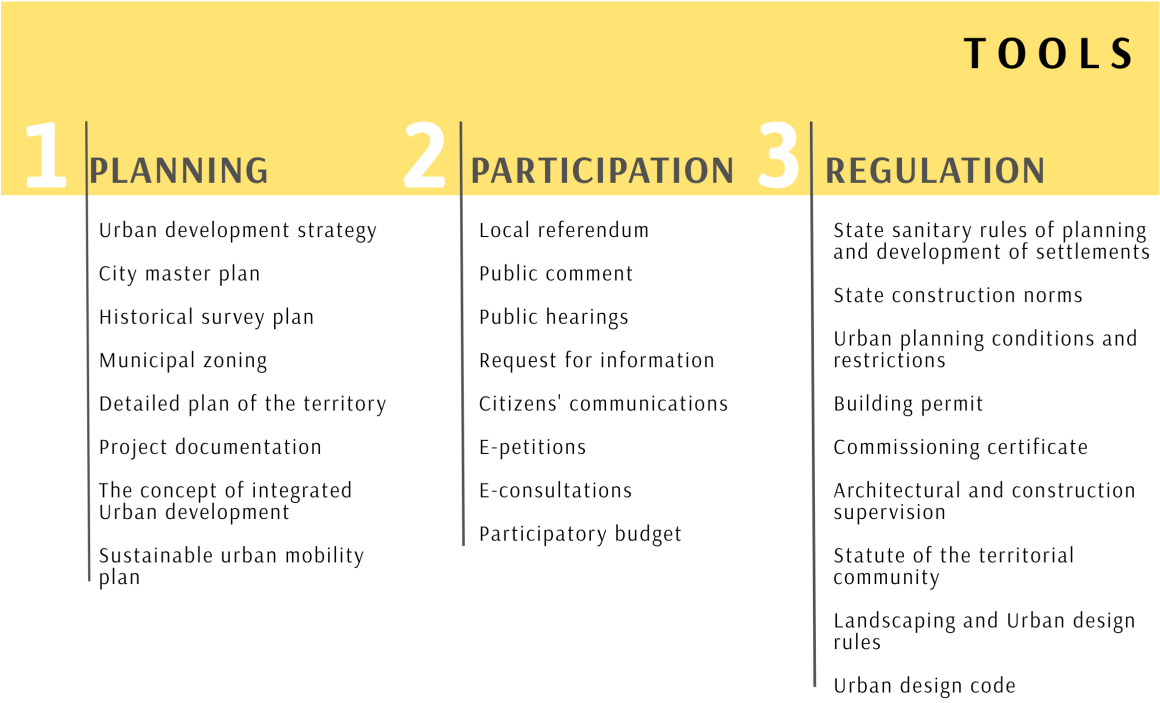

Fig. 1. The main tools for governing urban transformations
(source: elaborated by the authors)

planning documentation, projects of individual facilities and the submission of appropriate proposals" (Закон України Про основи …, 1992). This formal requirement remains unchanged in 2020. Article 21 of the Law of Ukraine On Regulation of City Planning Activity with a promising title "Public comment on the consideration of public interests", however defines that "Draft projects of town-planning documentation of the local level, such as masterplans, zoning, detailed plans of territories, developed in a due course, should be publicly discussed". While at first glance it looks as an important commitment, this norm remains one of the most controversial in terms of public participation in urban planning and making public hearings an effective tools of the urban policy. In practice, debates on the planning documentation that is already developed, regardless of their form, leave very little chance for any significant changes in such documentation, which makes this tool more declarative and formal, serving for advertisement, but not for advising. Discussing the drafts of urban planning documentation at the very last minute further exacerbates the situation with low engagement and weak collaboration, when public hearings are mainly used to legitimize necessary decisions. While some actors expect public hearings to act as a platform for communication between different interested parties to balance their interests, however in practice, both the legislative framework and the ongoing practice of holding public hearings typically are focused on the "informing", at best. This corresponds with entry level of participation (see Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014 for adapted participation ladder), but mostly is not aimed at achieving the next levels – consult, advise, cooperation and finally equal rights.

E-petitions are among the relatively new tools of participation designed to ensure the interaction between citizens and authorities, this is a form of citizens' communications that appeared in 2015 by changing the Law of Ukraine On Citizens' Appeals. Since e-petitions might be submitted to local authorities, as this is stipulated by the law, they often address the urban development issues, particular urban spaces and concepts of their development. In this regard e-petitions play an important role as a tool, strengthening publicity and attracting attention of citizens, civil society organizations, experts and opinion leaders to certain aspects of (un)desirable transformation of urban spaces.

Public budget as well as e-petitions, is a relatively new tool for strengthening local democracy in Ukraine (introduced in 2015), aimed at increasing the public participation in the budget process at the local level. Since each local authority approve the provisions on the public budget by their own decision, this creates slightly different conditions for the implementation of projects in different cities, including the funding, the level of competition and the main areas of project implementation. It should be noted that almost in all cities where this tool is introduced it had become an important tool for the transformation of urban space at the local level and also implementation of promising urban initiatives and projects. In view of this, the public budget should be considered as one of the workable tools for the transforming urban spaces, which, moreover, is based on horizontal integration, promotion of the project ideas, their competition and consolidation of efforts to implement the project. From this perspective and also bearing in mind how popular the public budget became in a relatively short period, the public budget is among the important local tools for transforming urban spaces, their quality and conceptions.

Despite the emergence of new participation tools, their developing and improving, which also contributes to the institutional development, however, their role in urban transformations in (post)transitional reality remains rather ambiguous. This applies both to the performance of the particular tools, their ability to ensure the expected results, progress in achieving the declared goals, and also reinforcing the values of participatory governance, along with their ability to promote urban renewal and urban restructurings. Using the results of in-depth interviews in the case cities with the main actors concerned, in the following paragraph we would critically analyze the tools of planning and participation in terms of their impact on the transformation of urban spaces in (post)transitional perspective.

Analysis of the planning and participation tools performance: the case of Kherson and Kryvyi Rih

The local context of using planning and participation tools is analyzed through the experience of two Ukrainian regional centers: Kherson and Kryvyi Rih, which are quite different in terms of the city size (both by the population and area), economic structure and character of the urban environment. This allows to interpret urban renewal and restructuring processes in diverse urban contexts and tools that are commonly used for these purposes.

Kryvyi Rih, the "steel heart of Ukraine", is a center of iron ore industry and ferrous metallurgy with consequent degradation of environmental quality and effects on economy and urban development. There is developed a unique planning structure, where certain areas are poorly integrated with each other, the quality of infrastructure, including transportation, is low. In addition there is high level of air pollution, and population decline is taking place (in 2011-2020 the population decreased from 663.5 to 619.3 thous. persons) (Чисельність населення…, 2011; 2020). Combined, these make corresponding effect on the urban space as well as attempts to modify it, which mainly occur on a local scale, have just begun and are often associated with small initiatives.

Kherson, a regional center in the south of Ukraine and one of the oldest seaports in the country, is located at the mouth of the Dnipro river in a predominantly agricultural environment. The existence of the port has contributed to the development of shipbuilding and ship repair, as well as industries based on imported raw materials, in particular, the textile industry; the agricultural environment, in turn, has contributed to the development of agricultural machinery and food industry. However, the transitional period and the decline in production have exacerbated the challenges of city peripherality, urban environment and infrastructure degradation, population decline and migration outflow (population decreased from 299 thous. persons in 2011 to 287 thous. in 2020). It is against this background, that any process of urban renewal and transformation of urban space, both in Kherson and

Kryvyi Rih, seems to be very desirable and expected. On the other hand, however, urban renewal is also very challenging in terms of initiative, funding and outcomes. Therefore, assessment of the available tools facilitating urban transformations by different actors involved (in line with the goals and expected results, accessibility of the tools, widespread practices and results achieved) is an essential step for rethinking both the tools and their performance in the light of urban renewal processes.

Analysis of using the planning and participation tools is based on 25 in-depth interviews with local authorities and politicians, local experts, journalists, activists, members of influential local civil society organizations. This allows to evaluate all the tools facilitating urban renewal from the perspective of those actors who regularly deal with them and also critically rethink the performance of these tools. Below the most important criteria of the tools performance will be examined in view of assessments given by different actors in their interviews.

It is particularly important to note that when analyzing the planning tools for Kryvyi Rih, Kherson or any other case we have to consider a broader context whereby this planning process have taken place, and also to keep in mind the overall transitional "planning culture" in which searching for a new place of the planning tools continued quite a long time, and is still continuing when speaking about Ukraine.

The last Soviet master plan of Kryvyi Rih was approved by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on December 19, 1986 and was aimed at "further growth of Kryvyi Rih" in territorial, demographic and industrial dimensions as a center of mining, metallurgy, and machinery. The new master plan of the post-Soviet period was approved by the decision of the Kryvyi Rih City Council on December 21, 2011 and is designed for the period up to 2030, although the procedure for its developing began already in 2005 in accordance with city program of urban planning activities approved in 2004. In 2013, the municipal zoning of Kryvyi Rih was approved, and updating of zoning was launched in 2020 in accordance with changes made to the city program of urban planning activities in 2019. The Department of City Planning Activity Regulation and Land Management of the Kryvyi Rih City Council is expecting that "this updating will allow to improve the use of the urban territory under the current situation, to create more favorable conditions for attracting investment in construction, to meet the interests of urban community in urban developments, will contribute to providing employment opportunities and improving the infrastructure" (Повідомлення…, 2020). At the same time, the Department recognizes the need to update the zoning plan, given the "need to take into account the planning decisions of previously approved detailed plans of the territory…, by which zoning plan was amended" (Повідомлення…, 2020). This situation clearly reflects the overall challenge for many cities, when numerous decisions on land-use changes and other significant planning decisions are approved through the elaboration of detailed plans of the territory for a variety of patches in the city. Under these circumstances master plans or even zonings are loosing their relevance and applicability in a short time, therefore, cannot act as a tool for transformation the urban space and implementing the initial targets.

The last Soviet master plan of Kherson was approved by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on May 30, 1984. It suggested the "further growth of the city of Kherson as an important industrial and cultural center of the Kherson region, seaport and railway junction with a population of 390 thousand people for the period up to 2000" (Про генеральний план…, 1984). In comparison, the population on 1 January 2020 was 287 thousand people (Чисельність населення…, 2020). Under the new socio-economic reality of transition, the new master plan of Kherson was approved on December 26, 2003 by the decision of the Kherson City Council. The zoning plan was approved in 2015 and revised in 2018. At the same time, the master plan of 2003 remains the only type of urban planning documentation of the post-Soviet era, where the long-term strategy for Kherson planning and development is provided. Even taking into account the possible revising and updating of the current master plan, this process has not yet begun, which calls into question the ability of existing master plan to remain an effective tool for spatial development nearly two decades after its adoption.

Most interviewees are quite critical of the planning tools role in urban renewal and consider them to be ineffective in this process. The majority of long-term plans, according to interviewees, remain on paper, whereas projects promising to be a highly beneficial, are implemented even when they do not comply with the master plan. Many actors share the view that urban planning documentation, in particular the master plan, is rarely used by citizens or potential investors, and local officials are almost the only users of it. Consequently, there is a big gap between the way urban development is portrayed in the master plan or zoning and the real situation: "At first glance, you can find everything in zoning, all zones are clearly identified, but there are another processes in reality, so the plan is made only because it is required by law" (In-depth interview, Kryvyi Rih, 2020). And furthermore, different stakeholders are equally critical of Kherson master plan, developed and approved almost two decades ago. In their view, the current state of affairs is quite comfortable for many people: "The more confusion, the easier it is to hand out the land plots. That's why we don't have a master plan per se, it hasn't been updated since 2003" (In-depth interview, Kherson, 2020). Thus, it is a challenging task to transform the master plan as "the main type of city planning documentation on a local level" (Закон України Про регулювання…, 2011) from a formally existing instrument into a functional tool that defines a long-term strategy for urban planning and development.

Below we take a look at some of the most common and significant participation tools in terms of their impact on the transformation of urban space. By definition, public hearings were supposed to be one of the most important collaborative tools, ensuring the interaction of all major stakeholders: local authorities, urban planners, citizens, local activists, civil society

organizations, businesses and the media. However, in practice it is quite challenging task to bring together majority of the mentioned parties under the framework of public hearings and public discussion. Interviewees, describing their own experiences, emphasize that in most cases public hearings are arranged on formal grounds, and ensuring coordination between interested parties is not the objective. Therefore, the outcome of such hearings is well known to most well in advance. That is why interest in public hearings is rather low, many actors do not regard them to be a way to influence decision-making, so citizens quite often consider their participation as meaningless: "There is no sense to participate in this, all decisions have been made" (In-depth interview, Kryvyi Rih, 2020). And while most interviewees are quite critical of the public hearings impact on the transformation processes, nevertheless, various actors recognize their importance as a tool to provide participation. Also, as noted by activists, "Sometimes it becomes possible to add specific requirements to the technical documentation during the public hearings and then to control how they are implemented" (In-depth interview, Kryvyi Rih, 2020).

New e-democracy tools, that are becoming quite popular among citizens and activists, include e-petitions, which can be used as an influential communication tool in the search of solutions to accelerate urban renewal and draw attention to the particular urban spaces. Since the issuance of the petitions and the process of collecting signatures is regulated by the Statute of the territorial community, the thresholds for the consideration of petitions in Kherson and Kryvyi Rih are different: 250 and 1,000 signatures of citizens respectively. Meanwhile, the number of submitted petitions in these cities differs dramatically. There are a little more than 30 petitions submitted in Kherson, while in Kryvyi Rih there are almost 300 petitions submitted since 2015. Most of them did not get the required number of signatures and should be considered as citizens' appeals. In order to strengthen the collection of signatures and ensure the compliance of the draft petitions with the procedure, the Kherson City Council developed Recommendations on the content of electronic petitions, which calls for "communication campaign" and "dialogue with the authorities". According to the Kherson City Council, a dialogue with the authorities is as follows: "There should be found a compromise, complex solution benefiting everyone. It is important for local authorities to have a reputation to uphold, and for people to have their problems resolved" (Рекомендації…). Both recommended dialogue and a specific vision of arguments for each party essentially reflect one major critique of e-petition as a collaborative tool, which is the formal consideration by local authorities the issues raised in a petition. At the same time, however, this tool allows to attract public attention and engage the media on issues of landscaping and urban design, interests of particular users of urban space and also providing services in urban neighborhoods.

Participatory budgeting as a tool intended to enhance public participation in the budget process at the local level is increasing more and more and is gaining support as a way to implement public initiatives, including urban design and urban renewal. Moreover, it is one of the few tools that is changing rapidly along with improving its regulations; a number of good practices are emerging, the implemented projects themselves are becoming more original and also increasingly focused on the particular urban spaces. From this perspective, the experience of project application development, creating a motivated team, promotion of project ideas and collaboration with responsible local executive bodies are no less important objectives than project implementation itself.

The participatory budget in Kryvyi Rih was launched in 2016 when first 46 projects were submitted and implemented (in particular, 41% of them in the field of energy saving) (hereinafter data are from Платформа реалізації ідей…). In contrast, two years later, in 2018, 145 projects were submitted, and 47 were implemented (mainly in the field of education, physical culture, and sports), 56.6 thousand people took part in the voting. In 2020, 124 projects were submitted, 50 winning projects were selected (52% in the category of municipal projects), and 80.7 thousand people took part in the voting. Critically evaluating this tool at the early stages, activists describe it, as follows: "… simple and even primitive projects, such as replacement of windows and doors. In the early years it was a tool for repairing school and kindergarten buildings. Projects seem to be prepared by using a photocopier. But some ideas happen to be good. For instance, a play area was arranged in the courtyard of the school not far from here. But it is closed. It gets open only during the breaks. Children don`t go there" (In-depth interview, Kryvyi Rih, 2020). However, the regulation of this tool has been significantly improved in recent years. Currently in Kryvyi Rih projects are competing within several different thematic categories and depending on the scale (large and small projects). This provides an opportunity for implementation of the small initiatives in the field of landscaping, park areas renewal and many others. With this in mind, the participatory budget, especially considering its regularity, competitiveness, financial support, is becoming an important tool not only for a collaboration but also for urban renewal, it helps to bring together citizens around this task, to demonstrate the possibility of its implementing and develop horizontal communication around the idea of transforming the urban space.

In view of the experience of using the planning and participation tools for the aims of urban transformations, the critical perception of these processes and their outcomes by various actors, as well as disproportionate impact of the parties, the issue of the performance of the tools should be addressed. This should be accompanied by a number of important questions, aimed at further rethinking of urban governance and urban policy in (post) transitional perspective as well asthe main tools in urban planning and urban development, especially those which contribute to making urban renewal in a more democratic way. The most important questions are as follows. To what extent the available planning and participation tools are contributing to the needs of urban renewal? Do the performance and impact of particular tools differ in various local contexts? What are the main barriers to improving their effectiveness?

Based on the results of in-depth interviews with various actors, a summarized assessment of the main planning and participation tools is proposed, using several criteria (Fig. 2). The main criteria for the analysis of the performance include: the compliance of the tools (by targets, content and procedures) with the needs of urban renewal, accessibility for the public, awareness of the content and evolution of the tool – its ability to change and respond to the new developments. Particular tools differ significantly upon these criteria, as could be seen from the interviews with various actors and their assessments. For instance, despite the role of the planning tools in shaping the strategy for urban development and planning, as provided by law, in practice planning tools rarely provide it, and their focus on the needs of urban renewal is often assessed by many actors as rather low. On the contrary, the tools of participation, which are not inherently focused on the urban transformations, in practice are often used for these purposes, in particular relatively new tools, such as participatory budget, e-petitions, etc. This is also relevant when using second criteria and comparing the accessibility of urban planning documentation with new participation tools. In most cases, the latter are much more accessible to the public. Therefore, it is not surprising that their impact on the transformation of particular urban spaces is sometimes comparable or even higher than the impact of planning tools. In most cases, the main actors are much better informed about the procedure for using the participatory budget or other participation tools than the master plan or zoning, which is certainly a consequence of restricted use of urban planning documentation for a long time. This barrier remains a part of the legacy of the previous era and requires to change the discourse on planning documentation or even to develop a new philosophy of its perception in (post)transitional reality.

Conclusions

The coexistence of several different trends could be detected when analyzing the using of tools and specific local practices both in regard to the ways of governance, institutional development and methods of communication. On the one hand, there is a declared trend towards democratization and increasing the transparency of tools and procedures. On the other, partially updated and entirely new tools typically have little impact on urban transformations, which are mostly the result of multiple chaotic processes. On the one hand, there is a tendency for rethinking the planning tools and a growing need for them. On the other, the process is so slow that it discredits both the planning tools and also policies with institutions involved. On the one hand, new tools for participation are emerging, improving and evolving. On the other, the local success of particular tools of participation and collaboration cannot create a sense of trust and cooperation between different stakeholders, including local authorities. These trends in the best way reflect the situation of "half measures" (Cleary, 2016) with implemented policies.

It is from this perspective that the urban planning system as well as urban transformations resulted from complicated processes in transitional societies, where

TOOLS	Compliance with the needs of urban renewal 1	Accessibility for public use 2	Awareness of the content and opportunities 3	Evolution of the tool 4
City master plan	✓✓	✓	✓	✓
Municipal zoning	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓
Urban development strategy	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Participatory budget	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
Public hearings	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓
E-petition	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Request for information	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓

Fig. 2. Summarized assessment of the main planning and participation tools performance (source: elaborated by the authors based on in-depth interviews)

shifting paradigms in urban planning overlapped with many other trends aimed at transforming the urban governance. Therefore, in some cases the emergence of new participation tools caused the excessive enthusiasm about them and subsequent replacement of other strategic tools of urban policy, while in other cases, this has resulted in complete indifference both on the particular tools and any interactions with local authorities. This to some extent helps to explain how communication in urban planning and tools providing it are "transformed within a context of power" (Fainstein, 2005) for the case of a (post)transitional reality, where the institutional and social heritage of the previous era is almost as strong as the attempts to transform it.

The disappointment in the performance of both particular tools and related institutions, which is quite typical for the (post)transitional reality and also detected for analyzed cases, should be considered from the perspective of continuing institutional development, when tools, norms and procedures are critically reconsidered and tested all the time (just as they are constantly critically reconsidered for other planning contexts – for instance, Legacy, 2017; Meléndez & Parker, 2019). On the other hand, thiscould be used as a basis for the implementation of "more place-focused public policy" (Healey, 1999), the demand for which is particularly evident in recent years.

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URBAN RENEWAL PLANNING IN GERMAN CITIES – A GOVERNANCE ANALYSIS

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Abstract: The European Union and Germany strive for a "green and just Europe" with a climate-neutral building stock, net zero land consumption and cities of social cohesion and cultural identity. Thus, urban renewal as the protection and cautious re-modelling of socio-material urban fabrics re-gains topicality. Urban renewal is neither a new nor an easy mode of urban development: West Germany experienced the first heydays of urban renewal planning in 1960s and 70s; big constructions works triggered civil protests and spurred institutional changes, namely the introduction of citizen participation in planning. Since then, the planning and local political institutions have continued to change oscillating between neoliberal and 'citizen democratic reforms'. So far, however, the German planning research has ignored these changes and the evolving experiences of urban renewal.

This paper steps in here: It aims at a critical review of the local practices of renewal planning in German cities today. Starting from the governance concept, the paper reveals key characteristics of and interdependencies among the local stakeholder groups in urban renewal – i.e. planners, politicians, citizens and activists, private entrepreneurs. It shows (1) how the formal political and planning institutions pre-frame the actors' opportunities and interdependencies, and how they use leeway differently due to specific informal institutions. The paper (2) points at the tight and critical interdependency between the local political bodies and the planning departments, which differs importantly from some Eastern European contexts. Finally, the paper reveal (3) some new challenges that are the un-explored local effects of citizen participation and ppp-cooperation in German renewal planning today: It becomes evident that participatory and cooperative renewal planning is still a demanding learning process in Germany without easy nor final receipts.

Key words: urban renewal planning, urban governance, planning and participation institutions, alliances of stakeholders, urban planning conflicts, Germany.

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ПЛАНУВАННЯ РЕНОВАЦІЇ МІСТ У НІМЕЧЧИНІ - АНАЛІЗ УПРАВЛІННЯ

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Анотація: Європейський Союз та Німеччина прагнуть до розбудови "зеленої та справедливої Європи": кліматичної нейтральності будівельного фонду, мінімізації нового залучення земель під будівництво, досягнення високого рівня соціальної згуртованості та потужної культурної ідентичності міст. За таких умов знову набувають актуальності практики оновлення міст для захисту та збалансованого перетворення соціального та матеріального міського середовища. Оновлення міст не є ні новим, ні простим інструментом міського розвитку. Зокрема, Західна Німеччина пережила перший розквіт практик міської реновації у 1960-х та 1970-х, причому великі будівельні проєкти стали каталізаторами громадянських протестів та стимулювали інституційні зміни, а саме - запровадження громадянської участі у міському плануванні. З тих пір як планувальні, так і місцеві політичні інститути продовжували змінюватися, коливаючись між неоліберальною політикою та «демократичними реформами». Проте, станом на сьогодні ці зміни та досвід оновлення німецьких міст не були належним чином відрефлексовані у наукових дослідженнях.

Метою цієї статті є критичний огляд сучасних місцевих містобудівних практик в галузі міського оновлення в Німеччині. Зокрема, на початку подано аналіз концепції управління міським розвитком та оновленням міст Німеччини, а також розкрито ключові характеристики та взаємозв'язки між місцевими групами зацікавлених сторін в процесі оновлення міст - фахівців з міського планування, політиків, звичайних громадян, громадських активістів, приватного бізнесу. Таким чином стає можливою демонстрація (1) впливу формальних політичних та містобудівних інститутів на можливості та взаємозалежність суб'єктів процесу планування та відмінності у використанні ними специфічних неформальних інститутів та інструментів. Також в статті (2) показано жорстку та критичну взаємозалежність місцевих політичних інституцій та містобудівних департаментів, що є істотною відмінністю ситуації в Німеччини від деяких країн Східної Європи. Насамкінець, у статті розкрито (3) деякі нові виклики, які постають в процесі планування оновлення міст Німеччини в результаті невивчених локальних ефектів громадської участі та публічно-приватного партнерства. Таким чином, стає очевидним, що досвід планування у сфері реновації міст у Німеччині досі потребує свого детального вивчення та не містить ні простих, ні остаточних рецептів.

Ключові слова: планування міського оновлення, міське управління, інститути міського планування та партисипації, альянси стейкхолдерів, містобудівні конфлікти, Німеччина.

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1. Introduction

Urban renewal means the appreciation and careful use of the existing socio-cultural and material resources in urban space; it gains importance and topicality in view of the climate change and the polarization of society and spaces (Territorial Agenda, 2030). The latter increase the pressure towards sustainable cities and a "green and just Europe" (ibid.; EU council, 2020). Urban renewal as the protection and cautious re-modelling of urban fabrics thus needs critical review and attention in practice and research, in particular thecurrent conflicts and challenges.

The German policy strives for a climate-neutral building stock and a net zero land consumption based on circular land management by 2050 (BMU, 2016). Urban renewal helps to reducethe exploitation of new resources such as energy, building materials and land (ibid.). The German policy thus urges for the protection and adaptation of *existing urban structures and housing stocks,* based on the stock's comprehensive (re)assessment regarding material-energetic life cycles and socio-cultural and ecological livelihoods. Urban renewal is a crucial part of the envisioned, broader socio-ecological transformation.

The aspired transformation calls for the critical review of the current practices and fundamentals of urban renewal planning. The European key documents of territorial policy – the Territorial Agenda 2030 and New Leipzig Charter – point to the decisive role of "governance quality" (Territorial Agenda, 2030: 2; cf. EU Council, 2020). They call for "place-based approaches" in planning that build on evidences, spatial and sectoral integration, subsidiarity and the "cooperation and coordination within society" (Territorial Agenda, 2030: 4). The latter means the involvement of citizens and civil society, private entrepreneurs and experts.Thus, urban renewal planning serving to the great socio-ecological transformation is relevant by content and by *process* too.

In West Germany, urban renewal planning has a long, conflictual history starting in the late 1960s and 1970s. Rehabilitation projects demolished historic urban districts at large extent (called *Kahlschlagsanierung).* It spurred the criticism among intellectuals and citizens of the insensitive, benefit-driven and technocratic mode of planning (cf. Mayer, 2010). Urban renewal became a subject of formal regulation and urban policy. However, still today urban renewal planning causes public contestation, raising critical questions: What is the state of urban renewal planning in Germany today – in particular of the 'cooperation and coordination within society'? What are the points, which call for (more) critical attention in pursue of a 'just and green city'?

The paper addresses these questions. It aims at the critical review of German renewal planning as a mode of urban governance what broadens the view: Instead of looking at the professional urban planners only, I am interested in the interplays of actors in renewal planning. They involve the public authorities – the planners and politicians, the citizens and activists as well as private entrepreneurs (investors, developers). I seek:

(1) to characterize the key stakeholdersin urban renewal with regard to their concepts, practices, and opportunities in planning;

(2) to reveal thesystemic interdependencies between them with an emphasis on the formal and informal institutions, and

(3) to point on critical moments that deserve practical and scholarly debate and exploration – also in Ukraine today.

The paper builds on primary research in three German cities as well as on secondary data[1] that I present and discuss in four observations about each stakeholder group. The final part summarizes the essentials of German renewal governance and the critical moments for further debate. However first, I remind of the conceptual basis of this paper and introduce the German context. Moreover, I present two stories of conflictual renewal planning in the West German city of Bonn that serve as examples and entry points to the general observations.

2. The concept of urban governance

Since the 1990's scholars look through the theoretical lens of governance at urban planning (Cruz et al. 2019). In this vein, urban planning constitutes one mode of urban governance. This conceptual perspective requires considering urban planning not exclusionary limited to the realm of planning professionals within the city administration, but as a process, which involves a variety of actors. Rather than to question urban planning as a field of state power and technical expertise only, where architects and planners have a primary voice and bureaucrats steer the process, a wide range of economic, civic and political actorscalls for consideration. The concept of urban governance reminds of three aspects that are constitutive to the present paper's analysis:

[1]The primary data stems from the tri-national, comparative research project "Shifting paradigms – Towards participatory and effective planning" (TRIPAR). The interdisciplinary project (funded by the German Volkswagen Foundation) run from 2017-2019 with a one-year extension in 2020. The first stage (2017-2019) comprised the in-depth research of urban renewal planning in selected German, Ukrainian and Russian case cities. In Germany, the city of Bonn was selected as case. A systematic analysis of local newspaper, covering the last 20 years, revealed reports several conflicts related to urban renewal projects and planning. The two most debated conflicts were selected for in-depth analysis (the Railway station square and the Viktoriakarree). The in-depth analysis comprised document analysis (planning documents, protocols etc.) as well as interviews (N = 25) with the involved local stakeholders, i.e. representatives of the local civil society, public authorities (administration, policy) and private economy (investors, property owner, renters). The second stage of research (2020) is still running. It looks at two further cities in each national context - the cities of Arnsberg and Essen in German Federal State of North Rhine Westphalia. Similar to Bonn, we carried out newspaper analysis and local interviews. Apart from this primary data, the paper refers to secondary data, namely to German studies on local (urban) governance. Noteworthy are the studies of Tausendpflug/ Vetter (2017) - a randomized survey of 720 deputies in 28 German cities as well as Heinelt et al. (2018) – a survey among German mayors. The secondary data serves to the broader contextualization and critical reflection of the own primary data.

First, planning institutions – in terms of formal regulations and laws as well as shared concepts and routines – structure the opportunities andinteractions among the different stakeholders in urban renewal planning. They matter for planning processes and results, and constantly raise the question how power imbalances are managed for whose benefit (cf. Sorensen 2017).

Second, urban planning is per sepolitical, since it comes up with decisions on territorial land-use and transformation, which weigh stakeholders' interests over each other (Fainstein, 2016). Consequently, urban planning in Europe is linked to local political systems, which arebased on models of parliamentary democracy. The political institutions structure interdependencies among the stakeholders, which need consideration in planning analysis too.

Third, scholars sensitize for the evolutionary nature of governance. In this vein, planning (re-) produces socio-material results, stakeholder arrangements and institutions that are bound to specific, e.g. socio-economic contexts in time and space. Planning practices and institutions are locally specific and evolve over time.

3. The German context

Urban renewal planning in Germany is bound to a complex set of formal institutions for local planning and politics. The renewal planning defines the land-use rules for the functional and material transformation of a specific territory. The German planning code – the *Baugesetzbuch (BauGB)* – defines a set of *planning instruments* and rules how to do so.

Formal planning institutions

The *instruments of statutory land-use planning* are highly formalized. They are legally binding to everyone and constitute the basis for building permits. Similar to many Central and Eastern European countries, they are the backbone of the German local planning system. The *general land-use plan (Flächenutzungsplan)* integrates all sectoral planning (e.g. transportation, nature and culture preservation) and defines functional zones for development such as residential or recreational areas at the city level. The *detailed land-use plan* governs the development of the particular land plots; it defines type and degree of construction. The German legislation distinguishes three procedures of detailed land-use planning. There is (1) the statutory detailed land-use plan (*Bebaaungsplan, §9 BauGB*), (2) the ppp[2]-based detailed land-use plan (*Vorhabenbezogener Bebauungsplan*, *§12 BauGB*) and (3) the accelerated detailed land-use planning (*Vereinfachtes Bebauungsplanverfahren, §13 BauGB*). While the first represents the standard procedure with the first-hand checking of all environmental and civic concerns, the ppp-based planning hands over the definition of the project idea and planning agenda to the investor[3]. The accelerated detailed land-use planning allows the forgoing on the environmental impact assessment as well as a reduced form of citizen participation[4]. Apart from that, the paragraph *§ 34 of the Baugesetzbuch* substantiates a legal claim for building permits in largely built-up areas, given that no detailed land-use plan is in force and that the new construction project fits the close urban fabric. The fitting is assessed along a set of criteria; the urban planning department then grants the building permit without any further checkingand citizen participation.

Voluntary planning instruments may complement the statutory planning at all levels. Strategic and master plans, for example, can add tothe statutory land-use planswith new analytical contents (e.g. cadaster of vacancies, micro-climates) and new cooperative tools for envisioning the city's future. *Design competitions* and *real estate tende*rs are examples of the latter. They are meant to advance design ideas and the process of project implementation respectively. The German planning legislation allows voluntary instruments, but regulates neither their processes nor contents in detail. Various recommendations of different scope, quality and purpose display experiences and learning processes with these instruments.

Finally, the statutory and voluntary instruments of planning are linked to *mandatory and voluntary tools of stakeholder involvement*. The German planning code requires a two-staged citizen participation process for any statutory land-use plan (*BauGB §3*)[5]. Voluntary tools of citizen participation– such as citizen workshops (*Bürgerwerkstatt),* future labs (*Zukunftsforum*) and many more – may complement all planning. Moreover, additional professional expertise may be involved in planning, complementing the obligatory coordination among the different departments within the city administrations. The advisory board for urban design (*Gestaltungsbeirat)* is a widespread example thereof: invited, external experts advise on the projects of urban renewal. But again, in contrast to the mandatory tools, the local decision-makers in policy and administration own great leeway here: they decide, when, how and why these voluntary tools of stakeholder involvement are used.

[2]The ppp is the abbreviation for "public private partnership".

[3]The ppp-based detailed planning builds on the investor's interest in construction on a plot, where a detailed land-use is missing. If the investor's construction idea is in line with the superordinate planning, a ppp-contract regulates among the partners the costs and modes of detailed planning and, if wanted, of project realization. The environmental impact assessment and the citizen participation are still mandatory and the final plan is approved by the city council, but the contract itself is not subject of parliamentary control.

[4]The accelerated detailed-planning is allowed only in built-up areas (§13a BaugGB). It relies on the assumption that all the environmental and civic concerns have been checked at the superordinate planning level. The reduction of citizen participation refers to the possibility to forego the early-stage participation (see below: §3 (1)) as well as to replace the 2nd stage of public hearing (see below: §3 (2)) by another mode of citizen involvement

[5]The § 3 of the planning code (BauGB) prescribes citizen participation in two stages. First, there is early stage discussion (§ 3(1)): 'The public shall be informed publicly as early as possible about the general objectives and purposes of the planning, substantially different solutions that may be considered for the redesign or development of an area, and the likely effects of the planning. The public shall be given the opportunity to comment and discuss the matter.' At the second stage, there is the public hearing (§3 (2)), where all planning documents including explanations and alternatives for planning are presented to the citizens. All citizens' written feedback has to be considered and answered in a written form.

Formal political institutions

Urban renewal planning in Germany is linked to the local political system (Fig. 1). The prototype process of statutory land-use planning reveals this nexus: The city administration, in particular the *planning department,* elaborates and coordinates the urban planning process, and the *city council* decides on launching and approving the planning. Several committees of the city council advice and in some cases guide its decisions. In the German city of Bonn, for example, the *Committee for Planning* (*Bauausschuss*) decides if land-use planning processes should start or not. The *Committee for Citizens' Affairs* collects, forwards and moderates the questions and complaints that individuals send to the city council. Each committee consists of representatives of the council (mostly according to the seat distribution among the political parties), representatives of the city administration and of citizens appointed by the political parties. The city mayor heads the city administration and city council. The citizens directly elect both, the mayor and the city council every five years. The city is politically and financially independent, although it has to follow the general rules of regional planning as well as the laws of the respective German federal state to whom it belongs.

According to political regulations of the German Federal States (*Kommunalverordnung*), residents can also directly intervene in local political issues such as urban renewal planning. Figure 1 shows the two-staged instrument of *petition* and *referendum:* If a petition is successful, the *referendum* allows the citizens to directly voteon the local issue in question and thus to control directly the city council and mayor[6]. So far, German municipalities have rarely faced referenda, but the number is growing and topics of urban renewal are at the top (cf. Vetter et al., 2016). The opportunity for referenda is quite new in German legislation. It reminds ofthe incremental, but important changes in the German planning and political systems during the last decades.

Formal institutional changes

First of all, the *urban planning system* has undergone important changes since the 1970's. In the late 1960's and 1970's leftist citizens and intellectuals pushed the public authorities towards more collaborative and stock-sensitive forms of planning (Mayer, 2000). They required turning away from growth-oriented big projects towards sensitive urban renewal and heritage protection. Moreover, they urged for a shift away from the omniscient perspective of the public authorities towards citizen participation. Legislative changes followed the protest movement. The early-stage citizen participation (today *§3 BauGB*) as well as the possibility to protect the urban fabric and milieu at the local level (*Erhaltungssatzung* and *Milieuschutz)* were introduced in 1976 (Schmidt-Eichstaedt et al., 2014: 78). A bit later in view of the economic crisis since 1978, planning instruments were introduce that strengthen entrepreneurship in urban planning, namely the ppp-based detailed-land use planning (*Vorhabenbezogener Bebauungsplan*) in 1990 and further forms of urban planning contractualism in 1993 (*Städtebauliche Verträge).* The accelerated detailed land-use plan (*Vereinfachtes Bebauungsplanverfahren* §13a) was introduced in 2006 (Schmidt-Eichstaedt et al., 2014: 78) in order to counterbalance the increased complexity of planning due to the environmental assessments and citizen participation.

Today, some scholars refer to these institutional changes as the shift from the modernist planning paradigm – i.e. the expert-based, state-governed and sectoral planning – to the communicative-collaborative planning paradigm based on more multi-lateral communication and informal collaboration (Healey, 1997). Others spot herein the "contradictions of neo-liberal planning" (Tasan-Kok, 2012), i.e. the promotion of civic engagement, democracy and effectiveness in planning on the one hand, and – though by modified practices and instruments – the maintenance of the established power hierarchies in urban development on the other hand.

Since the early 1990s, also the *local political institutions* of parliamentary democracy have witnessed important changes: The last parliament of the GDR introduces far-reaching elements of direct democracy to the municipal level (Vetter, 2009). The reform ideas spread out to all German federal states after reunification. They include the direct election of the city mayor, the opportunity for petition and referenda, the possibility of open electoral lists as well as the lowering or abolition of percentage hurdles for city council elections. The political scientist Angelika Vetter acknowledges these changes as the shift from "local party democracy" towards "local citizens democracy" (Vetter, 2009: 127) that upgrades the citizens' voice in the local parliamentary democracy.

Both formal institutional shifts – towards 'citizen democracy' and participatory, liberalized urban planning – emerged incrementally in West Germany. Triggered by economiccrisis and political failures (cf. Vetter, 2009), they propagated improvements of the performance (effectiveness and quality) and legitimacy (representativeness and trust) of urban governance (Vetter et al., 2013: 257; cf. Eckardt et al., 2009).

4. Two conflict stories of urban renewal planning in the city of Bonn

The following review of two conflictual projects in Bonn exemplify how these formal planning and political institutions play out on the ground. The conflict stories shed light on both, the general challenges and patterns of renewal governance in German cities as well as on the specificities of urban renewal planning in Bonn. Bonn represents a prosperous big city of 320.000 inhabitants in the West German Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The two conflicts in Bonn emerged around attempts to reconstruct parts of the existing urban fabric. In the

[6]Angelika Vetter (2009: 139) explains: „Local referendums in Germany are divided into two steps. First, there is an initiative stage (Bürgerbegehren) in which citizens petition the referendum. Different quorums of necessary signatures facilitate or hinder the success of the initiative. Only when the first stage is passed is the decision taken by popular vote in the second step (Bürgerentscheid), again with different quorums of yes voters in all eligible voters". Though referenda could be used for the direct and pro-active agenda setting by citizens, if linked to additional forms of civic participation at the stage of preparing the referenda, this is rarely the case in Germany.

first conflict case, a lively inner-city historical quarter called Viktoriakaree should be transformed into more profitable real estate by an international developer. The second conflict story refers to the sustained citizen opposition to the city's plans to redevelop the railway station square and its adjacent buildings. Table 1 displays a brief summary of the renewal projects under scrutiny. The two conflicts differ in the duration, but also match on some points. They are reconstructed, based on the analysis of the media reports and relevant documents (cf. Neugebauer et al., 2021).

Bonn: An inner-city neighborhood under threat (Viktoriakarree)

The conflicts in Bonn unfolded in the inner city. The case of the Viktoriakarree concerns a vibrant quarter close to the city's university that comprised housing, small shops, cultural amenities, and a public swimming hall of the 1960s under monument protection. Discussions about the re-development of the area germinated from the City Council's decision in 2007 to close the swimming hall. Consequently, several informal planning concepts were developed that foresaw to strengthen the retail function

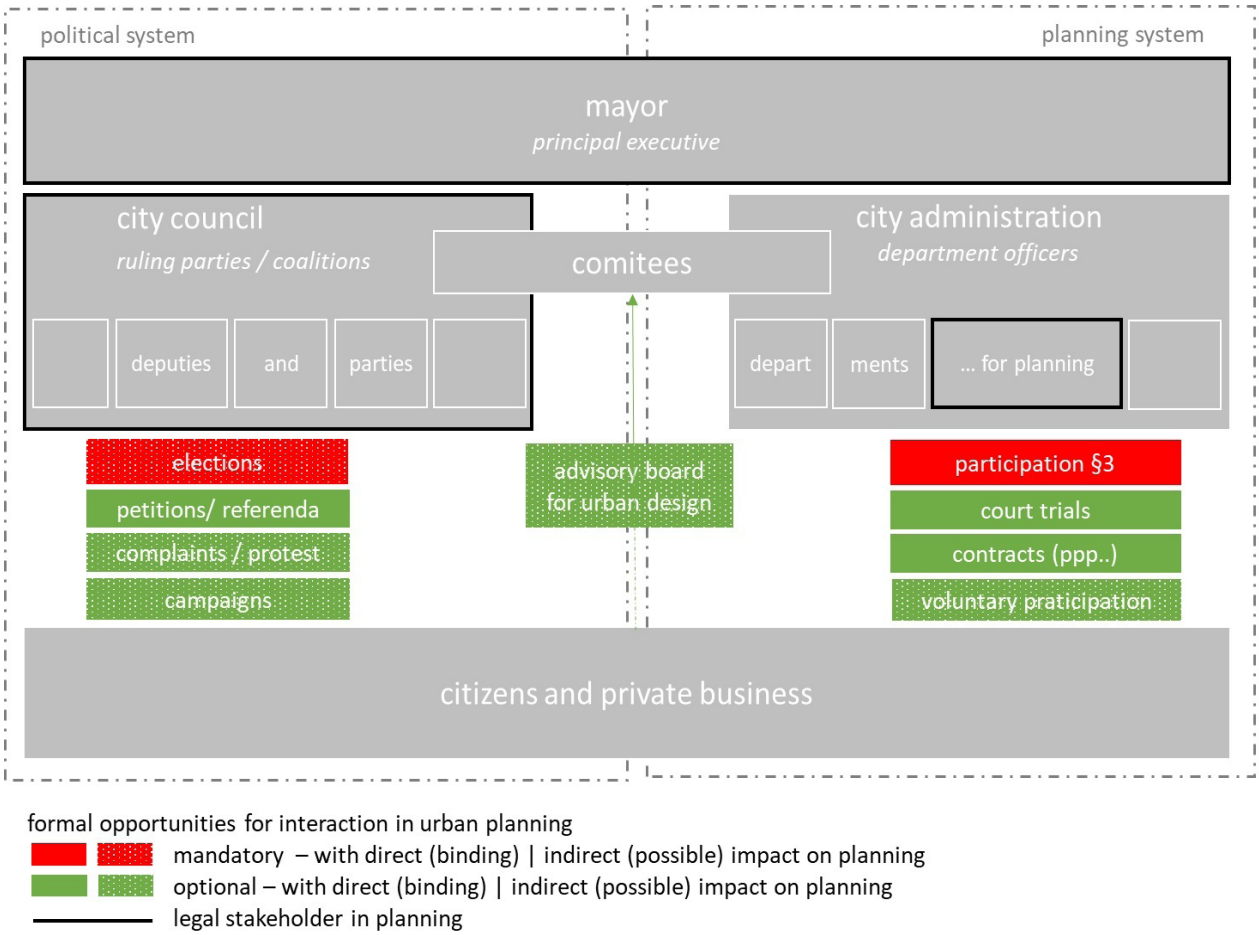

Fig. 1. Urban planning institutions in Germany (source: author)

Table 1

Overview of the conflict cases in Bonn (source: Neugebauer et al. 2021, modified by author)

Case and location	Duration	Planning specifics	Repertoire of citizen participation	Outcomes
Bonn: Viktoriakarree, Downtown	2012-2018	European tender & PPP-based detailed land-use planning& aspired construction permit. The shopping mall might replace a mixed uses, inner-city quarter.	Meetings, petitions and referendum, protests, workshops, mandatory participation	Stalemate between the activists and developer/ landowner
Bonn: Railway station square, Downtown	2002-2016	PPP-based detailed land-use planning& European tender, statutory detailed planning & construction permit. New constructions replaced the modernist ensemble in the city.	Meetings, petitions and referendum, workshops, mandatory participation	Construction of the project with amendments

in this area, while the "Masterplan Inner City Bonn" (drafted since 2010 and approved by the city council in 2013) foresaw mixed functionality for the area.

In 2010, developers began to buy plots in the Viktoriakarree expecting the area's commercialization. In 2012, two investors presented their proposals for the development of the area to the City Council's Committee on Economic Affairs: the Austrian-based firm Signa envisioned a demolition of the whole structure and the construction of a shopping mall, and the investor PDP suggested a culture-focused concept. The city administration favored Signa's idea, and the governing Social-Democratic Party (SPD) party together with the Liberal Party (FDP) pushed the decision process forward. The Council's Committee for Planning, however, postponed their decision due to opposition from two other political parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Green Party. The district council of Bonn inner city (Bezirksvertretung Innenstadt) was also against a shopping mall.

Due to this conflict, in March 2014 the City Council decided to carry out a European-wide tender to sell and develop the municipal plots within the Viktoriakaree. The tender included provisions to hold the area open to the public and to preserve the University's library. At the same time, the Council decided to initiate a land-use planning process in which the investor would work out the plan, thus seeking to stimulate investors to develop the area. In May 2014, the City Council elections took place, which led to a change in the ruling coalition: the CDU, Green Party and FDP took over power. While before the elections the CDU had agreed with its coalition partner, the Green Party, on supporting the project, after the elections the latter distanced itself from the project.

The Greens called to preserve the existing milieu of the Viktoriakarree and called for support from citizens "before another part of the historic city center becomes a victim to the profit interest of foreign investors" (press release 2014: Beu/Lohmeyer). By using this specific vocabulary (e.g. '*Kahlschlagsanierung'* – urban clearance, '*Profitinteresse'*– profit interests) the authors referred back to the aforementioned heavy controversies that characterized West German planning debates in the late 1960s and 1970s. The outcome of these debates was a shift in perception, namely towards the recognition to preserve existing urban structures, their socio-spatial milieus and to empower citizens. By explicitly linking the Viktoriakarree-project to these debates and by approaching the citizens directly, the local politicians were seeking to strengthen their position.

Political support for the project was already shaky at this moment. But the conflict really arose in 2015 when the City Council presented its decision to sell the municipal plots to Signa, which despite the provisions in the tender had repeated a bulky shopping center. Consequently, a citizen initiative, Viva Viktoria, was launched in August 2015 to protect the area against the project. Several other initiatives joined them in staging public protests every Wednesday. They launched a petition for a public referendum that the City Council members of the SPD, the Green Party and The Left Party (against CDU and FDP) joined in December 2015. In consequence of the referendum result, the decision to sell the municipal land was cancelled and the tender procedure stopped.

The project re-started in 2016, this time with a costly citizen workshop, which Signa left before an agreement between all stakeholder groups could be reached. In parallel, Signa acquired other plots in the Viktoriakarree, thus becoming the dominant property owner. From 2016 onwards, the company halted rental contract extension for local businesses, stoking peoples' fears that Signa intended to ruin the lively atmosphere of the Viktoriakarree in order to increase pressure on officials. By the time of writing, the outcome of the conflict was unclear. While the activists still demand a sensitive renewal of the area, the investor did not publish an alternative to his shopping-oriented proposal yet. The city administration seeks the compromise, but it is caught between the new property pattern and private/public interests divisions.

Bonn: A new commercial entrance to the city

The second case in Bonn concerns the development of the railway station's square, which has been a site of renewal and contention since the 1970s. Due to civic protests at that time, the city stopped the already started construction. In the early 2000s, the public authorities decided to give it another try and made a call for expression of interest for European investors. From the eight competitors the City Council selected the project developed by the developer *Brune*, which consisted of a glass-construction complex with retail spaces. This decision spurred a conflict: By the end of 2002, citizens' initiatives and other lobby groups criticized the project, but above all the planning- and decision-making process. Opponents argued that key decisions had been made before even presenting the project to the public and urged for more participation in the planning process.

Despite the resistance, the City Council gave the formal mandate to the city administration to continue working with Brune on a ppp-based detailed land-use plan. Between 2003 and 2004, the investor in coordination with the city administration further developed their proposal. Although amendments were made and additional forms of participation such as meetings were carried out, the conflict intensified. The public interest groups demanded significant changes, and a group of citizens initiated a public petition against the renewal of the square. Even though the CDU had been a strong supporter of the Brune concept, the party joined the public petition in the course of the campaign for mayoral elections in autumn 2004. In consequences of the referendum results, the City Council cancelled the project in December 2004.

After this 'crash', supporters of the petition (CDU, BBB and Green Party) pushed for a quick re-start and proposed to proceed differently. The city organized a costly public workshop with citizens, lobby groups, politicians and city officials between October 2005 and January 2006, to find consensus on key planning objectives. The resulting agreements included maintaining a sufficient distance between the new buildings and the railway station; the reduction or demolition of the Südüberbauung – the unloved

modernist architecture by Friedrich Spengelin; the creation of a public square as well as the commitment that planning competence must remain with the city and shall not be given to a private investor.

In 2007 the City Council decided to develop the plots of the whole territory separately and an interested investor, GDG, started to work on a project to replace the Südüberbauung for its own cost. In the course of the development, GDG demanded concessions from the city, namely to grant it the land-use concession for the plot as investment protection. The city, however, rejected this request and launched a solely state-run detailed land-use planning process in 2008. At that point various citizen initiatives started to heavily oppose the city. They called for the city to actively support the private investor in their attempt to quickly demolish the unloved Südüberbauung; thereby, however, also opposing the former workshop agreement that the city shall not merely "serve" the interests of private investors.

Yet, the alliance between the activists and the investor broke after the investor presented his design by the end of 2009. Opponents now came back to the agreements of the workshop and systematically criticized the project based on these principles. The agreements of this workshop became a reference point during the whole process. However, all stakeholder groups made selective and shifting use of them conforming with their also shifting interests and positions. Though GDG made several amendments to its project, it could not build consensus and finally dropped the project due to financial problems in 2014. Another investor, Ten Brinke, jumped in, with a new proposal for the Südüberbauung and received the building permission in 2016 in line with detailed land-use plan that had entered into force in 2013. The project is currently under construction, and several activists meanwhile lament about the lost heritage of the once unloved modernist Südüberbauung.

In sum, these detailed insights into two project stories nurture general observations about the stakeholders and their interdependencies in urban renewal planning. Following, I try to compile findings of general interest. Therefore, I draw on the Bonn study as well as on our primary research in the German cities of Essen and Arnsberg[7] and secondary literature.

5. The contradictory role of citizen participation in urban renewal (observation 1).

A first essential observation in this vein is that the citizens' voices and activism matter in German urban renewal planning, however in an ambivalent manner. What do I mean?

The case studies of Bonn, Arnsberg and Essen, show – *and that is the first part of observation* – that citizen participation is deeply rooted in current renewal planning. The citizens themselves use the multiple opportunities to access urban planning processes, to voice and pursue their interests. Moreover, the local authorities carefully implement the mandatory civic participation (§ 3BauGB), and there is also a more or less routinized useof the various voluntary tools of citizen participation. In Bonn, for instances, two costly citizens workshops were carried out. In the city of Arnsberg and Essen, voluntary participation is regularly used in view of complex and potentially conflictual projects (Interview Fröhlich, Witte, Vielhaber): 'in every project we actually ask who and how we can involve' (Interview Fröhlich 25: 30 min). New tools are tested in order to engage with as many citizens as possible and to avoid stuffiness among the participants (Interview Fröhlich, 22: 50 min, Interview Witte, 27: 32 min). Several German guidelines also describe and explain the use of theever-evolving toolbox for participation, thus indicating the wide spread of voluntary participation in German renewal planning. The guideline for architectural competitions (BDA, 2014) is an example thereof: issued in 2014 by the German chamber of architects, it recommends the early-stage participation of citizens in any competition. At the municipal level, public authorities propose pro-actively additional citizen participation (like in Arnsberg or Essen) or they are pushed like in the Bonn cases.

This practice and routine of citizen participation seems to alorize the (self)confidence and activism of the citizens. So the German activists show a high self-confidence of their power and a strong awareness of 'their' decision-making rights in urban planning, differently to urban activists in Russia for instance (cf. Neugebauer et al., 2021). At the same time, all interviewed local stakeholders (i.e. politicians, planners and private entrepreneurs) acknowledge the importance of citizens in urban renewal. The conflict stories of Bonn also testify the power of citizens to change the courses of renewal planning, either through direct referenda or indirectly through the local deputies' responsiveness to their causes (cf. Interviewee 5, 22: 36 min). Consequently – and in difference to Ukraine and Russia (cf. Neugebauer et al., 2020), the local authorities in Germany do not attempt to undermine the citizens' right to planning information and mandatory participation. The legal obligation for citizen participation matches with the informal agreement to do so. Rather there are some disagreement and splintered routines how local authorities deal with voluntary participation and with some activists' calls for more direct decision-making power in urban planning (cf. Vetter, 2017). Here we see local differences between Bonn, Arnsberg and Essen: the latter show a broader acceptance and routineness with voluntary citizen involvement.

At the same time – and that is *the second part of the observation* – the German participatory urban renewal planning also reveal *ambivalent trends and new challenges.*

A first ambivalent observation is that *tools and local practices of citizen participation contribute to the re-shuffling of political responsibility and accountability in planning.* Though planning is per se political, the citizen participation in Germany – and in particular, the tools of voluntary participation – tend to shift key questions of democratic debate from the city council to the planning departments. The background is that the planning departments alone most often choose and configure the

[7]In comparison to the city of Bonn, Essen is as big city of 580,000 inhabitants with a relatively lower prosperity. The city of Arnsberg is a prosperous, medium-sized city of 73,000 inhabitants. Both are also located in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

voluntary tools of participation. In doing so, they pre-define without any systematic regulation or surveillance the citizens' opportunities to voice and intervene in planning. Consciously or unconsciously, the planners touch and answer the question who is getting the chance of voicing or not. They gain 'silently' a political power and burden respectively, which actually belongs to the city council as local legislative body that has to ensure representativeness and accountability.

This is an overload of planners and a risk to the fairness and democratic legitimacy of renewal planning. Because on the one hand, we see that the scope of voluntary participation in German renewal planning grows and thus the load to decide and design-well each informal participatory event. On the other hand, the challenge is to consider and balance both, the citizens' inequality[8] in general and the diversity and fluidity of urban activism in particular. With regard to the latter, we may recall the cases of Bonn with the plurality of interests and the instability of activists' positions. In the case of the *Bahnhofsvorplatz*, for example, the activists forgot about the citizen workshop agreements and asked the planning department to support the investor, and after the decision for demolishing the modernist Südüberbauung, yet other activists started to lament on the cultural loss.

Today, in urban renewal, long-term activism and altruism contrasts with NIMBYism (e.g. Gestring et al., 2014; Mayer, 2000; e.g. Interviewee 5, Interviewee 2). Clear ideological-political agendas clash with ignorance or opposition (e.g. Interviewee 7) and many more. Finally, the political scientist Margit Mayer reconstructed in her research the long-term trend of pluralization and fragmentation within the West German urban activism (Mayer, 2000: 131)[9]. Against this background, the voluntary participation in urban renewal highlights both, the challenge to consider and balance the diversity of activism and societal inequality *as well as* the ambivalent trend to 'silently' outsource this great challenge from the legitimized and accountable city council to somewhere else.

The second ambivalent finding refers to *the contradictory role of urban activism in renewal planning today.* The conflict cases in Bonn remind of its negative effects, as the retardation of planning. Moreover, we know several cases where local activism prevented important projects for the good of the many. Margit Mayer (2000:149) explains the "contradictory role" of urban activism as the result of theinternal pluralization of local activism – that came along with the growth of self-confidence among the German activists – and the new structural conditions, i.e. the new institutional opportunities for urban activists. Both developments can turn out negative, in particular when local stakeholders – such as deputies and planners – hold *uncritical or simplistic expectations towards citizen participation*. In this vein, Angelika Vetter and colleagues (2013: 265) warn of the local misunderstanding of participation as 'consensus-maker'. They plead that 'the majority principle [...] must remain the central and ultimately necessary democratic decision-making rule' at the ground and that 'citizen participation' is a tool'to increase the breadth of the supporting majority' (ibid.).

Until today, we witness the "high risk" that local minorities politically abuse tools of participation in order to impose their interest on the majority (Vetters et al., 2013: 268). In Bonn, we gained the impression that some activists did so, and also a quote from Essen confirms the threat: 'I was a judge for almost 40 years, and that's why I really try to be neutral. But myself, I am shocked by what is happening in this business [in urban planning]. The louder minorities articulate themselves, the more they succeed' (Interviewee 1, 38: 56 min). Unfortunately, there is rarely any study that has researched the impacts of citizen participation in urban renewal in breadth and depth (e.g. Selle, 2018).

Summing up, we witness that citizens and urban activism are important and by now self-evident parts of German renewal planning. All sides use the tools of participation – the legally mandatory and voluntary ones –in a more or less routinized manner. So far, however, citizen participation in planning hasn't brought up easy and final conclusions how to govern urban renewal. Rather, it brings ambivalent trends and new challenges to the fore such as (1) the outsourcing of parliamentary debate to the planning departments and (2) the uncertainty about the un/intended effects participatory planning. The introduction of participatory tools in German urban renewal planning was a necessary step. Instead of a conclusion, however, it elicited and urges for acontinuous, self-critical learning among all stakeholders (Vetter et al., 2013: 268).

6. The little explored dominance of investors in urban renewal (observation 2)

Apart from the citizens, the private entrepreneurs in form of investors and developers shape the governance arrangements in urban renewal planning. Our local interviewees even assess the entrepreneurs and their interests as pre-dominant in renewal planning, at least in the two conflict cases of Bonn (Neugebauer et al., 2021). The mathematical analysis of Bonn's stakeholder networks confirmed very small cliques of decision-making: in both planning cases, the cliques include the city administration, local politicians *and* the investor(s), whereas the citizens and their representatives are not in (Neugebauer et al., 2021a: 39).

In doing so, the investors and developers in Bonn share similar understandings of 'planning effectiveness' and 'participatory planning'. They equate 'planning effectiveness' with the 'reliability of planning'

[8]Jörke (2011) remind of the unevenly distributed resources such as time, knowledge and skills that citizens have to invest in any form of citizen participation, but in particular in the deliberative, voluntary ones.

[9]In her study Margit Mayer observed that "from the 1970s and early 1980s [the urban social] movements exhibited relative coherence and unity in their opposition to urban renewal, in their demands for improved collective consumption" (p.131). In the "1990s [however] an extremely fragmented urban social movement scene" (p. 136) emerged that was fragmented in terms of "pursued interests and repertoire" (p. 138). Also local interviewees report on shifted attitudes among local activists (e.g. interviewee1, 4, 5 and 6).

(*Planungssicherheit*), since the latter secures their investments in project planning and development. Similarly, they intersect the concept of 'effectiveness' and 'participation': They acknowledge the need of citizen participation in planning, however reject any aspiration ofcitizens' decision-making in planning with the argument that this would subvert the local parliamentary democracy. The conflict stories in Bonn display how direct decision-making of citizens – the referenda – and the activists' indirect influences on the city council's decisions changed or even stipulated the course of the planning processes. These interferences are threats to the investors' interest in planning effectiveness, i.e. to the investments in planning.

In line with this rationality, the Figures 2 and 3 illustrate for the two Bonn cases the entrepreneurs' specific network management. The figures show – at the level of discussion (lines of blue colour) for example – that the city administration and the investors dominate the networks[10]. However, they do in different ways: while the city administration discusses with many different actors, the investors concentrate on small networks. They focus on the city administration and discuss with some few political bodies and local economic actors (such as the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, property owners), but sideline most often the citizens. The reason is that only the formerowns the institutional power to grant building permits and thus the aspired planning and investment security (Neugebauer et al., 2021a: 38). Accordingly, we may assume that the aforementioned empowerment of citizens in urban renewal planning challenges the entrepreneurs' effective and efficient mode of networking in urban renewal planning. So far, however, the scope and quality of any paradigmatic shift within the stakeholder groups of investors and developersis still unexplored.

Today, the opportunities for investors to pursue their interests in urban renewal are manifold and rooted in the local political *and* planning system. The German systems allow lobbyism and direct talks with the city mayor, deputies and the planning departments. The planning system also offers ppp-based planning instruments (i.e. ppp detailed land-use plans, real estate tenders and urban contracts), which enable the very early voicing of economic interests in planning; these instruments also reduce the parliamentary and public control in favour of the city administration and the mayor who gain greater leeway (cf. Interview 4, Interviewee 8). This may spur suspicion among local citizens (Neugebauer et al., 2021) and nurture the perception of economic predominance in the city. So far, however, we know little details how the investors and developers enforce indeed their interests in planning and which planning instruments, local regimes and planning routines transmit, favour and/or buffer them (Hurk et al., 2020; Groß, 2017: 114 & 145).

Our case studies remind considering also the diversity of investors that is evident beyond the aforementioned commonalities of shared concepts and practices. The interviewed entrepreneurs show, for example, differentiated sensitivity and interest in the spatial-material and socio-cultural features of urban renewal projects. Though all strive for profitability, they differ with regard to the aspired profit margins and the strategy how and where to reinvest the profits (e.g. Interviewee 3). Some are interested in the local context and design qualities envisioning mid-term benefits (e.g. housing cooperatives, local investors); others are ignorant about this and aspire short-term profitsonly such as some international investors in Bonn.The conflicts cases in Bonn also point tothe different power strategies of entrepreneurs: In the case of the *Viktoriakarree,* the investor accumulates land property as power resource and bargains with the fear of still stand and degradation. Though not all investors are such 'nasty people' (Interviewee 5: p.11), but partners to 'cooperate trustfully with' (Interviewee 5: p.10, cf. Interviewee 9: p.12), the unpleasant investors in urban renewal would make up app. 50% (Interview Graf/ Müller, p.11) – at least in big cities such as Bonn and Essen. In contrast to citizens, investors and developers own and use allocative power resources – i.e. money and land property – in pursue of interests.

Summing up, we witness that the private entrepreneurs in terms of developers and investors are broadly perceivedas (pre)dominant actors in German urban renewal. The local planning and political system offer them opportunities to voice their interests. So far however – and that is surprising, we miss an updated and nuanced understanding of the private investors' practices and power in German renewal planning. We know little about the internal diversity of this group, about the differentiated and evolving practices, and local factors – such as city size, political regimes, and planning routine – conditioning their role.

7. Local political regimes in urban renewal (observation 3)

The previous paragraphs mentioned the local political bodies as gatekeepers to and decision-makers in German urban renewal planning. The *city council*, for instance, launches controls and approves localplanning, and the Bonn conflicts stories show that the *city council and local deputies* serve especially to the citizens as access points. The latter either use the opportunities of mandatory citizen participation in planning (§3*BauGB*), or they approach local deputies directly (e.g. via petitions and media) and may benefit from the politicians' responsiveness to their causes.

The political responsiveness to citizens is generally rooted in the German mode of local parliamentary democracy (cf. Neugebauer et al., 2021). However, it differs at the ground in dependence on the *local political*

[10]The width of the line shows the relative frequency of the connections or interactions between the actors, e.g. a multiple discussion. However, the order and graphic arrangement of the actors in the figures are purely random. More details in Neugebauer et al. (2021a: 35).

[9]In her study Margit Mayer observed that "from the 1970s and early 1980s [the urban social] movements exhibited relative coherence and unity in their opposition to urban renewal, in their demands for improved collective consumption" (p.131). In the "1990s [however] an extremely fragmented urban social movement scene" (p. 136) emerged that was fragmented in terms of "pursued interests and repertoire" (p. 138). Also local interviewees report on shifted attitudes among local activists (e.g. interviewee1, 4, 5 and 6).

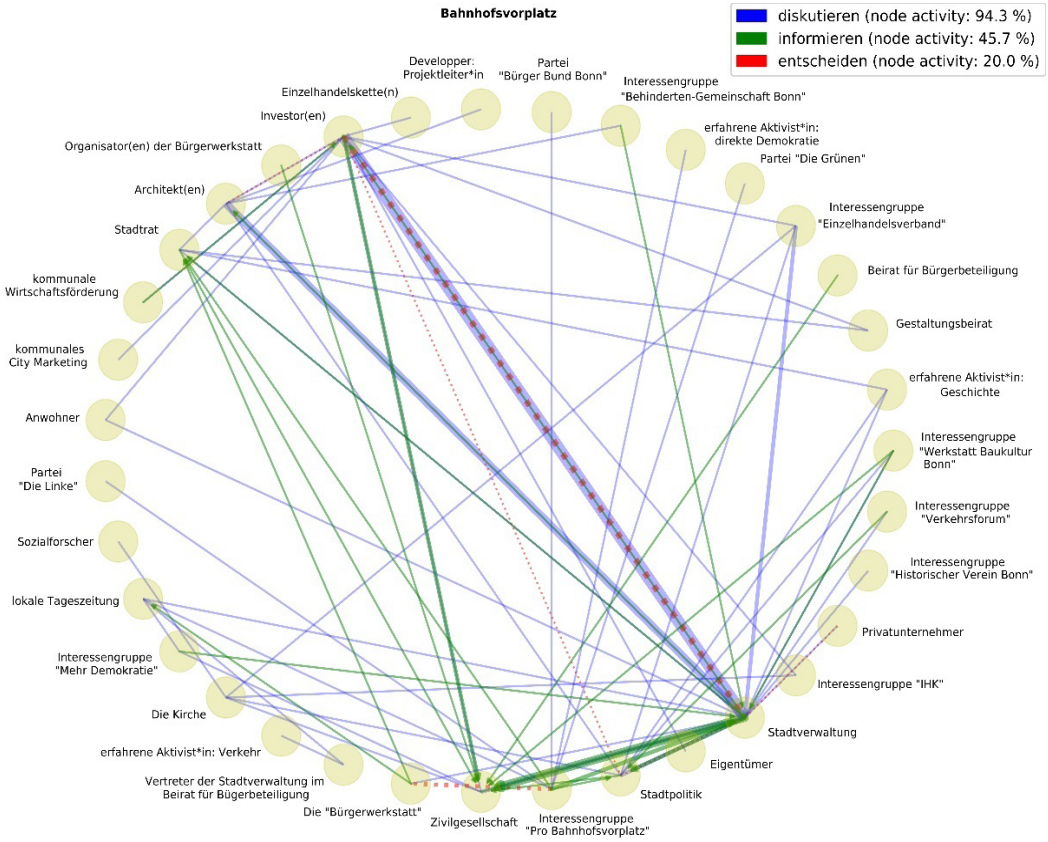

Fig. 2. The local stakeholders' communication networks – the case of Bahnhofsvorplatz (source: Neugebauer et al., 2021a; legend: blue – discussion, red – decide, green – inform)

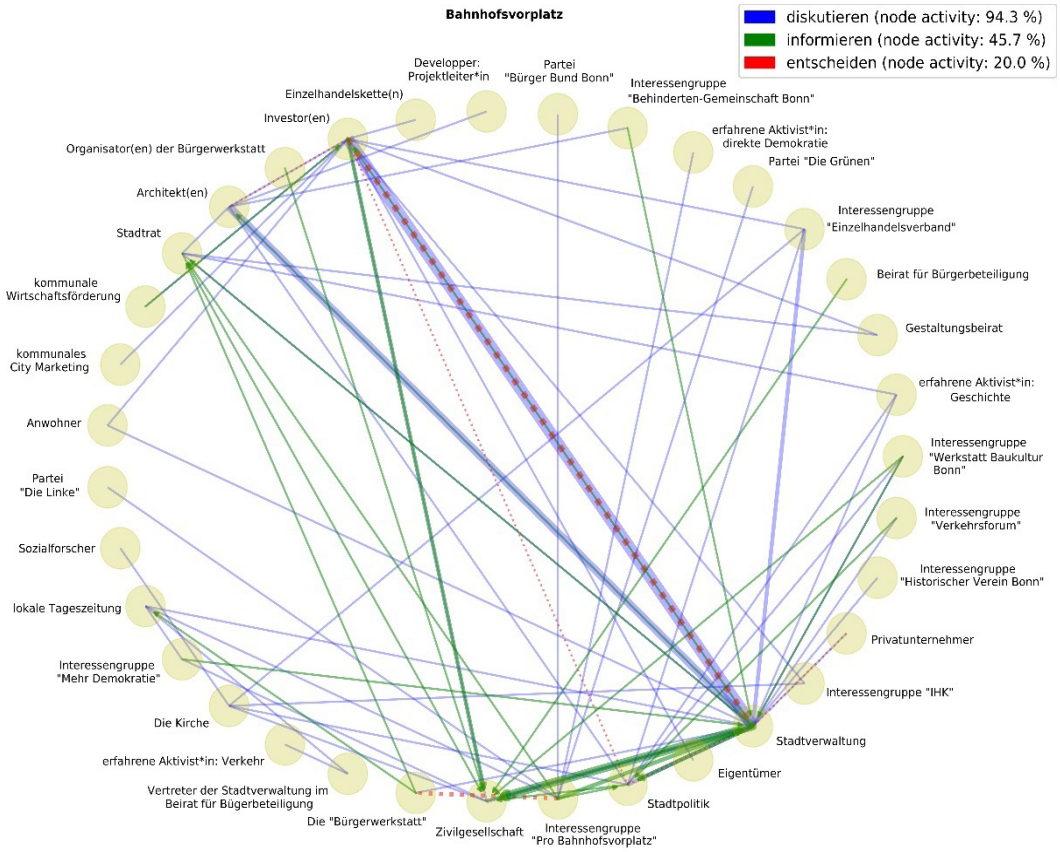

Fig. 3. The local stakeholders' communication networks – the case of Bahnhofsvorplatz (source: Neugebauer et al., 2021a; legend: blue – discussion, red – decide, green – inform)

regimes. In this vein, the two stories of urban renewal planning in Bonn reveal the power of urban activism in instable local political regimes, which are marked by a high political competition and changing coalitions between parties and/or mayors. Local elections spur here changes in the course of planning; parties and politicians are highly responsive to active citizens, perceiving the activism as seismograph, the renewal planning as arena for electoral campaigning and tools of participation as consensus-makers. Overly reliant on these pre-assumptions, the local politicians risk to sideline the principles of representiveness and direct accountability as key criteria of parliamentary democracies (cf. Vetter et al., 2013: 268).

In contrast to Bonn, the political regimes in Essen and Arnsberg display a long-standing stability of mayors and party coalitions. Though attempts of activists and deputies exist to overly politicize urban planning and citizen participation (e.g. Interviewee 10: 39 min), we witness much less effects thereof due to the much weaker political competition in Arnsberg and Essen. These cases show that political regimes locally differ and that the differences effect on the citizens, the planning departments and the deputies themselves. The latter seem to struggle with the recent formal-institutional changes, especially in contexts of high political competition. That means that even though German deputies broadly accept citizen participation (cf. Vetter et al., 2013), they need to re-position themselves in the evolving German parliamentary democratic system, where active citizens use the new opportunities of 'citizen democracy' in an increasing and ever-more self-confident manner. Urban renewal planning brings this struggle to the fore.

In contrast to the city council, the *mayor*is apparently the preferred gatekeeper of developers and investors (Groß, 2017; Egner, 2013). Various respondents confirm the normality of office talks or weekend meetings between investors and the mayor (cf. Interviewee 10: 47 min, Interviewee 5: p. 10), and the figures 2 and 3 show the investors' networking focused on the city administration whose head the mayor is. The local deputies (Egner, 2013; Groß, 2017: 144) as well as the urban planners (e.g. Interviewee 1, Interviewee 5, Interviewee 10) underline the mayor's key position and great power in urban policy and planning. As the head of the local authorities, the mayor has a say in all processes of urban renewal such as planning contracts, sales of municipal property, tender processes and agenda setting (cf. Heinelt et al., 2018).

Moreover, also the *interplay between the mayor and city council* matters for the planning process itself and the stakeholders' opportunities. The mentioned stability and the powerful alliance (coherence) between the ruling party/coalition and the mayor of the same party affiliation facilitate the smooth run of big renewal projects in Arnsberg and Essen (Interviewee 10: 43 min, Interviewee 4: p. 9). In Bonn in contrast, the instable political regime and the opposition between the mayor and ruling coalition increase the opportunities for urban activists as well as the insecurity of investors.

The concepts and routines (i.e. the *informal institutions)* that the local political representatives share seem to make up another, important part of the opportunity structures in urban renewal. The shared concepts facilitate and hamper respectively the citizens and entrepreneurs' access. For example in Bonn, the local political elites[11] and the planning department jointly rely on growth and private investments. In both renewal projects, they repeatedly chose instruments of ppp-based planning – *real estate tenders* and *ppp-based detailed land-use planning* – in order to structure the planning processes until public protests emerged. The politicians and planners' 'fear of standstill and stagnation' (quote of a local politician, In: Tripar 2017: 22) impeded the local ideas of stock-sensitive planning based on alternative concepts of mixed, but less-profitable uses, as the case of the *Viktoriakarree* shows. Thus, the shared concept of growth dependency strengthens the position of the international investors in urban planning – at least in the city of Bonn, since collective concepts differ locally.

Summing up, we witness that thecity council and the mayor are important gatekeepers in German renewal planning, who are approached differently: While the investors and developers focus on the mayor, the citizens address the council. In doing so, the locally shared concepts of the local political elites as well as the stability and coherence of the political regimes co-produce and differentiate the stakeholders' opportunities in urban planning. At the same time, especially instable political contexts with high competition make the local politicians struggle with the 'new' tools and practices of participatory and ppp-based urban planning, i.e. they are challenged and also fail to position themselves and to impose consequently the democratic principles of representativeness and accountability.

8. The power of planning departments in urban renewal (observation 4)

According to the survey of 720 deputies in 28 randomized German cities (Tausendpflug et al., 2017: 3), the local politicians perceive the city administration – by a wide margin after the mayor – as the most powerful local player (Groß, 2017). If the mayor and city council block each other due to different party affiliations, the city administration would even benefit from more leeway, so a conclusion of the quantitative survey (ibid: 133). Our qualitative research confirms the tight interdependency between the city administration (i.e. the planning department) and the local policy, yet in a more nuanced manner: planning departments own great responsibilities and duties in urban renewal planning, but act dependent on the stability and coherence of the local political regimes.

In the city of Arnsberg, the *urban planning department* demonstrates confidence and a powerful position in urban renewal projects, which it draws

[11]i.e. the mayor, ruling coalitions and the Committee for Planning (Bauausschuss)

also from their longstanding, stable and trustful cooperation with the local political bodies. The planning department strongly benefits fromthe alliance with the mayor, who dominates the city council for decades, and the cooperation with the city council's *committee for planning* (Interviewee 4: p. 9, interviewee 10). This is similar in the big-city of Essen. In Bonn, in contrast, the political instability and volatility in committees as well as the blockades between city council and mayor, wear down the city administration. The planning department is caught in the crossfire of investors and attentive citizens as well as confronted with changing political support and missing political alliances. This arrangement demoralizes the urban planning department; the planners are disenchanted, feel helpless and hampered. They express the idea to withdraw from designing any urban renewal project, as long as clear and reliable political positions would be missing (Interviewee 6). Thus, the cases of Bonn, Essen and Arnsberg underline that the relation between politics and planning is key, but less unidirectional than proposed by Groß (2017): political blockades between council and mayor do not result per se in a power gain and strength of city administrations in planning. Rather the opposite may be the case. These governance arrangements within public authorities would deserve more research.

The cases studies of Arnsberg, Essen and Bonn also reveal how the local planning departments use and co-create their opportunities in urban renewal panning. The *design of the planning and communication processes* as well as the *agenda setting for urban renewal* are important approaches thereof.

Decisions on *the choice and configuration of the planning instruments* pre-define a great deal of the whole planning process and all stakeholders' opportunities to voice their interests. In chapter 2, I briefly explained the variety of German planning instruments at the disposal of planning departments. In the cases of Bonn – as mentioned already, the public authorities repeatedly chose tender procedures without citizen participation and without strong content specifications to launch the big projects of urban renewal. In the two projects of the *Viktoriakarree* and *Railway Station Square,* they configured planning processes, which focused on the investors' interests first and postponed the communication with the local citizens. Alternatively, the choice of a public detailed-land use planning and architectural competition with civic participation, as recommended by the German Chamber of Architects (BDA, 2014), would have offered a more stakeholder-balanced planning process.

The statutory planning instruments highly regulate the stakeholders' interplay and processes of involvement, including a strong level of parliamentary and public control. The voluntary planning instruments, in contrast, offer much more leeway to configure the time, order and scope of stakeholder involvement (e.g. Interviewee 4). They are more flexible to deploy own routines and concepts such as the reliance of big private investments. Though any urban planner bases its practices also on convictions and beliefs (Fainstein et al., 2016: 10), the latter are rarely discusses explicitly and within local authorities. But this was case in Arnsberg, when the local planners, deputies und representatives of the local economy had 'a big discussion about how far one actually intervenes in the open market' by planningand what is the 'fundamental orientation of planning in the city' (Interviewee 4: 28 min). The two-days-workshop contributed to a common understanding and conscious local routine that cultivates citizen engagement and relies on public capacities in urban renewal planning. Thus, the contrasting examples of Bonn and Arnsberg show that the choice and configuration of planning instruments matter for the opportunity structures in urban renewal, and that planners (and politicians) take more or less conscious decisions thereon.

Urban planning departments also co-create opportunities through *communication*. Beyond some *tactics*[12], the planning departments *communicate strategically* and invest time and effort in search of reliable alliances with the city administration (i.e. the other departments), with the city council and many more (Interviewee 4, interviewee 9). A 'good communication culture' would prevent that somebody plays one department off against the other and secures political back up (Interviewee 5 & 10). An interviewed planer states: 'I have [...] built up a good network, also in the committees and the council. I simply discuss many things beforehand. So before things go pear-shaped, I call the committee chairman, the parliamentary group chairman, the spokesperson for building policy or whoever, just to talk things through with them. Because I know that in the moment I am doing that, their phone rings. And if they are then informed and we say: "This could be a good way", then that is very, very helpful. I think it is absolutely important to do that' (Interviewee 4: 27 min). The communication also includes to share knowledge with the partners, e.g. to educate the deputies of the *Committee for planning* in legal issues (e.g. Interviewee 9). All interviewed planning departments invest in such *strategic communication and alliancing.* However, the costs and benefits therefor differ in dependence on the local political regimes' stability and coherence as well as on the quality of investment.

Finally, the planning departments develop their opportunities in urban renewal planning through *agenda setting* (e.g. Interviewee Witte 10 & 4). The German law (*Baugesetzbuch*) asks the planning department to identify the needs and propose the contents of future urban development. By picking, rejecting, neglecting or re-loading topics and ideas, the planners unfold 'silently' a great power in urban renewal planning, which is often forgotten (Selle, 2019) and hard to challenge (e.g. Interviewee 2). In consequence, much depends on the individual planner's and planning teams' sensitivity and interest, expertise

[12]e.g. to never start a big renewal projects in electoral years. Further tactics are outlined for example in the interviews 4, 5, 9 and 10

and capacities to come up with a relevant agendafor urban renewal.

Summing up, we witnessthat German planning departments own a wide range of opportunities and also leeway to govern urban renewal. Apart from granting building permits, they use the agenda setting andthe designing of planning processes. In particular, they invest resources, skills and expertise in the strategic communication and alliancing, since the planning departments' opportunities and power depend importantly on the local partnerships. Urban renewal highlights especially the tight, but critical nexus between urban planning and politics. Finally, German planning departments differ, how they use and co-create these 'opportunities to govern. Their self-perceptions ranges from powerful self-confidence and creativity to disenchantment and frustration.

9. Local governance arrangements in renewal planning: Points for discussion

Looking at the urban renewal planning in German cities discussed in the previous chapters, we finally witness differentiated local governance arrangements of the public authorities, private sector and the citizens. The local stakeholder arrangements contrast between conflictive ones – such as in Bonn, where the volatile political regimes, a frustrated planning department and a highly attentive, pluralized and powerful civil society try to 'design' the joint future city – and the more collaborative and peaceful ones in Essen and Arnsberg. The latter display stable alliances between the political stakeholders and planners, who pro-actively invite citizens to planning processes.

The previous chapters also explored how institutions (re)produce and differentiate the stakeholders' opportunities in German renewal planning. The *formal political and planning institutions* pre-frame opportunities and inter-dependencies among the actors, and the locally specific *informal institution*s - in terms of shared concepts, beliefs and routines – explain how local stakeholders use the leeway in urban renewal planning. Whereas in the recent past, the local authorities in Bonn displayed a shared and strong belief in investment-driven urban development and a hesitant attitude towards voluntary tools of citizen participation, the public authorities in Arnsberg developed a conscious routine that cultivates citizen engagement and relies on public capacities in urban renewal planning.

At the same time, our case cities also demonstrate the evolutionary nature of local planning and political routines. So it is in Bonn, where the intense conflicts and citizens' activism in urban renewal planning did not only change and delay the respective projects, but also resulted in the approval of local 'Guidelines for citizen participation Bonn' (Arbeitsgruppe, 2014). The latter were evaluated recently, since the local authorities' interest and awareness has grown therefore (Wiegandt et al., 2020). Thus, local institutions in planning and politics – in terms of routines and concepts as well as regulations – constitute an important explanatory and conditioning factor[13]. They evolve on the ground, e.g. through local conflicts, failures and crisis (Gualini2014), and in response to superordinate trends such as legislative changes.

Finally, the research revealed *key inter-dependencies* among the stakeholders of German urban renewal planning, which I consider constitutive for the German context:

First, there is *the tight, yet critical interplay within the public authorities* – the nexus between the local political bodies – city council and mayor – *and* the planning departments. The local political regimes, e.g. the (missing) stability and coherence, importantly affect the planning departments' opportunities, costs, power and self-confidence in urban renewal planning. At the same time, the planning departments possess, co-create and gain leeway and opportunities in urban renewal planning that steer or relinquish the democratic control of urban planning processes through the city council.

Moreover – and second, the German renewal planning is marked by *the ambivalent, yet little explored nexus between the public authorities, urban activism and private developers/investors.* Even though there have been high expectations since decades, we face still today uncertainty and only little interest in learning about the actual local effects of participation and ppp-cooperation in urban renewal planning, e.g. in terms of improved planning performance and strengthened local democracy. However, a closer look at the participatory and cooperative governance arrangements reveals critical challenges that call for further debate, e.g.

- the (over)politization of planers due to the outsourcing of voluntary participation tools to the planning departments;
- the struggling of local politicians to impose the key principles of parliamentary democracy – i.e. representativeness and political accountability – vis à vis the evolving practices of urban activists and private entrepreneurship in urban planning; and
- the broad ignorance about the perceived 'dominant' actor in urban renewal – that are private developers and investors.

Thus, summing up the German experiences of urban renewal planning – also in view of the current planning discussions in Ukraine – we see some promising German experiences with and a 'cultural shift' towards participatory, cooperative <u>and</u> a balanced urban renewal planning. However, urban renewal planning remains a challenging learning process (cf. Vetter, 2017: 27) in search of a 'just and green' urban future. There are neither easy nor final receipts.

[13]The exploration of further contextual and locally specific factors would be also needed e.g. influence of the size of municipality and its economic prosperity. Whereas the first variable is key for local politics (cf. Tausendpflug et al., 2017), we miss similar evidences in planning studies. The influence of the local economic context is even more unclear (cf. Groß 2017:141, e.g. also interviews 4 & 10).

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Interviewee 2: local activist (2020)
Interviewee 3: expert advisor of housing companies and association (2020)
Interviewee 4: head of planning department (2020)
Interviewees 5: the head of planning department and the head of land-use planning (2020)
Interviewee 6: head of planning department (2017)
Interviewee 7: urban activist (2017)
Interviewee 8: former head of planning department and currently external expert in the field
Interviewee 9: head of land use-planning section (2020)
Interviewee 10: senior expert in the city planning department for sustainable development (2020)

PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING PRACTICES AND CIVIC ACTIVISM FOR URBAN SPACE RENOVATION: THE CASE OF KHERSON

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Abstract: The article presents the results of the participatory budgeting research and urban activism in the renovation of the urban space of Kherson, and analyzes the modern features of urban space transformation. Participatory planning and budgeting today are the guidelines for the development of new, joint and integrated decisions in strategic development of the community. However, the Kherson city case study proved urban activism on issues of participatory budgeting to be small-scale in nature, which means that 2-5% of the city community is involved in budgeting, and the total cost of approved projects is less than 0.5% of the average annual city's budget. Urban activism is quite sporadic beyond the participatory budgeting, which is the result of "small initiatives" of individual creative groups and entrepreneurs, rather than a strategic plan for spatial development of the community.The participatory budgeting in the Kherson city community development is still pseudo-participatory in its nature, given that much of decisions are aimed at solving the current domestic and communal problems, rather than implementing the agenda or strategic goals of community development.

In the era of actual city deindustrialization, Kherson should not only be positioned as one of the leaders in foreign and domestic tourism, but also restore its status of a comfortable city and a unique recreational and logistics center. The article presents the author's vision of the planning decisions and urban activism prospects in the urban spaces' transformation. The key points are the next: 1) renovation and revitalization of urban space should be carried out primarily by creating different types and functional purposes of creative spaces (new formats of recreation, communication, information education, inclusive environment development); 2) creation or renovation of existing public spaces should be carried out only with the involvement of participatory management mechanisms in order to provide the city with the functional content really needed by the community; 3) a particular strategic direction of urban space renovation should aim at the increase of green public spaces and benefiting from the unique Kherson city community location at the mouth of the Dnieper.

Key words: urban space, public space, citizen activism, participatory budgeting, renovation, Kherson.

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ПРАКТИКИ ПАРТИСИПАТИВНОГО БЮДЖЕТУВАННЯ І МІСЬКИЙ АКТИВІЗМ У РЕНОВАЦІЇ МІСЬКОГО ПРОСТОРУ: КЕЙС М.ХЕРСОН

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Анотація: У статті представлено результати дослідження практики партисипативного бюджетування і міського активізму у реновації міського простору м. Херсон, проаналізовано сучасні риси трансформації міських просторів. Партисипативне планування і бюджетування є сьогодні основою вироблення нових спільних, інтегрованих рішень щодо стратегічного розвитку громади. Разом з тим, під час дослідження кейсу м. Херсон визначено, що міський активізм у питаннях партисипативного бюджетування має дрібномасштабний характер - залучено до бюджету участі 2-5% населення міської громади, а загальна вартість схвалених проєктів складає менше 0,5% від середньорічного обсягу бюджету міста. Міський активізм поза партисипативним бюджетуванням має епізодичні прояви, зумовлені «малими ініціативами» окремих творчих колективів, підприємців, а не стратегічним планом просторового розвитку громади. Бюджет участі у розвитку херсонської міської громади поки що має в цілому характер псевдоучасті, оскільки переважна більшість прийнятих рішень фактично спрямовані на вирішення поточних проблемних ситуацій побутового і комунального характеру, а не реалізують порядок денний чи стратегічні цілі розвитку громади.

В епоху фактичної деіндустріалізації міста Херсон має позиціонуватися не тільки як один із лідерів різнопланового зовнішнього та внутрішнього туризму, але і відновити свій статус комфортного міста, унікального рекреаційного і логістичного центру. У статті представлено авторське бачення перспективи планувальних рішень і міського активізму у трансформації міських просторів. До ключових моментів віднесено: 1) реновація та ревіталізація міського простору має здійснюватися перш за все шляхом створення креативних просторів різних типів і функціонального призначення (нові формати відпочинку, спілкування, інформальної освіти, розбудови інклюзивного середовища); 2) створення або оновлення існуючих публічних просторів має здійснюватись лише із залученням механізмів партисипативного управління, щоб забезпечити місто реально необхідним громаді функціональним наповненням; 3) окремим стратегічним напрямом реновації міського простору має стати збільшення частки зелених публічних просторів і використання переваг унікального розташування херсонської міської громади у гирлі р. Дніпро.

Ключові слова: міський простір, публічний простір, міський активізм, партисипативне бюджетування, реновація, Херсон.

Introduction

Since 2008, with the beginning of the new "urban millennium" and for the following 30 years, it is expected that two thirds of the world's population will live in urban areas (Transforming our world… 2015). The importance of urban issues for global efforts on the implementation of the Sustainable Development Model is emphasized in the 2030 Agenda by highlighting the Sustainable Development Goals 11 "Ensuring openness, security, resilience and environmental sustainability of cities and localities". Let's consider that in the long run the well-being of cities and their inhabitants is determined primarily by the efficiency of organization and planning of urban spaces, infrastructure development and quality of utilities, risk minimization and meeting the needs of the population. All this is possible only on condition that there is a connection between the spatial form of the city and the social process and is realized through the relationship between the design of urban spaces and a certain ideology of the urban community.

The transformation of urban space has been an ongoing process in many cities over decades and centuries. At the same time, this process is undergoing significant changes in terms of driving forces that cause the corresponding transformations. The practice of initiating changes involving the public society (Falanga, 2020) is becoming more widespread in the world community, and it is increasingly introduced in Ukraine (Buletsa, 2016; Dorosh, 2019).

Urban activism stimulation and participation budgeting are the most prospective today (Baiocchi, 2001; Krenjova & Raudla, 2013; Hope for democracy… 2018; etc.), as the transformation due to "small initiatives" with public participation, enables residents not only to participate in making budget decisions, but also to join the transformation of urban space. Historical evolutionary changes in urban spaces in some periods are accompanied by global challenges that add uncertainty in finding the most optimal strategies for urban development. In particular, it is expected (Sharifi, 2020) that the COVID-19 pandemic will further radically change urban governance and urban planning.

The de-industrialization stage, experienced by the city of Kherson in the post-Soviet period, and the specific features of the geographical location that determine the trends of spatial development of the city (Malchykova & Pylypenko, 2017) determine the search for new concepts of urban development. The Kherson urban spaces are undergoing significant transformations, and the introduction of participatory management models has led to the emergence of certain research questions:

- How can we assess the current state of transformation and renovation of urban spaces?

- What spatial resources are of the greatest value in the light of further transformations of urban spaces, and therefore they should become objects of urban activism in the future?

- How effective is the introduction of the participation budget and what is the contribution of urban activism to the formation of a quality socio-spatial structure of Kherson today?

- What are the prospects for the planning decisions and urban activism prospects in the urban spaces' transformation?

Taking into the consideration all the above-mentioned, the aim of this paper is the analysis of participatory budgeting and urban activism in the renovation of the urban space of Kherson and further identification of high-potential areas of urban planning and components of urban activism in the transformation of urban spaces.

Analysis of recent publications and research. Urban issues in Ukraine are represented in numerous periodicals and monographs in all matters: scientists and practitioners note on modern changes of urban spaces (Changes in the urban space in Ukraine ... 2013; Nemets et al., 2017; Suptelo, 2020), emphasize the variety of ways to transform post-Soviet of cities (City and Renewal… 2013; Afanasieva & Kuznetsova, 2017), highlight current regional patterns and ways of future development of Ukrainian cities (Bykova, 2014; Urban Ukraine… 2017; Mezentsev et al., 2019), etc.

The search for an alternative paradigm of urban development dates back to the 1970s. (Harvey, 1994), when the crisis in urban living conditions due to the accelerated industrial development of cities led to the search for new concepts of planning. Urban renaissance became a key policy issue in the 1980s (Shaw, 2020), and since then it has been dominating in urban planning programs along with new euphemisms – renovation, revitalization, regeneration, etc. In response to the concept of "new urbanism" (Dronova, 2015; Mezentseva, 2017) sustainable, transit, creative, intelligent and mixed use of urban spaces characterize modern planning approaches today, and the variety of new urbanism forms are summarized in three types: basic, dense and hybrid, based on geographical and temporal aspects of the designed environments (Trudeau, 2013).

The new theory of urbanism includes new ways of thinking about the city form and its development (Bohl, 2002; Ghorbi & Mohammadi, 2019), which is based primarily on finding an answer to the question "How can modernization of the city help create a prosperous, content community?" In this context, the formal discourse on the role of communities in urban rebirth and regeneration has been going on for more than a few decades (Atkinson, 1999; Jones, 2003). Participatory budgeting is one of the ways for communities to participate in urban transformation. Participatory budgeting is considered to be the best-known democratic innovation in the field of research and practice, and global practices of the last decade are no longer aimed at introducing participatory budgeting, but at finding ways to include previously excluded social groups in the participatory process (Hernández-Medina, 2010).

Participation as a model for developing new common, integrated solutions has been used for several decades in various spheres of social life and is analyzed by researchers as a basis for developing sustainable development strategies (Bass et al., 1995), local

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government practice (Olchak, 2017), civic development and adaptation to climate change in cities (Sarzynski, 2015) and even art projects (Bowell, 2014).

Participatory urban planning is regarded as a planning paradigm that involves the community of the city, its residents, into the processes of urban planning (Mezentsev et al., 2020), local communities are seen as partners in urban design processes, and in many countries their role in planning and design is determined by trade standards. However, the search for an answer to an important question: "Is public participation a formal tool, does it influence planning and how does it influence decision-making?" (Koroļova & Treija, 2019), provides an opportunity to talk about possible formalizations and the lack of real public influence on the processes of urban transformation. Modern researchers (Palacin et al., 2020) characterize such a phenomenon as pseudo-participation, determining the lack of real power in decision-making and determining the agenda of community development.

In addition to that, a revision of the concept of modern urban space (Carmona, 2015) and a study of the transformation of public spaces in the cities of developing economies (Mandeli, 2019), showed that there are other threats. Public expectations of modernization, strong civic activism, and new governance practices rapidly and radically changed urban spaces, but a radically redeveloped city appeared to be filled with absolutely unsuitable public spaces that did not meet people's daily needs and aspirations. Therefore, it is justified that local authorities should on one hand encourage public participation and allow various stakeholders to participate in discussions on planning, creation and use of public spaces, but on the other hand they are bound to ensure the work of an independent technical commission, which will analyze urban projects in accordance with guidelines for creation of better places (Mandeli, 2019).

Presentation of the main research material. Kherson city is the administrative, industrial, cultural center of the Kherson region, and at the same time it is the center of the Kherson city territorial community, which today concentrates 1/3 of the population of the region: according to the Main Department of Statistics in the Kherson region (http://www.ks.ukrstat.gov.ua/) the population in the Kherson City Council as of October 1, 2020 amounted to 322.19 thousand people. But apart from the actual human resources, in modern society the uniqueness of the location of territory, history, culture and the ability to transform become the decisive factors in the attraction of people, investment, modern activities. The uniqueness of Kherson is the combination of the most valuable natural landscapes of the mouth of the Dnipro river, and historical and cultural heritage, the uniqueness of the transport and logistics situation. A special feature of Kherson is its location on the right bank at the mouth of the Dnipro river, the city actually "controls" the point of braiding of river channels, the upper part of the delta, the spot of formation of its lower arms. Due to its geographical location, Kherson has a developed network of transport infrastructure, it is the only seaport on the Dnipro, a river port, a railway junction, and an airport.

The location at the mouth of the Dnipro with its long coastal areas is an incredible resource for the development of Kherson, which can be the basis for the transformation of public recreational spaces in both urban and suburban areas. This thesis is also confirmed by the results of an interactive survey on the strategic vision of the city (Fig. 1), published on the official website of the Kherson City Council (http://www.city.kherson.ua/).

Thus, in the competitive environment of urban centers of Ukraine and Europe today, Kherson should be positioned not only as one of the leaders in foreign and domestic tourism, but also to restore its status as a comfortable city, a unique recreational and logistics center. The mission of the city is to preserve, multiply and effectively use its spatial uniqueness in the interests of present and future generations throughout Ukraine.

It is quite common to use coastal/riparian settlements, territories located directly in the coastal zone in the public everyday practices of the city, as they are the most attractive and valuable. However, urban spaces, which should be the basis in creation of an attractive river image of Kherson, do not perform such functions today. The length of the 2 public embankments (in the area of the Frigate Hotel and the Slavy Park) is only about 500 meters. Moreover, they are separated by territorial cargo terminals of the Kherson Sea Commercial Port. All other coastal areas are territories of either private construction or production zones of the city's enterprises, such as Kherson Shipyard, Palada Plant, Kherson Ship Building and Ship Repair Plant. And the territory of the river station "Richmorvokzal", which is located in the city center and is unique for Ukraine, stays abandoned and underused today, due to the unprofitability of river passenger transportations by the boats of "Ukrrichflot" and the lack of other functional purpose (Fig. 2).

The urban space of Kherson during the XX century was significantly "Sovietized" and industrialized, which today is associated with certain spatial practices, especially with the location of industrial enterprises within the central part of the city. However, the deindustrialization of the city, which actually took place during the years of independence, led to shutdown or significant reduction of industrial production, and as a result of this, numerous areas of production facilities were abandoned and dilapidated (examples – Fig. 3). It is important that most of these enterprises (engineering, light industry) are located within the most valuable areas of the central part of the city or in close proximity to it (Kherson Machine-Building Plant named after G. I. Petrovsky, Electromash Concern, Kherson Cardan Shaft Plant, Kherson Shoe Factory, Kherson Bolshevik Garment Factory), or are in favorable transport and logistics conditions (Kherson Cotton Plant) and are a valuable spatial resource for revitalization and renovation projects.

There is no doubt that there are some successful revitalization and renovation projects within the urban spaces of Kherson: shopping mall Fabryka in the premises of the Kherson Cotton Plant; residential building, creative space Urban CAD and medical

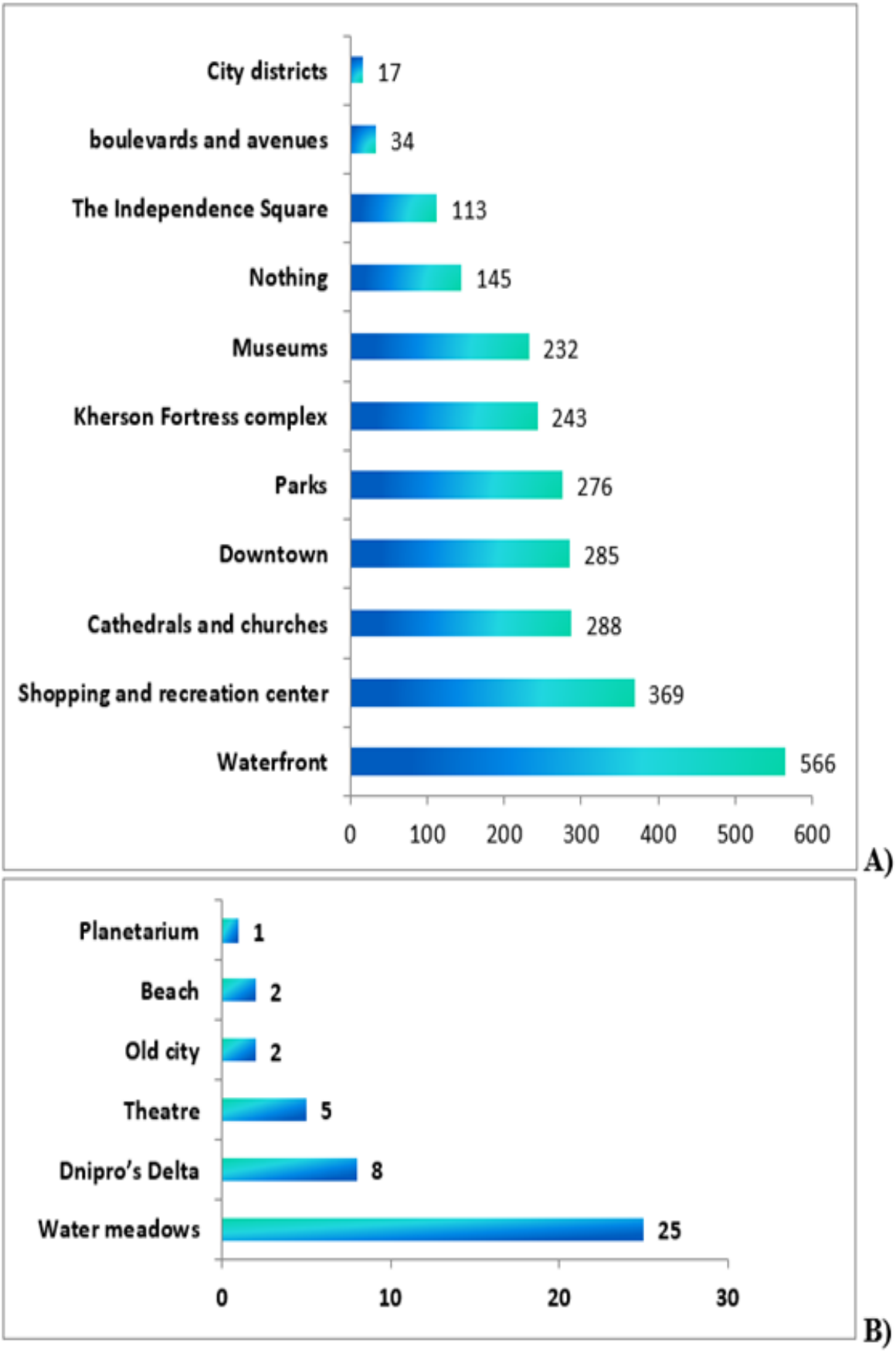


Fig. 1. The results of the survey on the question "What would you definitely show to your guests in Kherson?" A) options, proposed during the survey; B) options, added by respondents (Based on: http://www.city.kherson.ua/articles/strategiya-rozvitku-m-hersona-do-2030-roku?printable=1)

Fig. 2. The current state of the premises of “Richmorvokzal” and adjacent public spaces (Photo: D. Malchykova, 2020)

A) Premises of a former shoe factory

B) Premises of “Kherson Cardan Shaft Plant”

C) Premises of the concern “Electromash”

Fig. 3. Premises of industrial enterprises in the central part of Kherson and the experience of their partial revitalization (C) (Photo: D. Malchykova, 2020)

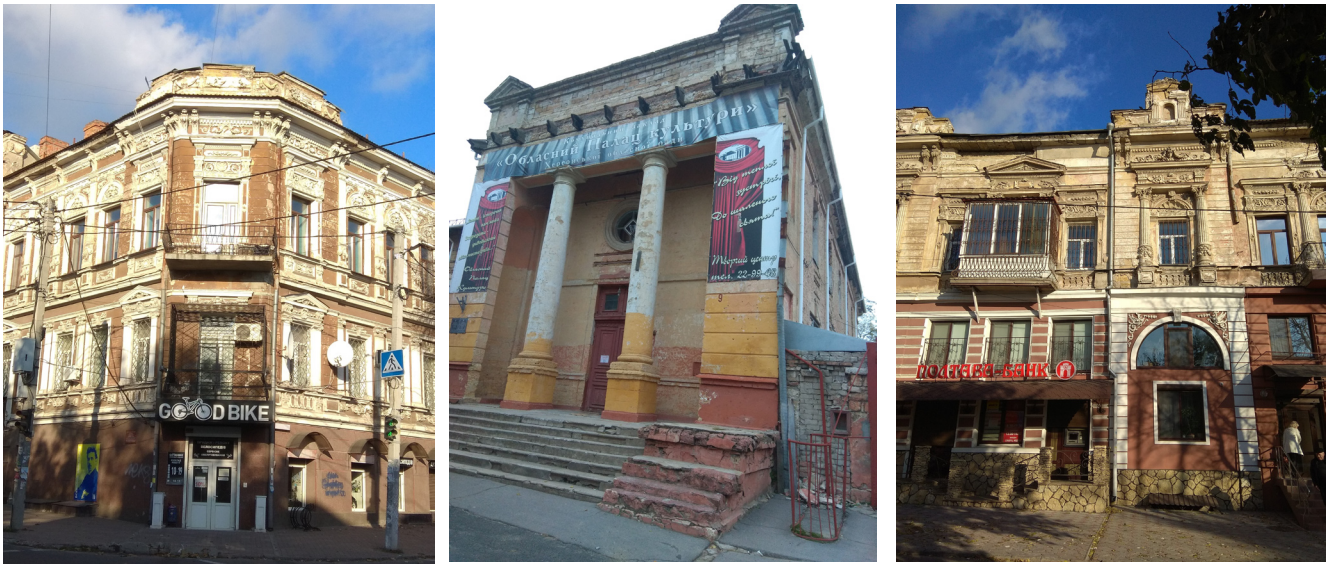


Fig. 4. The practice of renovating buildings in the center of the city. Kherson (Photo: D. Malchykova, 2020)

diagnostic center "Taurt-Medical" on the territory of separate premises of the Kherson Machine-Building Plant named after G. I. Petrovsky; Partial renovation of buildings of Concern "Elektromash" for offices, shopping and entertainment facilities (Fig. 3B); separation of a part of a garment factory for housing stock and renewal of production capacities in another part, etc. Such examples of urban activism are episodic, and they are made not due to a strategic plan and decisions on spatial development of the community, but "small initiatives" of individual creative teams or entrepreneurs.

Abandoned areas of industrial enterprises, which have fully or partially suspended their activities, significantly reduce the attractiveness of the city, destroy the sense of local identity, create unusable urban spaces, leaving a huge potential for large-scale commercial and residential construction untapped.

It should be noted that the city has examples of complex restoration and renovation of architectural monuments, administrative buildings of institutions or organizations mainly (Fig. 4).

On the other hand, the housing stock, cultural, social institutions are either not renovated, or are partially restored, and very often requirements for the preservation of the architectural ensemble are not followed (Fig. 5). The political and economic transition from central government in the communist one-party system to the political democracy and market economy of the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe inevitably led to a reassessment of the functions, role, aesthetics of space and significant urban transformation in all post-Soviet states. The study (Hamilton 1995) identified three types of spatial differentiation: 1) first, differences in the speed and scale of reforms that cause national, regional and local spatial differences; 2) second, regions that were previously "over-industrialized" and today suffer from severe deindustrialization will undergo powerful processes of demolition, restructuring or liquidation of spatial inner-city structures; 3) cross-border with the European Union or metropolitan regions will experience "reindustrialization" and adapt more quickly to a clear reorientation in trade relations and economic and social integration of territories.

Fig. 5. Examples of complex renovation of buildings which are architectural monuments in the downtown area of Kherson (Photo: D. Malchykova, 2020)

Characteristic features in the location and history of industrial development identified Kherson as the 2 type (severe deindustrialization), which later added up to the specifics of local government and low public consciousness of the urban community. The contrariety and slowness of the transformation of the urban spaces of Kherson led to the violations of the functionalism and aesthetic problems of the city. Therefore, the Development Strategy of Kherson by 2030 on a new conceptual basis has become the leading task of local self-government at the moment.

In September-October 2020, the city hosted an interactive survey of representatives of business and scientific areas, local government and the public of Kherson on the strategic vision of the future of the city in the context of the Development Strategy of Kherson by 2030. The published results of the survey (http://www.city.kherson.ua/articles/strategiya-rozvitku-m-hersona-do-2030-roku?printable=1) unfortunately confirmed the negative public perception of the current realities of the city development and stated the urgent need for new urban development strategy. In particular, it is extremely sad that almost 30% do not see prospects for development in the urban community, only 2.5% of respondents would recommend their friends the Kherson community to live in, while 11% of respondents said that they would leave this place at the slightest opportunity. It is significant that the Kherson community today is not satisfied with any development and daily life index (Fig. 6).

Opportunities for a dialogue between the city authorities and the city community, in addition to election mechanisms, are also provided today through city political projects and institutions of advisory democracy (Dorosh, 2019). Participatory management in common sense is based on the recognition of the mutual interests of all members of the community and is implemented through the integration of these interests and increase of interest in the results of cooperation. Participatory management can have various forms (Semyanovsky, 2018): participation in revenues (budgets) and losses; participation in profits and property; participation in management. As a result of research, such tool for involving citizens as participatory budgeting was identified as one of the most successful projects (Baiocchi, 2001; Krenjova & Raudla, 2013; Sarzynski, 2015; Hope for democracy… 2018; Mezentsev et al., 2020; Falanga, 2020).

The program of city initiatives "Platform for the implementation of ideas to improve your city" operates in Kherson during 2019-2020 and allows Kherson citizens to participate in the distribution of budget funds to improve the life of the city. A detailed analysis of participation budget statistics showed that urban activism on participatory budgeting in the Kherson community is small-scale. According to the public budget website (http://www.city.kherson.ua/c/hersoncyu/s/gromadskiy-byudzhet) in 2019, 18 out of 77 submitted projects won. 11 of those projects as of November 2020

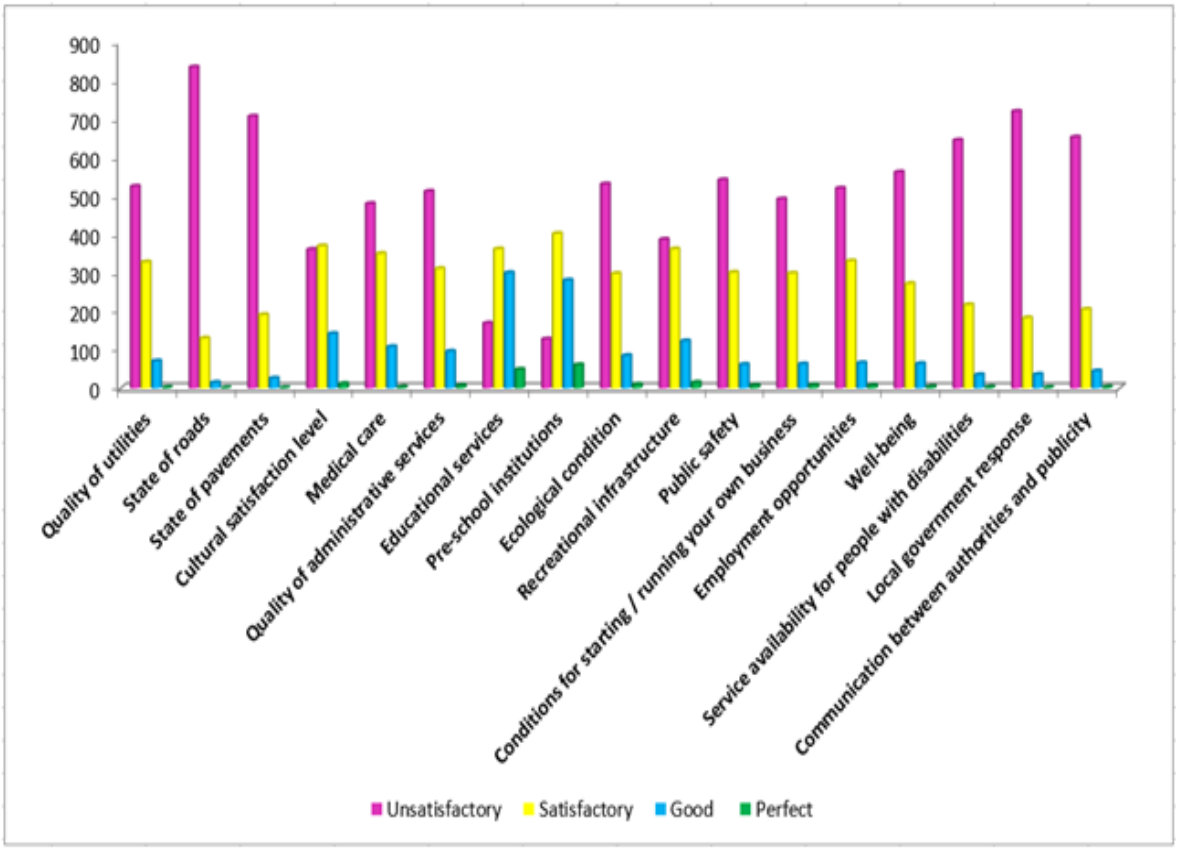
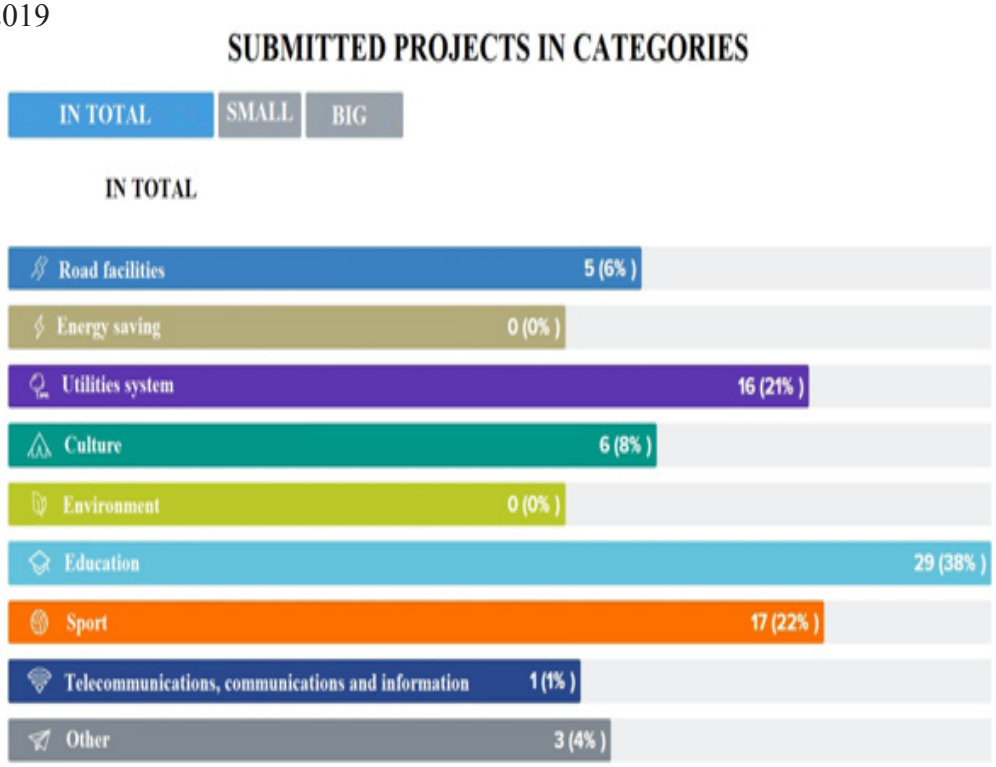


Fig. 6. The results of the survey on the question "How would you assess the current state of certain indicators of community development?"
(Based on: http://www.city.kherson.ua/articles/strategiya-rozvitku-m-hersona-do-2030-roku?printable=1)

2019



2020

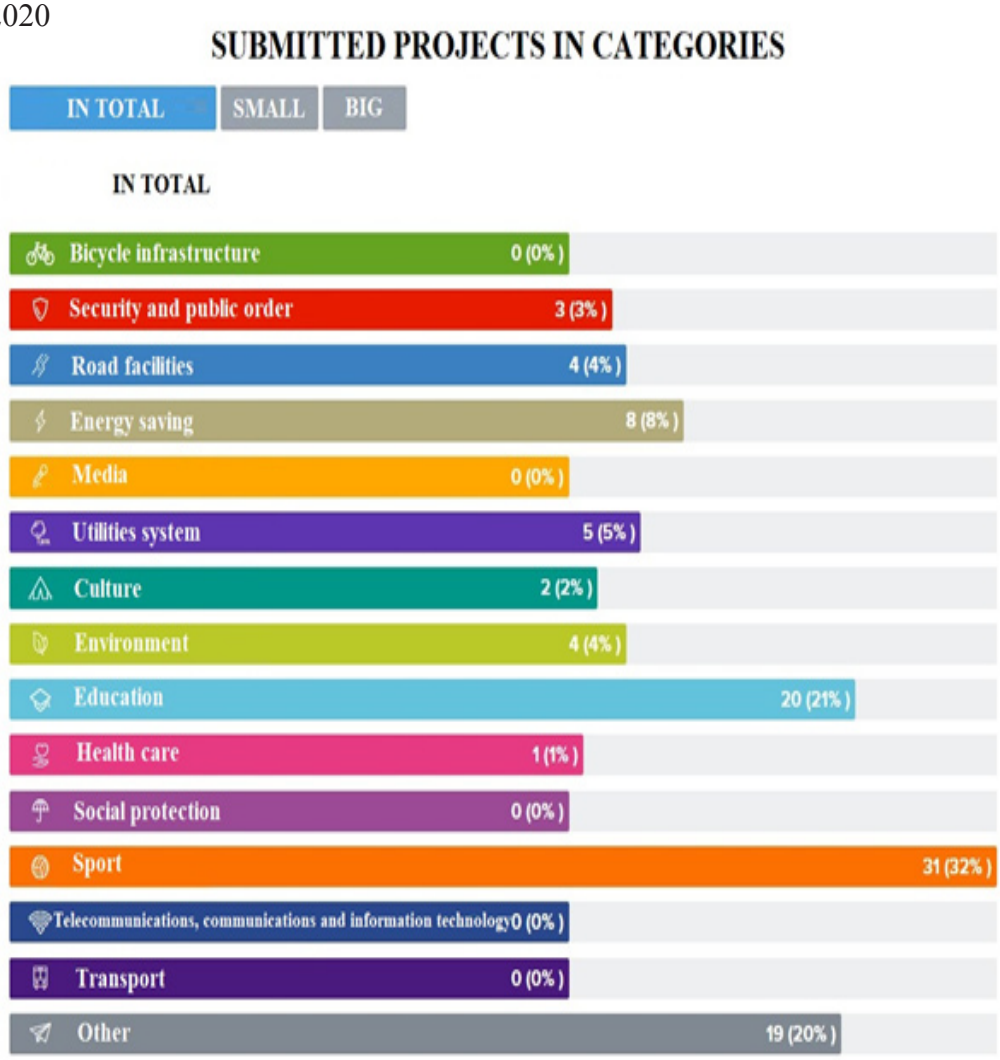


Fig. 7. Categories and number of projects submitted through the participation budget program (Compiled on the basis of: http://www.city.kherson.ua/c/hersoncyu/s/gromadskiy-byudzhet)

were implemented for the value of UAH 4.5 million, 7 projects for the value of UAH 5.3 million were in the process of implementation. Public activism on behalf of the territorial Community on the budget of participation in Kherson was extremely weak – a total of 8595 people voted (2.6% of citizens). In 2020, 108 projects for the value of UAH 78.8 million were submitted, 175,527 Kherson residents (5.4% of urban residents) took part in the voting, twice as many as in 2019, but this figure cannot be considered satisfactory either. In 2021, 17 projects for the value of UAH 9.6 million won. A slight increase in urban activism in participatory budgeting was accompanied by a significant expansion of categories variety for submitted projects (from 9 to 15) (Fig. 7), but the further project analysis revealed that the participatory budgeting in the Kherson city community development is still pseudo-participatory in its nature, given that much of decisions are aimed at solving the current domestic and communal problems, rather than implementing the agenda or strategic goals of community development.

Most of the projects are aimed at equipping playgrounds and sports grounds, improving the technical, sanitary and hygienic conditions of public utilities, and improving the condition of the road sector. Thus, the projects of 2019 and 2020, approved through the participation budget program, were more aimed at bringing certain urban spaces and facilities to safe state, although they should anyway be in a satisfactory condition due to the appropriate sectoral funding. For example, in 2019, the project "Safe future of our children", implemented in the category "Education", provided for the complete replacement of the fence around Antonovsky nursery-kindergarten № 4, which is in poor condition, to create safe conditions for children, their parents and employees on the territory of the institution. The project "Modern laundry unit in the Preschool Education Institution №4" was implemented in the same category, "Education". It provided for the overhaul of the premises and engineering networks of the laundry unit and replacement of old technical equipment with modern energy-saving ones.

Examples of community initiatives, implemented through participatory budgeting, which can at least partially be considered as real measures of urban planning, are a number of projects in 2020. For example, construction of recreational areas, paving of paths and fences, installation of energy efficient street lighting in Tavriyskyi district due to the project "Small Steps to Big Changes: "Let's modernize Kherson together!"

Among the initiatives supported by the public, in 2020 there start to emerge the projects that reflect the movement of the city community towards the creation of an inclusive environment of the Kherson city territorial community:

- "Children's Sportland" – a wonderful world for children with musculoskeletal disorders (creation of a modern innovative space for sports for children with musculoskeletal disorders, considering individual needs);

- Ecological space – "Dream Life" (creation of an ecological area for recreation and development of children with musculoskeletal disorders, considering individual needs)

Despite the small scale and somewhat distorted nature of participatory budgeting in the context of strategic goals of urban community development and urban development planning, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of developing forms of urban activism and introduction of participatory budgeting as a tool of citizen involvement. However, the concept of spatial development in Kherson city, planning decisions for the arrangement of public spaces and decisions on the renovation and revitalization of urban facilities need significant revision.

Conclusion

Research of city activism and experience of participatory budgeting in Kherson during 2019-2020 allows addressing the following conclusions:

- urban activism in participatory budgeting is small-scale: 2-5% of the city community population was involved in the budget, and a total of 35 projects with a total cost of UAH 19.4 million were approved in 2 years, which is less than 0.5% of the average annual city budget.

- urban activism apart from participatory budgeting is episodic, and they are made not due to a strategic plan and decisions on spatial development of the community, but "small initiatives" of individual creative teams, entrepreneurs, etc.;

- the participatory budget in the Kherson city community development is still of pseudo-participation in the nature, as much of decisions are aimed to solve the current domestic and communal problems, rather than implement the agenda or strategic goals of community development.

The practice of participatory budgeting and urban activism in the renovation of urban space (in particular, public spaces) in Kherson has isolated examples so far. In our opinion, the prospects of planning decisions and urban activism in the transformation of urban spaces can be summarized as follows:

1) Renovation and revitalization of urban space, in particular the territories of non-functioning industrial enterprises, should be carried out not only by creating shopping and entertainment or office centers, but above all by creation of creative spaces of different types and functional purposes, which would allow new formats of recreation, communication, information education, development of inclusive environment. The revitalized territories of such enterprises should play the role of interstitial spaces in the city and form a new image of the community and the rhetoric of the local civic consciousness.

2) The creation or renovation of existing public spaces should be carried out only with the involvement of participatory management mechanisms to avoid disordered commercialization, uneven placement of shopping and entertainment centers, to provide the city with the necessary functional content of the community.

3) Public councils under local self-government bodies, which perform advisory and expert functions,

are an important mechanism for strengthening urban activism in the spatial development and distribution of the community budget. At the same time, the mechanisms for forming their staff are often subjective and need to be updated in terms of staffing improvement of staffing table, in order to prevent monopolization of decision-making.

4) A separate strategic direction of urban space renovation should be the increase of the share of green public spaces and the use the benefits of the unique location of the Kherson city community at the mouth of the river. Dnipro river. In the era of actual city de-industrialization, Kherson should be positioned not only as one of the leaders in various foreign and domestic tourism, but also to restore its status as a comfortable city, a unique recreational and logistics center.

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SHIFTS IN URBAN PLANNING IN BELARUS? EXPERIENCE FROM BREST

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Abstract: For long urban planning in post-Soviet Europe has missed scholarly attention in international urban studies, though it has changed fundamentally in the last three decades. The systemic upheaval in the early 1990s questioned the basics of the Soviet mode of modernist urban planning. The latter relied on the quantification and predictability of people's needs, a strong state power and law enforcement through centralized planning, control and resources management (e.g. property). The latest since the 2010s, urban planning revives in the non-EU Eastern European states: 'New' urban planning instruments emerge; the so far sidelined citizens voice increasingly their interests; urban planning becomes an important arena for the contention and (re)production of both, the daily livelihood and the broader state-society relations often impregnated by (authoritarian) neoliberalism.

The paper takes up this general observation and explores the example of Brest in Belarus. It reviews the local planning approaches (i.e. instruments, contents and processes) in Brest and discusses how they blend in the current EU and post-Soviet debates. The paper concludes that the Brest planning (re)produces a mode of gradual post-Soviet transformation: It displays a surprising familiarity with EU leitmotifs (contents) and principles (e.g. law enforcement and state subsidies) for urban planning. At the same time, it confronts with the benefits and constraints of maintained Soviet planning traits, e.g. with the high professionalism and the centrality of state planning hierarchies. The case of Brest reveals how local stakeholder alliances co-produce new opportunities for local urban planning and thus for an incremental change in Belarusian planning by engaging with the central state institutions as well as with the international debates.

Key words: urban planning, planning approaches, planning instruments, Brest, Belarus.

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ЧИ ЗМІНЮЄТЬСЯ МІСЬКЕ ПЛАНУВАННЯ В БІЛОРУСІ? ДОСВІД БРЕСТА

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Анотація: Аналіз міжнародних урбаністичних досліджень свідчить про недостатню увагу фахівців до проблематики міського планування в пострадянських країнах Європи, незважаючи на принципові зрушення останніх трьох десятиліть. Системні зрушення на початку 1990-х років поставили під сумнів основи радянського модерністського підходу до міського планування, що спирався на кількісні методи оцінки людських потреб та їх передбачуваність, потужну державну вертикаль та правове регулювання за допомогою централізованого планування, контролю та управління ресурсами (наприклад, майном). Проте, найпізніше в 2010-х роках, відбувається зміна містобудівних підходів в країнах Східної Європи, що не входять до складу ЄС. Зокрема, з'являються "нові" інструменти планування; громадяни, раніше відсторонені від містобудівного процесу, дедалі частіше висловлюють свої інтереси; міське планування стає важливою ареною для конкуренції та репродукування як повсякденних практик, так і більш широких відносин між державою та суспільством, часто просякнутих (авторитарним) неолібералізмом.

Ці загальні тенденції та зрушення розглянуто в статті на прикладі міста Брест в Білорусі крізь призму місцевих підходів до міського планування (його зміст, інструменти, й процеси) та їх зв'язку із сучасними тенденціями в галузі міського планування в країнах ЄС та пострадянського простору. Зроблено висновок, що міське планування в Бресті слідує моделі поступової пострадянської трансформації. З однієї сторони, спостерігається вражаюча подібність до лейтмотивів (змістів) та принципів міського планування в країнах ЄС (наприклад, в частині законодавчих інструментів та державних субсидій). Водночас, міське планування в Бресті відзначається консервативними рисами та віддзеркалює переваги й недоліки радянських містобудівних підходів. Зокрема, високий рівень збереженості професійної школи фахівців з міського планування співіснує з високим рівнем державної централізації містобудівного процесу. Кейс Бреста показує, як альянси місцевих зацікавлених сторін створюють нові можливості для міського планування на локальному рівні, та розкриває потенціал для поступових змін парадигми міського планування в Білорусі, що може бути реалізований шляхом поєднання досвіду функціонування центральних державних установ та міжнародного дискурсу.

Ключові слова: міське планування, підходи до планування, планувальні інструменти, Брест, Білорусь.

Introduction

For long urban planning in post-Soviet Europe has missed scholarly attention, though it has changed fundamentally during the last three decades. The systemic upheaval in the early 1990s questioned the basics of the Soviet mode of modernist urban planning. The latter relied on the quantification and predictability of people's needs (Healey, 1997) as well as on strong state power and law enforcement through centralized planning, control, and resources management (e.g. property). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, in most of the successor states the politics and private business relegated public planning to the backseats of 'city making'. Until the early 2000s, the state property was mainly privatized, new planning codes were approved and urban planning was decentralized, i.e. declared an affair of local municipalities.

Since the 2010s, urban planning revives in these Eastern European, non-EU states. We witness local experiments with 'new' instruments of urban planning such as the rise of international design competitions (e.g. Dixon, 2010; Trumbull, 2010) and strategic master planning (cf. Semenov et al., 2020; Appenzeller, 2017). New stakeholders interfere increasingly in planning: citizens mobilize against unloved construction projects (e.g. Semenov, 2020) and urban activism that relates to planning evolves vibrantly in terms of scope and quality (Darieva et al., 2020). The consciousness and interest in urban development and planning – its failures and potentials – grows. In many countries of the former Soviet Union, urban planning became an important arena for the contention and (re)production of both, the daily livelihood *and* the broader state-society relations often impregnated by (authoritarian) neoliberalism (e.g. Neugebauer et al., 2015; Darieva et al., 2020; Neugebauer et al., 2021). Urban planning decides upon future land-uses and thus concerns and involves state executives, politicians, professional experts, citizens, and private entrepreneurs.

The city of Brest in Belarus offers an intriguing case to explore and question these prevailing observations of post-Soviet urban planning in Eastern Europe. As an 'ordinary city' (Robinson, 2006) – neither a capital nor a metropolis – Brest has been broadly excluded from scholarly attention, so far. Moreover, it is located in Belarus as a country that is often considered as stiff and 'iron clinging to the Soviet past' and thus of little interest for many. Little would change; what shall we learn from Brest/ Belarus?

This paper takes up this question and aims in particular at a review of the current urban planning approaches (i.e. instruments, contents, and processes) in Brest, Belarus. We ask for the recent local developments in planning and how they blend in the current European – Central EU-European and post-Soviet European – shifts and pleadings in urban planning and development. We finally argue that the urban planning in Brest (re)produces a trajectory of *gradual post-Soviet transformation.* The planning stands out in the current post-Soviet realm marked by abrupt systemic breaks and a slow recovery of planning only. The Belarusian case rather displays surprising familiarity with EU- planning approaches in terms of leitmotifs (contents) and principles (e.g. law enforcement and state subsidies); it confronts with the benefits and constraints of some maintained Soviet planning traits, e.g. with the high professionalism and the centrality of state planning hierarchies. The case of Brest finally also reveals how local stakeholder alliances co-produced new opportunities for *local* urban planning and thus for an incremental change in Belarusian planning by engaging with the central state institutions as well as with international debates.

The paper on hand is an endeavor of two colleagues with different bodies of knowledge – the insights and experiences of the first author who is currently a chief architect in the city of Brest, *and* the ideas of the second author researching urban planning and transformation in post-Soviet cities for a couple of years. We attempted to balance the perspectives of an involved practitioner and an external foreign scholar.

The paper is structured as follows: after a brief look at the new 'quality turn' in Belarusian planning debate, we focus on the toolbox of planning in Brest, which further relies on the *statutory land-use planning*, but recently engages with *informal, strategic planning instruments* as well. In doing so, analytical attention is given to the contents (leitmotifs), processes, and stakeholders in planning. We also include short references to current planning experiences in Central and Post-Soviet Europe. We summarize our key arguments in the last part of the paper.

Re-orienting the emphasis: The 'qualitative turn' in planning discourse

In today's globalized world, cities compete for economic competitiveness and human resources. Soft conditions – such as urban amenities of high quality – have gained importance for urban development (e.g. Musterd et al., 2010). This message has infiltrated into the current Belarusian urban planning debates, too: which city is better, where there are more opportunities - young, energetic, and creative people will live there and leave their taxes, whether they will be an IT programmer, freelancer, musician or businessman. Also, the modern demands of the inhabitants of our cities, the concept of a comfortable urban environment (safe, green, environmentally friendly, etc.) raise the level for decision-makers and urban planners.

The recent discussions about the remodeling of the "microrayony" may testify this 'turn' towards new qualitative thinking in urban planning: Lately, there has been a lot of talk about creating a comfortable environment in micro-districts-new buildings and in the satellite cities of large cities. Attention was repeatedly focused on the need for:

- creation of low-rise building areas, implementation of pilot projects for the integrated development of land plots with low-rise residential buildings in big cities;
- solving problems of greening during the construction of new neighborhoods.

Yet so far, the *quantitative* approach in urban planning still prevails in Belorussian practice. It

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orients urban planning towards a sectoral and linear understanding of economic growth, where hard location conditions matter only (such as transport infrastructures etc.); everything is aimed at economic growth (i.e. sectoral government of the city). Thus, in the modern model for assessing the effectiveness of the development of cities in Belarus, a quantitative approach prevails: the effectiveness of development is measured by the built square meters of housing, kilometers of roads and streets, and the percentage of landscaping. These indicators are markers in the final republican reports, where the city authorities are trying to achieve the necessary results: more city – more residents, more roads and streets. But in general, this affects the city and the quality of life: a large number of monotonous buildings using large-panel housing construction, social infrastructure that does not keep up with housing and insufficient landscaping. The norms and parameters of the red lines themselves, the reserve corridors of engineering networks for the future for the streets indicate that we do not count our own funds.

In this broader context of Belarussian planning debates and actual practice, the city of Brest did an attempt of re-orientation. In the last four years, the city has undertaken several steps towards a more quality-oriented urban planning. It opts today for the territorial/environmental government of the city, where the aim of urban management constitutes the reduction of the operating costs of maintaining the city, increasing the economic, socio-cultural, and ecological benefits of the urban environment by improving its quality, preserving monuments, increasing diversity, greening. Though economic reasoning (i.e. urban economic growth and competitiveness) still impregnates planning discourses in Belarus and Brest as the predominant *basic rationale*, the way, how to approach, analyze and develop the city and urban fabric is going to change: It turns towards the *quality of urban environments* (livability*), planning and design*. New topics emerge in urban planning, such as the 'Green and Circular City' (cf. Ulasiuk, 2019), which require a quantitative and qualitative, integrated and flexible thinking. This new agenda of Brest's urban planning – by the way – picks up some key issues of the present EU agenda for spatial development (Territorial Agenda 2030), as we will show below.

An evolving toolbox of instruments? The obduracy of statutory land-use planning

To this end, the urban planning department of Architectural Design and Drawing and Urban Development initiated - with the help of the architecture department of Brest Technical University and in alliance with the mayor and the city council of Brest - to supplement the toolbox of urban planning instruments. Today, it includes three main blocks: the informal strategic planning instruments – urban strategies and concepts; the statutory and formalized planning instruments – Urban planning documents, as well as informal tools of competitive urban planning and development – such as Architectural competitions and public-private-partnership contracts (e.g. auctions, Fig. 1.).

The instruments of **statutory land-use planning** are deeply rooted in the Central European and Soviet planning traditions. They form a hierarchical system with the General Plan (city-wide land-use and zoning plan) on top and the detailed land-use plans, e.g. detailed

Fig. 1. Brest - modern city planning and development

plan of the residential area etc. As backbone of the urban development regulation in many European and post-Soviet countries, the statutory planning instruments share a set of features:

- The land-use plans largely answer the questions of how much and where to build. They spatially organize the different, often contradicting land-use interests and thus constitute the key access point to foster a sustainable mixture of urban land-uses.

- The instruments' special importance stems from its unique power to bind legally *all* the urban stakeholders. The statutory land-use plans can serve as 'hard causes' for court trials. Often, it is mandatory to elaborate such land-use plans as basis for any construction permit.

- Moreover, law formalizes the process of statutory land-use planning. It defines and guarantees the different access points of urban stakeholders to planning, at least ideally.

Beyond these joint similarities, there are context-specific differences. In Belarus, for example, approaches to the design of general plans have retained much in common with the Soviet past. Still today, the master plan is the main document in the field of urban planning, intended to a greater extent for a narrow circle of specialists - managers, architects, and land surveyors. Differently than in Germany and decentralized post-Soviet countries, the General Plan of major regional cities in Belarus is not requested, elaborated, and adopted at the municipal level, but ordered by the National Ministry for Architecture and drafted by the National Institute for Urban Development of the Belarusian Research and Design Institute for regional and urban planning UE. At the local level, the General plan is just checked by the mayor's office, presented at the public hearing, and discussed by the *Planning Committee*. Only the **Detailed plans** are ordered by the municipality and local authorities. The architecture department forms the design assignment. The town planning council is reviewing the project. And then it undergoes a state examination. In this process of detailed land-use planning, local MPs are not involved. This brief look at statutory planning reveals that the Belarusian urban planning system has maintained a high degree of centralized state power and professionalism (or 'professional bureaucracy'). We witness only gradual steps towards municipal independence in planning – e.g. the local responsibility of detailed planning – in contrast to the harsh shifts towards decentralization in many other post-Soviet planning systems after 1991.

Apart from that, current debates regarding the reform of statutory land-use planning center around the shared post-Soviet concern of lacking effectiveness. The majority of master plans run the risk of remaining only on paper. Attempts to respond to this problem seem to favor a neoliberal approach. The belief is widespread that the flexibilization of the General Planning processes *or* the relaxation of its binding power for land uses (e.g. the suspension of obligation *for* planning) would 'solve' the problem of missing effectiveness. However, the defendant's aspect of ineffectiveness may be quite specific. While Belarusian urban planners complain about the static and inflexible nature of the General Plan – namely the difficulties of plan amendments to capture flexibly private investments[1], the citizens in Russia are suffering explicitly from the opposite, namely from the investment-driven flexibility of General Planning that 'legalizes' the economic encroachment of their urban livelihoods (cf. Neugebauer et al., 2021). Thus, though reforms in the sphere of urban planning are needed, they have to balance critically the specific local needs.

Against this backdrop and in favor of the aforementioned 'qualitative turn', the urban planning in Brest decided to qualify their statutory land-use planning documents by the means of a sufficient socio-economic rationale instead of questioning the General Plan in principle. A unique experience for Belarus, Brest managed to combine theoretical urban planning analysis in urban planning documentation approved by the Head of State and the city, together with the request and wishes of city residents that were carried out in the context of new strategic urban planning processes in Brest. As the only one in Belarus[2] and probably one of very few other post-Soviet cities (cf. Semenov et al., 2020), the local authorities of Brest managed to integrate the key messages of the strategic urban planning into the statutory land-use planning, i.e. into the development of urban planning documentation.

When in 2017 Urban Development of the Belarusian Research and Design Institute of Regional and Urban Planning UE began **the development of the Master Plan of the city** (Fig. 2) and **the Detailed Regeneration Plan of the Historical Center** (Fig. 3), the design assignment included the developments of the spatial development strategy-2050 and the concept of Symbio City (Fig. 1). Consequently, in 2018, at the city sessions of deputies, the concept of Symbio City was approved, in 2019 – the Spatial Development Strategy for Brest-2050. In 2019, the General Plan of the regional center and a detailed plan of the historical center of Brest were approved. The city received a roadmap for further quality development. Through the integration in the statutory land-use planning, the informal strategic planning contents gained legally binding power.

The testing of informal planning instruments

The introduction of informal planning enabled the *(re)discovery* of two important features in urban planning: *First*, the informal planning instruments (re) vived the comprehensive and integrated view of the city and sensitized for an incremental (step-by-step) implementation of urban planning. New leitmotifs for urban planning and design popped up (such as the

[1]E.g. changes in the master plan are quite expensive and time-consuming work (it is necessary to coordinate with more than 20 ministries and various departments and pass several examinations. Therefore, only the master plan of Minsk is often corrected.

[2]Following Brest, similar strategies were developed for small towns of Belarus: Polotsk, Novopolotsk, and Novogrudok within the framework of the UN project "Green Urban Development" with the participation of experts from the Department of Urban Development of the Belarusian National Technical University and MLA + experts, but in Brest, it was possible to approve a master plan in conjunction with the strategy.

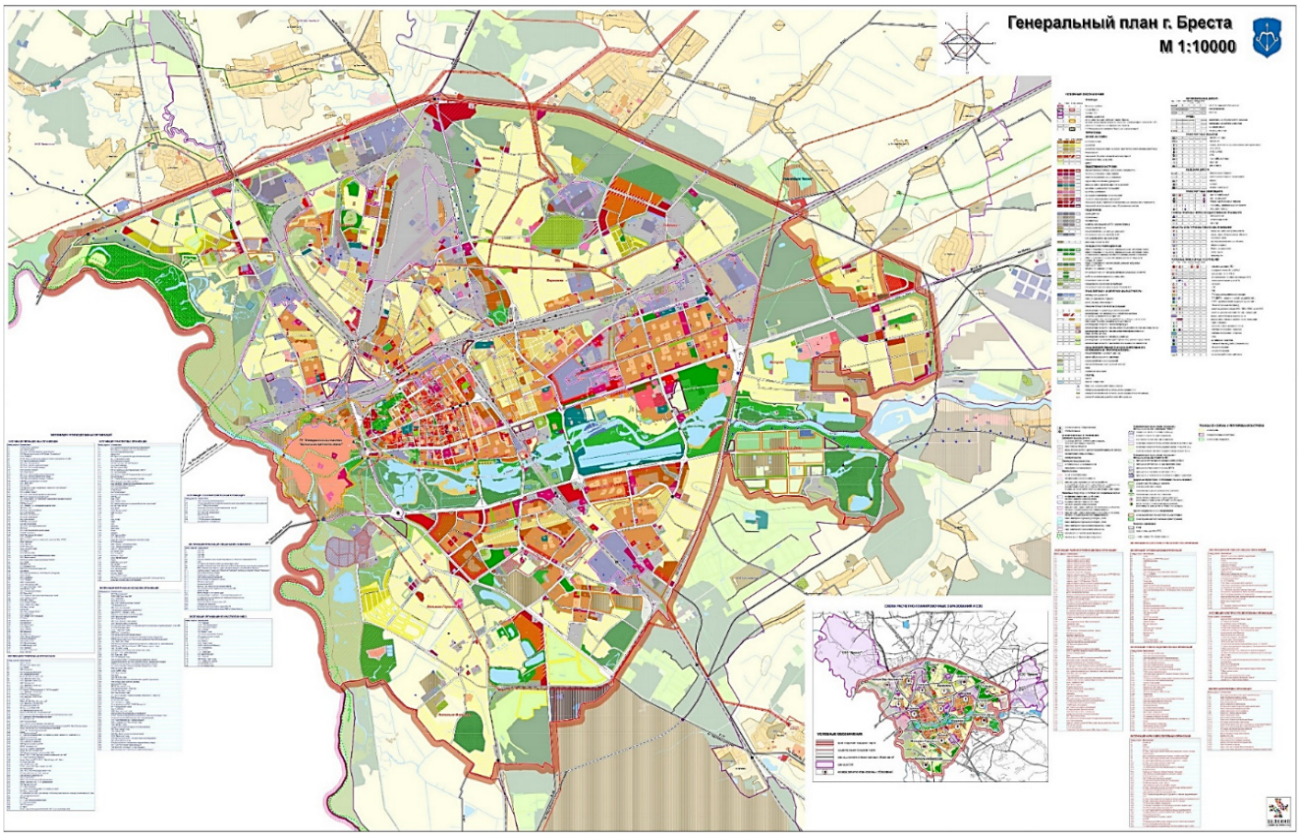

Fig. 2. Brest . General Plan. 2019

Fig. 3. Brest. Detailed Plan of the Historic Center

"compact city" and the "symbio | circular city") that may help to break down entrenched boundaries of sectoral thinking in public authorities and encourage joint forces for steps of implementation. *Secondly,* the informal planning instruments offered a testing ground for new stakeholder cooperation that goes beyond the public authorities due to their little (or missing) legal formalization. At this stage, we can't assess if and how these experiences will nest in Brest and bring up new co-operative planning routines in the long term. Nevertheless, we will have a closer look at these new or revived experiences next.

The Symbio City Concepts constitute the initial project in the broader endeavour of strategic planning in Brest. Today, the concept is an integral part of the Spatial Development Strategy (Fig. 1). The occasion for the Symbio City concept was the inclusion of Brest into the UNDP Green Cities project by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers and the National Action Plan for the Development of a Green Economy in Belarus and the Covenant of Mayors of Brest. The Symbio City Concept is the result of joint work of Belarusian, European experts-urbanists and city authorities within the framework[3].

The concept is a model of sustainable urban development, which is based on the interaction (synergy) of seven urban systems: climate, transport, architecture and landscape, waste management, water supply and sanitation, urban management (Fig. 4). The ecological, energy-efficient technologies used in the model are well known to specialists in themselves and each separately. A synergistic effect arises when the branches of the municipal economy that exist separately and solve their problems locally begin to solve them together. Thus, the Symbio City concept requires coordinated action within several local urban systems and local experts within the public authorities (architecture and landscape; energy and climate; urban mobility; waste; water supply and sanitation; education and culture). If this concept starts to be implemented, the city will receive new opportunities for the development of an integrated sustainable urban system.

In the city executive committee[4], a group of experts is being created in areas that are united by a common environmental goal. For each of the seven directions of the concept, goals for the future were determined - until 2020, 2035 and 2050. The city of Brest, which joined the Covenant of Mayors on Climate and Energy in 2015, due to the concept "Brest: Symbio City 2050" plans to achieve a reduction in CO_2 emissions of up to 20% compared to 2010, and to implement the "Green City" concept.

The Symbio City concept has been followed by the more comprehensive **Spatial Development Strategy** for the whole Brest and all aspects of urban space development. The strategy consists of the "BREST 2050" vision, targets and ten areas for future urban development (Fig. 5)[5]. The strategy points at topics and leitmotifs for urban development, which display the 'new' emphasis on livable urban environments and its interlinkage to urban economy; the chosen leitmotifs also resonate with the current key concepts of EU- Europe, for example:

- the Brest 'Compact City Strategy' is very close to the European Union's urban design leitmotif outlined in the Leipzig Charter (EU Council 2020);
- the "green-frame, water-diameter strategy (Central City Park)' links to the green-and-blue infrastructure thinking of the EU territorial Agenda 2030 (Territorial Agenda 2030);
- the "Symbio City concept" resonates with the European Union's aim of circular urban economies (Territorial Agenda 2030),
- the Growth Zone strategy (technopark, industrial and IT clusters, service sector) links to the aforementioned, well-established debate on service and knowledge economies;
- the "residential area strategy" includes both, the new development areas and an energy efficiency module as well as the renewal of existing residential areas, which links to the European Union's core idea of stock-oriented urban renewal planning (EU Council 2020).

Beyond these concepts and leitmotifs, an important feature of Strategic Plans - and thus of the Strategy for Spatial Development in Brest too - constitutes the orientation to implementation: The Brest Strategy defines the list of priority and long-term projects, targets, implementation mechanisms and performance indicators[6].

Some projects have already been launched in Brest due to the directions of the approved strategy. For example, the reconstruction and improvement of the embankment of the Mukhavets River are in full swing. Various public organizations, such as "Time of the Earth", "BREST FOR BICYCLE", as well as residents are actively involved in landscaping the city. The total length of bike paths has been increased. Moreover, several measures significantly increased the level of the greening of the city: the historical park "City Garden" was reconstructed, green areas are being improved in the existing micro-districts (Park "Mira", a square in Yuzhny, a square along Salnikov (South-West microdistrict 3) and new parks and squares are being laid (park of the 1000th anniversary, a square on Volgogradskaya street, a square of Brest Bible, Pushkin square, a square in the area of Partyzanski avenue).

In the process of plan implementation, the city of

[3]Symbio City 2050 is one of the activities of the National Action Plan for the Development of a Green Economy in Belarus until 2020 (approved by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus No. 1061 on December 21, 2016). Besides, on October 26, 2015, Brest joined the European Covenant of Mayors movement and committed itself to mobilize all resources and human potential to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 20% compared to the base year.

[4]i. e. the executive committee of the city Council of Deputies.

[5]Please note: Another important document - that we don't discuss in detail here - represents the strategy of socio-economic development, which identifies the necessary resources and sources of funding, estimates the results in advance, but does not address the issues of spatial development and the creation of a comfortable urban environment.

[6]In doing so, the assessment system consists of a number of indicators that are responsible for a certain type of urban space and reflect the degree of environmental quality for each of the criteria.

Brest also uses **tools of competitive urban planning** (cf. Fig. 6), i.e. international design competitions and forms of public-private-partnerships. Examples are:

- The results of the international architectural **competition** for the creation of a new public space "Two squares of one quarter" on the site of the former bus station have been summed up.

- Work is underway to change the principles of building residential areas: a **competition** was held for the concept of building blocks of a residential area with the reconstruction of Fort No. 4 on Syabrovskaya street (Fig. 12), detailed planning projects (South-West microdistrict 1), Yuzhny, Brest Venice; all new districts have a recognizable design

Fig. 4. Symbio City . A systematic approach to the city

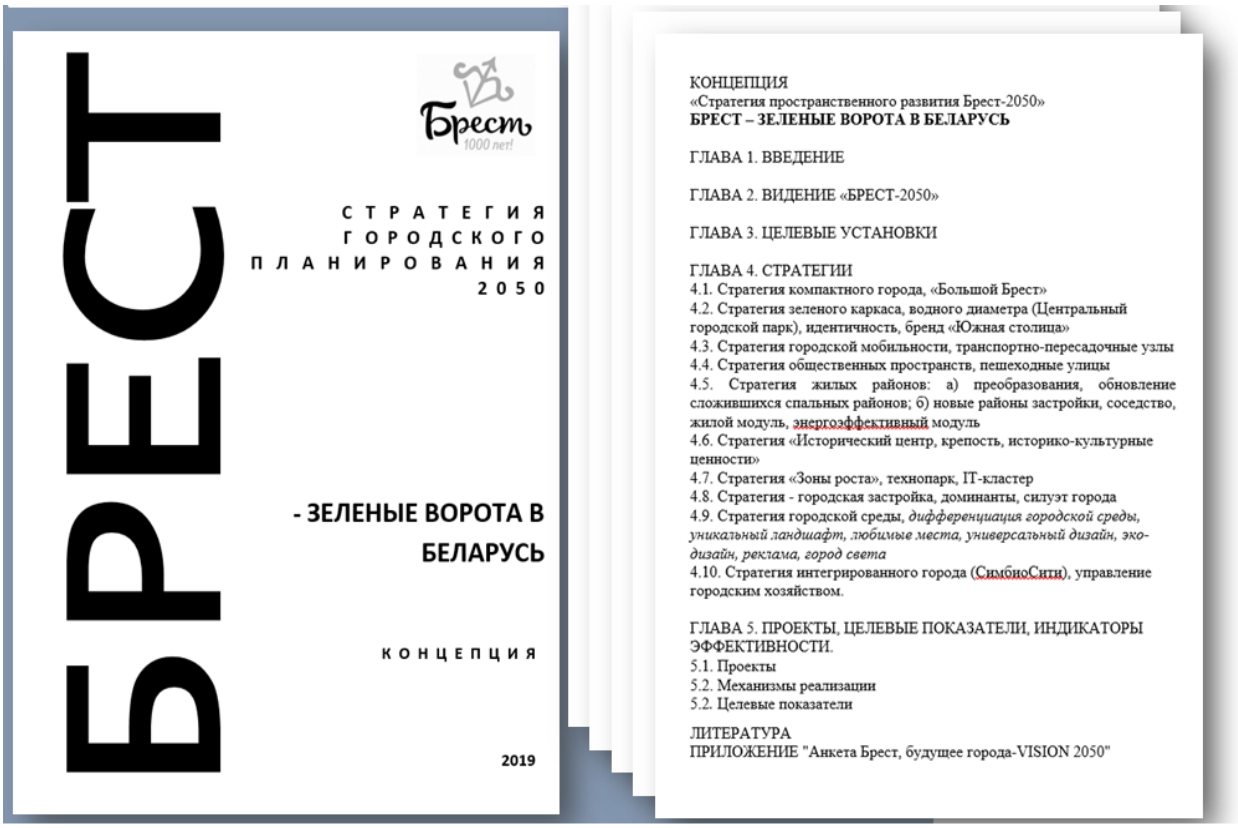

Fig. 5. Spatial development strategy - 2050. Brest is the green gate to Belarus

code, which makes it easy to identify the district and navigate the city.

- Competition for the concept of landscaping the Brest Fortress.

- In Brest, the existing technopark, located in the former industrial zone, is being reconstructed, and an **investment agreement** has been signed for the construction of the first stage of a modern IT cluster in the area of a technical university.

The urban planning department of Brest together with its local partners (ie the city housing and communal services, Zelenstroy, city council, Brest waste recycling plant, traffic police, city transport department, public organizations and other city services) runs for the further, successful implementation of the Spatial Strategy and thus for a more quality-oriented urban planning and development in Brest. Therefore, a couple of hurdles are still to be overcome, for example:

- the formation of the city budget in accordance with the priorities of the strategy with the use of expert assessments in the systematization and ranking of projects. Though Brest allowed the administration itself to define a roadmap for the development of the city and understand the priorities for transforming the quality of the city's development thanks to the Strategic Planning process. they are determined centrally in accordance with the adjusted republican indicators. So far, the aforementioned projects are financed by city budget, regional and republican level programs, private investments;

- development of urban planning projects (RAP, special planning projects, urban planning passports, strategies), since there are not enough international competitions for the development of territories. In this vein, we also need to build professional communities and experts to evaluate urban development projects;

- creation of a structure - PMC or department (agency for the implementation of urban strategies) for the formulation, development of urban projects, strategies and their promotion;

- establishing a dialogue with the city community, public organizations, involving them in the implementation of city projects (e.g. the creation of an Information Center in the city for presentations of urban planning projects) and more active participation of the deputy corps.

Finally, this brief look at the urban planning instruments in Brest reveals that although the Belarussian planning legislation and statutory planning practices have not changed much for the last three decades, the informal approaches to urban planning are vibrantly evolving today. Strategic Planning seems to foster both, the definition of 'new' topics and leitmotifs in urban planning and development that are very close to the professional ideas in EU-Europe, as well as a broader understanding of communication and cooperation in planning, i.e. the cross-sectoral coordination within the public authorities and the collaboration with the local urban society.

Processes and stakeholders in urban planning

In line with this last note, the elaboration of the Brest Strategy of Spatial Development constituted a complex process that involved various stakeholders and interests. The Strategic planning process benefited from, over time, the availability of resources for the 1000th anniversary of the city and the availability of specialists and managers willing to promote urban strategies. There were:

- the initiative of the chief architect of the city with the support of the mayor and the city council of deputies;

- creation of a working group of specialists at the city executive committee;

- the activity of public organizations (cycling communities, greens, the society of the disabled, students-architects);

- participation of Brest in the Covenant of Mayors and participation in the EU grant "Green Cities" (see Symbio City).

The Strategic Planning process included a sociological survey, work with international[7] and local experts, specialists of the Urban Development of the Belarusian Research and Design Institute of Regional and Urban Planning UE, investors[8], public organizations and local authorities, assessment of strengths and weaknesses - SWOT (C) -analysis.

The active involvement of the citizens and civil society in the planning process and beyond the mandatory public hearing constituted a novelty in Brest. The citizens informed the planning process: They mattered when it was to figure out the strengths and weaknesses of the city, and they informed the leitmotif-process ("Vision"). To this end, in 2016, the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning on the basis of the Technical University held a number of round tables on the topic: "Spatial Development Strategy-2050. Vision"[9], a sociological survey is being conducted with more than 600 respondents on the subject: what do you like in the city, and what not to like, how would you like to see the city in the future? (Fig. 7). In the information centre of the city executive committee (i.e. in the city hall), questionnaires were proposed for polling the opinions of residents, two Google maps 2.5 x 2.5 meters with a plan of the whole city and the historical centre was posted. It is offered the opportunity to designate stickers of different colours on the map "good" and "bad" places in the city in the opinion of the residents

[7]e.g. MLA+ as one of the international key agencies promoting and doing strategic plans for many cities in the FSU; further experts such as M. Stepura,Ya. Golubeva, A. Golovin, and Stockholm City Administration (Sweeden).

[8]All developers of the city, both foreign and local, were invited. For example, Savushkin Product, that has built a modern park in the city and holds festivals there.

[9]The participants were architects and teachers of the Faculty of Architecture from Minsk and Brest, the Architecture Department of the City Executive Committee, public organizations, including, of course, the townspeople, designers, the Union of Architects.

Fig. 6. Competition for the development of a residential area - IV Fort

Fig. 7. Visualization of the poll (pedestrian, friendly, European, modern, lively, historical, night, green, sports, hospitable, industrial, embankment, river, bicycle, healthy, southern capital of Belarus, comfortable, tourist)

themselves, numbered stickers can be explained in a separate record book.

The final strategy for spatial development is adopted by the local council of deputies, discussed with city residents in the course of a public hearing. Apart from the citizens' feedback, the whole planning process benefited importantly from the correct, positive dynamics among the availability of experts and a team of professionals in urban development.

In the case of Brest, the strategic planning process proved to work out as a valuable testing ground for new approaches of cross-sectoral cooperation within the local public authorities and beyond this realm. It activated the usually more passive range of stakeholders and alliances in Belarusian urban planning, namely the local citizens and public organizations as well as the local politics in person of the mayor and deputies. Moreover, international experts (e.g. MLA +, GIZ / IBB, Stockholm City Hall) and regional experts from science (e.g. the Technical University of Brest) have been actively involved. In these respects, the informal planning process stands out from the formalized processes of statutory land-use planning.

Looking at the routines of statutory land-use in Brest, Belarus, we observe in particular:

The marginal, not an active enough role of the local deputies in urban planning

Differently than in EU countries as well as in Ukraine and Russia (cf. Neugebauer et al., 2021; Neugebauer et al., 2020), the Belarusian legislation grants few rights to the city council in statutory land-use planning only: The deputies neither initiate land-use planning processes nor approve the planning documents. The nexus between statutory land-use planning and the local system of parliamentary democracy is weak. Nevertheless, the deputies own opportunities in urban planning, e.g. as members of the Special Urban Development Commission. They are also the directly elected representatives of the citizens and resolve individual private requests and requests of citizens that sometimes touches the field of planning. In general, however, the deputies should be intermediaries between the authorities and residents, participate in the formation of a request from residents and transfer it to the city government; they should engage with urban planning issues and the debates for the good of the citizens. The new aforementioned processes of strategic planning have been the first step in this direction.

The formal upgrading, but informal containment of citizens' voices in planning. This observation leads to the actual practice of citizen participation in Belarus

Since 2012, it has become mandatory to conduct a public discussion of urban planning documentation. For urban planning and construction projects, there are two types of public consultation, and the most important is *the public consultation regulation approved by the Ministry of Architecture and Construction*[10]. It is carried out when the general plan of the city is being designed, a detailed plan of a residential area, and when individual objects are being designed (as a rule, compaction) in the absence of a detailed plan - the architectural concept of the object. The city executive committee advertises on the website and in the newspaper, then the project is presented at the mayor's office. The comments are sent to the city hall within a month, and then the town planning council considers them on the merits and decides whether to take the comments into account or not. The results are posted on the website of the city executive committee.

So far, however, the citizens' voices in urban planning are still soft. Some reasons are (1) the missing knowledge among citizens - e.g. due to the existing specifics of these projects, the procedure is not sufficiently discussed and is not clear enough for ordinary citizens, (2) the lacking skills among the representatives of public authorities - e.g. a missing language of dialogue, lack of professional experts on urban planning and insufficient culture and practice of their implementation, and (3) a missing general interest in listening to the citizens, e.g. among local deputies. Thus, even though there are examples where residents influence the results of local planning and their opinions are taken into account[11], citizen participation remains a testing field in Belarusian urban planning.

The tension between policies of deregulation in planning in favour of private investments and the regulatory inertia of planning bureaucracy.

In Belarus, there are two forms of interaction between the developer and the authorities: an auction and an investment project[12]. In the latter, the land is provided free of charge, but there are rather strict restrictions on the timing of construction and investments. Sometimes bureaucratic obstacles get in the way; sometimes the approval of approvals is progressing slowly, especially in the historical centre (approval is needed in the Ministry of Culture) or the issues of resettlement of former residents (courts). Herein we witness an increasing pressure on statutory land-use planning. Though the national policy is aimed at attracting foreign investment and therefore softening several construction norms[13], the highly formalized detailed land-use planning procedures still prevent - i. e. regulate - a rushing investment-

[10]The second type of public discussion is environmental assessment (an initiative of the ministry of natural resources of Belarus). It is carried out for industrial facilities, as well as near green areas and urban development projects.

[11]For example, the project of the detailed plan of st. Syabrovskaya and Fort No. 4 in the city of Brest were suspended for revision due to the desire of residents to preserve more green areas and to preserve rare breeds of bats and woodpeckers.

[12]TThe developer (or investor) for social housing and social facilities. Private investors, Belarusian or foreign, are building commercial housing, retail and office facilities.

[13]Many building codes, in addition to construction safety, began to be recommendatory, as many foreign companies are building: from Russia, China, Poland, Iran, Serbia, etc.

driven urban development in Brest (Belarus). This is a challenging point because many post-Soviet city dwellers in Russia, Ukraine etc. suffer from and mobilize against the investment- and benefit-driven urban development today (Neugebauer et al., 2020; Mezentsev et al., 2017; Rekhviashvili et al., 2017). At the same, the planning bureaucracy does not serve *per se* the people.

The contested, but pre-dominant role of the national authorities in urban planning.

Finally, the example of Brest displays a particular contention for Belarusian urban planning: the tight and ambivalent nexus between the powerful and professional national authorities (ie the Ministry of Architecture and Construction) in urban planning, and the local urban planning departments that strive for more independence and responsibility. As outlined before, the Ministry develops and implements the state urban planning policy and measures for the development of investment activities. It is the customer of the master plans of regional centres (Brest, Grodno, Gomel, Vitebsk, Mogilev), which, like the general scheme of the country (GSKTO) and urban planning policy, are approved by the head of state.

On the one hand, the state centrality and professionalism in planning is favourable. It advances the promotion of new and/or relevant topics in urban planning, such as the "Green City", through state programs and subsidies incentivizing respective local initiatives. The Belarusian authorities also show perseverance about the fundamental challenge of territorial cohesion. Moreover, the central state's professionalism in planning also ensures the standards of planning, since the general planning and detailed land-use plans are centrally controlled and not a voluntary affaire of municipalities. This strong interest and the various measures of the central state in urban development contrasts with the many other post-Soviet countries where national programs and urban policies are either missing or weak. The interests and ideas of the Belarusian state authorities rather remind the German and EU policies and programs for urban and spatial development.

On the other hand, the strong role of the power vertical is perceived as constraining. More authority is needed to delegate to local authorities and residents in the field of urban planning, and today these proposals are being actively discussed at various levels. It is necessary to move not only from top to bottom (republican programs and plans) but also from bottom to top, taking into account the interests and prospects of the populated areas themselves and the opinions of residents and city authorities. This idea is anchored in EU treaties and German planning legislation as 'subsidiarity'. The Strategic Planning in Brest has shown that the local authorities are willing and owe sufficient expertise, ideas and resources to manage complex planning processes and launch dynamic processes of implementation. Due to the missing formalization of the Strategic planning instrument, it offered a chance to testify this. Though the close cooperation with the central state is indispensable and not principally questioned in Brest today, more independence and self-responsibility are envisioned. So far, however, the contradiction between the central and local state authorities constitutes a specificity of Belarusian urban planning and governance.

Summary

This latter comment contributes to the key argument of this paper, namely that the urban planning in Brest (re)produces a trajectory of gradual post-Soviet transformation which is maybe unique in the FSU, but certainly too little discussed by scholars and practitioners so far. The Belarusian mode of urban planning stands out in the current post-Soviet realm that is marked by abrupt systemic breaks and a slow recovery of planning only. The Belarusian case rather displays a great continuity of formal institutions and informal routines in statutory land-use planning. The Republic of Belarus, in comparison with the countries of the former Soviet Union, has retained a professional urban planning school and the continuity of traditions, which indicates the existing fundamental professional approaches and the presence of specialized urban planning institutes such as Urban Development of the Belarusian Research and Design Institute of Regional and Urban Planning UE and UE "Minskgrad". There have been only small steps to reform the institutions and processes of urban and regional planning. One important step constitutes the introduction of mandatory civic participation in land-use planning in 2012. Still today, the central state shapes the whole 'chain of urban development' - the agenda-setting, the elaboration and control of land-use planning, the budget distribution and law enforcement.

At the same time, the current Belarusian planning shows a surprising familiarity with the planning approaches in the EU today, namely in terms of leitmotifs (contents) and principles (e.g. law enforcement and state subsidies). The Belarusian central state authorities for spatial development address essential and future-oriented topics of urban development, such as the "Green City" and "Territorial Justice", and pursue them with state programs and initiatives. These contents and measures resonate with the current EU spatial and urban agendas (Territorial Agenda 2030; EU Council, 2020) and make Belarus standing out in FSU today.

The case study of Brest also proposes that the local stakeholders importantly contribute to the (re) production of this specific trajectory of gradual transformation. The local planning department in Brest created a broad alliance with local stakeholders from science, civil society and politics and engaged actively with the benefits and constraints of the highly centralized, professional national planning authorities. The local alliance used the occasion of Strategic planning as a novel and little formalized planning instrument to link up with international experts and to test new ideas of "qualitative urban development". The Strategic planning process served as a testing ground for intensified cross-sectoral co-operation and integration within the public autho-

rities, for new forms of citizens' involvement and an incremental approach to planning implementation. Modern practice and regulatory framework, as well as new modern leitmotifs and approaches to creating a comfortable urban environment, have been introduced. Brest succeeded to integrate informal planning into the legally binding general land-use plan and started the realization of the first urban renewal projects. In doing so, the local stakeholder alliance in Brest co-produced new opportunities for local, more autonomous urban planning in Belarus. Concerning the future, we are curious to what extent the (new) leitmotifs and planning principles will promote indeed the livability of Brest and trigger broader, incremental shifts within the Belarusian planning system.

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CONFLICTS IN URBAN SPACE AND POST-INDUSTRIAL URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS

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Abstract: Kharkiv is a modern city in the transition to post-industrial development, with significant migratory attractiveness, high level of urbanization, binational and bilingual population, implementation of a number of socio-economic development projects. Today, the city is not only the localization of many opportunities for the development of society and man, but also an area of increased conflictogenity. The purpose of the study is to identify the main urban conflicts during the post-industrial transition, which arise as a reaction to urban transformations and the action of external national processes and the establishment of the main stakeholders of urban changes and conflicts. The study found that the manifestations and degree of conflictogenity in the city depends on its place in the global urban gradation, and therefore, Kharkiv has a high level of conflictogenity, which is confirmed by the frequency of urban conflicts. The study identified factors of high conflictogenity in Kharkiv, which are due to its historical, cultural and socio-economic development. The following conflicts arise in the city: migration, which are caused by pendulum migrations of the population from peripheral areas to the city, forced migrations from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine; ethno-national, due to the competition of the Ukrainian-Russian population, conflicts with national minorities living in the city; urban and property conflicts, which arise mainly between representatives of local authorities, stakeholders and the local population. Urban conflicts affect urban processes, change the urban landscape and reduce the city's attractiveness. We emphasize the need for further comprehensive socio-geographical studies of urban processes in cities, in particular the emergence of conflicts, identifying factors of conflict, the impact of urban conflicts on the socio-geographical landscape and developing models to find effective solutions to conflicts in the city.

Key words: conflict, transformations, urban conflicts, liberal urban policy, Kharkiv.

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КОНФЛІКТИ В МІСЬКИХ ПРОСТОРАХ ТА ПОСТІНДУСТРІАЛЬНІ МІСЬКІ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ

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Анотація: Харків – сучасне місто, що знаходиться на етапі переходу до постіндустріального розвитку, із значною міграційною привабливістю, високим рівнем урбанізації, бінаціональним та білінгвістичним складом населення, реалізацією низки проєктів соціально-економічного розвитку. Сьогодні місто – це не лише локалізація безлічі можливостей для розвитку соціуму та людини, але й територія підвищеної конфліктогенності. Мета дослідження – виявлення основних міських конфліктів у період постіндустріального переходу, які виникають як реакція на міські перетворення та дію зовнішніх загальнодержавних процесів та встановлення основних стейкхолдерів міських змін та конфліктів. У дослідженні виявлено, що прояви та міра конфліктогенності міста залежить від його місця у світовій урбаністичній градації, а тому місто Харків має високий рівень конфліктогенності, що підтверджується періодичністю виникнення міських конфліктів. Дослідженням встановлено фактори високої конфліктогенності міста Харкова, які обумовлені його історико-культурним та соціально-економічним розвитком. У місті виникають наступні конфлікти: міграційні, які викликані маятниковими міграціями населення із периферійних районів у місто, вимушеними міграціями із тимчасово окупованих територій України; етнонаціональні, що зумовлені конкуренцією українсько-російського населення, конфлікти із національними меншинами, які проживають у місті; містобудівні та майнові конфлікти, які виникають переважно між представниками органів місцевої влади, зацікавлених осіб та місцевого населення. Міські конфлікти впливають на урбаністичні процеси, змінюють міський ландшафт та знижують рівень привабливості міста. Наголошуємо на необхідності проведення подальших комплексних суспільно-географічних досліджень урбаністичних процесів у містах, зокрема виникнення конфліктів, виявлення факторів конфліктогенності, впливу міських конфліктів на суспільно-географічний ландшафт та розробки моделей з пошуку ефективних рішень конфліктних ситуацій у місті.

Ключові слова: конфліктогенність, трансформації, міські конфлікти, ліберальна міська політика, Харків.

Introduction

The global space becomes more sophisticated, unstable and dynamic these days. Problems, conflicts, social unrest etc. appear in it with increasing frequency. Problems become more and more global and comprise all social phenomena and processes at all levels of social organization. They become particularly dangerous in big cities. It applies to all the regions and countries of the world. Such phenomena as terrorism, the spread of currently incurable maladies, social inequality and social injustice etc. are the most dangerous. The process of urbanization is impossible to stop, thus negative social phenomena will be increasing. The task of researches is to study the aforementioned issues of development and self-sustaining activity of cities and their population to determine patterns for development, to identify problems, to look for ways to overcome difficulties and to optimize further existence in the modern climate of a complicated reality.

Ukraine is a part of the world community, and that is the reason why it has all the aforementioned problems. Moreover, Ukraine belongs to the countries where globalization processes are complex due to a number of internal problems: the war in the East of the country, political and economic instability. The Cities of Ukraine, especially the biggest ones, become an arena where many social conflicts form and develop, which gives impetus to the rampant development of migration processes. At the same time, such processes as economic transformation, overcoming the post-soviet economic state, transition to post-industrial development of the cities, urban space transformation and overcoming social problems still require research.

Kharkiv is one of the most powerful cities of Ukraine with an ancient and glorious history of development. The development of the city is impacted by a number of multidirectional factors, that are constantly changing and transforming the city. During the time neo-liberal urban policy of post-industrial society, the urban processes in the city of Kharkiv just as in the majority of big industrialized cities of Ukraine and Eastern Europe, build up a sophisticated system of urban transformations. The city's authorities, business and private developer's companies, NGOs and every citizen become the subjects of urban policy and urban processes. The urban processes involving all the aforementioned subjects (stakeholders) take place at all levels - from city-wide to local and intralocal. Herewith the most important upheavals and transformations within urban space arise as a counter-action to increasing urban conflicts of different levels and causes of occurrence. Therefore, there is an increasingly urgent need for participatory urban integrated research which is designed to identify, on the one hand, the stakeholders of the city government and their level of interest, and on the other hand the actual objects or areas of effort and urban transformation.

Literature review

A city, urban space and urban policy are a complex multidisciplinary object of study;thus, they belong to the field of study of experts from different branches and they are researched by using various approaches. The topics of participatory urban space governance, urban conflicts, their resolutions and consequences are quite broadly explored in the works of American and Western European scholars. Domestic urbanists and geographers are only starting to work in this direction. Therefore, the analysis of previous research on the topic of the article is based mainly on the work of foreign scholars.

Studying the latest publications on the topic of the article we shall separate two groups of research: the research on urban conflicts and participatory urban studies.

Thus, the work 'Negotiating Urban Conflicts' by Helmuth Berking, Sybille Frank, Lars Frers, Martina Löw, Lars Meier, Silke Steets, and Sergej Stoetzer (Berking, et al., 2006) is an interesting research experience. The authors point out that cities have always been arenas of social and symbolic conflicts. Being the places where different classes, ethnic groups and lifestyles meet up, cities play the role of powerful integrators; however, on the other hand, the city context is the ideal environment for marginalization and violence. The struggle and control over urban space is an ambivalent way of sociation: during the manufacture.

Currently, armed conflicts take place in cities with ever-increasing frequency, and violence becomes widespread. That is caused by changes in urban morphology, in particular changes of structure, identity and urban conflicts' management. The structure represents the physical and demographic landscape. Cities are distinguished by the size, scale, configuration, that display different levels of accessibility or local and global integration, and also various spatial features, so-called 'City Traces". Similarly, the demographic characteristics are changing, which is caused by constant labor or educational migrations. The impact of identity on urban conflicts is understudied. Urban conflicts occur mostly due to the mix of the national and linguistic composition of the city population, the emergence of social or class injustices, segregation etc. At the same time, it is difficult to gain territorial control in cities since thereis required monopoly on violence, support from the local population and related capability to identify and punish the city's violators (The Morphology of Urban Conflict, 2020).

An example of a spatial city conflict study is the research on transformational processes in the city of Pozzuoli (Italy), conducted by Barbara Scalera and Moccia Francesco Domenico (Francesco Domenico & Scalera, 2017). In the city of Pozzuoli, which is a seaport city, the conflict develops around the port area, that simultaneously forms two separate enclaves – the 'port' and the 'city', which creates the common territory of interaction. Thus, though the city and its historical center try to repossess some parts of the port district, at the same time the port with different zones for different purposes aims to optimize its functions,

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that inevitably causes conflicts in areas bordering the main urban area. Mostly it happens on implementation of various functions of the port territory. However, those districts have great potential for the city. Such areas might play an important role in public space, in social-economic and cultural perspective, provided that there is a balanced correlation between the functions, their use and skills. Therefore, the conflicting areas where urban and port activity overlaps, are the areas that require, first of all, organic unitary governance. That would regulate different functions which provide relevant premises, but maintain clarity.

The study of the modern urban conflicts, their causes and consequences, was conducted by Álvaro Sevilla-Buitrago in 2013. It was based on the expert interviewing of the leading researchers of urban conflicts.

The survey raised four simple, straightforward questions: What are the most pressing conflicts with regard to contemporary cities? What are the main fields of action for solving them? How can your discipline contribute with respect to this task? Could you mention an intervention that could serve as an example of that line of work? The response represents a plural and multidisciplinary perspective on contemporary urban issues from which a series of research and intervention perspectives emerges (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2013).

In the time of neo-liberal urban policy, participatory urbanism is formed in response to the urban conflicts. It includes engaging the local population to the urban governance and the component of 'tactical urbanism'.

Nina Claire Napawan and Brett Snyder in their work 'Participatory urbanism towards place-understanding' give the definition to the participatory urbanism and its significance in urban planning and development (Claire & Snyder, 2016). Participatory urbanism is on the rise in communities struggling to develop quality public spaces in constrained environments. In light of the growing practice of community-based strategies to shape urban place-making, this paper argues for an increased role of community engagement in urban place-understanding. It presents the work of feminist environmental artists of the 1970s as a precedent for participatory approaches towards infrastructure awareness and environmental stewardship, and discusses opportunities for expanding the impact of their approach through digital media integration.

The fundamental study of the practical and theoretical aspects of the participatory urbanism using the example of the city of Barcelona is the work of David Scott de la Pena 'Experiments in Participatory Urbanism: Reform and Autogestion as Emerging Forms of Urban Activism in Barcelona' (De la Pena, 2013). The dissertation specifically examines experiments in participatory urbanism in Barcelona, through which urban activists engage with institutions, organizations, and residents to either reform existing systems or to build alternative systems that are semi-autonomous (autogestionado). Using archival and ethnographic methods, this study offers insights on emerging activist roles that designers and urbanists are assuming in an effort to give citizens more local control over urban space. Understanding these new roles is important not only for aspiring urban activists but also to officials and other professionals who likewise must negotiate the dynamic terrain between institutions, professionals and publics.

Although the issues of urban conflicts, participatory urban governance and urban processes, in general, are understudied and not sufficiently integrated into the scholarly endeavor in the Ukrainian science yet, we may still claim that the so-called multidisciplinary approach to their research is establishing. On this account, there is an interesting study of Artem Mozhovyj 'Urban development conflicts in Ukraine' (Mozhovyj, 2016). The study mainly presents the theoretical frameworks for the main definitions of the urban conflict phenomena, and also it briefly displays the most acute conflicts in several cities in Ukraine. Another research of this author 'Urban conflicts in the information age' addresses the number of theoretical and practical aspects of studies on urban conflicts in modern cities (Mozhovyj, 2017).

Similarly, the issue of participatory urbanism or urbanism of participation is an undeveloped subject of research for Ukrainian scientists. The existing scientific publications mainly try to systematize the international scientific theoretical experience on the matter and form concrete patterns of practical implementation of participatory urbanism, including tactical urbanism.

The work of Olena Okunjeva 'The place of participatory practices in the design of urban public spaces in modern Ukraine' is also interesting to discuss. The article displays some theoretical aspects of the process, namely the main principles of engaging a community in decision making. It also describes briefly models of participation in developed countries and brings to light actual background of the emergence of the participation system in the design of urban public spaces in Ukraine (Okunjeva, 2018).

A number of urban studies is dedicated to the sphere of creative industries and their impact on urban space. Thus, in the work of Oleksandra Khalepa 'Experience of urban studies using art history practices with the use of communities in Ukraine' (Khalepa, 2017) in the context of decentralization and the increasing role of civil society, artistic practices reveal the creative potential of communities and create a creative field for dialogue in society. The deployment art practices in urban spaces in the United States, the basic paradigm-stage phenomenon of public art and specific initiatives in the space of modern Ukraine are analyzed in the article. It was revealed that abandoned historic industrial facilities areas are very suitable for the deployment of artistic practices. In this aspect, the examples in Zaporizhzhia, Poltava and Sloviansk were investigated. As the result, it was revealed that artistic practice is an effective tool for creating a positive experience for urban dialogue.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study.

The strategic aim of the study is to identify the main urban conflicts during the post-industrial transition, which arise as a respond to the urban transformations and action of external national processes, and the establishment of the main stakeholders of urban changes and conflicts.

In order to achieve the aim, the following **objectives** were articulated:

- to analyze theoretical foundations for the study of urban conflicts, international and domestic experience of their studies;
- to identify the most pressing and important conflicts of the urban space of the city of Kharkiv;
- to define the main players ('stakeholders') of urban conflicts that cause the changes in urban space;
- to summarize the main consequences of urban conflicts in the city of Kharkiv and to define their impact on the social and global landscape of the city.

The methodology of the socio-geographical study of city transformations that are caused by the conflicts is based on a set of the philosophical, general scientific and specific scientific methods and inter-sectoral approaches. The research of the main and the most pressing urban conflicts in Kharkiv, their main stakeholders, reasons and consequences involved the content analysis of media sources and local authorities' informational resources. In order to identify the main stakeholders of the urban planning and developing process, the data was collected through content-analysis method (Suptelo, 2019). The number of philosophical and dialectical methods enabled the establishment of connections between urban conflict and its perspective consequences in terms of city participatory urbanism. The systematization of the urban space conflicts implies the identification of the object and subject of the conflict, its prerequisites and consequences for the socio-geographical landscape of a city and its population. The methodological apparatus of geographical sciences is important as well, namely: descriptive-geographical, historical-geographical and comparative-geographical methods.

Results of the study and their discussion

During the whole time of the interdependency of our country, starting at 1991 and until today, the city of Kharkiv undergoes certain stages of transformation, the urban economy, urban space and social sphere are modernized. Together with external geopolitical, economical and globalization factors, it impacts urban development at all levels, urban processes, shifts and social situation.

In the course of post-industrial transformations in the city of Kharkiv, the processes of de-industrialization became acute, which lead to the emergence of the vast surface of abandoned and forsaken industrial areas. However, those areas served as the zone of aggravation of social conflicts on one hand, and they become the areas of potential reusability under the influence of global trends and further transformation of the economy and urban governance, on another hand (Liping et al., 2017). In the period of the transformation, the global trend of anthropocentrism and the conceptual framework of 'new urbanism', fueled by the 'right to the city' theory, place the individual citizen the foreground of an urban conflict (despite its primal cause and nature). Frequently, it is urban citizens who appear the subjects of urban transformations and urban conflicts on the intralocal level of the urban socio-geosystem. However, at the higher levels, public opinion often is not taken into consideration but is manipulated and used in order to pursue the objectives of the business or local authorities (Mezentsev et al., 2017).

The manifestation of conflicts on the territory of Kharkiv and the degree of conflictogenity of the urban socio-geosystem depend on the city's place in the global urban gradation. Since the city is on its way towards the post-industrial development, shows evidence of the world city, actively implements the concept of 'Smart City' (Kharkiv City Council, 2020), has quite solid, frequent and diversified agent-object relationships, the possibility and the manifestation of conflicts more salient in such a place (Suptelo, 2020). This assumption is proven through sorting big cities by the level of conflictogenity according to the method of A. Mozhovyj, where Kharkiv is the city with the very high level of proneness to the conflict in the urban environment (value of the conflict's index is over 0.91) (Mozhovyj, 2016; Mozhovyj, 2017). This is also brought forward by multiple factors of urban formation and development. In the time of post-industrial transition in the city of Kharkiv the following conflicts appear the most pressing:

Language and interethnic conflicts. The bipolar ethnonational and bilingual structure of the population creates promotes emergence and exacerbation of interethnic and language conflicts. According to the last and insofar the only population census in independent Ukraine, Ukrainians prevail in the ethnic population composition of Kharkiv (60.99 %), the second-largest nation is Russians (34.35 %) (Ukrainian national population census, 2020). For the city of Kharkiv as well as for the majority of Eastern Ukrainian cities, the phenomenon of 'Russophone Ukrainians' is inherent. That is predominance of the ethnic composition of the population who consider themselves Ukrainians, but Russian is their native language. This phenomenon is caused by the close historical and cultural connections between Eastern Ukraine and the Russian Federation, and labor migration of the population during the Soviet Union period. Besides, the large part of Belarusians, Jewish people, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Georgians, Vietnamese in the ethnic composition of the city of Kharkiv might be a threat to the demoeconomic stability of the city and might become a reason for the exacerbation of social stratification and the manifestation of the spatial segregation. Since the city is considered to be one of the major educational and scientific centers of Ukraine, it attracts foreigners to come for studies, mostly people from the Middle East and Asian countries. Lately, the number of conflicts involving foreign students has increased, those conflicts arise from the interethnic and language differences and are often deliberately instigated to destabilize the situation in the city.

Political conflicts. At the beginning of 2014 in Kharkiv, as well as in the neighboring Donetsk and Luhansk, anti-governmental protests, co called 'Russian spring' took place. However, in the city of Kharkiv, as opposed to the neighboring regions, they were supported by a minor part of the population. Over the period of Ukrainian independence, the city of Kharkiv was notable for pro-Russian political views, resulting

in the possibility of destabilizing military and political situation in the city. After the Russian Federation illegally annexed the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in March 2014, a group of separatists unsuccessfully tried to create the so-called People's Republic of Kharkiv. However, special service units, loyal to the rightful authorities, supported by the local elite, prevented them from fulfilment of that plan. The city of Kharkiv went through the turbulent 2014 and 2015, when the incidents with shootings and explosions took place and both parties of the conflict faced human losses.

Quite famous conflicts of the decommunization in the city of Kharkiv were bound to the political transformations, ranging from dismantlement of the Lenin monument to the latest confrontations regarding the avenue and the monument of Zhukov. Despite the fact that national and language composition of the population has always been complex, the pro-Ukrainian organizationsin Kharkiv are quite powerful and sometimes too radical in their activities. However, there is a dynamic towards increasing support from the population, as is evident from the increasing number of events held by such organizations and their participants (The March of the Defenders is being held in Kharkiv (broadcast), 2019).

Forced migrations from the conflict zone on the East of Ukraine. As of the 1st of January 2020, there are 88.6 thousand internally displaced persons (IDP) from the East of Ukraine who live in the city of Kharkiv (66.0 % of the Kharkiv region's IDP). Internally displaced persons overload the labor market by provoking competition for the most prestigious job positions; the social infrastructure, such as pre-school, general secondary and higher education institutions, by creating significant queues in the departments of social welfare, pension funds, insurance offices. They create an excessive workload for the transport system, for the government and local authorities (Niemets et al., 2019; Lohvynova, 2020). The change of the urban space by the internally displaced persons due to the construction of the modular-type towns for their accommodation causes conflict situations. Despite the fact that for the construction of modular towns to accommodate internally displaced persons mostly abandoned and unpromising areas of urban space were involved in the social functioning, the neighborhood with the objects of such a kind usually has a negative social effect, that is manifested in recurrent conflicts between internally displaced persons and the local population. The conflicts are also provoked by the unsolved urgent problems of the internally displaced persons, the low engagement of the local authorities in resolving the issue of successful integration of the forced migrants etc. Discrimination and violation of the rights of the persons displaced from the military conflict zone also arise quite frequently, which in return causes conflicts in communities that host them (Lohvynova, 2019).

Pendulum migrations. Migrations from rural and peripheral areas can contribute to various types of social conflicts caused by the following factors: overcrowding in the big city, overload of the labor market, social sphere and social infrastructure, lack of resources, economic and social problems, increasing social risks. Migrants often have significant intellectual potential, high job qualification, thus they fill prestigious job positions at the labor market, creating a considerable competition between the city population. Kharkiv urban construction growth through expanding urban areas and the necessity to protect agricultural lands may cause property conflicts in the future. This is particularly acute under the conditions of decentralization, given that while joining inhabited localities and creating territorial communities the opinion of the local population is often not taken into consideration (Niemets et al., 2020).

Urban planning conflicts. Conflicts of interest that may emerge as a result of the construction of infrastructural facilities, distribution of educational resources, differences in city governance etc. are characteristic of Kharkiv. The conflict related to the road construction through the Lisopark that took place in May 2020 is case in point. The Kharkiv city council adopted a decision on the construction of the highway through the Horkyi park, that would require cutting down 503 trees. The beginning of tree cutting caused the mobilization of environmental groups, volunteer organizations and the urban population, who made a stand against it. The protests occurred not only the city of Kharkiv, but the flash mob that was supposed to draw attention to the problem of deforestation took place in Kyiv and Lviv. Despite the massive protests and environmental propaganda, the activists were not able to stop the construction of an infrastructurally significant facility (Conflict over the construction of a road through Lisopark, 2020).

In 2019, the conflict occurred because of the construction of another road that connects the biggest in Kharkiv neighborhood Saltivskyi with the city center. De facto, this conflict emerged between the Kharkiv city council and entrepreneurs from the 'Barabashovo' mall, whose trade stands would be dismantled due to the road construction. The road connecting Shevchenko Street, Akademika Pavlova Street and Yuvileilyi Avenue was reserved in Kharkiv city's general plan in 1953. The same road was included in the city's general plans in 1986, 2004, 2013 and 2019. Also, significant problems regarding the functioning of the city infrastructure (wastewater disposal, water discharge, and other utilities networks) emerge due to chaotic and often uncontrolled area growth of the 'Barabashovo' mall. According to the city authorities' officials, most of the trade stands are placed over the city utility networks, which firstly is forbidden and illegal and secondly makes it impossible for public utilitiesservices to access them for maintenance ("Promote the picture": the mayor's office commented on the conflict around the road through "Barabashovo", 2020).

Property conflicts. The main factors for their emergence may be urban and suburban labor force, the expansion of urban areas and protection of agricultural lands. The resource conflict may be caused by the environmental consequences, competition for the natural resources, relocation of the industrial facilities into cities, environmental protection in rural areas, pollution outspread from urban to rural areas and urban water pollution due to agricultural activity. An example of

such type of conflicts is the Kharkov "coke-chemical" conflict over the emissions of hazardous substances into the atmosphere and excessive environmental pollution, which was widely publicized at the end of 2020. According to the latest data, the plant has suspended its activities in obedience to the court decision (The court by its decision temporarily stopped the work of the Kharkov "coke-chemical", 2020).

Religious conflicts. Kharkiv was always known for the tolerant attitude towards the representatives of the various religious denominations, and interethnic and interdenominational conflicts seldom take place in the city. The severe interdenominational conflict took place in the city in 2006 between the representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP). Members of the St. John the Evangelist church went out on a picket to prevent the Patriarch Filaret from entering the church with the relics of St. Barbara. The protesters represented the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. The conflict was eliminated by the law enforcement officers (Inter-confessional conflicts began in Kharkov. Who is guilty? 2006).

Sports conflicts. Kharkiv was one of the four cities of Ukraine that hosted the European Football Championship UEFA Euro-2012 on its territory in 2012. In particular, the games between the Netherlands and Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany, Portugal and the Netherlands took place on the football stadium 'Metalist'. No severe conflicts occurred in the city during the Euro-2012 games.

The football club 'Metalist' has one of the biggest in Ukraine group of ultras, which is the group of fans of a particular football team, who attend all the games of the team, regardless of the location, players, governance and external factors, and are often known for their radical actions. Fights, violent behavior often occur between ultras of the playing teams and other fans. For example, one of the biggest fan fights took place during the game between the football clubs 'Dnipro' and 'Metalist' in 2011. The continuation of the conflict between the fans of FC 'Dnipro' and FC 'Metalist' was the so-called 'dark game' in 2013, that was set up by the ultras of both teams on the 'Metalist' stadium. During the game between the FC 'Dnipro' and FC 'Metalist' in 2016 the fans of the aforementioned teams started a verbal fight, which grew into a physical fight between 20 people on one side against 30 on the other. The conflict was eliminated by the police (The most dangerous derbies in Kharkiv and Dnepropetrovsk, 2020). Today, as a result of the changes in the management of the football club 'Metalist', there is a conflict over backdated salaries between the staff members and the current management.

Those are the examples of the most pressing conflicts that took or are taking place on the municipal level in the city of Kharkiv. However, a great number of local and intralocal conflicts, which one way or another are related to the city and urban development, arise and disappear almost on a daily basis. Mainly, the conflicts on these levels are related to the issues of urban beautification and infrastructure, such as problems of the city utility networks; the state of particular buildings and territories; transport infrastructure problems etc.

One of the most active conflicts as the result of transformations, which took place in the city of Kharkiv, is the restoration of the park 'Zelenyi Hai'. Firstly, the local population repeatedly appealed to the city authorities on the issue of green zones' restoration and reconstruction, but the appeals were ignored, and the public opinion on the matter of reconstruction of the park and turning it into an area of active recreation and affordable leisure was not taken into consideration (It seems like they just spat in our faces." Why is the author of the petition for the reconstruction of the Green Guy park unhappy with Kernes's answer? 2019). In response, community activists ran their own restoration, a number of media resources were engaged and the NGO 'Novyi HTZ' was formed as a protest against passivity of the city authorities. The activists cleared out the park and restored the park infrastructure on their own. At the same time, they started the negotiation with the local authorities and managed to reach the consensus. As a result, by the end of October 2020, the first stage of the park reconstruction was done (The first stage of reconstruction has been completed in the "Zelenyi Hai" park, 2020). The Kharkiv local authorities' officials highlighted the significant role of the local activists in the promotion of the park restoration and reconstruction project.

Various problems and conflicts of the urban space involve local population in solving them or at least discussing them in one way or another, taking into consideration the opinion of the significant part of the local population, business circles and developers and, first of all, local authorities. The long period of urbanist practices, international conferences and researches made the significance of the city in the functioning of the area and life of its inhabitants indisputable. Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, in the context of the 'right to the city' concept, specify the significant importance for urban citizens to have an influence on urban policy, at least on the intralocal level. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN in 1948, there was no such a right. This is the latest human right, which with the radical acceleration of urbanization, capitalist urban development, the emergence of urban regions and the resulting social inequality and challenges to humanity, is becoming virtually the main human right. In its documents, as well as in the activities of its structures dealing with human rights, education and sustainable urban development (UNHABITAT, UNESCO, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and others), the UN proclaims the right to the city to be the driver of urban inclusiveness' development and creation of fairer cities.

The diversity was one of the reasons why the city could adapt to the new reality, avoid radical decisions and stay amidst the crises. At the moment, the city of Kharkiv has several identities:

- Kharkiv is a big trade center located on the crossroad of international transport routes;
- Kharkiv is the capital of the IT-industry of the country, the forceful educational and scientific center of national importance;
- Kharkiv is a city with significant human, industrial,

financial resources.

Based on the analysis of the present-day urban conflicts in the city of Kharkiv according to the level of their impact on the functioning of the city, all urban conflicts may be divided into municipal, local (that are limited spatially to city districts and blocks), intralocal (limited to particular buildings and particular urban citizens).

Urban conflicts often become a driving force for the transformation of urban space. As A. Mozhovyj mentions, the crucial characteristics of the urban space is the fact that every conflict carries simultaneously destructive as well as constructive functions. Thus, the search for the optimum managerial solutions, reconstruction of urban area and reorganization of urban environment etc. occur in the process of conflictual interactions. However, the 'constructive' and 'destructive' functions of conflict and particularly its consequences have a significant subjective meaning (Mozhovyj, 2016; Mozhovyj, 2017).

In the period of post-industrial transformations and significant liberalization of an urban policy, the dissatisfaction with the policies of local authorities on how to deal with urban problems, disregard of the local population's opinion on the matter of budget establishment, disposition of funds and improvement of the infrastructure and social sphere become the main reason for urban conflicts. At the same time, business and private developers have a great impact on urban planning transformations, as they possess big funds. According to the impact on urban conflicts and, consequently, urban transformations, such stakeholders can be identified (Fig. 1).

The 'Barabashovo' mall is the biggest enterprise among the business structures, which for the time being are involved in urban conflicts. Also, the companies which carry out activities related to urban development

Fig. 1. The main stakeholders of urban transformations (created by the authors)

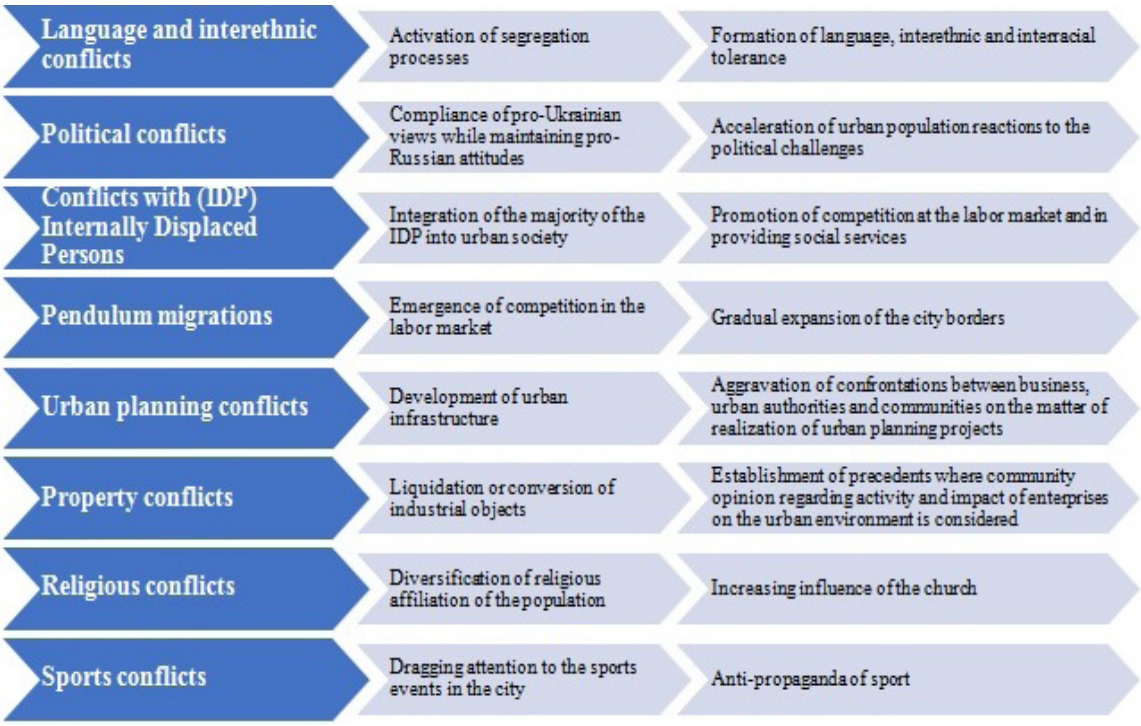

Fig. 2. The main consequences of the major urban conflicts in the city of Kharkiv (summarized by the authors)

need to be mentioned. Currently, 'Zhytlobud' company is the biggest developer on the real estate market of Kharkiv. Although the company mostly build houses within the affordable price range, the quality of construction is often criticized even in the high-end segment. However, the biggest threat to the efficient functioning of urban residential areas is the absence of the necessary infrastructure for the high-density development, since the majority of new buildings of the company are apartment blocks (more than 5-9 storied buildings). The urban developer company 'StroiCity' might be a counterbalance to the work of 'Zhytlobud'. This company stands out for its project construction, which includes not only erection of buildings for different purposes, but also development of the corresponding infrastructure and restoration of the life quality standard for certain urban districts of Kharkiv (Stroy City Development Company, 2020; Zhytlobud-1 Kharkiv, 2020).

Currently, among the NGOs, 'Novyi HTZ' carries out the most active work, related to the urban transformation in the city of Kharkiv. Starting with the fight for the 'Zelenyi Hai' park restoration the activists expanded their activity largely to the whole urban area.

According to the most pressing conflicts which were detected in the city of Kharkiv in the period of post-industrial transformations, it was possible to summarize their main consequences (Fig. 2), which generally are multidirectional, based on the complexity of the processes in focus (Niemets et al., 2019).

Thus, these consequences of existing conflicts can be characterized as prerequisites for the emergence of future conflicts. According to the definition of the conflictogenity of urban space, proposed by Mozhovyj (2017), the city of Kharkiv is the environment of ongoing exacerbation of various types of urban space conflicts, that in one way or another impact its transformation.

In the context of transition to the post-industrial society, the process of the area governance, including the urban area, based on the implementation of the elements from the so-called framework of 'quadruple helix', which highlights the interaction between four key subjects of the innovation system (stakeholders): science (the institutions of knowledge), business (enterprises), authority (government) and civil society (local community). Engaging society in decision-making on administerial matters and territorial development management as well as considering the public opinion are increasing lately. Kharkiv Development Strategy project 2030 involves executing such tasks as engaging the urban community, business and external advisers (Kharkiv Development Strategy project for 2020-2030) in order to create a solid foundation for management ofdevelopment process and implementation of the strategy. The challenges of participativity of the strategical planning process and necessity to involve the urban community within a framework of so-called 'special participation' (public hearing and consultations) are mentioned, namely,the 'partnership, delegation and control'functions, which may become a dynamic process for the citizens. On one hand, given the increase of information accessibility and possibilities for participation in decision-making on administerial matters for the community, we register positive changes; on the other, under the present-day reality, the public opinion is often not considered.

Conclusions

In the time of transformations, it is highly important to conduct scientific research for identification of the constituent processes at all levels of the world socio-geosystem functioning, with cities having a special place in its development and functioning. Cities are becoming centers of concentration of great industrial, intellectual, financial, resource, sociocultural, infra-structural potentials, attracting population from peripheral districts and neighboring regions with higher wages, better conditions for living and work, and accessibility to basic social services. Often, as a result of overpopulation, competition for jobs and resources, mixing of ethnic groups, change of identity, there are various conflicts and manifestations of violence.

Kharkiv, being one of the biggest cities of Ukraine with a significant industrial capital, was one of the first to face the challenges of the transitional post-industrial period. Taking into consideration the complex demoeconomical development of the city, the specifics of urban development and settlement, the long history of its development, significant industrial, cultural relationships and brotherhood between the city population and the Russian Federation, external economic and geopolitical impact and a number of other equally important factors, together with important changes in urban planning and socio-economic processes in the city of Kharkiv the urban conflicts emerge and escalate.

According to the objectives, we draw the following conclusions:

1. The study of urban conflicts is based on examination of the international experience, its adaptation to domestic realities, considering the multidisciplinary approach and a number of new methods in Ukrainian socio-geographical research, such as content-analysis of internet sources and local media. Only through comprehensive research, using not only socio-geographical methods but also but also methods of related sciences, such as sociology, it is possible to research in-depth urban transformations, which are caused by increasing conflict in the urban space.

2. The main conflicts emerging in the city of Kharkiv, which have an impact on the urban environment and its transformation in post-industrial transition are language and interethnic conflicts, political conflicts, conflicts with (IDP) Internally Displaced Persons, pendulum migrations, urban planning and property conflicts, religious and sports conflicts. Most commonly these conflicts are prolonged and last for a considerable period of time. The aforementioned conflicts over the period of Ukrainian independence within the city limits of Kharkiv have not changed the general vector.

3. It has been established that urban conflicts, especially those of urban planning and property nature are largely reflected in the form of urban transformations, or caused by them. Thus, it may be claimed that urban

conflict might become a prerequisite for processes of urban environment changes. However, it is important to determine the main players (stakeholders) within the field of urban changes and urban conflicts. Considering the principles of the systematic approach and complexity of the city as an object of study, we consider it as an urban socio-geosystem. Accordingly, on the three levels of functioning of Kharkiv's urban socio-geosystem (municipal, local, intralocal) we identify the stakeholders (subjects) of urban transformations and conflicts (Fig. 1). Respectively, the stakeholders are urban authorities, business and private developers, urban communities and communities of individual neighborhoods as well as every city citizen.

4. The consequences of the identified and analyzed urban conflicts in the city of Kharkiv are ambiguous and under certain conditions they can be considered as prerequisites of future conflicts. However, it should be noted that corresponding changes in the urban environment become the consequence of any urban conflict.

Despite the all-encompassing nature of the majority of urban conflicts, Kharkiv, as well as the majority of the cities in the eastern-European region which had a significant industrial past, are characterized by scarce urban initiatives at intralocal level, or their absence, although this is where most urban conflicts occur. In our opinion, this situation is significantly related to the processes of formation of identities and urban life culture in cities like Kharkiv. At the same time, the existing industrial intangible heritage has a significant impact. These issues precisely and their connection to participatory urban governance are the subjects of our future research and require thorough investigation.

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FROM NEOLIBERAL PRACTICES TO THE PARTICIPATIVE DEMOCRACY OF INTEGRATED URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE PATH OF RESIDENTIAL HOUSING IN "LIKO-GRAD" KYIV

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Abstract: Most major cities in Ukraine are experiencing widespread use of neoliberal approaches in urban planning and governance. These approaches are focused on economic priorities and the accumulation of capital by individual government-private coalitions both for new urban projects and practices of modifying urban space in areas of existing development. They ignore the needs of the local people, who, in turn, do not have a deep awareness of their importance and role in making management decisions regarding urban development. Simultaneously with the application of neoliberal urban practices, some integrated urban development projects are being implemented in a number of cities or districts of cities of Ukraine within the framework of international technical assistance and exchange programs. They provide opportunities for all segments of society to understand the consequences of decision-making in a particular area. These efforts increase the importance of this research task which aims to analyze the processes of public participation in urban decision-making and the formation of integration in new local and multi-family residential housing development in Kyiv where there is no involvement in international cooperation in integrated urban development. The authors consider these issues using the example of the new "Liko-Grad" residential development. Our working hypothesis examines the dominance of neoliberal urban practices prevailing in such areas. The results of a survey of residents, conducted in 2018 and 2020, raises issues related to integrated development, the inclusiveness of urban space and the extent of involvement of residents in decision-making related to housing and urban landscape. These results as well as expert analysis of open-source data about the development, help to understand that the residential complex "Liko-Grad" which was built by a developer based on neoliberal management decisions. The potential residents were unable to participate in the decision-making process on building and planning the infrastructure. Today, in the process of community formation, residents reveal they are somewhat satisfied with the level of landscaping and are taking the first steps to address certain issues as evidenced by their active participation in social networks and some non-systematic landscaping activities and other small projects within the public budget. The survey also revealed low levels of job opportunities, social infrastructure, poor street infrastructure, and public transport needs as well as a low level of urban inclusion. These results, together with the lack of business activities and function, do not enable the residents of "Liko-Grad" to become a multifunctional urban space according to the integrated approaches designed for this space. We conclude that the path of Ukrainian cities to participatory democracy is just emerging; it requires a deep awareness of local communities of its importance of such efforts and also incorporating management decisions which affect the interests of all residents.

Key words: neoliberal urban practices, integrated urban development, public participation, Kyiv.

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ВІД ПРАКТИК НЕОЛІБЕРАЛІЗМУ ДО ПАРТИСИПАТИВНОЇ ДЕМОКРАТІЇ ІНТЕГРОВАНОГО МІСЬКОГО РОЗВИТКУ: ШЛЯХ МІКРОРАЙОНУ ЖК "ЛІКО-ГРАД", КИЇВ

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Анотація: Більшість міст-мільйонерів України переживають часи широкого застосування неоліберальних підходів у системі міського планування та управління. Ці підходи орієнтовані на економічні пріоритети та накопичення капіталу окремими владно-приватними коаліціями стосуються як нових містобудівних проектів так і практик модифікування міського простору у зонах існуючої забудови. Вони ігнорують потреби місцевого населення, яке, у свою чергу, не має глибоко сформованого усвідомлення свого значення і ролі щодо прийняття управлінських рішень у сфері міського розвитку. Паралельно з застосуванням неоліберальних міських практик, у окремих містах чи районах міст України, починають реалізовуватися проекти інтегрованого міського розвитку в рамках міжнародних програм технічної допомоги та обміну досвідом, що передбачають систему прийняття рішень, яка забезпечує врахування думок всіх прошарків суспільства та розуміння наслідків прийняття рішень в конкретній сфері з огляду на інші сфери, що піднімає значення даного дослідження. Метою статті є аналіз процесів участі громадськості у прийнятті містобудівних рішень та формуванні інтегрованості у місцях нової забудови Києва на локальному рівні, де не відбувається залучення до міжнародної співпраці у сфері інтегрованого розвитку, на прикладі нового житлового масиву «Ліко-Град», оскільки існує припущення, що в таких районах переважає домінування неоліберальних міських практик. Анкетування мешканців, яке провели автори у 2018 і 2020 рр., піднімає питання, що стосуються інтегрованого розвитку, інклюзивності простору та залучення мешканців до вирішення питань розвитку житлового масиву. Результати опитування, а також експертний аналіз даних відкритих

джерел допоміг з'ясувати, що ЖК «Ліко-Град» було побудовано девелопером на основі застосування неоліберальних управлінських рішень, потенційні мешканці не мали можливості брати участь у прийнятті рішень щодо організації забудови та планування об'єктів інфраструктури. На сьогодні, у процесі формування громади, мешканці певною мірою задоволенірівнем благоустрою мікрорайону і роблять перші кроки щодо вирішення окремих питань, про що свідчить їх активна участь у соціальних мережах та окремі не систематичні заходи з благоустрою території, малочисельні проекти в рамках громадського бюджету. Опитування розкрило недостатній рівеньзабезпеченості мешканців місцями прикладання праці, об'єктами соціальної інфраструктури, незадовільний стан вуличної інфраструктури та забезпечення потреб у громадському транспорті, так само, як і низький рівень інклюзивності міського середовища, що, разом з відсутністю бізнесової функції у районі, зрештою, не дає можливості ЖК «Ліко-Град» стати багатофункціональним міським простором згідно інтегрованих підходів конструювання інклюзивного простору. Підсумовуючи зазначене, можна зробити висновок, що шлях українських міст до партисипативної демократії тільки зароджується, він потребує глибокого усвідомлення представниками місцевих громад свого значення і відповідальності за прийняття управлінських рішень в інтересах всіх мешканців.

Ключові слова: неоліберальні міські практики, інтегрований міський розвиток, участь громадськості, Київ.

Introduction

Chaotic construction, increased demands on transport and the social infrastructure, the lack of green spaces, and the depreciation of public spacesproviding social interaction as well as homogenization and unification of landscapes and other negative modern transformations of urban areasare taking place in Ukrainian cities. These features are found especially in cities with a million-plus population and are mostly the results of the domestication of certain neoliberal practices in the field of urban planning and management in the post-Soviet space (Golubchikov 2016). Urban planning is increasingly seen as a means of maximizing profits for the sake of meeting the needs of local real estate elites. Itis becoming a major tool for economic development and capital accumulation of specific social groups. At the same time, local communities are usually excluded from the new urban coalitions, which see the city not as a place for comfortable living for locals, but as a source of added economicvalue "built" into the world economy (Al-Hamarneh et al., 2019). Neoliberal approaches not only subordinate the system of city management to the capital, but also alienate it from its history and its inhabitants.

In search of a way out of the pitfalls of neoliberal approaches in the system of urban planning and governance, EU cities widely use integrated urban development practices, which include active public involvement in decision-making processes at all levels and at all stages (especially early) of urban development. Integrated urban development can be defined as a decision-making system that considers opinions of all segments of society and ensures an understanding of the consequences of decision-making in every particular area in relation to all other areas (Bondar, 2018). Integrated urban development is a necessary precondition for confronting many challenges faced by cities today and it makes them more balanced and comfortable for local people.

The capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, is increasingly becoming an arena for neoliberal urban processes (Dronova & Maruniak, 2019). At the same time the city has been implementing certain solutions and initiatives to implement standards of integrated urban development for a long time, all within the framework of international technical assistance and experience exchange programs. One such initiative, for example, is the "Concept of Integrated Development of Podil District of Kyiv" Project, (National Policy… 2018; Development Concept… 2019). It should be noted that the experience of technical assistance projects implementation in Ukraine shows that, as a rule, such initiatives are phased in after the termination of international funding. Besides, the areas which are not involved in projects, rarely receive an implication of positive international experience at all. The purpose of this study is to investigate the state of integration of certain districts of Kyiv which are not involved in international projects. One specific example of a new residential housing is Liko-Grad. Results of a survey of residents conducted by the authors in 2018 and 2020 raise questions regarding the satisfaction of local community members about the level of amenities and comfort of their place of residence, inclusiveness of the urban environment, involvement in decision-making, as well as awareness and willingness to participate in development of their residential housing.

Theoretical and methodological background of the research

Neoliberalism is widely recognized as the dominant ideology that currently extends into post-socialism development (Stenning et al., 2010). Golubchikov and his co-authors comment on post-socialist urban development using the concept of hybrid spaces arising from the fusion of neoliberalism and socialist heritage.They point out that the socialist legacy has been alienated from its history and become a infrastructure for neoliberalization (Golubchikov et al., 2014). Urban landscapes, which were formed under socialism, are adapting to new conditions and influenced by the political, economic and cultural transition to capitalism (Sykora, 2009). Due to morphology, land use and social segregation in post-Soviet cities, some typical capitalist urban districts can be found next to the urban landscapes resembling frozen mirrors of socialism (Sýkora & Bouzarovski, 2012).

It is important to link neoliberalism processes to the regulatory environment in which it exists. The existing neoliberalism (Peck et al., 2009) exploits and produces socio-spatial differences while neoliberal reform initiatives are imposed in the context of specific institutional landscapes and historical political environments (Robinson & Parnell, 2011). And if this environment does not include historical heritage of community building approaches and the use of certain

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participatory practices and the experience of public participation in decision-making, neoliberalism becomes distorted and hypertrophied under the influence of so-called "zombie socialism" (Chelcea & Druță, 2016). Some specific studies show that the practice of integrated urban development is more common in EU cities than in post-socialist countries (Brankica, 2018).

Centralized methods of planned economy in urban planning were used in Ukrainian cities in Soviet times; they did not involve the public in decision-making. Cities were developed using a top-down approach and people's genetic memory of public participation was not formed. This history affects the modern processes of implementing democratic approaches in the urban management system, which usually must support the active interest of citizens in urban development processes. A number of laws of Ukraine since independence define mechanisms for ensuring transparency and a consideration of public opinion today. In particular, the Law "On Local Self-Government in Ukraine" guarantees the right of the territorial community members to influence local decision-making in the form of local referendums, general meetings, public hearings, the introduction of a local initiative for consideration by a local self-government body, and initiation community associations (Law of Ukraine… 1997). However, the path of Ukrainian cities to participative democracy is just emerging, it requires a deep awareness of local communities abouttheir importance and responsibility for management decisions in the interests of all residents. In the vast majority of cities, the implementation of public initiative is limited to non-transparent information and limits on publicopinion. Also there is often a practice of inserting falsehoods in public hearings on urban development (Maiko, 2017; Matveeva, 2017; Levchenko, 2020).

In fact, public participation and community involvement are an inseparable part of a democratic society development in the contemporary world. They are concerned with various mechanisms of public opinion consideration and allows the community to influence public decisions (Levchenko et al.; 2018). Today there is a rapid decentralization reform in Ukraine which is difficult to put into action without understanding the mechanisms for implementation and an effective involvement of citizens in decision-making. The overall objective of public involvementin urban areas is to establish trust-based relations between territorial communities and local authorities, thus increasing mutual responsibility and a new interaction experience. Examples of individual EU cities demonstrate that strengthening the role of citizens in meeting the needs of the community and streamlining the living environment is an important element in the development of local self-government (Bovronet al., 2008). Public activism is also one of the key tools for counteracting the non-transparent decision-making in the process of neoliberal urban planning,when urban space is left at the mercy of project developers.

The concepts of integrated urban development also focus on the same goal. They can be considered as an informal and flexible planning tool that focuses primarily on the needs of citizens, rather than on someone's individual economic interests. Integrated planning approaches are based on a reinterpretation of rational planning of the 1950s (Abukhater, 2009; Lawrence, 2002). Such new approaches are the result of correlation between urban context and the overall development of socio-economic relations which have become extremely dynamic in recent decades (Pickett et al., 2004; Ray, 2012). Various aspects of urban life (environmental, economic, social and cultural) are intertwined and they are influenced by the interests of various factors and groups. The complexity and interconnection of urban spaces, values and socio-economic conditions tend to continuously evolve in space and time. Success in urban development can only be achieved through a flexible complex approach that shapes the nature of integrated planning. Events that relate to the physical renewal of the city should be combined with those that promote social integration, economic development, promotion of the city's image and environmental protection, all which are consistent with the concept of sustainable development (Integrated Urban Governance, 2011). In addition to a strong institutional framework and a revision of the regulatory framework, this approach requires the establishment of strong partnerships between local citizens, businesses and different levels of government as well as the appropriate decision-making body at the local level. For sure, a community is the place where democracy "lives", a new participatory culture grows, and tactical urbanism approaches can be applied (Lydon & Garcia, 2012). Tactical urbanism approaches are tools related to the quality improvement of urban environment and life of citizens through small-scale, short-term, low-budget events, all which bring about long-term changes and attract investments. Such activities instantly improve some aspect of a community life and demonstrate to city leaders that there are opportunities for simple and successful changes. The main goal of such approaches is to change the way people see their city and seek ways to make it better (Wekel, 2016). Thus, the integration begins locally. The creation of quality neighborhoods is a critical prerequisite for the construction of an inclusive and comfortable city life for all residents. In order public projects to be successful, they should be proposed primarily at the level of urban neighborhoods.

But the question remains whether or not the residents of cities in Ukraine are content with the state of their comfort and inclusiveness and about the planning of new residential developments? Are these residents ready to take part in such events? We investigate this issue at the level of one residential housing development Liko-Grad.

Research methodology and data

The article summarizes the study of public participation processes in decision-making regarding the Liko-Grad residential housing development in Kyiv, in particular the focus is on the organization of integrated and inclusive urban space. The research, which was conducted during 2018-2020, consists of four stages.

Field research, conducted in October 2018, was the first stage. It included observations, taking photographs, making sketches as well as administering a survey of residents. The survey instrument was designed based on previous studies of integrated urban development and public participative practices in other cities.

In order to determine the perception and level of public involvement in addressing the development of the neighborhood, the 2018 survey included the following blocks of questions: whether the residents are satisfied with the state of beautification of the district; whether they like their places of recreation and entertainments; whether they participate in solving the problems of the district; and information about how decisions are made. At the same time, the aim of the survey was not only to identify the level of awareness and perception of residents related to the quality of life in the area, but also to encourage them to think about the importance of everyone's participation in the development of their housing.

The survey included 44 completed responses. Quantitative results which formed the basis for analysis and discussion were the following: 52% of the respondents were women and 48% were men. Respondents represented different age groups (up to 25 years - 25% of respondents, from 25 to 35 - 30%, from 35 to 45 - 27%, from 45 to 60 - 16% and over 60 years - 2%). 48% of respondents have lived in Kyiv for all their lives, 18% - over 20 years, 16% - 20-10 years and 18% have lived in the city for less than 10 years. Education: 77% of respondents have higher education, 23% - incomplete higher education. Sector of employment: public authorities and local governments - 2%, finance and insurance - 14%, education, science, culture, health - 34%, industry, construction, transport, communications - 7%, trade and services - 16%, publishing - 2%, private entrepreneur - 7%, student - 7%, pensioner - 4%, temporarily unemployed (maternity leave) - 7%. In terms of income per capita, the largest share of respondents are middle-class: 5-10 thousand UAH - 36%, 10-20 thousand UAH - 39%, less (up to 5 thousand UAH) - 16% of respondents and 9% of respondents receive more than 20 thousand UAH.

The second stage included an analysis of results, screening of open scientific and statistical information, further processing of the surveys for analysis, as well as decisions on what data to analyze further. Decisions were made to analyze the inclusiveness of urban spaces, as well as the district's transport system, the state of the infrastructure, the public transport routes developedin cooperation with the Kyiv Municipal Company "Road Traffic Management Center" (RTMC). All the investigations were concentrated on the integrated urban development.

In May 2020, in order to investigate the district residents' mood changes over time as well as study the inclusiveness of urban space for all segments of the population, the authors conducted an online survey of Liko-Grad residents (stage 3) on the Facebook platform with the members of the community due to COVID-19 restrictions. The advantage of this survey was that it provided a significant number of responses from the most socially active population. The authors had the opportunity to interview not only representatives of different segments and groups of the population, but especially those interested in the development of their neighborhood.

The 2020 questionnaire included the following blocks of questions: are the residents satisfied with the elements of the social infrastructure of the district (retail businesses, schools, kindergartens, health care facilities, areas for walking pets and parking lots); are the residents satisfied with the elements of street infrastructure and public transport; are the elements of public spaces arranged satisfactorily for use (squares, parks, playgrounds, sports grounds, sacred buildings); do they participate in solving the problems of the district; and, in general, are they interested in participating in the decision making and is there information on decision making processes in the area? The rating scale included the following answer categories: 1 – very poor; 2 – poor; 3 – normal; 4 – good; 5 – excellent.

Thus, 357 respondents were interviewed in 2020, including: 78% women and 22% men. Age categories: residents aged 20 to 40 - 68%, 40 to 60 - 30%, older than 60 - 2%. 29% out of surveyed residents have children under the age of 3, and 3.5% have a disability, which is important in analyzing the state of inclusiveness of the urban space in the district.

The 4th and final stage of the study included the following: processing the survey results in combination with analysis of open-source data on the public budget of Kyiv, updating analytical, statistical, design and scientific information, and the processing all findings using socio-geographical methods, in particular analysis, synthesis, generalization and mapping.

Results and discussion

Description of the residential housing Liko-Grad. The residential study area, Liko-Grad, is located in the Holosiivskyi district of Kyiv between Williamsa, Lomonosova and Marshala Koneva streets. Also, part of its territory is next to the closed military base of the Security Service of Ukraine. The Liko-Grad residential complex is 34.4 hectares with a population of approximately 21,000 residents. Construction of the complex began in 2006 with the first residents moving in 2008.

It is important to understand the context of the housing development in which it is located. Based on open data, observations and personal perception, the authors developed a GIS map of the neighborhood and its surroundings, which is closely related to the research site (Fig. 1).

It is worth pointing out the territories of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (designated as KNU on Figure 1), which occupies 28% of the neighboring territories, a typical Soviet building, which is less represented near the metro station Vasylkivska and mostly in the Teremky-2 neighborhood. Residential housing includes Evrika, Venetsia, Soniachna Brama, Chotyry Sezony and small club houses on Williamsa Street which have a concept and planning design similar to the Liko-Grad residential housing and are an important component

Fig. 1. The context of the location of the "Liko-Grad" residential development (prepared by authors)

Fig. 2. Landscapes of new buildings Sonyachna Brama and Liko-Grad (photos by authors)

of its surrounding. It is worth noting that the construction of new housing is on a quiet democratic university district where only Soviet typical houses previously were located and which led to a certain social polarization and segmentation of the society. Higher-income residents quickly occupied the apartments in the new residential housing. At the same time, the opening of new subway stations in 2011-2013 led to the price increase for the real estate and basic commercial services in this district. Now one can observe a significant gap between the standard of living and income of residents of Teremky-2 and nearby newly built residential housings (Fig. 2).

The Liko-Grad residential housing itself (the height of residential buildings averages 14-16 floors) was completely designed and built by the Liko-Holding development company in several stages. The neighboring residential housing Venetsia and residential housing Liko-Grad Perfect Town, which is currently under construction, were also built by Liko-Holding. Public opinion was not considered, not only in the process of planning of the prospective

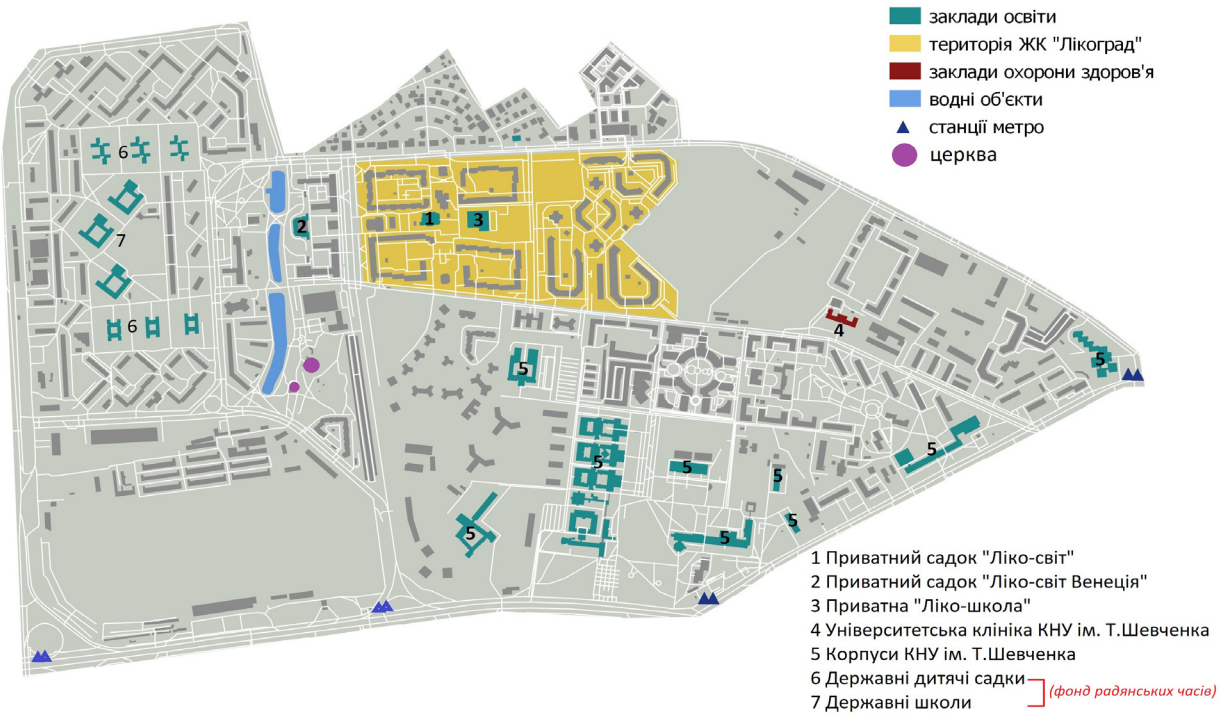

Fig. 3. Social infrastructure in the area of Liko-Grad residential housing (prepared by authors)

housing complex, but also in efforts to further improve the surrounding areas. Thus, decisions on the number of floors in a building, landscaping, the number and materials used in constructing playgrounds and sports grounds as well as the parking areas were made exclusively by the developer who was guided primarily by economic interests which is characteristic of neoliberal approaches to urban decision-making (Logan and Molotch, 1987). The price of rent and purchasing cost of the area in square meters were the most important factors in planning the residential complex.

The need for infrastructure desired for a comfortable life of newcomers was also not considered during the construction of the housing development. At the time of construction of Liko-Grad, the nearest available preschools and secondary schools were located only in the residential area Teremky-2 (Fig. 3). Over time, a private kindergarten and a private school were built on the territory of the housing. Another kindergarten is under construction at the moment. It should be noted that next to the residential area there is also a physic and mathematical lyceum and buildings of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, which is an advantage for both the education and employment of local residents.

Beautification, landscaping and infrastructure. At the time of the two surveys, the level of satisfaction with beautification, landscaping and social infrastructure was extremely heterogeneous. In general, 69% of respondents were very satisfied with the beautification of the district, 41% of respondents were satisfied with the availability and condition of green and public spaces, almost 49% of respondents feel safe there and consider them open to all groups and only 4% were unsatisfied with the places of rest and entertainment in the neighborhood.

However, if playgrounds or grocery stores (supermarkets and mini-markets) was assessed mostly positively by residents, the majority of respondents assessed the availability of employment places, social infrastructure facilities and pedestrian accessibility of kindergartens or schools negatively (Fig. 4).

Moreover, according to LUN Misto open platform, queues for kindergartens in Liko-Grad average between 665 to 1225 children per vacant place (Dovzhyna cherh... access on November 17, 2020). Such a long queues indicates that there are much more children in the district than there are places in the existing kindergartens. Most parents will have to place their kids in kindergartens in other neighborhoods, most likely outside of pedestrian accessibility. Such situation is typical for major quantity of new neighborhoods of Kyiv.

Another problem was the lack of public transport on some streets, which indicates the inconsistency of dense development projects with the nearby transport system. In cooperation with ME "Center of Traffic Management" in Kyiv, the following specific problems were identified regarding the transport system of the district: the need of traffic light regulation and streamlining on Meytusa Street, which has not been transferred to the city's balance sheet because of a

number of problems; the problem with traffic density on Lomonosova Street which is overloaded, pedestrian crossings and sidewalks need to be better arranged; organization of the entrance to the Liko-School which is currently inconvenient and dangerous; and the dangerous intersection of Koneva and Kasiyana streets. There is also no public transport on some streets, in particular Koneva street. It is important to arrange the transport route on Kostycheva Street as in the end of the pedestrian zone and near the lakes there is a disorganized parking space, and people walk between cars which is dangerous.

Due to the large number of private car owners, there is a large-scale problem with parking. First of all, there is a need to solve and provide modern underground parking, because the city should not be for cars but for people. The construction of bicycle lanes for commuting to the metro station as well as bicycle cages for safe storage of bicycles will help to improve the transport situation in the neighborhood. Detailed problem analysis and recommendations for the transport system improvement are schematically presented in Figure 5.

Inclusiveness of urban space. Within the context of studying features of integrated urban development, there were questions asked about those with disabilities. The results show that 62% are satisfied with the presence of surface level pedestrian crossings. However, 54% are dissatisfied with the lack of traffic lights at the crossings. 70% of respondents with disabilities noted the lack of sound signals at the crossings, 85% are dissatisfied with the lack of Brailletransliteration, plates and signatures. 77% of respondents noted the lack of easy grades, slopes, ramps, which limits their ability to move and 70% are dissatisfied with the state of improved public transport.

The results of the survey of parents with children under 3 years old show that 61% are upset because of the lack of kindergartens in the neighborhood, 63% are dissatisfied with the quality of kindergartens (price in private kindergartens, conditions and level of service, and

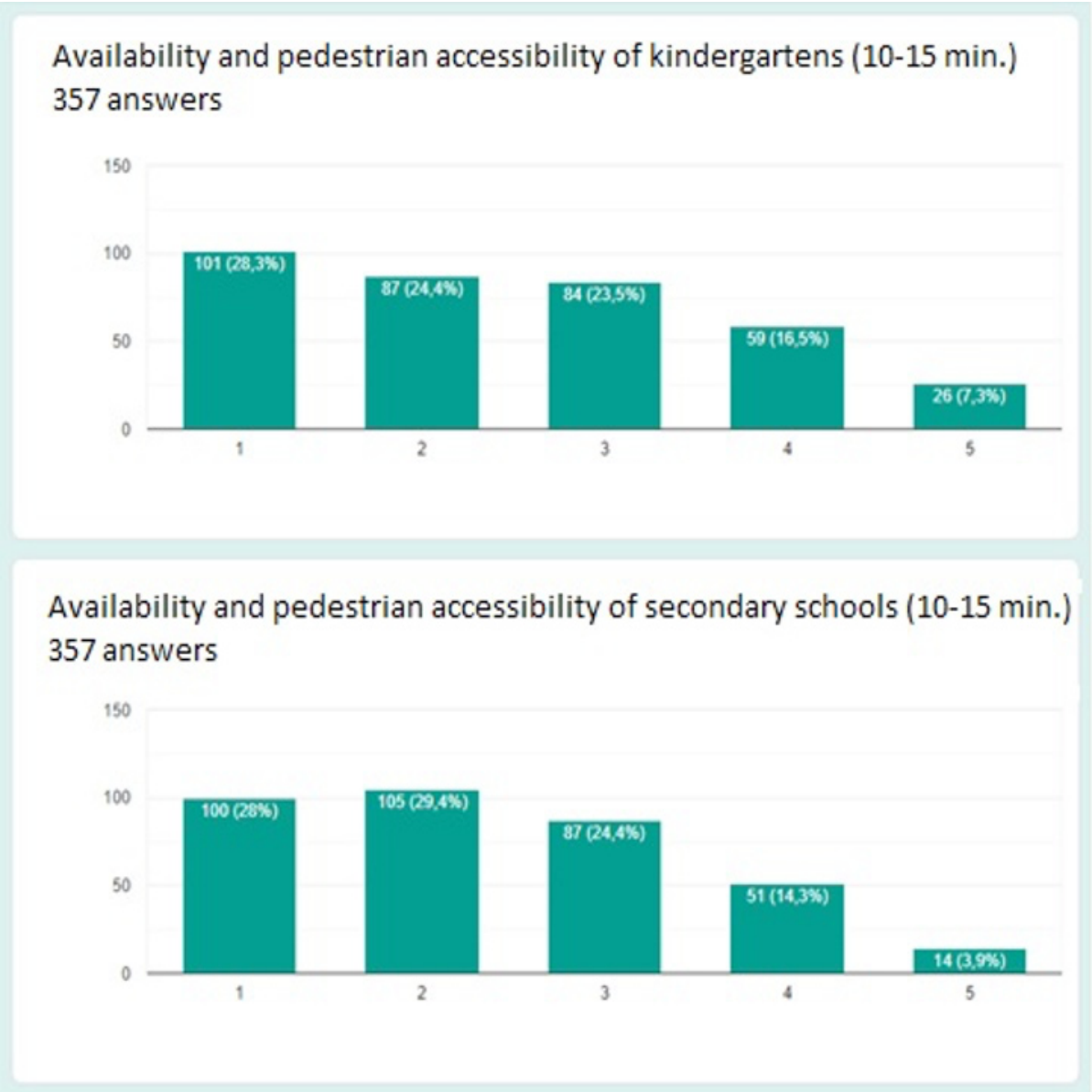

Fig. 4. The Liko-Grad Residents' assessment of pedestrian accessibility of educational institutions (1-very poor, 5 - excellent, according to 2020 survey)

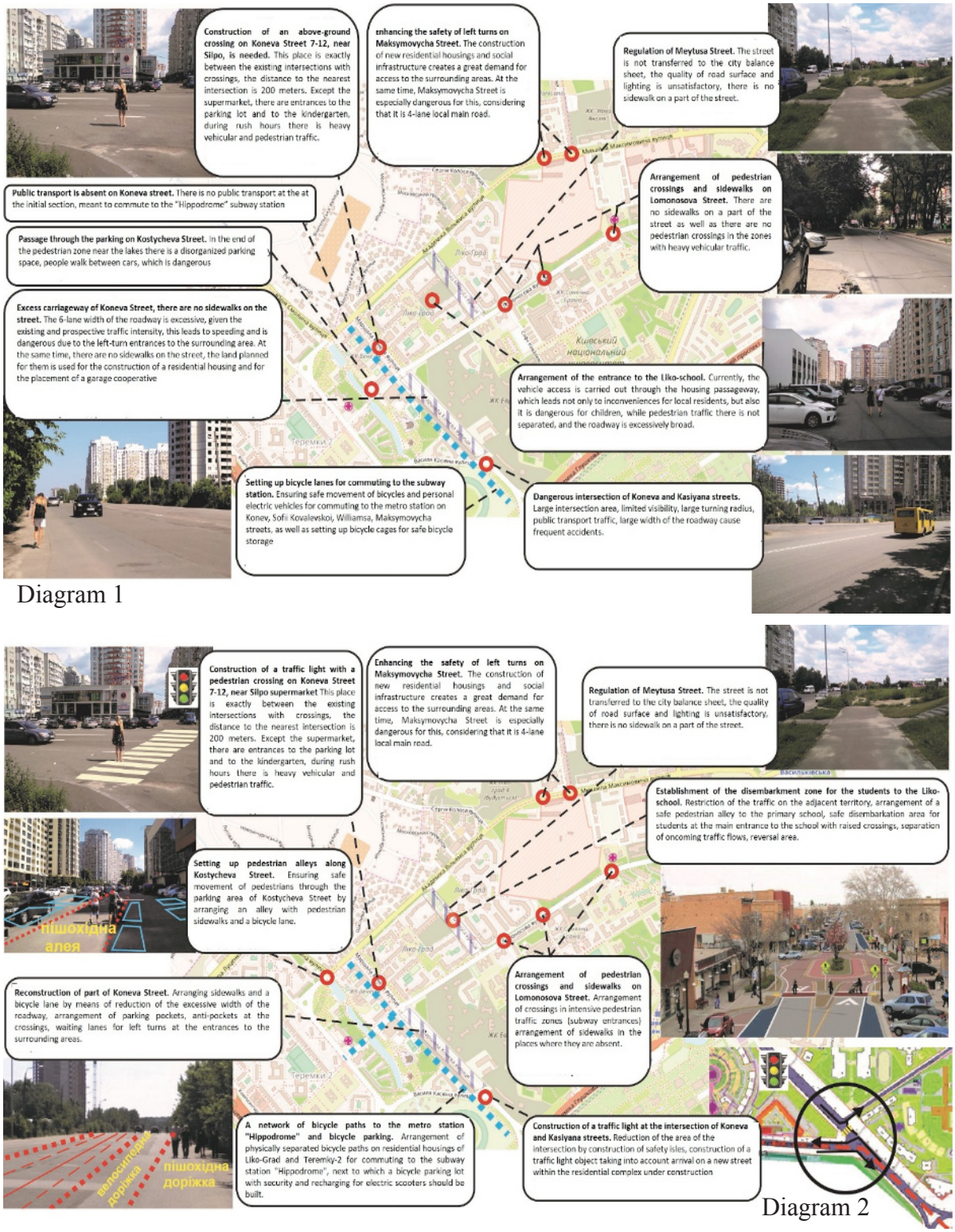

Fig. 5. Transport issues of Liko-Grad district: Diagram 1 - problems, diagram 2 - possible solutions, 2018. (based on the experience of ME "Center of Traffic Management")

the remoteness of public kindergartens). On the positive side, 54% of parents are satisfied with the health facilities that are within walking distance and 61% are satisfied with the beautification of the playgrounds.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that the organization of inclusive urban space remains an open question in the Liko-Grad residential area because this issue was assessed negatively by residents and which is confirmed by the authors' assessments. In particular, the vast majority of all respondents are not satisfied with the lack of bike lanes (90%). Also, most respondents noted the absence of sound signals at the crossings and transliteration in Braille, signatures and signs, sloping ramps and poor street lighting in the dark (Fig. 6). These results identify significant challenges and prospects for the development of inclusiveness of Liko-Grad space in the presence of desired and relevant community requests.

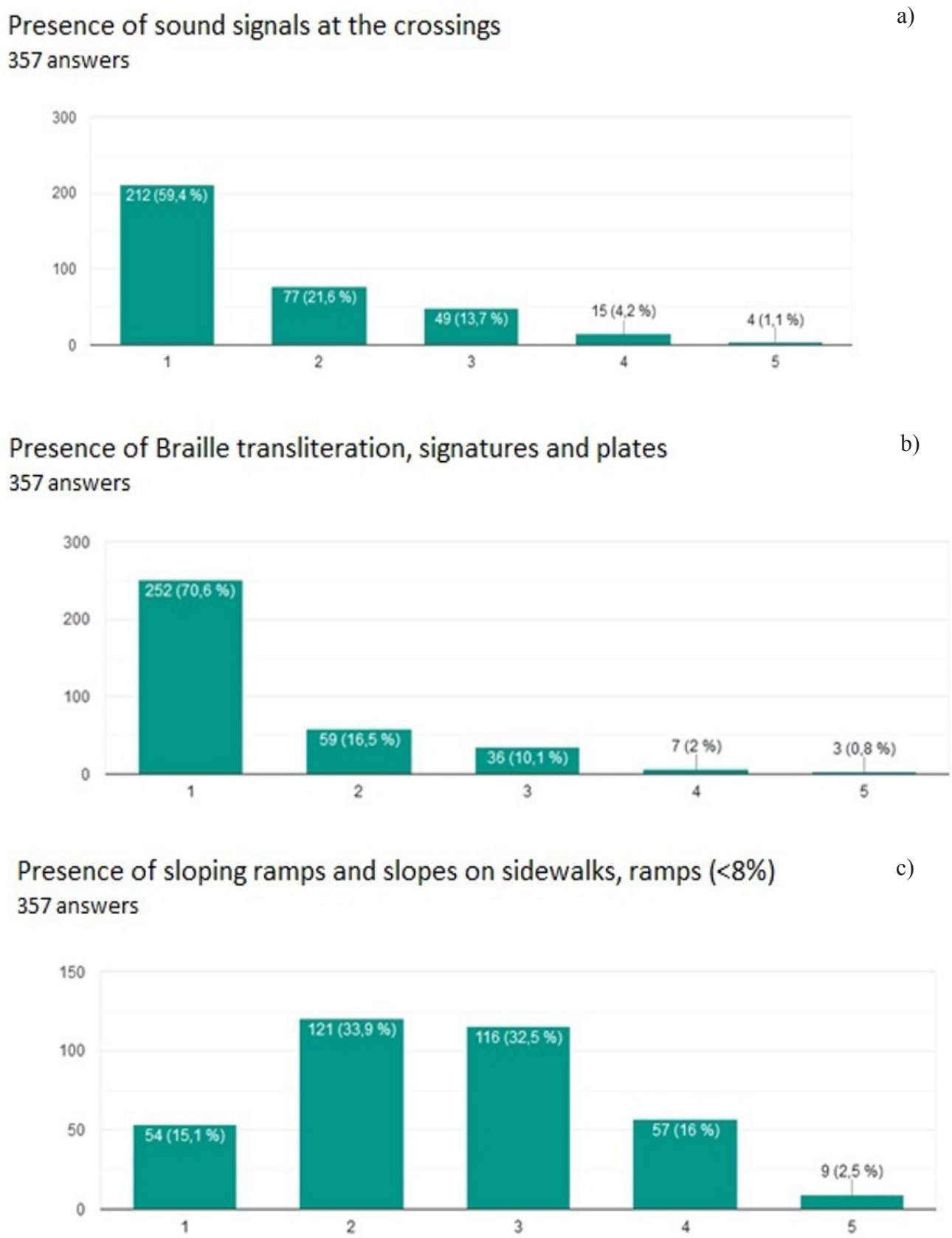

Fig. 6. a) Respondents' answers to the presence of sound signals at crossings; b) the presence of Braille transliteration, signatures and plates; and c) and the presence of sloping ramps and slopes on sidewalks, ramps. (Based on 2020 survey)

There is a significant number of commercial establishments in the territory of the housing: cafes, shops, medical centers and pharmacies. Residential housing is dominant and the lack of more business functions, as well as places of employment, eventually do not allow Liko-Grad to become a multifunctional urban space according to integrated approaches to urban development or "the third place" after Oldenburg (1999). However, it should be noted that the proximity to the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv is a potential source of creation of the innovative function of this location.

Summarizing all the above, we can outline the threats to the integrated development of the neighborhood; these include housing density, insufficient employment opportunities, low availability of accessible schools, kindergartens and other institutions, insufficient green and public spaces, low level of public transport and poor infrastructure (especially the dominance of parking lots and lack of bike paths) and low levels of inclusivity.

Public participation in decision making. When Liko-Grad was completely inhabited, the formation of a community began there, which, as of today, can be equated to levels of non-participation and symbolic events under Sherry Arnstein (1969), or to passive participation and providing information participation according to UNDP approaches (UNDP 2002). Of course, meeting new neighbors and the emergence of common practices, as a rule, cannot happen simultaneously with the purchase of apartments. However, it should be noted that community self-realization exists today, but its development occurs at a slow pace. We analyzed the activity of residents within the context of social networks (Fig. 8). In particular, only 41.9% of the population are not involved in the online communities in their residential housing while 53.3% of residents are connected via social networks and 4.8% are members of the NGO "Community of Liko-Grad" (Fig. 7).

Despite significant activity in social networks, participatory practices regarding the organization of urban space are rarely transferred intoreal-life. The authors analyzed the projects submitted by the Liko-Grad residents within the framework of the public budget of Kyiv for the last two years. Three projects were submitted in total, two of which were concerned with improving playgrounds and were implemented. The third aimed at

Fig. 7. Involvement of Liko-Grad residents into social networks (developed by authors)

landscaping the area in front of the residential complex and was rejected because that area is privately owned.

According to the results of the 2018 survey, only 12% of respondents are interested in decisions making in the district and only 39% are willing to participate in solving the problems. Probably, the main reason for such answers is that some residents are not yet sufficiently aware of their responsibility for the development of the city. Respondents in 2020 also did not show a high awareness of their "right to the city" nor a clear understanding of the processes taking place in the community and how they are addressed.

Perhaps this attitude is still attributed to the stereotypes of the Soviet system of urban management when all decisions were made using a top-down approach, and people got used to the fact that "someone" makes all decisions for them. Such genetic experience was formed according to criteria which are beyond the understanding of the importance of public participation. It prevents the identification of real, informal, public initiative and creates artificial barriers to the formation of local civil society institutions.

To some extent, the current situation is influenced by the low level of citizen awareness and their lack of experience in solving problems of the district or city as a whole. On the positive side, according to the analysis of responses in 2018, 34% of respondents have experience in solving problems of the city and district, and 44% have suggestions for solving specific problems. The analysis of 2020 showed that about 66% of respondents remain interested in decision-making in the area, which may be the evidence of higher activity of residents involved in relevant social networks. Only about 13% are actively involved in decision-making and in activities related to the development of the neighborhood (Fig. 8).

Additional insights into the social networks shows that an important component of participatory practices is the so-called "neighborhood cleanup" which began in March 2020 and is held on a regular basis. The effort is to clean the areas around the residential housing (which are not part of the house communal service area, but provide an unpleasant view from the windows), as well as planting flower beds in the yards. Figure 1 clearly shows that the territory of Liko-Grad is really not sufficiently landscaped and residents are still trying to fulfill the need with natural landscape settings. Such participatory practices are evidence that the community is gradually moving from the stage of formation to more dynamic actions. They also identify significant prospects for further cohesion within the community and its integration into the larger surrounding space.

In order to understand the strengths and weaknesses, as well as further opportunities and threats to the Liko-Grad community, we conducted a SWOT-analysis of the prospects of providing residents with integrated development of the neighborhood (Fig. 9).

In general, the research results show that at the moment the community of Liko-Grad is just beginning its formation, although the residents have been living together for a considerable period of time. The emergence of the first participatory practices can be observed today: neighborhood cleanups, landscaping projects, active discussions on social networks. This is a channel that stimulates the emergence of a local democracy in Liko-Grad. Nevertheless, there are weaknesses that, with the right approach, can also be turned into a positive or growth zone:

- Lack of a cohesive community can be strengthened through frequent good neighborly practices and an involvement in project discussions.
- Community activity which is active only when it is triggered by circumstances can be further transformed into systematic participatory practices.
- The impossibility of influencing basic living conditions makes it possible to direct activity to improve environmental conditions and landscaping.

Moreover, the existing cases of participatory practices should be a good example for the Liko-Grad community. The implementation of public budget projects can be a source of inspiration for new projects in the coming years. There are also opportunities to attract foreign investment and international cooperation within the framework of integrated development projects of the neighborhood. The "Concept of

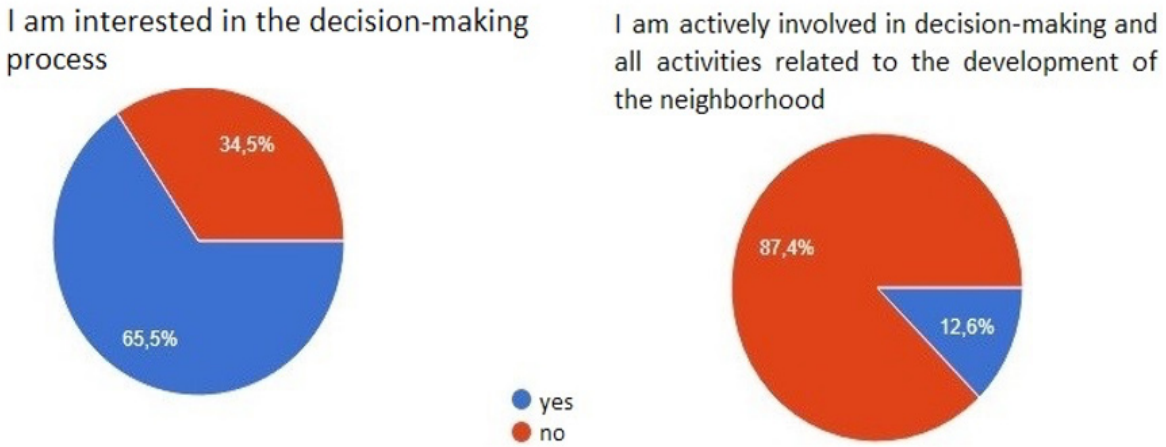

Fig. 8. Respondents' answers on the decision-making participation (Based on 2020 survey)

Integrated Development of Podil District of Kyiv" is an such example.

Of course, there are external threats to community participation, particularly official restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Residents are more focused on solving internal family problems during the crisis, and communication within the community becomes almost impossible under the lockdown. At the same time, the background of the Liko-Grad community, laid in previous years, creates significant opportunities and prospects for its further development, provided that residents are sufficiently involved along with the assistance of business and municipal agencies.

Conclusion

In the process of applying centralized, rational and subordinate approaches in urban planning of Soviet times, the Ukrainian cityresidents did not have the opportunity to gain experience in applying certain public participative practices in urban decision-making, which would be fixed at a genetic level. With independence, the cities of Ukraine were given the opportunity to review urban planning approaches and introduce community-oriented development of the city. However, this possibility was not considered in time and most cities of Ukraine began to develop with the use of neoliberal urban practices which often take on distorted and hypertrophied forms. The same applies to the development of Kyiv where individual districts are not developed in accordance with the general vision of the city and a specific urban space is often viewed as a commodity that needs to be sold at the highest possible price in order to maximize short-term profit. The official discussions on the use and development of urban space in Kyiv are not transparent and are resolved in favor of the economic interests of specific private-business coalitions with minimal involvement of local communities (Ponomareva et al., 2020, Verbytskyi et al., 2017, Cybriwsky, 2016, Dronova & Brunn, 2018). On the contrary, it is difficult for citizens of individual local communities to relate the low level of urban environment quality with the shortcomings in the decision-making process (Ponomareva et al., 2020). The situation in the Liko-Grad residential housing, which is the object of this study, provides evidence of such processes. As a result of the survey and analysis, it was found that the new housing was "squeezed" into the existing buildings using the practice of non-transparent decision-making. The residents of neighboring houses, representatives of educational institutions, as well as potential future residents of the housing could not influence the basic conditions of future construction. The construction of the residential housing led to a certain social polarization in the area as a whole. Today, the Liko-Grad residential housing faces a number of threats related to dense construction, a lack of multifunctionality, scarce social infrastructure, low levels of landscaping, the dominance

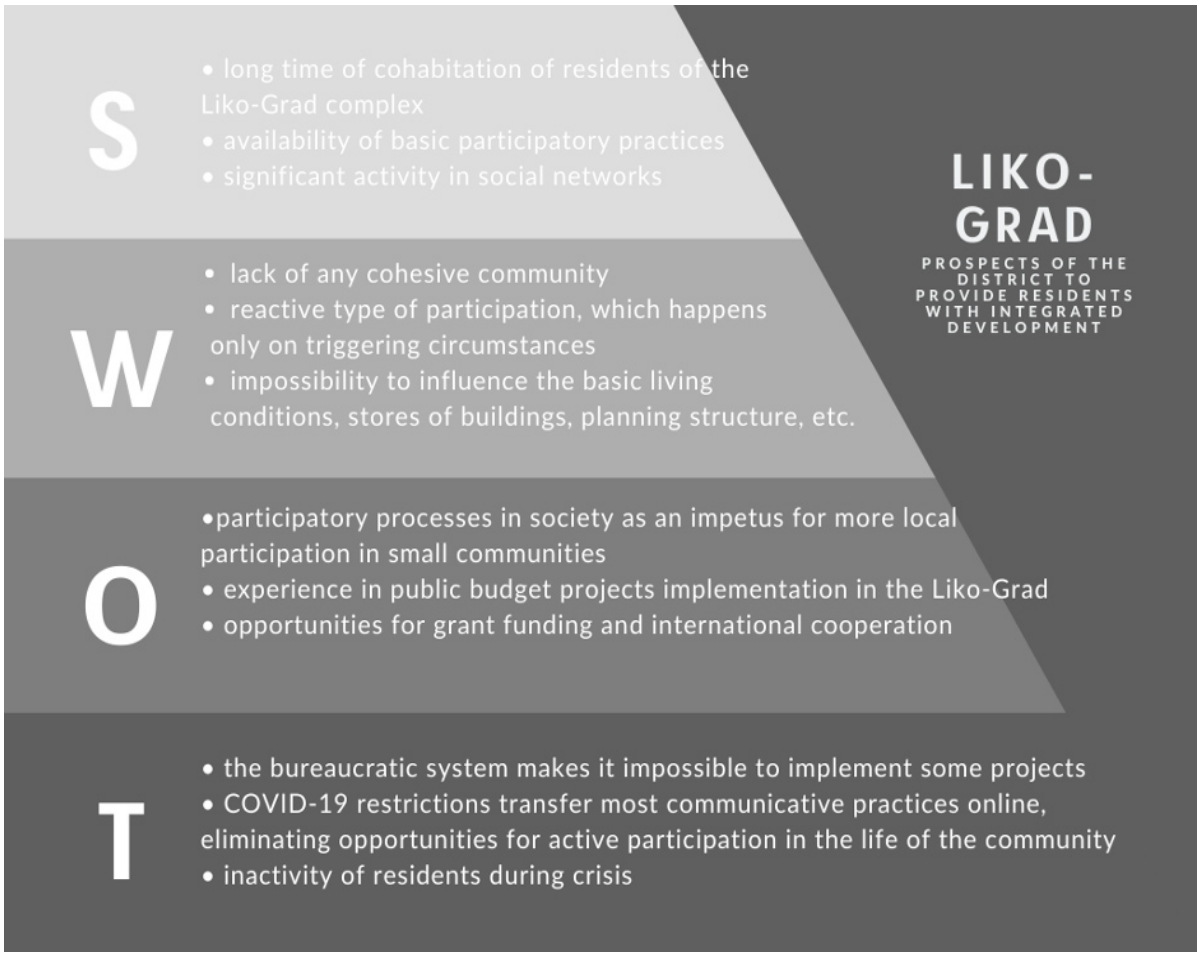

Fig. 9. Prospects of the district to provide residents with integrated development

of chaotic parking lots, lack of bike paths and more. The needs of residents with disabilities and children are poorly met in the district's urban environment. All the above, in combination with the low level of awareness, interest and activity of local community members, indicate a low level of integration of urban development, where all spatial, sectoral and functional aspects of the territory could be coordinated and every opinion could be considered.

At the same time, it should be noted that the community of Liko-Grad is gradually beginning its own identity formation. This is evidenced with the emergence of initial participatory practices, which today represent the opportunity for development of the local democracy in the district. The community has significant potential for gradual cohesion and integration with the surrounding areas through regular good practices, active involvement in the discussion of local projects on social networks, etc. The vicinity of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv can make a significant contribution to the formation of functional advantages and the local economic of the district on the basis of creative and innovative industries. Moreover, the transmission of positive experiences on the integrated inclusive communities formation on the basis of sustainable development elsewhere in Ukraine capital (Podil) and the implementation of public budget projects can be a source of inspiration for more local residents.

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ESSAYS AND INTERVIEWS

INTRODUCTION. PARTICIPATORY PRACTICES THROUGH THE EYES OF ACTIVISTS AND PRACTITIONERS

Olena DENYSENKO

Public participation over the last years has become one of the declared trends in the different areas of public affairs and the activities of state agencies in Ukraine. The values of participation and engagement, participatory practices, new tools and approaches based on obligatory citizen participation along with public discussion on urban policy related issues have become part of compulsory procedures in those areas of urban governance where decisions have been traditionally made "behind closed doors", documents kept secret and special permits were required to look at them.

At the same time, the way from the declared values and procedures to well-established practices is inevitably long and complex. It requires not only numerous explanations, training programmes, lessons learned (also negative lessons), subsequent changes and amendments to these procedures and next explanations... But no less important, introducing the practices of participatory planning and governance is closely related to changing attitudes towards civil society and citizensas equal actors in urban planning and urban policy. Indeed, the latter sometimes constitutes one of the biggest challenges faced when trying to implement participatory practices in Ukraine: policy decisions do not necessarily are publicly debated, public hearings are usually held as a mere formality, and civil society is often perceived as a threat to rapid and "effective" decision-making.

Experience shows that various actors often have quite different and sometimes even conflicting notions about the goals of urban planning and the outcomes of the planning process as well as the place of public participation in urban policy-makingand particular urban renewal projects implementation. In view of this, the edition is supplemented by several interviews and essays provided by various actorsin one way or another involved in the process of urban transformations in different cities.

The interview section includes conversations with Oleksandr Korotkykh, an architect and practitioner, who reveals the vision of participatory processes from the perspective of urban planning and city spatial development, and Hanna Davydenko, a politician and public figure, who address the political dimension of participatory decision-making on issues of local development. In particular, Oleksandr is interpreting various forms of participatory practices institutionalization in Vinnytsia and also experience of the Spatial Development Agency, which aims to develop informal approaches to urban planning and to promote the publicity of urban projects. Hanna instead is raising the question on the effectiveness of the formal tools of participation, noting that these tools in many cases have little to do with real practices of urban transformations. In their answers, both Oleksandr and Hanna, pay attention to many other appropriate issues in the context of participatory planning: awareness on urban projects and mechanisms for its strengthening, public interest in urban renewal issues, assessment of the project outcomes, development of participation tools and raising of legal awareness, public dialogue and different forms to ensure it.

The essay section seeks to present the multidimensional issue of participatory urban governance and planning as seen by public activists,who have a deep understanding of the diverse aspects of the issueas a result of their activities, in particular how obligatory procedures in the realm of participatory governance are being put into practice and what are the outcomes.

Public activists have a particular role in establishing participatory practices, since it is civil society in general, and activists in particular, who are doing outstanding work on reviewing and monitoring tools and procedures as well as their compliance with the declared approaches; analysing the effectiveness and potential impact of participatory practices on urban development and planning; establishing successful local alliances to transform urban spaces and also contributing to the development of local initiative and the implementation of the principles of democratic governance. In light of the above, interpretation of participatory practices typically used at the local level, which is made by activists in their essays,is not simply interpretation given by one of the actors involved, it is also a view through the eyes of those who take part in participatory practices, analyse them, promote and develop.

Anna Ambrosova and Yulia Orekhanova reveal the participatory practices in the field of environmental protection for the case of Kryvyi Rih - a city where poor air quality is an ongoing problem and where it is particularly difficult to develop a sustained policy, based on interaction with big polluters from one side and public society from another. By analyzing new tools in the field of environmental protection as a basis for citizen involvement, Anna and Yulia reveal both successful examples of their application and also negative ones, rethink the tools themselves along with their role in shaping more balanced policy approaches with civil society institutions involved.

Second essay by Anna Atamanchuk includes reflections on citizen involvement issues, where Anna, building on her own experience, is rethinking particular tools, attempts to develop long-term policy in this area and changes in perceptions and attitudesof various actors to participatory governance as an idea and a process. In particular, Anna draws attention to the role of initiative in development of participatory practices, however, this according to Anna should be accompanied by constant pressure and willingness to advocate forviews, suggestions or demands in every possible way.

All views expressed in the essays and the interviews in this special issue are personal. Their publication aimes at enhanced understanding of participatory governance and planning, increasing the effectiveness of public participation in shaping urban policies and developing collaboration between various actors.

URBAN PROJECTS SHOULD BE PUBLIC

Interview with OLEKSANDR KOROTKYKH

Oleksandr is a former chief architect of Vinnytsia. Modern landmark buildings for Vinnytsia were built according to his projects (in particular, Feride Plaza, Cloud, Smile City, etc.). He is a co-founder of the well known Vinnytsia community of architects - ArchiClub and heads the Spatial Development Agency, takes care of many interesting and socially significant urban projects in the city.

We find it increasingly interesting that publicity is an integral part of any project. It is designed to prevent possible conflicts around the project or its rejection. How can we ensure publicity?

Any changes in the urban environment, even positive ones, can potentially be the subject of conflict. Most often, this is due to the redistribution of street space, compaction of housing, use of park areas for the construction, interference in historic buildings. The most resonant urban conflicts are those associated with changes in places to which there is an emotional attachment of citizens.

My experience of participation in the project process is related to the Spatial Development Agency created by the city council in 2017. The focus on informal design and publicity of urban projects is the main feature of our activities. Urban projects are those financed from the city budget: spatial development projects, infrastructure projects, local facilities, including public buildings and public spaces. We have developed an algorithm according to which the eight stages of the project should include six public events aimed at public participation in determining the relevance of the project, building a tree of goals, identifying experts, defining project indicators, determining project consequences, and evaluating results.

The first object on which we tested the algorithm of ensuring the project publicity is the reconstruction of Zamostianska Street. The conflict flared up there as a reaction to the new parameters of the street and the felling of trees. The reconstruction work has already begun. We developed a new spatial vision of the street and set out this vision and our reconstruction goals on one paper. It is this material, which is clear to all, along with several other schematics began to be discussed among expert activists rather than volumes of working papers. There were made radical changes to the project. A year after the completion of the street we ordered a poll on the perception of the new street by citizens. In my opinion, such surveys are also an integral part of ensuring the publicity of the project – it is very important to analyze and evaluate the results, whether we achieved the project goals, what results are unexpected, whether there is a need for additional interventions.

Who is responsible for the publicity of projects? Is public discussion an effective tool for participation today?

The development of strategic projects, projects of public spaces, and objects that change or shape them should be carried out publicly at the earliest stages, namely prior to the issuance of the technical assignment. At this stage, all stakeholders are identified and involved. Taking stakeholder influence into account reduces the risk of creating urban conflicts.

Today, the project documentation, which has already been developed in full details, is being considered at public discussions, and the funding has already been completed. It is technically very difficult to make changes to ready-to-implement projects. There is simply no time for that.

In view of this situation, what do you think the ideal planning process should look like? How should it be managed?

We can rather speak not about an “ideal”, but an “appropriate” planning process. Today the city is actively transforming. Population mobility has increased, a denser living environment is emerging, which in turn requires creation of new public spaces, new social activities, changes in employment, industrial parks and former industrial areas in need of change. The biggest challenge for spatial planning is the new scale of interconnected settlements formed by the newly created territorial communities.

In 2016, Vinnytsia became a participant in the Integrated Urban Development of Ukraine project implemented by the German government company GIZ. In three years, a large number of experts, NGOs, active residents, heads and representatives of city council departments developed the Concept of Integrated Urban Development 2030 with the support of international experts. One of the five visions of the Concept is about spatial development. At the beginning of this year, the city council approved

Strategy 3.0 which covers the entire Vinnytsia territorial community. The concept and the strategy are further formalized in the plans of socio-economic development and are the basis for the development of urban planning documentation. The availability of strategic documents directs the urban planning process to the vision of the city, not as an ideal one that meets the planning standards, but the city which adapts and transforms to modern challenges of climate change, innovation, and identity. The Agency has developed for these documents a vision of both individual strategic projects and a vision of the spatial development of the entire community. I am sure that strategic plans which were discussed in detail in the community will further affect the sustainability of long-term projects.

What are the formal and informal opportunities to influence the urban planning process? What forms of interaction or coalitions do you think determine the urban planning process the most?

In 2015 there was approved the Comprehensive Strategy for Transport and Spatial Development in Vinnytsia developed by Swiss experts. By the way, this informal planning document justified the need to create a Spatial Development Agency. In contrast to the decisions of the city master plan, the comprehensive strategy provides spatial development of Vinnytsia as a compact city - efficient public transport, rational, dense and mixed-use of territories, taking into account the landscape, cultural and historical values. That is what is aimed at sustainable development and saving of territorial resources. The Vinnytsia 2020 strategy was developed in parallel. There is now a significant discrepancy between the city master plan and the strategic documents. This year the collection of baseline data for the adjustment of the master plan has begun. We plan to create an open platform for the collection of up-to-date data on the territory and objects. This will further ensure a rapid response to change through informal design.

The informal design provides an opportunity to expand the range of project participants from the very beginning. Such an experience was the study of ideas for the reconstruction of Kotsiubynsky Prospekt (Avenue). Now this project is called Vinnytsia Mile. The agency provided a process of designing and interacting with participants which consisted of the joint multi-stage work of four teams from Vinnytsia, Kyiv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv, together with local and international experts, city officials, NGO representatives and activists. After the completion of the study, the next stage was a public program that lasted three months and included participatory events organized by us through exhibitions, information, urban tours and surveys. These actions shaped the public interest in the implementation of the avenue reconstruction project.

What should be changed in urban development planning?

The city is in the process of design every day. There are projects of different scale and, accordingly, different levels of influence. Nowadays the most pressing challenge is the integration of projects. For us, such a project is the Zamostia Development Model. The project covers a historic area of the city with a population of 50 thousand people. Now active changes are taking place here. To ensure publicity, a website “Dii, Zamostia!” (lit. “Act, Zamostia!”) was created. It is still in test mode. The purpose of the website is to create an information platform for feedback from residents, administration and investors. We have developed six thematic profiles of Zamostia which are united within an investment map. Integrated visions of many local facilities allow formulating requirements for the qualities of each of them, taking into account the mutual impact and assessing the risks.

Another integrated project is “The 12.7 km Alley”. It is connected with the development of the coastal territories of the Southern Bug within Vinnytsia. The project aims to ensure the accessibility of the river banks, to influence the quality of stay and the development of activities on the water. With our participation and the participation of student volunteers, the Urban Curators NGO conducted pre-project studies which included photo-fixation of the territory, spatial research, walks-interviews with residents and work with stakeholders in the format of workshops. It was last year. The research allowed to create a vision of fast and long-term projects, which generated a vision of spatial change in the period up to 2030, and to estimate the amount of investment. This project affects the interests of all citizens. The project was presented in the hub of the public organizations “City of Contents” in the form of an exhibition. Due to quarantine restrictions, we have also created a virtual version of this exhibition. We are currently working on two adjacent sections of “The 12.7 km Alley”, which combine a municipal project to create a pedestrian crossing along the river near the Kyiv Bridge and a private initiative to build a location for sup boarding. These projects greatly reinforce each other and, through integration, become more meaningful.

Most projects can be more successful with an interdisciplinary approach and an integrated vision of urban development goals.

When a compromise at a certain stage still fails to find, what's next? What should be the mechanism for resolving urban conflicts?

It seems that some urban conflicts are not resolved today. Construction of sidewalks with porches, stairs, terraces and pockets for parking; felling and crowning of trees; commercialization of recreation areas in parks and squares; construction of which pursues only the creation of commercial square meters – all this creates persistent dissatisfaction. But dialogue is the only way to overcome conflicts.

A typical situation is when citizens have a habit of a certain urban space. Its change is initially perceived negatively. Social networks allow activists to speak out immediately, and then the media. We had this situation last year due to the reorganization of traffic on Gagarin Square. The project aims to ensure conflict-free traffic at the intersection with the creation of new overland pedestrian crossings to the Arch of the entrance to Central Park. After the reconstruction, the Arch became an active public place, especially for young people. Pending the resonance of the intentions to change the established situation, a test mode of functioning of the new mode of organization of space was implemented. Now the monitoring of traffic, adjustment of phases of traffic lights, surveys in groups of motorists, surveys among drivers of public transport have been completed. The results are published. Testing is still ongoing, and a permanent solution will be implemented after analysis, reflection and public discussion of the results. We conducted a similar test of urban space on Victory Square, but for one day. That day, part of Vynnychenko Street was closed. About 20,000 people a day transit there. To hear the opinion of the citizens about the future reconstruction of the square, this event was held.

In general, the dynamics of urban change require closer interaction of change initiators with other stakeholders and users.

2017 interview updated in 2021

BOTH ARE IMPORTANT - "ABOUT WHAT" AND "HOW"

Interview with HANNA DAVYDENKO

In-depth interview with a public figure, deputy of the Vinnytsia City Council of the VII convocation.

In your opinion, what was the participation of the citizens and the community in the conflicts that arose in Vinnytsia and how they were resolved? How timely, complete and effective was it? Are there examples when people defended something and succeeded? When was a certain consensus reached?

We must start with the fact that conflicts are not starting from nothing. As a rule, any critical reaction of citizens is caused by the actions of the authorities with which people do not agree.

I will give you an example from the German experience that I studied some time ago. When they started building the road a few years ago without consulting people, it infuriated them. People of completely different political views, as well as those public organizations that usually conflict with each other, have united around the protests against the government's actions. They were united not by the problem of road construction itself, but by the fact that the authorities started doing something without asking the community. But this is in Germany, a country with a developed democracy.

If we return to my native city of Vinnytsia, then any dissatisfaction of Vinnytsia residents is a consequence of the lack of dialogue between the authorities and the community. Authorities often do not consider it necessary to consult with residents. In my opinion, it is wrong.

I would like to discuss a specific example. Let's look at the chaotic construction in the city centre, and its results – the destruction of underground passages or the case of Zamkova Hora (Castle Hill). On the one hand, the city needs to be developed and rebuilt. Can this be done by destroying our history? Here is our perspective. Officials, who are given the power by the people in every election to dispose of their resources, give (by the way, often free of charge) land plots in the city centre for the construction of just another shopping centre or apartment building. At the same time, public hearings, frankly speaking, are often held just for the sake of appearance, and there are often utility workers specially chased out to vote "properly". It is not a secret, and much has been written about these manipulative technologies by local investigative journalists. But in the specific situation with the destruction of Zamkova Hora, Vinnytsia residents not only actively protested on social networks. They submitted a draft decision to the city council session through the local initiative procedure. In this draft decision,

they demanded to take away the land from the developer and create a historical park on it. Instead, officials submitted their alternative draft decision to the same session, cynically manipulating that their draft decision is also about preserving a historical monument. But we know that the devil is in the details. And there was no mention of any preservation of Zamkova Hora in the draft decision from officials. At that time, at the session of the city council, I was the only deputy who did not just speak and explain these things to colleagues. Instead, I insisted that the city council violated the law in this situation. Because when residents initiate a draft decision, their draft decision must be considered first. And there can be no alternative here. The result of this situation was a lawsuit against the Vinnytsia City Council, which the people of Vinnytsia won, essentially obliging the local authorities to preserve Zamkova Hora.

We can briefly cite two other resonant positive examples from my deputy activity: the preservation of Sotske Lake and the forests around it and the creation of a new city program to regulate the number of stray animals by humane methods. The story about Sotske Lake was the following. I was preparing for the next session of the city council and saw in the materials of the session the issue of the lake and the surrounding forest. They wanted to give it to a charitable foundation registered in Kyiv for free for 49 years. We launched an information campaign in 2-3 days, and this issue was simply removed from consideration.

Another positive example concerns the program for regulating the number of stray animals. It did not work, and there was a clause about killing animals 40 days after they were taken from the street. Through a public discussion and the collection of signatures, it was possible to prepare a new program that was adjusted at the session. But together with public activists, we did not just develop a new program and force deputies to adjust it. We constantly do everything to make it work effectively. Once a year, we count the number of homeless animals (which, incidentally, due to this program decreases annually), we have invited Four Paws international charity fund to Vinnytsia, which annually sterilizes animals for free and assists in organizing the activities of the municipal shelter.

Therefore, to sum up, I can say this briefly: any government behaves as brazenly as its voters allow it to do so. If people are active, caring, critical and constantly demand explanations of government actions, officials will have no choice but to ask people's opinions and listen to them. It is a democracy.

If conflicts do arise, in your experience, who are typically parties to the conflict? Community? Government? Developer?

I cannot say that these cases are true conflicts. People do not have the tools and mechanisms to protect themselves. On paper, in-law, they seem to be. But in practice, it is almost impossible to achieve the truth. Especially this refers to cases when exactly the authorities violate the civil rights. As a rule, in all loud confrontations in Vinnytsia, people used all possible legal methods: peaceful protests, lawsuits, statements to the prosecutor's office and the police. In particular, as a deputy, I appealed to the prosecutor's office and the police. They initiated more than ten criminal proceedings. I also wrote appeals to deputies and other bodies and institutions. That means to use all possible methods. But the police were openly inactive, delaying the investigation and bungling the cases. The prosecutor's office shut eyes to all this. The State Investigation Bureau waved its hands, and National Anticorruption Bureau said that it was not their competence, and the courts just palm off with the appeals transferring the case from the court of general jurisdiction to the administrative court.

Conflict can be when there is a dialogue. And when there is no dialogue, it turns into a conflict. Often there is no dialogue at all, or there is an imitation. And that's why the community is screaming in despair because they don't know what to do. I often heard from people who came to me for a deputy's reception: "We just don't know where to go. Nobody hears us." And I can understand them.

Talking about the political dimension of the issue: does the method of decision-making remain important?

Absolutely. On the other hand, the problem is also in the legal awareness of citizens. People often simply do not know their rights. And even when they do, they are afraid to defend them. Therefore, it is difficult for people to influence the processes, because such a "mess" is difficult to understand. It is difficult for you to find out the truth. If the majority of citizens in each case were united and jointly opposed the arbitrary decisions of the authorities, the situation would be completely different. And tomorrow, when the undesired changes come to their yard, those people will sound the alarm. There have always been few people in all conflict situations. And everyone said: why we should help if it does not concern us? Allegedly…

If citizens were guided in the processes and if they understood the competence of deputies of local self-government bodies and executive bodies, it would be easier to manage the government. For most people, it seems that the mayor, local deputy and city administration official are the same, although

both the mayor and officials receive salaries from people for their work and dispose of all the money from the budget and land of the community. And the task of the deputies is not to allow the mayor and officials to steal these resources.

I see how such issues are resolved in countries with established democracies, how the decision-making process takes place there, how important is a public dialogue, consensus, a duty to hear everyone.

How to build consensus and dialogue where there are different points of view? Both between different stakeholders and within the community which is also fragmented in many respects: someone agrees with the proposed solutions, but someone doubts or strongly disagrees?

It all concerns the system of values in society. Nowadays, in our country, it is destroyed. People used to live alone in the Soviet Union. Then there was disintegration, and people got lost. And if the value of the Germans is that they should be heard by the authorities, people with different views, united in protest and made sure that until the government held a referendum, a decision was not made, then we did not. It was important for them to preserve this principle of democracy, to listen to everyone. Nowadays, Ukrainian society is still largely infantile. Nobody wants to take responsibility, and, first of all, the government.

Who should start the dialogue and be responsible for this process: city authorities, expert environment or civil society?

Dialogue is always a conversation between the two. On the one hand, there is our government, no matter who is representing it – the department, the mayor, the officials, and there are people. We have already mentioned that the government behaves as far as the people allow it. Therefore, in the modern realities of Ukraine, until the society itself becomes active and demands dialogue from the authorities, there will be no dialogue. We often are waiting for messiah and thinking that the president, the prime minister, the deputy will come and solve all their problems. It does not happen. And it seems to me that Ukrainians are already beginning to understand that they can only rely on themselves.

We have room to grow and, frankly speaking, there is a lot of work for the public sector. The government will not teach the residents, since it is not interested in people that ask questions and make inquiries. When I communicate with people, and when they learn from me what the city budget is, they round their eyes: “We have 5 billion of money???” But this is not confidential information: everyone can take a look at how this money is distributed. But most are not interested. Therefore, there is also the question of the responsibility of everyone.

Is there a demand from people to be a part of the transformation? What about giving them more positive experiences? Isn’t this the exact way to build a civil society?

We have such a request, of course. And this is the right question. To be part of a transformation, you need to know how to do it. And the experience of successfully solving problems is important here. The positive cases I mentioned at the beginning of the interview are also positive examples. Another issue is that these examples today are the exception rather than the rule. There must always be someone who will take responsibility for making decisions. And so far there are a critically few numbers of such people, although we do have some. It is necessary to understand whom people choose to represent their interests in elections, and by what criteria do they do it.

To conclude our conversation positively, I would like to talk about how we have managed to unite the residents of Vinnytsia and the region around the positive idea over the past two years. On the one hand, we have a problem with illegal logging. But law enforcement agencies should work here, first of all, because we are a state governed by the rule of law. On the other hand, we all want to live in a good environment and breathe fresh air. In order not to wait until someone deals with someone and stops destroying trees, we decided to restore greenery and joined the all-Ukrainian project One Million Trees in One Day. We have joined forces of local authorities, business and residents, and together we are creating such a positive success story. Last year we planted 118 thousand trees in one day in the Vinnytsia region. This year we plan more than 200 thousand. And I am sincerely glad that people respond and support me. It is important to do useful things altogether. Hear each other and treat others and the environment with respect. And then everything will be fine!

2017 interview

ACTIVISTS EXERCICE THE CONTROL OVER THE ACTIONS OF LOCAL INTERPRISES: ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATORY PRACTICES IN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Essay by Anna AMBROSOVA and Yulia OREKHANOVA

Coalition of public organizations "Stop poisoning Kryvyi Rih!"

So, what exactly is participatory urban governance? Literally, the term "participatory management" means leadership based on the participation of stakeholders in governance. It is the practice of giving citizens, members of the community, the right to participate in organizational decisions. Addressing participation of public activists in the urban governance, we consider that one of the main goals of the European Charter of Local Self-Government (adopted in 1985) is to ensure the involvement of residents in the mechanisms of democratic governance in their place of residence. This goal is achieved through compliance with the principle of subsidiarity, which is the transfer of responsibility for public affairs to those authorities that are closest to the residents, i.e. to local governments. Thus, city activists, civil groups and citizens, being among the stakeholders of participatory urban governance, can take part in decision-making on further local development.

Achieving a high level of local development means primarily providing quantitative and qualitative improvement of living standards, as well as growth of the local economy and active citizens' participation in public decision-making processes concerning these citizens and the territory where they live. Undoubtedly, that includes environmental solutions as well. In order to achieve a high standard of living for citizens, it is necessary to regulate the balance between the economic, social and environmental aspects. Apparently, it makes no sense to start economic development by means of sudden social or environmental problems. If the environmental component is not considered in the economic development of territories and communities, then such development will affect the community and its inhabitants negatively, directly or indirectly. First of all, the important thing to remember is that humans are not an exception, they are a part of nature and the environment.

That is why, in order to keep balanced local development and caring for the environmental component, and trying to minimize the negative effects of economic development of the city, public activists, among other issues, control the use of urban space and surrounding areas by the large local industrial enterprises. In fact, there is often a natural degradation of the environment against the background of industrial and economic development.

Environmental activists and citizens of Kryvyi Rih, as well as all Ukrainians, have many tools and methods for participatory urban governance at the moment. Among such tools there are two newly-introduced laws of Ukraine, adopted in 2017-2018. These laws are intended to harmonize our legislation with the European one and to implement the environmental requirements of the European Directives. These are "Law on Environmental Impact Assessment" and "Law on Strategic Environmental Assessment". Besides, some cities have adopted local environmental programs, which are legal acts of the local level needed according to the requirements of current environmental legislation. In Kryvyi Rih, this is the "City Program for Solving the Environmental Problems of Kryvbas and Improving the State of the Environment for 2016-2025". Based on the experience of the coalition of public organizations "Stop poisoning Kryvyi Rih!", representing a coalition of public organizations (hereinafter SPKR!) and the concerned citizens, we offer to take a closer look at these tools and ways of their implementation in order to influence local development and surrounding space usage.

Kryvyi Rih is known as a large industrial city with such industries and processes as iron ore mining in a closed and open way, its enrichment, coals coking, cast iron and steel smelting, and production of various rolled stock products. There are also a number of enterprises for the maintenance of the ore-mining and smelting complex, the food industry, etc. Many years of heavy industry have led to a significant deterioration of the environment.

The city development program on the environment improvement for 2016-2025 was launched in April 2016, in order to implement the Strategic Development Plan of the city of Kryvyi Rih as an environmentally friendly city with efficient use of resources. Deputies of the City Council (members of the Standing Committee on Nature Management, Ecology, Health Care and Social Protection), public organizations, specialists of dedicated scientific institutions of the city and representatives of industrial enterprises took an active part in the development of the program. The program was built on the directions of the action plan implementation on environmental protection in order to approximate Ukrainian legislation to environmental norms and standards of the European Union, considering the already adopted directives and regulations in the framework of cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union. The program also included measures and deadlines prescribed in the Emission Permits and Special Water Permits issued to industrial enterprises of the city.

Enterprises, institutions and local governments, which play executing role in the city's environmental program, have committed to implement a list of environmental measures (reconstruction and modernization of individual facilities, protection and care of nature reserves, health protection zones, development of monitoring systems, protection of waters, soils, etc.) in order to improve the ecological situation in Kryvyi Rih, and they are responsible for the timeliness and completeness of their implementation.

Monitoring the program's implementation is also carried out collectively. Open meetings of the working group are held monthly. The group includes representatives of local government bodies, public, enterprises and scientific institutions of the city. Public organizations and citizens, state control bodies, representatives of all enterprises participating in the environmental program and mass media are invited to those meetings. Representatives of enterprises and local government report on the implementation of the environmental program, and the public has the opportunity to take part in participatory management by submitting their own ideas and comments during the reporting, discussions and voting on protocol decisions. For example, they can propose amendments on the program in question.

Strategic environmental assessment is another tool of participatory urban governance for environmental activists.

On October 12, 2018, the Law of Ukraine "On Strategic Environmental Assessment" was enacted in Ukraine. The law determines the need to carry out the procedure of strategic environmental assessment for state planning documents in the manner prescribed by the legislation. Strategic environmental assessment of strategies, plans and programs allows to focus on a comprehensive analysis of the potential impact of planned activities on the environment and also to use the results of this analysis in order to prevent or mitigate environmental impacts in the strategic planning.

Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) is a new tool for implementing environmental policy, based on a simple principle: it is easier to prevent the negative consequences for the environment at the planning stage than to identify and eliminate them at the stage of implementing a strategic initiative. SEA's goal is to ensure a high level of environmental protection and promote the integration of environmental factors in the preparation of plans and programs in order to ensure balanced (sustainable) development.

The public has the right to submit in writing (including in electronic form) comments and suggestions to the draft state planning document and strategic environmental assessment report at the stage of public discussion and consultations. During this period, the public members can analyze the provided materials, assess the completeness and accuracy of information and evaluations, and independently assess the impact of planned activities on environmental components as well as health status and welfare of the population. The results of such analysis are sent to the dedicated body. All comments and suggestions to the draft state planning document and the report on the strategic environmental assessment received within the established period are subject to mandatory consideration. Based on its results, the customer prepares a certificate summarizing the received comments and suggestions and indicates how these comments are taken into account or rejected, and justifies the choice of this particular state planning instrument among other justified alternatives. A protocol of public hearings should be attached to the certificate. These documents are public information.

It is necessary to involve the intellectual knowledge and skills of local inhabitants in order to achieve European standards in urban governance. Therefore, by developing ideas of joint management and participation in environmental decision-making, the public has the opportunity to use such legal instrument as Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). According to the Law of Ukraine "On Environmental Impact Assessment" (took effect on December 18, 2017), this procedure has clearly defined stages, rights and responsibilities of its subjects. Its purpose is to prevent environmental damage, ensure environmental safety, environmental protection, rational use and reproduction of natural resources. It is mandatory for all EU members to carry out EIA before issuing a permit for the implementation of planned activities that may have a negative impact on the environment, in accordance with EU Directive № 337/85.

According to the law, the public has the right to submit any comments or suggestions without the need to substantiate them, both in writing (including in electronic form) and orally during public hearings on condition that public hearings are put on the record. All proposals and comments of the public received within the established period are subject to obligatory consideration by the authorized body.

The experience of the SPKR! has proved that understanding of the law and active cooperation with local government bodies in participatory urban governance give positive results for the environment. Here are some examples where the use of participatory tools has led to success.

On 26.11.2018, PJSC ArcelorMittal Kryvyi Rih, a largest metallurgical enterprise of the city, posted a notice of planned activities for "New construction of the stock pile "Stepovyi-2" on the lands of Shyrokivskyi district of Dnipropetrovsk region" in the Register of EIA. Representatives of the SPKR! conducted an analysis of compliance with legal procedures and assessment of the possible impact of the

planned activities on the environment. Based on these data, comments and suggestions were sent to the company and the Ministry of Energy and Environmental Protection of Ukraine. Due to the imperfections of the procedures at that time, we were not able to find out whether a strategic environmental assessment was carried out, as it was a matter of changing the purpose of the land. Therefore SEA should precede the environmental impact assessment.

The company published a report on environmental impact assessment in the EIA Register on 11.06.2019, which was subjected by the SPKR! to a detailed analysis. A month later, 17.07.2019 public hearings were held in Shyrokivskyi district, on the lands where it was planned to place a stock pile. But the zone of its influence extends to thousands neighborhoods of the city. However, there were no hearings in Kryvyi Rih, and the transportation of people from the city to the place of the hearings was not organized. Thus, the urban community was practically excluded from the decision-making process. Moreover, these respective urban residential areas were not considered during the EIA and risk assessment. Representatives of the SPKR! took part in public hearings and drew the ministry's attention to numerous violations and shortcomings in the procedure. However, this body issued a positive conclusion of the EIA. The company submitted documents for obtaining a permit for emissions from the planned stock pile. And Makulan, Karachuny, Vsebratske and Vsebratske-2 residential areas, which had been "lost" during the EIA, were suddenly "found" in those documents. Concerned local residents, unwilling to worsen their living conditions, started to collect signatures against the company's plans, trying to defend their right to clean environment, protect Red Book plants and surrounding areas that are part of the Emerald Network and are protected by the Berne Convention. Although quarantine restrictions did not allow every willing person to take part in the public hearings, the opinion of the community was expressed by its representatives and the SPKR! experts. Besides, the collected signatures and a letter from the residents were sent to the ministry.

All these violations and inconsistencies stipulated the SPKR! to file a lawsuit in the Dnipropetrovsk District Administrative Court to the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources of Ukraine on 16.09.2020, in order to declare the EIA to be illegal and cancel the respective conclusion (registration number of the case is 201811192183). Third parties for the defendant were PJSC ArcelorMittal Kryvyi Rih and The Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. The administrative proceeding was carried out by the Dnipropetrovsk District Administrative Court on September 21, 2020 at № 160/11233/20.

Our main arguments that led to invalidation of the conclusion and its cancellation:

- the provided information on the environmental impact of the planned activity was knowingly false and incomplete;
- The report on Environmental Impact Assessment was knowingly false: residents of densely populated multi-storey neighbourhoods Vsebratske, Vsebratske-2 and Karachuny, which are also affected by the planned activities, are not considered when calculating health risks, as well as the impact of existing industrial facilities is not examined;
- irreversible interventions in the environment and landscapes in the area of the company's planned activities took place; in particular, Red Book plants and dwellings of Red Book wild animals were eliminated and destroyed respectively.

Moreover, the SPKR! considers the positive conclusions on accepting the planned activities as premature due to the fact that this area is disputed, as those who removed it from the status of defense lands are under criminal proceedings under Part 2 of Article 364 of the Criminal Code.

The second example is a bit simpler and the case is already resolved. That was one of the first EIA procedures in Kryvyi Rih, dedicated to the development of minerals (quarrying) partly on the territory of the nature reserve fund (April-September 2018). The SPKR! and other community members objected to such illegal actions, but the Regional Department of Ecology issued a positive conclusion of EIA. But we continued our attempts to save the protected areas, holding consultations with regional deputies and raising the issue at the environmental deputy commission. By joint efforts we got a result positive for the nature: the session of the regional council did not approve the allocation of land for the planned activities.

Thus, the representatives of the SPKR! keep pro-active approach and emphasize that public access to decision-making, as well as public participation in state and local governance have a positive impact on the self-development of local governments, give impetus to decentralization and harmonise our legislation with European standards. We currently have a large number of tools that allow us to take part in participatory governance. Some of them are not perfect, but fruitful work and interest in balanced economic, social and environmental development will have a positive effect.

COLLABORATIVE DECISION-MAKING IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY FOR CHANGES: REFLECTIONS ON PUBLIC PARTICIPATION EFFORTS

Essay by Anna ATAMANCHUK, co-founder of the public organization "Velokryvbas"

I live in Kryvyi Rih. When I hear anything about the participativity from the city administration, the first reaction is to ignore it. It is wrong, though. Every time I assure myself that this time something good will definitely happen, I invite other passionate people, and we start work. Involving concerned citizens and groups to discuss and make joint decisions is the only possible solution for high-quality and necessary changes in the community. Is it possible that the city executive committee knows about all the problems if the community does not report them? Probably not. Can the problems they don't know about be solved? Definitely not. How to ensure that the city administration develops the necessary and convenient projects? One should ask communities and involve those who are particularly active in collaborating on these projects. Civil society in our city as well as in other cities of Ukraine, as a rule, are accustomed to the fact that someone will do everything for them. If the water leaks, someone will call, somebody will come and fix it. But nobody fixes it even after a week passes. There are several possible developments: some people begin to nag at the government, others continue to ignore and wait for "someone" to come, and some get outraged, find the telephone and leave the statement, and also learn that no one has reported on this problem before them. At this exact moment the third group starts to understand that no one is going to solve this except them. They find all the emergency phones, save them and immediately report any problems that they see. In most cases, such people are not understood, and they are often asked "Do you have to take charge of everything?" I say yes. I do have to take charge of everything. I am happy that the number of such responsible and conscious people grows, and they have started to unite and create public organizations and initiative groups. Unfortunately, most citizens do not understand that we do it not for a salary, but because we care. The efforts of responsible people are often taken for granted, which is demotivating and sometimes abusing.

In my opinion, there are several options for involving the community in urban development management. As things stand today, the Public Budget is more or less successful tool, and public hearings and profile commissions under the executive committee are not effective at all. Provided that the approach to these tools is changed, it is possible to obtain really high-quality and effective models of involving citizens in the detection and solution of the city's problems, as well as to make the urban development human-oriented. The ideal model is a balanced interaction. One of the options is that the city administration initiates discussions on global issues, such as the inaccessibility of pedestrian underpasses for low-mobility groups. They invite interested parties and relevant groups, profile commissions, departments, designers, urban planners, etc. to the discussion. Such discussions may result in several different projects, where simple solutions can be implemented fairly quickly, but more global solutions must go through all the procedural aspects, budgeting, design, etc. Such projects can be really convenient and useful providing that users' opinions are considered. Nowadays, most reconstruction projects are not submitted to the community for discussion and we do not know anything about them until they start to be implemented. In this situation it is impossible to exert influence. Another option is that initiative groups, public organizations and concerned citizens make a statement to the lead department of the city executive committee indicating the problem, and the city executive committee gathers working groups involving people, who applied in advance, and draws the solutions. I think the problem of our cities is that the city administration does not feel bound to consult, or simply listen to the opinions of the community. It is necessary to prove to the city administration that the open discussions of the renovation projects and the involvement of the community are beneficial for the administration itself.

I can say that all levels of administration start to gradually understand the mutual benefit of involving citizens in discussions of some community development issues. Citizens feel their involvement in the changes of the city, and the administration receives feedback from people who need change. It is important for this interaction to really take place between caring, active citizens who have experience and understanding in the discussed issues and the city administration. Also, it is important that community opinion should be considered, provided that it is appropriate and practical. Currently, in the situations where it is necessary to discuss controversial or doubtful issues while the decision which has already been made remains unchanged, the city administration practices the involvement of "pet" public organizations. One of the effective tools for involving the community in solving the city's problems has been the creation of petitions in recent years. People are willing to get involved in the process of signing and distributing a petition if it is really important to the city. Some petitions went up to required thousand votes within three days. The community learns how to talk about problems with existing tools: personal appeals, petitions, deputy appeals, appeals from initiative groups, public

budget, participation in working groups of lead departments, etc. It is important that people learn about these tools and use them.

At the beginning of my sustained public activity, the city administration of Kryvyi Rih tried to ignore our appeals as much as possible while using our events in their reports during the sessions. We were invited to discussions as well as to program and concept drafts establishment, but there were only talks and promises without any further actions. Today we have several public unions that constantly keep the city administration in tune with their inquiries, appeals and petitions. Of course, the attitude to organizations has changed, because previously there was one NGO, and now there are more than ten. I will add that there are people, such as people with disabilities, who cannot be easily ignored, especially by the city administration. If the request comes from vulnerable groups, it is responded more efficiently and quickly. By the way, the city administration has learned how to monitor posts on social networks, as well as how to respond in a timely manner, if it does not require projects or additional approvals. As for business, Kryvyi Rih is quite a specific city with agreement prices estimated in millions between the metallurgical business and the top of the city administration. They contract social partnership agreements and they get a reduced rate on land tax, and this has been going on for years. Enterprises also run individual projects, both their own and in cooperation with the community. I think the cooperation between business and community specifically in our city is more effective than the cooperation between city administration and community.

As long as the participants of the transformation process do not understand the need, convenience and benefits of multifaceted cooperation of all participants, they are reluctant to accept the idea of participation. When responsible citizens present successful cases of cooperation on the project of different parties, such as the city administration + public organization + business, which led to a positive change in the urban space, the attitude changes to a more favorable one. When there is a possibility to implement such project and cooperation in the city, the administration itself becomes the initiator of such processes of interaction in the future. It is important that all parties of such processes agree on several common goals and principles, adhere to them and do not betray previous agreements. Most citizens do not put much thought on why and how certain changes occur, they are accustomed to the fact that all decisions are made by “someone” and it is impossible to exert influence. I believe that conscious citizens can make changes. It’s not fast, but no one will do us any good except for ourselves. At least, we need to say what we need for our well-being.

The most effective were the direct actions with deputy’s appeals. Also, in recent years, it became easy to join the working groups and commissions of relevant departments in the city executive committee. Petitions, even those that really need support and implementation, have not been put to the vote in recent months. Thus, the city council sabotages this tool of effective participation.

Specifically, in our city, I consider that the greatest success was achieved through the direct action when the people in wheelchairs took sledgehammers and smashed the newly installed street curbs. The day before the action, the workers were asked to lower the curb at the pedestrian crossing under repair, but the workers refused. Prior to that, the guys have already appealed to the city executive committee to consider the needs of low-mobility groups in the current and major repairs, reconstruction or construction of infrastructure. So, they had no choice but to fight for the possibility of barrier-free movement at that intersection. As a result, the curbs were lowered and high-quality repairs were carried out at several dozen more intersections with lowering of curbs and installation of tactile stone. People who create technical task, designers, performers are mostly healthy men who do not think about the social component of our buildings, our streets, or urban space in general. Therefore, people who seek for quality change need to take the initiative, write, speak, shout, press (within the law) about problems, and demand quality solutions from the administration. They should constantly monitor all stages, from the technical task to the implementation. It’s not easy, but otherwise, it doesn’t work now. The participation in my city is still at the initial stage, but we are able to bring it to a decent level, provided that the administration is ready for healthy relations with the community and its needs.

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