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Public participation in planning a comfortable urban environment on the example of the Arkhangelsk region*

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Abstract. The article analyzes the experience of public participation in the planning of a comfortable urban environment. The forms of public involvement in the formation of a comfortable urban environment and their implementation are considered on the example of the Arkhangelsk region. The method of complex analysis of the theory and practice of public communications helps the article to present a qualitative assessment of public involvement in the improvement of the urban environment. It is shown that the existing methods of interaction between the authorities and citizens represent a one-sided process and often they are reduced to the formal fulfillment of legal requirements by municipalities. To improve the efficiency of public participation, the authors propose to develop a communicative model of urban space management based on constant interaction between municipal authorities and citizens. This model will allow establishing a dialogue between all stakeholders, which will ultimately lead to the successful implementation of the urban environmental program and improve the quality of life of citizens.

Keywords: comfortable urban environment, urban space, urban community, communication management, civil society, public participation.

Introduction

One of the priorities of the state policy of Russia in the field of socio-economic development is to improve the quality of life of the population. Quality of life is a collective concept that includes various characteristics of human existence [1, Sergeeva N.V., pp. 5–10].

For citation:

Today, most of the population of Russia lives in cities, so the space of the urban environment is one of the main factors determining the quality of life of Russian citizens. Large-scale and rapid in nature, the urbanization of Russia began in the 20th century. [2, Pivovarov Yu.L., pp. 101–113].

Many cities were created under specific state order, had the same type of architecture and infrastructure, which often did not consider the interests of citizens [3, Lagodina E.V., pp. 9–12]. Economic specialization was especially characteristic of the northern territories of Russia [4, Fauzer V.V., Lytkina T.S., Fauzer G.N., pp. 40–50].

Transition to a market economy and a reduction in state funding made most Russian cities noticeably deteriorated, which was one of the reasons for the migration loss of the population. Today, hopes for the economic and social revival of the northern cities of Russia are connected with the development of the Arctic resource, as well as projects that will contribute to increasing the comfort of the North and Arctic cities.

According to many researchers, the quality of cities plays an essential role in the social and economic development of regions [3, Lagodina E.V., pp. 9–12; 5, Pogudina A.L., pp. 146–148]. In this regard, in 2017, in all regions of the Russian Federation, projects to create a comfortable urban environment began. The projects are aimed at qualitatively improving the Russian cities and creating suitable conditions for the life of citizens.

A unique feature of the program is the active involvement of the population in the planning and measures for the creation and improvement of the public places. It is assumed that public participation in planning a comfortable urban environment will allow identifying the interests of citizens and reaching agreement on the goals and plans for the implementation of the project. The government has developed guidelines for involving citizens in discussing projects on the improvement of the urban environment, which should ensure maximum openness and the possibility of permanent participation of the population in making socially important decisions. Since the beginning of the project, large-scale measures have been taken across Russia to create a comfortable urban environment. Despite this, today the participation of citizens is one of the main problems of the project [6, Dmitrieva N.N., Ipatova T.M., pp. 95–98]. In this regard, the purpose of the article is to analyze the practice of involving citizens in projects to create a comfortable urban space.

Material and methods

At the first stage of the study, it was necessary to analyze and assess the practice of public involvement in the implementation of the PPFG in the Arkhangelsk region in 2017–2018. This required the implementation of the following tasks: to get acquainted with the experience of home and foreign studies of the interdependence of urban space and the urban community; to analyze the regulatory framework, organizational and informational support of the project, the practice of using public participation tools in cities of the Arkhangelsk region; to compare this practice with the federal target model and evaluate the effectiveness of the tools used. The method of complex

analysis of the theory and practice of public communications on the development of the urban environment was used. The source of information was, accordingly, the regulatory and legal acts of federal, regional and municipal authorities, reports and statistical data, materials of the official websites of the authorities and the media, as well as social networks covering the practice of public participation in the project.

The theoretical significance of the information obtained is that it is a necessary condition for the development of tools for the mass selective standardized survey, focused group interviews and expert survey. The data collected using these methods at the third stage will be used to form an integrated model of communicative management of the development of urban space, considering the specifics of the cities of the Arkhangelsk region. It is the ultimate significance of the research.

Urban space and urban society

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Ebenizer Howard proposed a new town-planning concept, presented in the philosophical essay "The Future: A Peaceful Path to Real Reforms" (1898), republished in 1902 under the name "Garden City of the Future" [7, Howard E.]. In this work, the primary role in planning the urban environment was played by the community. The principles proposed by E. Howard for more than a century ago have influenced the development of urban planning and management of the urban environment. Speaking about the positive effect of citizens' involvement in urban governance, researchers note that by participating in decision-making, urban communities are becoming the ground for a balanced development of the territory [8, Insa-Ciriza R.].

Analyzing the modern international practice of arranging urban public spaces, Valery Nefyodov emphasizes that to humanize the existing and create a new urban space comfortable for humans, first of all, a social request for a different environmental quality is needed [9, Nefedov V.A.]. But it should be understood that the very possibility of such a social request requires an active community capable of formulating this request.

Here we are faced with the need to define the concept of the urban community and the concept of "city" and the solution to this problem in the current situation seems to be quite problematic. Gerd Held, considering the space of the city [10, Held G.], first of all, asks whether the city can act as an independent object of study for the social sciences, whether we are replacing the study of the city with the study of social connections in the urban community and its actors. Held G. concludes that urban space should be seen not only as a social generation but also as a prerequisite for sociality.

Stressing similar ideas, Witold Rybchinsky in his book "The City Designer: Ideas and Cities" quotes the mayor of Philadelphia, Edward J. Rendell, who said: "We must not allow cities to decline. There is no society without cities "[11, Rybchinsky V., p. 170]. Of course, it should also be noted that without societies (communities) involved in the creation and development of the terri-

tory, the cities also cease to be themselves. This problem becomes especially relevant in modern times: in the situation of the absence of criteria for defining the concept of "city" [11, Rybchinsky V., p. 172]. Modern man exists, according to Irving Kristolla, not in the city, but "in the space of an urban civilization" [11, Rybchinsky V., p. 173]: cities at the turn of the 20th — 21st centuries, gradually becoming decentralized due to the introduction of new technologies in the services sector and the use of new models of urban infrastructure [11, Rybchinsky V., p. 175].

Speaking of urban infrastructure in his monograph "City without Borders", Vyacheslav Glazychev argues that the essence of the city is not engineering systems, but social and administrative infrastructures [12, Glazychev V.L., p. 284]. At the same time, he notes that the social infrastructure of modern Russian cities, for all its importance, is the least studied [12, Glazychev V.L., p. 322]. The world of the Russian city is terra incognita. On the one hand, it can we can say that no neighboring community in Russian cities exists: both the Soviet-era housing and construction cooperatives, and modern homeowners' associations (HOAs), and the organization of territorial public self-government (TPS) in the social space of Russian cities they either initially do not receive, or gradually lose the functions of the active elements of the urban community. On the other hand, with the spread of the Internet and mobile communications, new, networked, social infrastructures are gradually emerging, often not tied to any specific territory. Glazychev V. even wonders if the urban community in its classical sense can be formed under Russian conditions [12, Glazychev V.L., pp. 346–347].

In his "Public space", Boris Groys [13, Groys B.E.] considers urban space an empty, but potentially filled with social meaning: a vacuum that allows something to manifest or exhibit. That is a space for communication.

If we return to the study of methods and ways of public participation in the development of the urban environment, we should mention the work of urban practitioners, where the means of arranging such spaces for open discussion are highlighted.

Charles Landry's "Creative City" examines the practices of urban community participation in urban development planning: as an example, Landry cites the semantic reorganization of public spaces. City centers with their squares, promenade boulevards, cafes and bars, clubs, libraries, and museums become the scene of an exchange of ideas. Discussion clubs, philosophical cafes and coworkers create a new (or rather, recreate the old, still ancient) image of the city, where the center is a node of communication for all citizens and a place to discuss problems and plans for the development of a common territory [14, Landry Ch., pp. 180–185].

Researchers note that at the beginning of the new millennium, the population of cities manifests the need to influence their living environment, forming a new living space [15, Boykova M.V., Ilina I.N., Salazkin M.G., p. 35].

Grigory Stukalov, speaking of the concept of sustainable urban development in his "City-building Design of a Metropolis", indicates that in planning modern western cities any large agglomeration is considered only in conjunction with the surrounding territory, being built into the

use of territory by communities of inhabitants of these territories. In Russia, the city building strategy has not been developed, because the Soviet micro-district type of urban planning dominates. In this regard, in many cities, "depressive" zones appear. They are separated from the center and have no internal development incentives [16, Stukalov G.V., p. 12]. Therefore, a new approach should be applied to the development of such areas. Often, the potential of such areas of the city is the need for the arrangement of places of public leisure, and this can and should involve local communities.

Henry Sanoff's "Participant Design" provides examples of tools for public participation in urban planning. Interviews and surveys of citizens, seminars, and workshops for residents of urban areas, local history and educational programs for students and schoolchildren, and the participation of citizens in the discussion of design projects proposed by professionals were used in various projects described by him.

Speaking about the conditions for the effectiveness of urban projects, H. Sanoff points out the need to participate. It will be affected by the results of project activities: "If residents of a district or city are not able to properly participate in decision-making, then the result of such decisions ... will not meet the interests of the public and will not have support". He mentions the "Citizenship Index". The National Civic League (USA) uses it to determine the social capital of urban communities and their readiness for public participation [17, Sanoff G., p. 90]. It is determined, e.g., by the level of leadership in the community, the capacity for cooperation and civic education.

Among the methods of informing and engaging the citizens, H. Sanoff identifies school creative projects, ideas exchange sessions, polls conducted by local newspapers, communication analysis, game design projects for the urban or district community, training in new environmental protection strategies, visualization of alternative development plans.

Thus, domestic and foreign researchers substantiate, firstly, the absolute importance of the participation of the urban community in the development of urban space and offer specific tools for such participation, and secondly, they reveal the conditionality of the urban community itself in the space in which it lives and satisfies your needs. It seems useful to compare these theoretical developments with the.

Legal regulation of public participation in the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment"

The task of democratizing social and political life in Russia and the formation of an active and responsible civil society is becoming more and more deeply realized by the power elites and the public itself, it is postulated in the regulatory legal acts of all levels of government. The demands of the time and the desire to comply with the level of the world's best practices motivate the power structures and institutions of civil society to find effective ways and tools of communication. And if this task is perceived as less relevant in matters of security or in defining geopolitics, then in matters of domestic political development and the creation of conditions for satisfying basic human needs, its relevance is not questioned. One of the basic ones is the need for a com-

fortable living environment. In a democratic society, in a customer-oriented economy, only that decision-making mechanism that considers the needs of the people whose interests they affect can be assessed as the only rationally sound.

Awareness of the relevance of this task is traced in the dynamics of the content of federal regulatory acts governing the formation of a comfortable urban environment. As part of the project in 2017, the federal authorities adopted (or prepared for adoption) 30 regulatory acts. Many of them, one way or another, raise issues of public participation in the development of the urban environment. Thus, the federal law amended the town-planning code regarding improving the institution of public hearings when making town-planning decisions¹. Low level of citizens' involvement is called one of the possible risks in the passport of the priority project². The passport also states that improvement projects can be initiated by the public, public discussion should take place, citizens can co-funded, the labor participation of residents is encouraged, public control should be provided. The creation of such control tools is among the top priorities. It is supposed to synchronize the actions of federal, regional and municipal authorities, citizens and business.

On the official website of the Ministry of Construction of Russia placed the criteria for ranking regions for the implementation of the priority project. Three of the twelve criteria relate to public participation: the number of forms of involvement of citizens and organizations, the availability of a site for feedback and the presence of co-financing of citizens³.

An important stage in the implementation of the project was to be the adoption of regional and municipal improvement programs. The methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia emphasize that in each such program, one of the tasks should be the creation of a universal mechanism for the involvement of citizens. The list of territories for priority improvement should be determined by rating voting of residents. In the methodological recommendations, principles and approaches to the involvement of citizens and organizations are formulated: the maximum involvement of stakeholders, the agreement of all subjects, the accuracy of identifying interests and values, open discussion. The forms of public participation are prescribed: joint definition of the goals and objectives of the improvement, inventory of problems and potentials, determination of the main types of functional zones, selection of equipment and small architectural forms, types of coverage and landscaping, project coordination and public control. Lists engagement tools: an interactive discussion format, questionnaires, interviews, interviewing,

¹ "Gradostroitel'nyj kodeks Rossijskoj Federacii" [Town Planning Code of the Russian Federation] v red. Federal'nogo zakona ot 03.08.2018 № 341-FZ. Sobranie zakonodatel'stva RF. 2018. 32. St. 5134 [In Russian]

² Pasport prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Pravitel'stvo Rossii. Passport of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment"].URL: http://static.government.ru/media/files/WoyaBZP00CYeyfDQ2Ai2tJ18zZHt7HnS.pdf (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

³ Kriterii formirovaniya rejtinga regionov po vypolneniyu prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Minstroya Rossii. [Criteria for the rating of regions for the implementation of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment". The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14328/ (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

mapping, focus groups, working with individual user groups, organizing project workshops and workshops, conducting public discussions and design games, projects with schoolchildren⁴.

The state program of the Arkhangelsk region on the formation of a comfortable urban environment considered the recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia, but the responsibility for creating and implementing universal mechanisms of public participation was assigned to the Ministry of Fuel and Energy Complex and the housing and utilities sector, and not to the authorities of municipalities⁵.

Guided by this and contrary to the methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia, the city authorities did not even include in the municipal programs, and they are not describing the mechanisms of public participation, limiting themselves to design and discuss courtyard improvement, co-financing, and labor participation.

Another important municipal document regulating the development of the urban environment was to be updated rules for the improvement of urban areas. The methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction for the development of such regulations also justify the need for public participation, which, according to the developers of the document, increases the subjective perception of quality of life, realizes the basic human need to be heard, influence what is happening, experience ownership, feel part of the whole. At the same time, coherence and trust between the government and the society increase, social capital is developed⁶. Such a psychological and axiological substantiation of the need for public participation was not heard by the developers of the improvement rules in most municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region (exceptions are the cities of Arkhangelsk, Kotlas, and Onega). Municipal documents were developed as technical standards of improvement, which concern builders and utility specialists. Judging by the con-

⁴ Metodicheskie rekomendacii po podgotovke gosudarstvennyh programm sub"ektov Rossijskoj Federacii i municipal'nyh programm formirovaniya sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy v ramkah realizacii prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" na 2018 – 2022 gody. Utverzhdeny prikazom Minstroya Rossii ot 06.04.2017 N 691/pr (red. ot 21.12.2017). Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Minstroya Rossii. [Guidelines for the preparation of state programs of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and municipal programs for the formation of a modern urban environment in the framework of the implementation of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment" for 2018-2022. Approved by order of the Ministry of Construction of Russia dated April 6, 2017 N 691 / pr (as amended on December 21, 2017). The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia]. URL: http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14051/ (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵ Gosudarstvennaya programma Arhangel'skoj oblasti "Formirovanie sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy v Arhangel'skoj oblasti (2018-2022 gody)", Prilozhenie № 2, p.3.1, p.3.2. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup iz ehlektronnogo fonda pravovoj i normativno tekhnicheskoj dokumentacii "Kodeks". [The state program of the Arkhangelsk region "Formation of the modern urban environment in the Arkhangelsk region (2018-2022)", Appendix No. 2, paragraph 3.1, paragraph 3.2. The document has not been published. Access from the electronic fund of legal and regulatory technical documentation "Code"] URL: http://docs.cntd.ru/document/462633221 (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁶ Metodicheskie rekomendacii dlya podgotovki pravil blagoustrojstva territorij poselenij, gorodskih okrugov, vnutrigorodskih rajonov. Utverzhdeny prikazom Minstroya Rossii ot 13.04.2017 N 711/pr. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Minstroya Rossii. [Guidelines for the preparation of rules for landscaping settlements, urban districts, urban areas. Approved by order of the Ministry of Construction of Russia dated 13.04.2017 N 711/pr. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14131/ (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

tent of the materials, the developers do not see the point in allowing the public to come to this process.

On April 11, 2017, the Project Committee approved the document that most comprehensively represents the model of communication between the government and civil society on the development of the urban environment - "Target model for organizing public participation and engaging business and citizens in the implementation of projects improvement of the urban environment", developed by the Ministry of Construction of Russia with the participation of the Agency for Strategic Initiatives to Promote New Projects and the leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan⁷. This document was sent to the regions as a recommended model based on best practices in organizing public participation in the development of the urban environment. All stages, forms and communication tools of subjects interested in the formation of a comfortable urban environment are presented in a most detailed way.

To monitor the results of the implementation of the priority project, the Order of the Minsystem of Russia approved a methodology for assessing the degree of involvement of citizens and public organizations in the implementation of measures to create a comfortable urban environment. This methodology is designed to ensure the transparency of these processes and prevent falsification of reports on them. A table is attached to the method, in which 37 indicators are listed, grouped in 9 groups⁸. The assessment is for a certain period through the determination of the average score for all projects of this period. The result is considered in the calculation of the quality index of the urban environment.

Information support of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment" in the Arkhangelsk region

Various channels serve the involvement of citizens in the implementation of programs for the formation of a comfortable urban environment: the press, television, Internet sites of administrations of the Ministry of Defense and the Regional Government. Also, all municipalities that are participants in a priority project must create websites (or pages on existing sites) to post information about the progress of its implementation.

⁷ Celevaya model' po organizacii obshchestvennogo uchastiya, a takzhe vovlecheniyu biznesa i grazhdan v realizaciyu proektov blagoustrojstva gorodskoj sredy. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Minstroya Rossii. [Target model for the organization of public participation, as well as the involvement of business and citizens in the implementation of urban improvement projects. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia].URL: http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14122/ (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]
⁸ Metodika ocenki stepeni privlecheniya grazhdan i obshchestvennyh organizacij k realizacii meropriyatij po sozdaniyu komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. Utverzhdena prikazom Minstroya Rossii ot 1 noyabrya 2017 g. N 1497/pr. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Minstroya Rossii. [Methods of assessing the degree of involvement of citizens and public organizations in the implementation of measures to create a comfortable urban environment. Approved by order of the Ministry of Construction of Russia from November 1, 2017 N 1497 / pr. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/15793/ (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

In the Arkhangelsk region in 2017, 44 municipalities participated in the priority project, and 2018 — 76⁹. As an evidence of the success of the project in the Arkhangelsk Region, the Federal State Concern Committee's Federal Property Management Service presented four examples of urban improvement practices used in various municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region in 2017: in Arkhangelsk, Novodvinsk, Kotlas and Velsk¹⁰.

In 2018, information collection points were set up in Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Novodvinsk, Koryazhma, Kotlas, Mirny, Velsk and Nyandoma for the selection of territories to be landscaped. At these points, it was possible to find out about the planned events, vote for the territory to be landscaped, learn the preliminary results of the vote¹¹. In Arkhangelsk, Kotlas, Nyandoma, and Mirny, in addition to information collection points, the city administration conducted an online questionnaire on land improvement issues ¹².

Researchers note the importance of using online tools in informing and motivating citizens and organizing joint work on projects for developing a common territory but indicate that social media is somewhat secondary. E.g., in work devoted to studying the involvement of the population of Reyk-Yavik in local communities on social networks, their auxiliary role is defined: communities on the Internet can support existing and actively implemented changes, but not create an activity from scratch¹³.

On the websites of municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region that took part in the program, it was necessary to create sections on the priority project to inform citizens about the survey and other activities of the program, as well as to familiarize them with the program documents and design projects ¹⁴.

Unfortunately, not all of the areas indicated on the Government page ¹⁵ have such information (e.g., MF "Kholmogorsky municipal district"). The other MFs (e.g., MF "Onezhsky Municipal District") have no standard link to the project with a logo; the project page exists, but it is difficult to find. The website MF "Kargopolsky Municipal District" does not have a standard link but contains information about the project. The website of the Novodvinsk administration has only a standard link to the project, and the Kotlas Municipal District has two pages devoted to the pro-

⁹ Goroda Pomor'ya stanovyatsya komfortnymi dlya prozhivaniya.[Cities of Pomorie become comfortable for living] URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-7u9kygrp (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian].

Luchshie praktiki. [The best practic]. URL: http://gorodsreda.ru/gorodskaya-sreda/luchshie-praktiki/?section=&type=&tag=®ion=%D0%90%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B3%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%C%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%81%D1%82%D1%8C (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹¹ Nyandoma, Vel'sk i Kotlas lidiruyut v proekte "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". [Nyandoma, Velsk and Kotlas lead in the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment"]. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/society/zteeg7sf (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹² Anketa – Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. [Questionnaire - Formation of a comfortable urban environment]. URL: http://www.arhcity.ru/?page=2310/0 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹³ Bojica I., Marrab G., Naydenova V. Online tools for public engagement: case studies from Reykjavik. URL: https://arxiv.org/abs/1611.08981 (Accessed: 12 October 2018).

¹⁴ O trebovaniyah k napolneniyu ehtih razdelov na sajtah MO. [On the requirements for filling these sections on sites MO]. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/society/- ws9z0ked (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁵ Municipal'nye rajony i gorodskie okruga Arhangel'skoj oblasti. [Municipal districts and urban districts of the Arkhangelsk region].URL: https://dvinaland.ru/region (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

ject and one is equipped with the logo of the Edinaya Rossiaya (United Russia political party). One of the most detailed and informative is the page of the project on the website of the town of Arkhangelsk¹⁶. In 2017–2018, project documents were fully presented there.

The target model recommended by the Ministry of Construction of Russia focuses on the extensive use of social networking opportunities for organizing public participation. In the social network Vkontakte to discuss the problems of forming a comfortable urban environment in Arkhangelsk and the region, two communities have been created: "Formation of a comfortable urban environment" ¹⁷ and "Comfortable urban environment of the Arkhangelsk region" ¹⁸. However, these groups currently consist of 28 and 73 people, respectively, and, of course, they cannot be considered an effective tool to popularize the project.

On the pages of the administrations of the municipality, groups were created to discuss the project and polls were conducted about what elements of improvement the citizens would like to see in the territories of these municipality (e.g., the municipality "Nyandomsky Municipal District"¹⁹). In the official group of the Administration of the MF "Velskoye", you can track the progress of the project on the territory of the urban settlement ²⁰. Also, information on participation in voting was placed on stands in institutions, in public transport and on the streets of the city.

Analysis of the information support of the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment" allows us to conclude that the public was not involved in the program at all stages of its implementation. In Arkhangelsk, the program is supervised by the deputy of the City Duma V. Dudnikov. In his interview to the newspaper "Business class", he focused on the fact that the main problem in the improvement of the courtyards remains the lack of awareness of residents about what they could expect in the project²¹. It can be concluded that, despite the massive participation in the voting on the choice of territories for priority improvement, information about the meaning of the project as a whole was not accessible to all.

Events for public participation

In sociological terms, the management of a city as a social community is based on the fact that any city is not only a place of a settlement but also a form of organization of the life activity of individuals and social groups. Therefore, the successful development of a comfortable urban envi-

¹⁶ Prioritetnyj proekt "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". [Priority project "Formation of comfortable urban environment"]. URL: http://www.arhcity.ru/?page =2288/0 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁷ Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. [Formation of a comfortable urban environment].URL: https://vk.com/club139146505 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁸ Komfortnaya gorodskaya sreda Arhangel'skoj oblasti. [Comfortable urban environment of the Arkhangelsk region]. URL: https://vk.com/gorodskayasreda29 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Administraciya MO "Nyandomskij municipal'nyj rajon". [Administration of MO "Nyandom municipal district"]. URL: https://vk.com/wall-123385323_2453 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

Administraciya MO "Vel'skoe". [Administration MO "Velskoe"]. URL: https://vk.com/movelsk (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²¹ Mesto dlya kompromissa: v 2018 godu Arhangel'sk poluchil 118 mln rublej na blagoustrojstvo dvorov i parkov. [A place for compromise: in 2018, Arkhangelsk received 118 million rubles for the improvement of yards and parks]. URL: https://bclass.ru/vlast/deputatskiy_portfel/mesto-dlya-kompromissa-v-2018-godu— arkhangelsk -poluchil -118-mln-rubley-na-blagoustroystvo-dvorov-i-p/?sphrase_id=16871 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

ronment is impossible without a useful model of interaction between government and society, making the most of all available communication channels for the direct involvement of citizens in the planning and decision-making process.

World urban planning practice finds that by applying even the best architectural and town planning solutions, but by refusing to consider the opinions of residents and isolating them from the decision-making process, one cannot satisfy the internal human need for a quality urban environment [18, Jacobs D.; 19, Scott J.].

The modern approach to the organization of comfortable urban areas involves the active participation of the population in the implementation of planned activities - from design to performance monitoring. For the real implementation of the regional program "FCUE" for 2018-2022 on the territory of the Arkhangelsk region, it was necessary not only to develop and approve this program and the Rules for Improvement but to discuss them with the public in advance.

As a rule, the discussion mechanism for urban improvement programs is as follows:

- 1. on the website and in several media announcements are being made about the discussion of the document,
- 2. the draft document is posted on the administration website,
- 3. the timing and form of submission of proposals.

In the framework of the implementation of the PPC "FCUE" in the Arkhangelsk Region, this task was solved by forming municipal public commissions. But it seems to us that the process took place formally. The commissions included representatives of social and political organizations, with whom the administration has already established a permanent interaction: organizations of disabled people, veterans, representatives of the CBT, the United Russia party and the ONF, who "imitate public communications with the authorities rather than real carry them out "[20, Babintsev, VP, Shapoval, Zh.A., p. 9].

The project curators in their speeches emphasize that the project "Comfortable environment" was born under the influence of the public. Indeed, citizens are tired of observing the degradation of the living environment caused by unreasonable town planning decisions (pavilions near the Naval Station in Arkhangelsk, the construction of shopping centers, outdoor advertising), building compaction, bad roads, destruction of historic plantings, insufficient lighting of court-yards, poorly developed infrastructure for active recreation of residents (there are no walking paths, modern playgrounds, dedicated bicycle routes and a roller in, etc.). "Today, in the territory of the Arkhangelsk region there are 284 uncomfortable public areas with a total area of 381.2 hectares or 77.2% of the total number of municipal territories, of which 20 are urban parks" But declaring that the project is popular does not mean making this idea a reality.

²³ Municipalitety gotovyatsya k golosovaniyu po proektu "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". Pravda Severa. 2018. 25 yanvarya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-ws9z0ked (Accessed: 09 October 2018).[In Russian]

²² Harakteristika osnovnyh meropriyatij programmy "Formirovanie sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy na 2018-2022 gody" [Characteristics of the main activities of the program "Formation of modern urban environment for 2018-2022"]. URL: https://dvinaland.ru/-5u43caza (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

Lack of universal moderation (mass competence of managing complex communications)²⁴, streamlined communication channels within the community between activists, deputies, entrepreneurs, local experts, and the authorities turned into a problem for those responsible for the project.

The extremely short deadlines determined by the government of the Russian Federation for the formation of regional and municipal programs of the FCUE led to the fact that at the designated time from June 30 to July 17, 2017, a full-scale campaign to attract the population to participate in its formation was not succeeded. The results of the discussion and the number of proposals submitted were not made public. It can be assumed that the number of participants was very modest. In August 2017, an additional discussion was held for one week, from 11 to 18 August ²⁵. The proposals for inclusion in the program could also be voiced at public hearings on August 18 through the use of the Digital Ring system of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Arkhangelsk region²⁶.

Also, at this time, all those who wished could take part in the online survey on the "Polls and Voting in the Arkhangelsk Region" page. According to the final data, 222 people took part in it. For the adoption of the program voted — 216, against the adoption of the program — 6 people. Proposals to the draft program were received from 33 citizens²⁷. After discussions and public hearings, the state program "Formation of the Modern Urban Environment in the Arkhangelsk Region for 2018–2022" was approved at a meeting of the regional government on time²⁸.

As part of the implementation of activities under this program for the upcoming five years, in the territories of the municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region, 11,219 courtyards, 264 public areas, and 20 urban parks are planned to be organized. The total amount of funding for the activities of this state program is 17,334,151.2 thousand rubles²⁹.

Government officials emphasize that the successful implementation of the project requires the constructive participation of the most energetic citizens, members of the public, and company

²⁴ Sreda dlya lyudej. Centr prikladnoj urbanistiki. [Medium for people. Center for Applied Urban Studies]. URL: https://sredaforpeople.ru/# (Accessed: 12 October 2018).[In Russian]

²⁵ Obshchestvennoe obsuzhdenie regional'noj programmy blagoustrojstva gorodskoj sredy prodolzhaetsya. [Public discussion of the regional program of improvement of the urban environment continues]. URL: http://dvinanews.ru/s4ehgcyt (Accessed: 12 October 2018).[In Russian]
²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Oprosy i golosovaniya v Arhangel'skoj oblasti. [Polls and voting in the Arkhangelsk region] URL: https://opros.dvinaland.ru/formirovanie-sovremennoj-gorodskoj-sreda-na-2018-2022-goda/ (Accessed: 12 October 2018).[In Russian]

²⁸ Postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 22.08.2017 N 330-pp. [Resolution of the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region dated 08.22.2017 N 330-PP]. URL: https://dvinaland.ru/-5u43caza (Accessed: 12 October 2018).[In Russian].

²⁹ Poyasnitel'naya zapiska k proektu postanovleniya Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti «Ob utverzhdenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Arhangel'skoj oblasti "Formirovanie sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy na 2018-2022 gody". [Explanatory note to the draft resolution of the Government of the Arkhangelsk region "On approval of the state program of the Arkhangelsk region" Formation of the modern urban environment for 2018-2022"]. URL: https://dvinaland.ru/-xrmdvfmz (Accessed: 20 October 2018).[In Russian]

managers, so that citizens as quickly as possible are included in the process of developing municipal improvement projects³⁰.

We share the opinion of P. Ivanov, curator of the Laboratory for Field Research of the City, the Graduate School of Urbanism named after A.A. Vysokovsky Higher School of Economics National University, stating that "Initially, classy, status-related, estate-alien city residents with great difficulty can work out a common agenda and consensus around the territory as a common value" [21, Ivanov P.V., p. 11].

The analysis of materials of regional mass media makes it possible to describe the patterns of interaction between the authorities and society in the implementation of the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment".

Sociologists, whose scientific interest is in the study of the city, noted that since the end of the nineteenth century a particular type of behavior for citizens was isolation, insensitive indifference, alienation, destruction of interpersonal contacts. Simmel G. in "Big Cities and Spiritual Life" and L. Wirth in the monograph "Urbanism as a Way of Life" pointed the same. Modern researchers have revealed such a phenomenon as "apathy of observers", manifested in indifference to someone else's problem ..., group ignoring. The presence of countless people scatters responsibility for everyone, which means that in the end, it does not belong to anyone "[22, Ilmukhin V.N., p. 96].

Different groups react differently to the changes caused by the implementation of measures of the projects on urban environment. The heterogeneity of the settlement prevents residents from organizing a unique space with pronounced characteristics; the territories of the courtyards are of the same type and internally indistinguishable.

As Irina Karelina, the head of the "Yutniy Gorod" association advises, "We need to bring in our elements so that we don't get a set of equal squares for the whole country. We can use the marine style, the arctic theme, thanks to which the duplicates of the capital of Pomorie will have their peculiarity and individuality'³¹.

In some cases, citizens even refuse to discuss issues at meetings on the improvement of courtyards, not to mention the active involvement in the process itself, considering the space outside their apartments as public areas, for which public authorities should be held responsible. On the other hand, interested residents are stopped by the absence or lack of official information. As Sergey Koptyaev, the chairman of the PZhSK "Na Obvodnom", noted: "I learned about the program from my friends from Severodvinsk. I asked them to tell in detail about their experience of participation, about what they had managed, and about what they had missed. As a result, when we started de-

³¹ Senchukova N. Arhangel'skim dvoram nuzhen svoj stil'. [Arkhangelsk courtyards need their own style]. *Arhangel'sk – gorod voinskoj slavy*. 2018. 23 marta [In Russian]

³⁰ "Proekt "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" pozvolyaet grazhdanam izmenit' oblik svoego goroda". ["The project" Forming a comfortable urban environment "allows citizens to change the face of their city"]. URL: http://dvinanews.ru/-ekh195fs (Accessed: 12 October 2018); V Arhangel'ske prohodit II ezhegodnyj forum upravlyay-ushchih kompanij regiona. [The II Annual Forum of Regional Management Companies is taking place in Arkhangelsk]. *Pravda Severa*. 2017. 17 marta. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-rszbyzx2 (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

veloping a design project, we already knew what we wanted to do and how"³². Today this project "can rightly be called exemplary and taken as an example for replicating experience"³³, — says the deputy of the Regional Parliament Nadezhda Vinogradova.

Sometimes landscaping provokes conflicts between residents of well-maintained and uncomfortable courtyards and residents of high buildings. It can be difficult to come to a common understanding regarding the project. They cannot agree: "someone needs a playground, to do something, sports or recreation area for the elderly. Those who have transport, voice for parking, and those who do not have it, refuse"³⁴. Conflicts arise over the victory of territory in a tender or around the procedure for selecting contractors. E.g., a part of the public has asked questions about the honesty and openness of the voting procedure for beautification facilities in Severodvinsk, and another has questions about violations of the deadlines for the delivery of work.

According to the Deputy Minister of Fuel and Energy Complex and Housing and Utilities of the Arkhangelsk Region T. Lemesheva, "the need for minimal co-financing of work has become an obstacle to the participation of houses in the project, and someone stops the obligation to continue to maintain improvement objects"³⁵.

Examples of moderation are the undertakings of the townspeople from Velsk, Arkhangelsk, and activists of Kotlas Municipality. The first in the Arkhangelsk region were the residents of Kotlas who organized work on the involvement of citizens in participation in the PP "FCUE". In April 2017, they held a seminar, and in June, a conference with experts to "take a step towards the comfort of the city space and its yard. To further participate in the municipal program "Housing and Communal Services and the Urban Environment", confidently declaring their projects to be funded"³⁶. As a result, at the All-Russian Competition of Municipal projects, the project from Kotlas called "Dvinopark" was recognized the best and it was awarded by the Ministry of Construction and Housing of Russia³⁷.

Arkhangelsk residents were the initiators of the competition of landscape projects in the framework of the PP "FCUE". E.g., the initiative to hold a competition for the welfare of the square named after A.V. Gracheva (Arkhangelsk, Varavino-Faktoriya district) came from NArFU named

³² Na Obvodnom prospekte v Arhangel'ske otkryli obnovlennyj dvor. [On Obvodniy Avenue in Arkhangelsk, a renovated courtyard was opened] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 3 oktyabrya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-r3yue82m (Accessed: 09 October 2018).[In Russian]

³⁴ V ramkah partproekta «Gorodskaya sreda» narodnaya iniciativa stanovitsya real'nymi delami [As part of the urban environment project, the people's initiative becomes real deeds] URL: http://arhangelsk.bezformata.ru/listnews/zarya -v-ramkah-partproekta-gorodskaya/68690581/ (Accessed: 15 October 2018). [In Russian]

³⁵ Senchukova N. Arhangel'skim dvoram nuzhen svoj stil'. [Arkhangelsk courtyards need their own style]. Arhangel'sk – gorod voinskoj slavy. 2018. 23 marta [In Russian].

³⁶ Dvory Kotlasa privedut v poryadok [Kotlas yards will put in order].URL: http://kotlascity.ru/urban_environment/news (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

³⁷ Komfortnyj Kotlas: proekt «Dvinopark» byl priznan odnim iz luchshih v ramkah vserossijskogo konkursa municipal'nyh praktik.[Comfortable Kotlas: the Dvopopark project was recognized as one of the best in the framework of the All-Russian competition of municipal practices]. URL: http://dvinanews.ru/-7sox2o2w (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

after M.V. Lomonosov together with the group of companies "Suprim" and the administration of the district. Applications for participation were received not only from Russia but also from abroad. It passed with three nominations. In the main competition - for the best project of the whole park - the winner was the project of the author from Israel, the NArFU graduates won the other two. Young activists have implemented the project "Paluba" on the embankment of Northern Dvina River in Arkhangelsk. It was first presented at the "Team 29" forum by young architects A. Ivanova and I. Tretyakov³⁸. In the All-Russian competition of youth projects "Ideas that transform cities" in the nomination "Improvement of yards, including for people with disabilities" the second place was taken by a resident of the Arkhangelsk region Ulyana Kudryavtseva with the project "Improvement of the courtyard territory along the street of the October city Velsk. Kargopol became the winner of the All-Russian competition of projects of a comfortable urban environment in the category "Historical settlements"³⁹.

Local authorities, realizing that new channels of communication with society are needed, are included in the moderation process. Deputies of the Regional Assembly and the City Duma hold meetings with tenants-activists, going to the facilities under construction, jointly assessing the progress of work. At the meeting of representatives of the University (NArFU) and the regional government, a decision was made to establish a working group on the organization of a regional center of competence, bringing together architects, designers, designers, designers, and builders to help prepare documentation for the development project.

As noted by S.G. Klimova and I.V. Shcherbakov, civil participation has territorial features, which "are determined not only by the size of the city, but also by its functional characteristics, and therefore, by the characteristics of the population, first of all by the characteristics of elites capable of creating a community around solving common problems (... scientific communities in science cities; professionals and professionals engaged in preserving cultural heritage and developing tourism business in centers of tourism and recreation "[23, S. Klimova, I. Shcherbakova, p. 25.]. The examples we have provided show that local elites offer their ways of implementing the program for improving the living environment, mobilizing resources and supporters. The well-known urbanist V. Glazychev at one time wrote that the lack of dialogue between the state, officials and people during the city's establishment turns this process into a state-owned, public matter [24, Glazychev V.L.]. In our opinion, one of the positive consequences of the project is that people have gained confidence in the government, included in the dialogue with it. Citizens see that the government "does not just take money into asphalt but seeks to do what the citizens want" Permanent public control over the implementation of the priority project, the timing of

³⁸ Proekt «Paluba» – primer podderzhki molodyh arhitektorov. [The project "Paluba" - an example of support for young architects] URL: http://dvinanews.ru/-8vdzrsub. (Accessed: 12 October 2018) [In Russian]

³⁹ Kargopol' stal pobeditelem vserossijskogo konkursa proektov komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. [Kargopol became the winner of the All-Russian competition of projects of a comfortable urban environment] URL: http://dvinanews.ru/vu1kogyg (Accessed: 10 October 2018) [In Russian]

⁴⁰ Proekty, vostrebovannye zhizn'yu [Projects demanded by life]. *Pravda Severa*. 2017. 21 noyabrya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/politics/-54damjh2 (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

the introduction of facilities, expenditure of funds and prompt response in the event of inaction of the heads of municipalities was recommended to be provided to the People's Inspectorate of the Arkhangelsk Region, the coalition "Narodniy Front "Za Rossiu" and the Public Chamber Arkhangelsk region. "Total control by the FOH and the city administration" over the projects was pointed out by N. Vinogradova.

"In modern cities, where the development of services and creative activities is activated, public spaces are easily transformed, adapting to the specified functions (leisure, trade, competitions, social actions)" [25, Ilina I.N., p. 74]. The development of public spaces creates a new quality of life, and the improvement of these areas should be a priority. In 2017, the choice of public territory for improvement was carried out among the population, which had vague information about the essence of the project, but in 2018 the authorities, considering the mistakes of the previous period, intensified knowledge and explanatory work with citizens. The selection mechanism also differed: public discussion and online surveys (through the websites of the administrations of the municipalities) in 2017 — and rating voting using a special questionnaire, conducted in two stages in 2018.

Rating voting on the choice of public areas for priority improvement, which was attended by eight municipalities of Pomorje: the city of Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Novodvinsk, Koryazhma, Kotlas, Mirny, Velsk, Nyandoma, the project curators rated as "one of the most positive" and mass. Even though at the preliminary stage 251.8 thousand northerners took part in it, which is, considering the fact that residents from 14 years old could take part in voting, 34% of the total population living in these municipalities (734 198 people). According to A. Potasheva, Minister of Fuel and Energy Complex and Housing and Public Utilities of the Arkhangelsk Region, "this indicates a high interest of the citizens in the project, and also serves as the key to choosing those territories that, in the opinion of the majority of the population, need priority improvements"⁴².

Voting was held in the places most visited by citizens (cultural and shopping centers, food shops, schools, etc.), where more than 190 thousand people of the region could express their opinions, and 61 thousand people additionally voted by online voting in Arkhangelsk, Koryazhme, and Mirniy.

Citizens want to be heard⁴³. In practical terms, the active participation of the population in the discussion of projects increases the social effect of improvement due to feedback from inter-

⁴² "Proekt "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" pozvolyaet grazhdanam izmenit¹ oblik svoego goro-da". ["The project" Formation of a comfortable urban environment "allows citizens to change the face of their city"]. URL: http://dvinanews.ru/-ekh195fs (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴¹ Na Obvodnom prospekte v Arhangel'ske otkryli obnovlennyj dvor. [An updated courtyard was opened on Obvodniy Avenue in Arkhangelsk] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 3 oktyabrya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-r3yue82m (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴³ V gorodah Arhangel'skoj oblasti prodolzhaetsya golosovanie za komfortnuyu gorodskuyu sredu. [Voting for a comfortable urban environment continues in the cities of the Arkhangelsk Region]. *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 2 fevralya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-5x54oo30 (Accessed: 09 October 2018).[In Russian]

ested groups of the population, thus avoiding mistakes in the choice and design of the object of improvement.

Being indifferent to the consideration of socially significant programs for the development of their territory leads to the exclusion of residents from the practice of constructive participation, and therefore to the rejection of initiatives that have been launched above, which they regard as an attempt on freedom of choice.

Information about the pre-selection points could be found on the websites of municipalities in the section "Comfortable urban environment". The voting was actively covered in the press; materials were published daily about people who took part in it, indicating the public spaces for which they voted. Here were the team and the hockey team "Vodnik"⁴⁴, and local celebrities⁴⁵, politicians⁴⁶, teachers and pupils⁴⁷.

To give a massive vote, to attract as many residents as possible to participate in the PPC FCUE, the Ministry of Construction of the Russian Federation initiated various actions and events. According to the authors of the project, the center for celebratory, sporting and cultural events during the All-Russian festival of urban environment "vihodi gylyat" should be rennovated urban places. New Year's performances were held in the renovated courtyards, and public areas, game programs, festivals, round dances, competitions, karting and hockey in valenki were held on weekends, and parties were celebrated at the holidays. Not all events can be attributed to the festival of the urban environment (the opening of a festive New Year tree, "Friendly meeting on ice", city athletics race, dedicated to the International Women's Day on March 8, etc.). It seems that first of all the organizers sought to mass and advertising the project itself.

The level of awareness of the project, of course, increased during the competition in the field "Children paint the city" ("My favorite city", "City of the Future") for children from 6 to 14 years old. The parents received information about the program, were motivated to participate and

⁴⁴ Komanda «Vodnik» progolosovala za vybor proekta dlya blagoustrojstva v Arhangel'ske // Pravda Severa. 2018. 29 yanvarya [The Vodnik team voted to choose a project for improvement in Arkhangelsk]URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-553zraht, свободный (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁵ Artisty Severnogo hora progolosovali za komfortnuyu sredu. [Artists of the Northern Choir voted for a comfortable environment] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 6 fevralya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-906k4kae (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian]; ZHiteli Pomor'ya prodolzhayut vybirat' terri-torii dlya blagoustrojstva. [Residents of Pomorie continue to choose territories for improvement]. *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 9 fevralya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-sjyomawb (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].

⁴⁶ Gubernator otdal golos za blagoustrojstvo skvera u hrama Aleksandra Nevskogo. [The governor gave a vote for the improvement of the park near the Church of Alexander Nevsky] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 31 yanvarya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-rc9701uz (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].

⁴⁷ Gorodskaya sreda v Severodvinske: vybor delayut pedagogi i shkol'niki [Urban environment in Severodvinsk: teachers and schoolchildren make a choice] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 26 yanvarya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-1g7p5sfh (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].; V Mirnom budut blagoustroeny gorodskie parki [City parks will be landscaped in Mirny] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 29 yanvarya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-vw17pphe (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian]; V gorodah Arhangel'skoj oblasti prodolzhaetsya golosovanie za komfortnuyu gorodskuyu sredu [Voting for a comfortable urban environment continues in cities of the Arkhangelsk region] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 2 fevralya, 2018 URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-5x54oo30 (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].

⁴⁸ Festival' gorodskoj sredy "Vyhodi gulyat'" [Festival of the urban environment "Come out for a walk"]. URL: https://dvinaland.ru/-tpv0smsk (Accessed: 12 October 2018) [In Russian].

saw the request of the authorities for a dialogue. Promoting PP "FCUE" and attracting parents to participate in the rating vote served lessons taught in all schools of the region and class hours "Formation of a comfortable urban environment". And let these channels of communication were not sufficiently massive for the coverage of citizens, but for some groups, they were the most convenient (schoolchildren, young parents). In 2017, 7,500 residents of the region took part in the project. In the rating of the All-Russian Popular Front, considering the opinions of citizens, Pomorie took the tenth place⁴⁹. In the annual Message, the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Region I. Orlov noted that "Accumulated energy of agreement cannot be lost, it must be transformed into development processes with a clear long-term perspective"⁵⁰. In 2018, city-forming enterprises were included in the improvement program: for example, in Novodvinsk "half of the funds required for the implementation of the program 3.2 million rubles were financed by APPP"⁵¹. As it was noted by N. Krivonkin, Director of the City Department of Arkhangelsk, in comparison with 2017, there were twice as many applications from citizens. "Many, probably, managed to see how to equip the city courtyard and showed activity"⁵².

After analyzing the reports of the authorities and publications in the media devoted to the implementation of the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment", we can conclude that, despite a large number of events held, the public is still not very involved in the program. The identified patterns of interaction between the authorities and society indicate the presence of behavioral strategies of stable social groups of supporters, opponents and undecided residents. The attitude of the population to the actions of the authorities will depend on the level of fears and expectations of the outcome of the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment". The analysis of legal acts and the most successful practices allows us to formulate in a generalized form a universal model of managing communications on the development of the urban environment, which is implemented in the regions of Russia. According to the common classification of J. Grunig and T. Hunt, it can be characterized as a two-sided asymmetric model. It is distinguished by the two-sided nature of the movement of information, the presence of constant feedback, but at the same time the state determines the conditions under which communication takes place and in general controls the process of information interaction more than the public (Fig. 1).

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⁴⁹ Goroda Pomor'ya stanovyatsya komfortnymi dlya prozhivaniya [Cities of Pomorie become comfortable for living] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 7 sentyabrya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-7u9kygrp (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

Poslanie Gubernatora Arhangel'skoj oblasti I. A. Orlova Arhangel'skomu oblastnomu Sobraniyu deputatov o social'no-ehkonomicheskom i obshchestvenno-politicheskom polozhenii v Arhangel'skoj oblasti, 11 aprelya 2018 goda. [Message of the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Region I. A. Orlov to the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly of Deputies on the socio-economic and socio-political situation in the Arkhangelsk Region, April 11, 2018]. URL: https://dvinaland.ru/gov/-zamaif99 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵¹ Novodvinsk — territoriya komforta [Novodvinsk - the territory of comfort] *Pravda Severa*. 2017. 21 noyabrya. URL: http://pravdasevera.ru/-ksc5rt2t (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵² Sofinansirovanie komfortu ne pomekha. [Co-financing is not an obstacle fro comfort]. *Arhangel'sk* — *gorod voinskoj slavy*. 2017. 30 noyabrya. URL: www.arhcity.ru/data/455/94_30_11_2017_AGVS.pdf (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

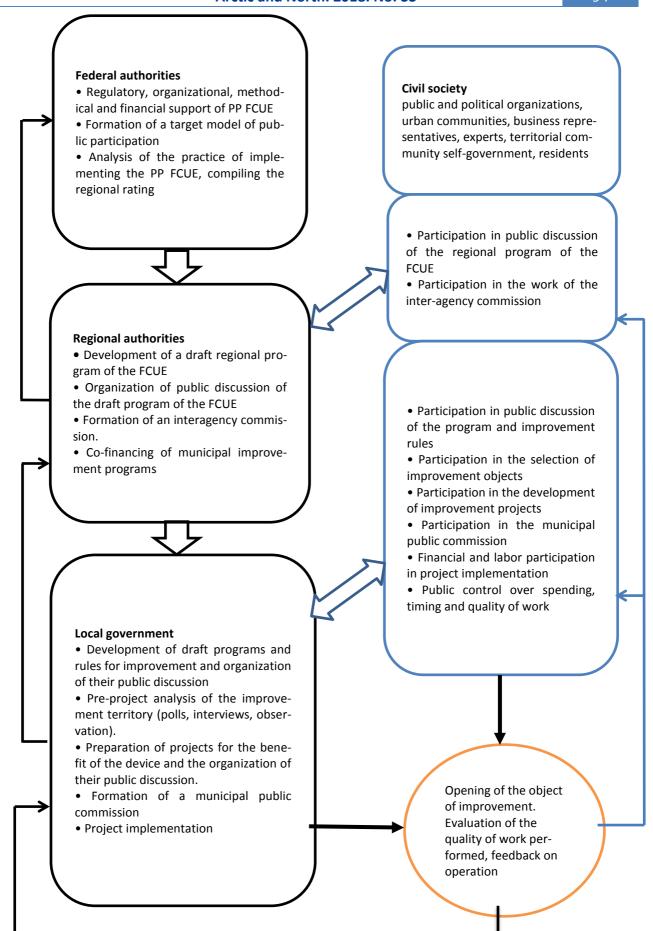


Fig 1. Model for the public communication within the FCUE project

To determine the algorithm for selecting a particular object and implementing its benefit device, this model requires decomposition (Fig. 2).

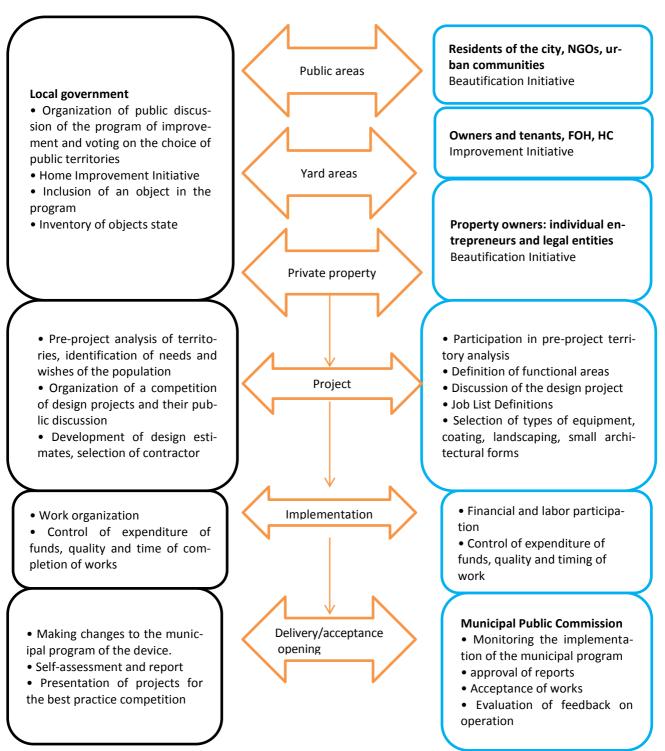


Fig. 2. The algorithm of a choice of object of improvement and project realization

The life cycle of such projects is set by the methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction and municipal rules and programs. At this level, public participation tools are disclosed in more detail. To the greatest extent, this participation turns out to be effective at the stages of selecting an object, when the most problematic areas are identified, of pre-project analysis, when public demands are revealed, and when discussing design projects.

Conclusion

The implementation of large-scale projects directly affecting the interests of the city should be based on the communicative model of management. Only under this condition can we achieve efficient spending of funds and get a result that satisfies the consumer, significantly improving the quality of life of people. The desire to create such a model is seen in the content of federal regulatory, legal acts, in the organizational and methodological support provided by the federal government. But the implementation of these mechanisms falls entirely on the shoulders of municipal authorities, and at this stage, the ideal model is divided about the daily reality of the city, its administration, and residents.

In each large municipality of the Arkhangelsk region, more than 20 municipal programs are implemented in parallel on average. Such a large number of projects devalues them, disperses forces, determines the formal attitude towards their fulfillment, and pushes them to create the appearance of work. This is already noticeable at the stage of preparation and discussion of documents — programs and improvement rules. The methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia clearly state the need to form new public institutions aimed at increasing the participation of citizens in the improvement of urban space, and that these mechanisms should be spelled out in the programs and rules of improvement. But in most municipalities, these recommendations were ignored: they were not considering in the preparation of project implementation programs, and in the improvement rules they are reflected only in three cities: Arkhangelsk, Onega, and Kotlas.

Informational support of the project also requires improvement. Obviously, without the involvement of effective information channels, it is impossible to ensure widespread public participation. Selection of the most effective information tools in each case should be determined by the specifics of local conditions and challenges.

The greatest attention of residents was caused by the rating vote on the choice of public territory for inclusion in the priority improvement program. There was much less interest in discussing draft city-wide documents. This is understandable: the information campaign for holding citywide events was brighter, richer. In many cities, it went informally and was filled with festive events. In addition, interest in the improvement of common areas is objectively higher than the interest in discussing documents.

There is a clear need for greater public involvement in project implementation mechanisms. And municipal authorities should move away from formalism when planning and conducting events. We should consider the needs of residents, local culture, and not only introduce readymade template solutions, use standard designs for improvement, which may look good, but do not reflect the identity of the territory.

The formal attitude of municipal authorities towards ensuring public participation is noticeable in the list of events held. In almost all municipal entities, it repeats the minimum that was determined by federal documents: the organization of public hearings on accepted documents

(based on the results of which there were isolated offers or no response at all), the creation of public commissions from officials and individual representatives. The 2–3 most active public organizations, the competition of children's drawings, the festival "Vihodi Gulyat" (the municipal authorities included into the report all the events that were held in the cities starting with the New and an ode to the vote on March 18, some of them do not have a relationship to the improvement of the city). Nevertheless, according to the report of the Ministry of Construction of Russia on the implementation of the priority project for 2017, the Arkhangelsk region was in the top five regions with the largest number of public engagement activities (1,578 events)⁵³. At least two parties are involved in the communication process, so it would be a mistake to evaluate the project implementation only by the actions of the authorities. The traditional problem faced by the municipal administration is the passivity of the population. The underdevelopment of civil society is manifested precisely in passivity, in the absence of initiative and a sense of responsibility for themselves, for their loved ones, their city, their country.

Moral and psychological condition for an active dialogue between the government and society is mutual trust. If the government is not confident in supporting its initiatives, does not expect a response to its initiatives, is afraid of criticism, deliberately expects a passive reaction from the population, then the dialogue becomes impossible. If the population does not believe in the effectiveness of projects initiated by the authorities, does not believe that their opinion is seriously interested in the authorities, does not feel that the authorities represent their interests, then the interaction is also hampered.

The risk factors predicted in the passport of the priority project appeared in the process of its implementation. The low level of community involvement hampers the effective implementation of the improvement program. The target model turned out to be a hard-to-reach ideal. It was developed based on the experience of the region, with an initially high level of urban amenities, high levels of funding and public participation. This model should be adopted by regional and municipal authorities considering local conditions. The reality of northern societies differs significantly from the universal standard. Involving the public may require additional efforts by the authorities. Loads of municipal authorities, low interest and lack of necessary competencies make it challenging to find the most effective communication tools. It is needed to increase the level of trust and not to limit ourselves to minimal point measures, but to develop and implement a holistic model of communicative management on the development of urban space.

A prerequisite for the development of a workable model is to conduct a full-scale sociological study, in which, using qualitative and quantitative methods, the expectations of various social

⁵³ Otchyot o realizacii prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" v 2017 godu, p. 4.1. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Minstroya Rossii. [Report on the implementation of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment" in 2017, p. 4.1. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: http://www.minstroyrf.ru/upload /iblock/f66/ITOG- 13.04.2018-Godovoy- otchet-po- gorsrede.pdf (Accessed: 09 October 2018).[In Russian]

groups and the opinion of experts will be revealed. This task will be implemented in the next stage of our research.

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