DEFINITION OF URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS IN RUSSIAN CITIES

Abstract: Urban regeneration is extremely important process for Russian cities, which faced to the challenges of post-industrial economy. In an attempt, to explain needs of urban regeneration in Russian megacities author analyzed the social and economic trends and some historic features of Russian cities development. The article identified the key areas for regeneration such as the regeneration of historic core, the regeneration of the urban environment due to the massive constructions of sport facilities and associated infrastructure and the complex regeneration through the implementation of key spatial strategies and several projects. In conclusions author summarizes the main task of regeneration projects carried out in Russia and offers some recommendations to improve the implementation process.

Keywords: Post-soviet cities, Russian planning policy, social and economic development, urban regeneration, urban regeneration tools.

Introduction

Urban regeneration for Russian cities is urgent. The Soviet model of urban development that meets the needs of the planned economy cannot be effective in the market realities. Cities operating in the global competitive field for residents, and the development of financial and administrative resources, are the drivers of the economy.

Russian researchers poorly study the regeneration of the city as a process. There is a saturation of information and experience through the implementation of various aims and objectives of case studies attempting to consider what will be done below.

The objectives of this article is to identify the main conceptual approaches to planning and implementation of urban regeneration projects, tak-
ing into account the socio-economic situation of the Russian regional centers in the present, as well as the use of different urban regeneration instruments in the Russian reality.

1. Social and economic context of urban regeneration in Russian cities

Urban regeneration is a complicated process that inevitably occurs in every city. Undoubtedly all metropolises have faced three groups of challenges: environmental, social and institutional. Russian cities are no exception. In the soviet period, new areas were settled based on the principle of inexhaustible human resources, i.e. that the population in urban areas will grow, regardless of the external and internal factors. The government planned new cities also in poorly developed areas, which required significant financial resources. City planners weren’t considered highly important for the population parameters: size, location and status of the city [Nefedova 2014].

Cities and rural areas, depending on the population for the current period are divided into groups in accordance with Table 1. It is the most popular city classification that is fixed in the Russian Rulebook: “Urban planning. Planning and construction of urban and rural areas”.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Population, thousands of people</th>
<th>Rural areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The largest</td>
<td>&gt; 1000</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td>500 – 1000</td>
<td>&gt; 5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>250 – 500</td>
<td>3 – 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big</td>
<td>100 – 250</td>
<td>1 – 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>50 – 100</td>
<td>0,2 – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>20 – 50</td>
<td>0,05 – 0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 – 20</td>
<td>&lt; 0,05</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&lt; 10</td>
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</table>

It may be noted that the classification of Russian cities is different from that adopted in Europe. Following the results of the National Population Census 2010, 1100 Russian cities had a population of more than 100 thousand inhabitants.

Another classification connects with the status of the city. The problem of city status is widely discussed in Russia by many authors (incl. Nefedova, Zybarevich, etc.). Zubarevich offers a hierarchy of cities depending on their socio-economic position in post-soviet space [Zybarevich 2010]:

- Federal cities of Moscow and Saint-Petersburg with their agglomerations\(^1\).
- Cities with a population of more than 1 million people and cities close to them in terms of population. Their agglomeration advantages in the background of the federal capital are much weaker, as is the concentration of human capital.
- Other large cities, capitals of the regions with a population of more than 200 thousand people, developing under the influence of status and concentrations factors.
- Mono-industry cities with leading enterprises, mainly export-oriented. Compared to the majority of municipalities, their development provides higher budgets and incomes for the population, but with the absence of sustainable characteristics due to the influence of world prices for raw materials and semi-finished products.

Thus, in Russia there is a constant migration of people associated with the move from city to city, in accordance with the hierarchy. According to research, the social and economic success of the city directly depends on its size. In 2000-2010, about 60% or 70% of the smallest cities were ascribed to the economically depressive group [Nefedova 2013]. That is why the process of population concentration in the largest centers has not completed yet.

The classification proposed by Zubarevich points to the main socio-economic problems of the city, which pose a challenge to their development to date. Thus, both Moscow and St. Petersburg are so large and so successful in economic terms that their development has federal importance. Table 2 shows the socio-economic situation in Moscow and St. Petersburg among the regions of the Russian Federation.

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\(^1\) In the Russian territory system, federal cities have the same set of rights and duties as other regions and republics. These cities have their own management and budget system, which differ from other cities. Sevastopol is also a federal city, but its social and economic conditions are not comparable with Moscow and Saint Petersburg. This city has political reasons for this status.
Thus, these cities are not comparable in terms of development with any other regional center. Compared to Moscow – a city with a giant super-concentration of resources, St. Petersburg loses on all counts, but there is a substantial isolation from other cities. Misalignment of the Russian economy in the direction of centralization reduces the possibility of a concentration of resources for other cities.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Moscow</th>
<th>Saint-Petersburg</th>
<th>Other Russian regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>88.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross regional product</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>73.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments in fixed assets</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget revenues</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Calculated by the author based on the Russian Federation federal portal of statistical data – URL: [www.gsk.ru].

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Figure 1. Social and economic characteristics of the largest Russian cities, 2015
Source: Calculated by the author based on the Russian Federation federal portal of statistical data – URL, [www.gsk.ru] (Figs. 1 and 3).

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Megacities in Russia also have similar socio-economic characteristics (see Fig. 1).

Uniform development of major Russian cities due to their regional status contributes to population growth due to migration flows. Accordingly, economic activity in cities is also increasing. In terms of investment Voronezh differs; however, this occurs because of the lack of investment indicator for fixed assets undertaken by private enterprises located in the city. At the same time, the rate of budget revenues does not show sharp differences.

Medium and small cities lose in this competition. A variety of indicators and the number of cities in Russia does not allow for more detailed analysis of the conditions of their social and economic development. However, based on existing studies of the socio-economic development of Russian cities, there is another classification, which is based on the strategic perspectives of urban development [Kafidov 2014]:

1. City leaders with great production and socio-cultural potential, the development of which is advisable as agglomeration centers (Kemerovo, Omsk, Irkutsk).
2. Cities with good planning conditions for the placement of large industrial complexes (Tobolsk, Abakan, Nakhodka).
3. Emerging and promising interregional centers in the system of inter-settlement service, which do not have a favorable urban condition and need to strengthen the economic base (Gorno-Altaisk, Anadyr).
4. Cities that do not have favorable conditions for the development of urban development of new industries (Divnogorsk, Pevek).
5. Cities with planning conditions for the placement of individual large enterprises (Berdsk, Birobidzhan).
6. Cities – centers of the mining industry (Surgut, Norilsk).
7. Cities – closed territorial entities with special conditions for the conversion and development of scientific and industrial complexes (Seversk, Zelenogorsk, Zvezdnyi).

In conclusion, it should be said that Russian cities are no exception; the problems of regeneration of urban areas are highly relevant to them. However, disparities in territorial development and the “slant” of the economic system in the direction of centralization overtly distinguish the process of regeneration of Russian towns and cities from Europe and America. Federal cities, the size and resources of which are comparable to the size and resources of smaller European countries have more opportunities for regeneration. Small cities, some of which are mono-industry and closed cities, have a limited set of recovery scenarios.
1. Regeneration of Russian cities: present issues and needs

Cities are eager to keep their populations. The success of this process depends on two key factors: the concentration of production and urban space variety [Zybarevich 2014]. Moreover, if concentration is understood as an economic term, it means growth in the number of companies and lower overall costs for their functioning in the cities. Urban space variety in this article refers to the economic, social and, most importantly, the environmental diversity of the urban space.

The provision of environmental variety is one of the main issues in Russian reality. In the Soviet period urbanization meant the same thing as industrialization [Martyanov, Rudenko 2012]. The industrial cities’ development was outpaced by the development of living culture in the cities, which resulted in the degradation of the urban environment and its marginalization from the need to change the urban development model, as dictated by global context.

The Soviet model of “quick urbanization”, where the basis for urban development had become the operational and political problems of the country, rather than potential and the needs of the people, had led to the development of mono-centric and highly specialized Ford type cities. Urban problems were solved on the “conveyor” principle. People were considered by the government only as a work force, they were massively involved in the industry production. The main problem was delivery them to the factories. Requirements to housing had also changed: the facade architecture has ceased to be important. Earlier it designed to show the social status of the owner. Now the workers were “equal”

Figure 2. The modern maps of Volgograd, Perm and Samara cities
Source: [http://planetolog.com/].
in the eyes of the government, and the housing began to build mass, creating a short period the typical residential areas. In Ford type cities, development of diverse infrastructure could not take place, which is the source of the autonomous development of the metropolis [Martyanov, Rudenko 2012].

Also during the Second World War the transfer of military production began from central and southern Russia to the Urals, which led to the emergence of industrial zones in the center of Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, and Nizhny Tagil. When the “iron curtain” fell, and Soviet cities were opened to world markets, many factories, including military production, became unprofitable. Cities where production facilities were at the center had many “urban voids”; which are potential regeneration areas nowadays.

Soviet urban concepts also reflected on the modern planning organization in the largest cities, such as Volgograd, Samara and Perm (Fig. 2). This has resulted in additional infrastructural and environmental problems in these cities. The intensity of development processes on the territory reflects the emergence of a new urban policy focus: the transition from these expansionary production functions, the development of new areas of the city, the slow rate of growth of the urban population, increasing the extent of engineering and technical communications, and finding the most effective economic forms of urban development [Ushkova 2014].

In this way, urban regeneration experience is extremely useful for Russian cities, which must reach a qualitatively new level of development. In the literature, the post-Soviet city is described as a group of cities that has its own characteristic features and similar urban morphology. The post-industrial economy poses new challenges to urban development. Only the effect of adequate regulation can withdraw Russian cities from the current situation.

3. Conceptual approaches of urban regeneration planning: the cases of the largest Russian regional centers of Ural, Siberia and Volga regions

Urban regeneration is a term used to denote both physical interventions and social, cultural, and economic processes. The British Government defined “regeneration” as “a range of activities aimed at counteracting the economic, social and physical decay of urban territories, carried out with the government’s assistance”.

There are a lot of successful examples of urban regeneration in such cities as Rotterdam, Hamburg, Bilbao, etc. Russian experience of urban regen-
eration is not so rich, but various tools that can be used in the Russian reality might be interesting for this case.

In this study, analysis of urban regeneration projects was held in the largest Russian cities, which are also regional centers: Samara, Kazan, Perm, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk and Krasnoyarsk. These cities are similar in socio-economic conditions and spatial structure (see Fig. 3), as was shown above.

However, dynamics of the real estate market are also interesting (Fig. 4). The indicator input for residential areas indicates how many square meters of housing were put into operation in 2015. This indicates the stability and efficiency of the industry, as well as the attractiveness of housing in the region. The number of building permits issued on the said activity by developers and real estate developers in the city is shown. The latter figure, the cost per square meter of housing, conveys the affordability of housing for citizens.

Among the considered cities, Novosibirsk has the highest rate of new housing, and the average price per square meter. At the same time, the indicators examined cities quite evenly, with no apparent regularity and without significant disparities in the development of the real estate market. Thus, urban

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**Figure 3. Functional zoning in some Russian megacities**

Source: Sketches designed by author and based on the city’s general plans.
regeneration in any of these cities is not of a complex nature and is expressed in the form of individual projects to transform the territory.

**Samara**

Samara is currently implementing a major regeneration project in the historic city center within the framework of Strategy-2025. The main objective of the project is to form creative public space in the post-industrial city, including promising activities (cultural, business, congress and a forum for activity) and creative urban communities. This project is interesting for allocating 6 subsystems: culture, business and trade, transport, type of building in blocks, public spaces and facilities, and a flexible management system. For each of the subsystems an independent study of resources was conducted, which identified the major quality characteristics and values of the subsystem, showing a model of the interaction with other subsystems. Also, the ways of resources consolidation can occur for the benefit of specific subsystems and improve the efficiency of urban regeneration project. Bottom-up design is the main principle of the concept. Interestingly, the division into subsystem is not connected to the distribution of powers of authority. To achieve the objectives of each subsystem requires the work of several structural units of local government, as well as residents of the city and the expert community.

![Figure 4. The real estate market terms of Russian cities in 2015](image-url)
Samara regional government administers the largest part of the city’s territory, more than 96%. This suggests the need for close cooperation between the region and the city. However, in the prepared regeneration project, the bet is placed on the active citizens, non-profit organizations and project office, which is the intermediary between all actors in the process of regeneration.

The local government of Samara developed rules of reconstruction, which apply to blocks included in the historic core of the city. Each block is a separately planned project that entitles realization by the developer who won the competition, together with the local and regional government (see Fig. 5).

Perm

Urban regeneration in the city of Perm has a complex character, expressed in a set of strategies for spatial development and a set of key city projects. The main principles are enshrined in the master plan of the city, which was developed in 2010. Perm is a city ready to jump into the urban engine class of cities and to realize the strategy of smart city. The main objective of engine-cities is to improve the quality of life and attract qualified specialists [Slepukhina 2014], which is achieved through the development of major projects in the modernization of the urban fabric (Perm key projects in the Master Plan), the development of services and higher education, and the establishment of international logistics hubs. The Master Plan of Perm is an information instrument of urban regeneration, such as the general plan.
Yekaterinburg

Yekaterinburg has become the example of a city where industrial enterprises are located outside the city. Industrial zones cover about 40% of the urban area. Interestingly, some of the owners of the enterprises themselves are investors in the process of regeneration of the city center. Thus, the company “Uralobuv” on the former industrial area intends to build the residential complex “University” [Demidova 2013]. At the same time, the dysfunctional industrial space, such as in port terminals or former industrial areas, etc. requires a different use. An example of this can also be found in Yekaterinburg, in the former power plant building that currently houses a historical and architectural museum.

From an instrumental point of view, development in Yekaterinburg used regulation and incentive tools. Regulation is carried out through changes in land use and development rules, the general plan of the city, as well as through the establishment of special requirements for the areas in which there are objects of cultural heritage; this occurred in the case of the transfer of a non-ferrous metals processing plant. The owners of the plant made an investment plan estimating the transfer of assets as well as losses from the temporary suspension of production, the cost of organizing the delivery of workers and recruitment at the new location. The development of projects of the liberated territory was estimated at 50 million dollars. At the site of the former plant was supposed to be an elite multifunctional residential complex that would bring $400 million profit [Dobrynina 2014]. However, the Yekaterinburg city administration had imposed a ban on the demolition of some buildings that are monuments, so that the place was partially restored and redeveloped into loft offices with a dominant function. Given the crisis phenomena in the Russian economy, the real estate data to date do not allow for coverage of the investment to transfer the plant outside the city. The lack of mechanisms to secure the investor’s intentions for the development of the area is one of the problems creating disincentive.

On the other hand, in some cases the local government takes part in development projects that are based on the public private partnership principle.

Krasnoyarsk

The case study of Krasnoyarsk city is also interesting for urban regeneration research. This city, like Perm, is an urban engine, regional capital and one of the largest cities in the region of Siberia. The peculiarity of the city regeneration process is the dominant role of federal government in this process.
The city master plan is closely linked with the upcoming mega-event – Winter Universiade 2019. Involvement of the federal government in the development of the city led to the construction of many sports facilities, which have become the impetus for the regeneration of the urban environment (see Fig. 6).

The main objective of the project implemented by the regeneration is to reduce the costs of transportation in the city [Leventceva 2016] and turn it into a major logistics hub (by development of rapid transit systems in the metropolitan area and the airports Emelyanovo and Cheremshanka). Regeneration of the city is due to the federal government’s key selection of the city for a mega-event. [Herrschel 2014]. The federal government uses the situation in Krasnoyarsk to achieve their own goals, which are difficult to implement in other ways. In this case, it increases the attractiveness of the city by its capital and talented workforce.

Kazan

It is rather difficult to estimate the results of urban regeneration process in Krasnoyarsk because the Universiade isn’t completed, it will be held in 2019. In contrast to Krasnoyarsk the Universiade in Kazan is already a past event and can be assessed.

In a broad sense, this event is a large-scale event for event tourism. In addition, the plan of preparation for the Universiade includes the concept
of cultural software, providing a variety of tourist and sightseeing programs with a visit to the most important tourist centers of the Republic of Tatarstan. Modernization of the urban environment includes the construction of several objects:

- 64 transport infrastructure objects, including 22 railway platforms, the reconstructed Kazan International Airport, Terminal 1-A built.
- The development of metro lines; 4 metro stations built; three new „Rusich” trains purchased.
- Road transport network 11 traffic interchanges, 19 sites of the road network; 73 streets repaired; 23 roads, 41 new pedestrian crossings built; a new bridge over the Kazanka River.
- The construction of an intermodal railway line from the station to the airport:
- 64 modern multi-functional objects. Of these, 29 sports complexes of the Universiade Village built at the expense of the federal budget, 34 objects built at the expense of the republic and the city and 7 event objects developed by private investors.

In addition to the Universiade facades of 240 houses located in the streets included in the Universiade routes were renovated. Of importance is the inclusion of the construction of a complex development strategy for the city, which also has an interesting structure. This entails the formation of a pool of flagship projects ranging from social projects (the creation of points of attraction for the population, which address the most pressing social problems) to the creation of technological and creative clusters.

**Novosibirsk**

Another interesting experience can be found in the city of Novosibirsk. The general plan of the city provides comprehensive reconstruction of the territory of the city and all the subsystems to ensure its sustainable development as a major strategic goal. Resources for complex regeneration of the city will become: municipal programs and private investment projects, and the rational use of infrastructures, roads and urban areas.

Municipal authorities also proposed the development of the city center with the strengthening of its representation and socio-cultural functions, the formation of new socio-cultural and business centers of the city, at regional and international levels (the Ob River embankment, entrance units). “New city” needs dictate new requirements to the transport infrastructure. The project proposes the creation of a city transport system with the primary development of
high-speed highways in continuous motion to form a radial-ring scheme of road network in conjunction with the federal highways for external transport.

Novosibirsk, like Moscow, Paris and other agglomerations, is also developing a “Big Novosibirsk” plan. Formation of this agglomeration, the first in Siberia, will allow the use of the factor “status”, which is mentioned above, as an instrument of attraction for residents in Novosibirsk, i.e. the formation of a common economic and social space. Such concentration of resources will allow the full realization of the idea for the general plan of the city, which is the complex reconstruction of the entire urban area. According to the plan, Novosibirsk agglomeration is located in the territory within a radius of 50 kilometers from the borders of Novosibirsk.

Conclusions – comparison of the cases

As we can see, the experience of Russian cities is varied. However, generalizing it, there are several key areas for regeneration:

• The regeneration of the historic core;
• The regeneration of the urban environment due to the massive construction of sports facilities and associated infrastructure;
• The complex regeneration of urban environment through the implementation of key spatial strategies and several pilot projects.

Respectively, each direction involves various group members. The transformation of the city center is interesting due to the necessity of creating an attractive architectural appearance and functional content that meets the needs of a competitive environment. These interventions, according to Russian legislation, are to be implemented by the local government. Implementation of mega-events is a federal task. The federal and regional authorities control urban regeneration processes during mega-events (Olympic Games, Universiade, and the World Cup). Integrated urban regeneration is a task that belongs to the group of “planned activities”, which is being implemented jointly by the city and regional authorities.

3. Applicability of different urban regeneration instruments in Russian reality

The different conceptual approaches to urban regeneration necessitate the use of different instruments for implementation. Within the framework of implementation policy, researches use the “tool approach” and denote five tools of government actions [Monchaux, Schuster 1997]: ownership and op-
eration, regulation, incentives and disincentives, establishment and enforcement of legal rights, and information.

Advanced tools of urban regeneration can be divided into general and specific ones. Common tools include master plans, master plans of cities, land use rights and buildings, and comprehensive programs of socio-economic development.

**Master Plan** is the strategic spatial planning document for the city. Such planning is long-term and focuses on a limited number of goals and objectives. Developing a strategic master plan is important for public authorities, but it requires the active participation of experts and citizens. Master plans are present in Perm, Kazan and Krasnoyarsk. The last two were developed in relation to the conduct of mega-events. In terms of functional purpose, master plans in Russia are not only planning tools, but tools and information for citizens, as they are readily available and written in the language of ordinary people. In the city of Perm, the master plan was developed by the Dutch project office KCAP jointly with the regional and local government. The master plans of Kazan and Krasnoyarsk were developed by the federal government and agreed with the regional government.

**General Plan** is the official planning document containing information on the functional zoning and placement of objects of federal, regional and local importance. This document is mandatory for all cities, regardless of size and status.

**The Rules of Land Use and Development** establishes special land use terms on the historical center territory. We can say that in Russia, local governments and authorities play a key role in the management processes of urban regeneration planning. Land Use and Development – the main document of territorial planning and urban planning – is very important, but it is not the only tool for determining the strategic direction of the renovation of degraded and disturbed areas [Finka, Krasilnikova 2014].

As one can see, there is no document dealing with urban regeneration. At the same time there is an urgent need for a holistic approach to regeneration policy, the integration of environmental, social and economic scale, and the nature of urban development in the reintegration process involving the city’s development strategy. The Rules of Land Use and Development is the only regulation instrument of urban regeneration.

Of course, the considered system is simplified and does not include property relations on the ground, as well as tax law. It is worth noting that most of the land within the city is owned by the local governments (about 80-
90% of the territory). Therefore, they are not excluded from the discussions, but rather their role is sometimes reduced to a minimum.

Since each of the Russian regional centers has involved different participants, different tools and implementation of urban regeneration projects, they can be divided into three areas of regeneration.

Regeneration projects of the city center in Samara and Yekaterinburg are projects of regional significance. In Samara, the expert community is widely involved in the regeneration process. The city created the Institute of Regional Development, which developed the concept of not only the transformation of territories, but also holds lectures and seminars, and publishes books and articles. In Yekaterinburg there exists a strong community of experts; the city not only has a number of non-governmental organizations who are interested in architecture and urbanism, but also the largest Architecture and Art University in the Urals. The community participate in the discussion of regeneration projects as experts and as performers included in the workflow.

In Kazan and Krasnoyarsk, as noted above, there is a level of participation in urban regeneration. The implementation of projects were organized by an autonomous non-profit organization, the founders of the Russian Federation, international sports organizations, and regional governments and local authorities. These organizations plan, coordinate activities, and provide a wide range of powers to the newly built facilities management. However, these organizations do not consider local conditions and urban interests.

In Perm, local and regional authorities in close relationship are implementing Novosibirsk and regeneration projects. In Perm, in 2010-2012 regional authorities were interested in these projects, and there was a stormy preparation for their implementation. However, the change of the political elite led to the stagnation of all projects. In Novosibirsk, the participation of regional authorities was due to the large associated infrastructure projects. And in fact, and in another case, in the cities were adopted sectorial programs of socio-economic development.

Thus, regeneration projects implemented in Russian cities have different root causes and toolkits. Mostly local governments regulate the activity of real estate developers through general plans, master plans and the rules of land use and development. It is characteristic of Russian cities that most of the territory is municipal property, which sets the stage for ownership and operation.
Conclusions

Consider the experience of Russian urban regeneration diverse. It is possible to summarize the main task of regeneration projects carried out in Russia as:

- Renovation of the historic core.
- Reduction in the cost of transportation in the metropolitan area.
- Preservation of the architectural and planning features of the city.
- Intensification of the use of the city.

Participants in regeneration projects can be federal and regional authorities, local government, private investors and residents. Federal authorities’ participation in large-scale projects for Russian mega-events with prior regeneration of the urban environment follows a trend: the Universiade in Kazan in 2013, Olympic Games in Sochi in 2014, and the World Cup 2018, which will be held in 13 Russian cities, and finally, winter Universiade in Krasnoyarsk.

In cases involving the federal government, the dominant group of instruments relates to ownership and operation, since most of the facilities exist as federal property, as well as built infrastructure.

The regional authorities also realize their interests in city regeneration through the ownership and operation of land, as well as regulatory instruments. In Russia, the issue of preservation of cultural heritage is regulated at the level of regional government.

Local governments have the broadest pool of instruments including: the possession and use of land through the regulation of the general plan, master plan and land use and development; and the stimulation of investor interest by offering tax credits or the use of a public-private partnership mechanism. Also, in the considered projects there is a focus on building awareness. Almost every project has its own website on the Internet, as well as a program of activities for the generation of ideas and discussion of the project.

At the same time, the issue of protection of rights remains open. Development of the established, allocated and enforced tools for legal rights is currently a priority.

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