



ANALYTICAL REPORT

For the Project

«Increasing Ministry of Reintegration Potential in Providing Coordination for Programmes of Conflict Emergence Risk Assessment in Communities and Facilitation of Local Development Potential for Strengthening of Social Cohesion of Communities that Suffered a Negative Impact of Armed Conflict»

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Overview of Amalgamated Territorial Communities in accordance with the Indicators of the Guidelines

Starobilsk Amalgamated Territorial Community (Starobilsk ATC)

According to the response of the Starobilsk City Council given for our inquiry, the total population of the Starobilsk City Territorial Community of Luhansk Oblast is 28,458 people, including 21,268 internally displaced persons. The number of veterans in the community is 3522 people. Almost 75% of the population of this local community are internally displaced persons (IDPs).

There are no established communities of national minorities or indigenous communities in Starobilsk. As for religious buildings, there are 3 churches and 1 monastery (nunnery) on the territory of Starobilsk city territorial community.

According to the answer of the Starobilsk City Council to the question about the local government's employees trained in the field of conflict prevention and mediation, there are three (3) employees who undertook such a training course.

There are no local programs for the reintegration of persons who served in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and former members of the military formations of Ukraine.

There are several donor programs in the community. In particular, the functions of attracting and supporting investments to the Starobilsk community are entrusted to the Department of Territorial Development of the Executive Committee of the Starobilsk City Council. According to the Regulations of this Department, it is under multiple subordination (to the mayor, deputy mayor), and attraction (and support) of investments is only one of its functions.

There are training and education programmes for employees of structural units of the Starobilsk City Council responsible for the formation and implementation of the investment policy. Among such activities: online and offline training sessions from international organizations, training / educational programmes for employees at the Luhansk National University of Taras Shevchenko and at the Educational and Scientific Institute of Public Administration, Administration, and Postgraduate Education.

The Starobilsk City Council signed a memorandum with the Ministry of Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine on the implementation of the project "Eastern Ukraine: Reunification, Revival (Project 3B)".

The Starobilsk City Territorial Community has become one of 20 partner communities that will improve social and medical services for residents with the support of the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ).

In cooperation with GIZ, the Starobilsk City Council procure the necessary equipment to the community's medical facilities.

According to the answer to our inquiry, with the support of the engaged experts the fol-

Following strategic documents have been drafted and approved: the Strategy for the Development of the Municipal Non-Profit Enterprise "Starobilsk Multidisciplinary Hospital" of the Starobilsk City Council of Luhansk Region in the context of the medical system reform; the Strategy for Development of the Municipal Non-Commercial Enterprise "Starobilsk Centre for Primary Health Care" of Luhansk Region in the context of the medical system reform; the Strategy for the Development of Social Care of the Starobilsk City Territorial Community for 2021-2026.

The implementation of the project "Help Is Always Near" has been launched within the competition of pilot projects for the provision of social services in partner communities of Donetsk and Luhansk regions with the support of the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ).

Also, according to the City Council, the Starobilsk City Territorial Community was selected by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Ukraine to participate in the project "Development of Communities' Investment Profiles and Local Investment Attraction Framework".

The Starobilsk community is also among the 16 communities selected by UNICEF to facilitate the development of social services for families and children over the next two years. The project will be implemented with the support of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development through the German Development Bank (KfW).

The city authorities have no information on the average monthly income in the community.

There is also no information on state and local credit programs implemented in the community and their budget support, as well as on state programs that need co-financing from the local budget and for which there are insufficient funds.

It is noted that in the territory of Starobilsk City Territorial Community there is no social and temporary housing for people who belong to vulnerable groups.

There is one medical institution – Starobilsky Centre for Primary Health Care which is 91% staffed but has 0 beds.

The number of signed declarations with the family doctors – 37615.

According to the city council, approximately 68% of the population is vaccinated against COVID-19.

The Starobilsk Territorial Community has 16 secondary education (grade 1-11) institutions with 3,355 students and 326 teachers. There are also 16 preschool institutions (kindergartens) in the community, including 951 pupils and 123 pedagogical staff.

There are 28 cultural institutions on the territory of Starobilsk city territorial community:

- 1 Starobilsk Art School;
- Municipal Institution "Culture and Recreation Park";
- Municipal Institution "Starobilsk City House of Culture named after Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko", which includes 11 structural subdivisions in rural areas;
- Starobilsk Public Library, which includes 13 rural subdivisions.

According to the information provided by the Starobilsk Employment Center, statistics on the number of unemployed in the Starobilsk city community are not kept, thus it is impossible to determine the number of unemployed. At the same time, the problem with an absence of data on unemployment and the number of employed people is reflected in *the*

Strategy for Economic Development of Starobilsk until 2025.

According to the data provided by the Starobilsk District Department of the National Police, in 2019-2021 no cases of violence caused by political, national, religious, social, or gender motives were registered in the Starobilsk community.

There were also no cases of genocide, arbitrary detention, illegal imprisonment, and abduction.

During 2019-2021, 10 suicides or suicide attempts were registered.

There is no information on peaceful protests and/or demonstrations and their causes in the Starobilsk city territorial community (no record is kept).

The statistics for 2019 – 2021 on recorded/registered cases of corruption in Starobilsk city community is as follows:

- According to Article 191 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Appropriation, mismanagement of property, or taking it by abuse of office) – 4 cases;
- Art. 320 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Violation of the established rules of circulation of narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances, their analogues, or precursors) – 2 cases;
- Art. 357 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Theft, damage, misappropriation, extortion of documents, stamps, seals, or taking them by fraud or abuse of office) – 1 case;
- Art. 354 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Bribery of an employee of an enterprise, institution, or organization) – 2/1 cases;
- Art. 364 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Abuse of power or official position) – 3 cases;
- Art. 364-1 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Abuse of power by an official of a legal entity of private law, regardless of organizational and legal form) – 2 cases;
- Art. 369 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Offer, promise, or provision of illegal benefit to an official) – 3 cases.

In addition, it should be noted that there has been a tendency for late submission of declarations of persons authorized to perform state or local government functions last year among such authorized persons of Starobilsk Territorial Community. This information is contained in the *Unified State [Register](#) of Persons that Committed Corruption or Corruption-Related Offenses*.

The register also contains information on 2 persons who hold positions in municipal / communal service companies or structural subdivisions located on the territory of the Starobilsk City Territorial Community and who were also convicted for receiving illegal benefits.

According to the Open Budget web portal, the total budget of the Starobilsk Territorial Community for 2021 is UAH 363.5 million. As of the end of October this year, only 66% of the budget was used.

Henichesk Amalgamated Territorial Community (Henichesk ATC)

According to the Henichesk City Council, the total population of the Henichesk Territorial Community is 58,652, of whom 2,760 (almost 5%) are internally displaced persons (IDPs). There are also 595 veterans living in the community. Within ATC there are 79 communities, including 6 national minority communities and 6 indigenous communities. There are also 60 religious buildings and 60 registered religious communities. Local government's employees were not trained in conflict prevention and mediation.

There are no local reintegration programs for persons who served in the Armed Forces of Ukraine or military formations of Ukraine.

The Henichesk Territorial Community is participation in UN's Public Security and Social Cohesion Programme.

The average monthly revenue to the community budget (including transfers) in 2021 is UAH 42.7 million.

There is no information on the income of the population in the community.

There is one credit program in the community – "Your Own House" for 2021-2022. The purpose of the program is to improve housing and living conditions of the population of Henichesk City Territorial Community, to further implement a state policy on infrastructural development of settlements, to create favourable conditions for the construction industry and related industries, and to increase self-employment and livelihoods of ATC residents.

Budget support is 1.2 million UAH for 2021-2022.

There is also no social or temporary housing for persons from vulnerable groups in the community.

There are 35 treatment and prevention facilities on the territory of the Henichesk Community: the Central Hospital, the Centre for Primary Health Care which includes 13 outpatient clinics and 20 first-aid stations. The total number of doctors in the Henichesk Centre for Primary Health Care is 27 people, or 4.6 per 10,000 population, and the average number of paramedics is 116, or 22.0 per 10,000 population.

A number of doctors at the Central Hospital – 46, paramedics – 195.

The number of beds in medical institutions is 205, the average occupancy is 169.3 days. There are 51,027 signed declarations with family doctors in the community.

16,715 residents of the community were vaccinated against COVID-19, which is only 28% of the total population.

There are 29 preschools (kindergartens), 26 schools, and 3 institutions of professional technical education in the community. The number of scientific and pedagogical workers is 769, and the number of students/pupils is 6,987. There are also 49 cultural institutions of communal ownership in the community.

As for the economic situation, according to the [Program of Socio-Economic and Cultural Development of the City of Henichesk in 2020](#), the minimum wage from January 1 amounted to UAH 4,723, which is UAH 550 or 13.2% more than in 2019.

[According to the Henichesk district branch of the Kherson regional employment Centre](#), the number of unemployed in the community in 2019 was 995, in 2020 – 948 people, at the beginning of 2021 – 1177, and at the end of 2021 – 659. Taking into account the Centre's response to our inquiry, during 2021, the number of unemployed has almost halved.

In 2019, 24 people were directed by The Employment Centre to study for professions and 291 people were sent to study on educational programs.

In 2020, 13 people were directed by The Employment Centre to study for professions and 144 people were sent to study on educational programs.

In 2021, 20 people were directed by The Employment Centre to study for professions and 194 to study on educational programs.

School for Policy Analysis have sent an inquiry to the Henichesk Police Department regarding the following issues:

- Statistics on the facts of violence (hate crimes) caused by political, national, religious, social, gender motives;
- Statistics on cases of genocide and unauthorized detention (illegal imprisonment, abduction);
- Statistics on suicides and attempted suicides;
- Statistics on peaceful protests and/or demonstrations and their causes;
- Statistics on cases of corruption among local authorities (both local governments and others);

This inquire remained unanswered.

We also monitored the Internet and social media for information on the level of crime in the Henichesk ATC.

[According](#) to the Head of the Henichesk Local Prosecutor's Office, in 2020 the crime level decreased in the territory of Henichesk district. It is noted that in 2019 the crime level / rate reached 76%, and as of July 2020 – 67%. The prosecutor also noted that almost 58% of all crimes committed in the Genichesk district are thefts.

At the same time, the Kherson [media](#) noted that the crime level in the Kherson region is higher than the average in Ukraine.

In the Henichesk ATC, there is a problem of late submission of declarations of a person authorized to perform the functions of the state or local self-government for the past year. Information on this is contained in the Unified State [Register](#) of Persons that Committed Corruption or Corruption-Related Offenses. Similarly, there was a case of failure to report, untimely notification of significant changes in property status, or violation of the requirements of financial control by the military commissar of the Henichesk District Military Commissariat.

It is also worth noting two cases of acceptance of an offer, promise, or receipt of an illegal benefit by an official.

Research Methodology

The comprehensive study of the Starobilsk and Henichesk amalgamated territorial communities (ATC) was aimed at finding out the communities' levels of social resilience and cohesion. Thus, it was focused on identifying points of tension and (potential) conflict issues and attitudes present in these ATCs and among their residents. Methodologically, the study was based on a qualitative approach. In particular, obtaining information during focus group discussions with community residents and interviews with representatives of certain groups – community activists, internally displaced persons, local government officials, employees of educational or medical institutions, entrepreneurs, veterans etc. The research tools (i. e., guides for semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions) were designed based in the indicators mentioned in the Guidelines.

One (1) focus group and ten (10) semi-structured interviews were conducted in each community. The empirical stage of the research (recruiting of participants and conducting discussions and interviews) was carried out by the sociological research agency Info Sapiens. Ordinary residents of the communities were invited to participate in the focus groups. It is noteworthy that for both communities, not only residents of cities (i.e., Starobilsk and Henichesk) were invited to participate in focus groups and interviews, but also residents of other settlements that are part of these ATCs, including rural areas. Focus groups and interviews took place from November 22 to December 10, 2021. Ten (10) participants (twenty in total) took part in each focus group discussion.

The research tactic of recruiting participants was to invite informants with the most diverse socio-demographic characteristics and statuses. As a result, it allowed to obtain information from people with different experience and positions, i.e., the maximum possible variation of answers, interpretations, and attitudes. All this suggests that the study identified the vast majority (if not all) of existing points of tension and conflict situations and problems in communities, even when they are not fully understood by informants / participants as such.

Based on the conducted empirical research, a list of issues for discussion during the dialogue activities was formed (within the project – one event in each of ATC).

Analysis of interviews with community representatives: Starobilsk Territorial Community

The first block of questions was aimed at discussing **different aspects of socio-political life of the community and the level of political participation / engagement of its residents** which is especially important for the newly formed community.

Trust in the election. Absolutely all informants stated that they trusted the elections, especially local ones, and were convinced that elections were fair and transparent – especially the voting and counting processes. Some mentioned the use of administrative resources or other manipulation of public opinion during the election campaign but insisted that this did not significantly affect the results. National elections are trusted a little less, but informants still assessed the level of such trust as more than 90% (by self-estimation). The slightly lesser level of trust in national elections could be attributed to the fact that participants heard or read in the media about certain violations, while in the local elections they participated directly and everything "passed before their eyes." However, even if some minor violations were recorded somewhere at the national level, participants stressed that, in their opinion, they did not affect the outcome.

It should be noted that the difference in assessments of local government, its openness and effectiveness, and of different aspects of community life in general is largely due to different socio-professional positions of informants and their level of involvement in relevant processes. At the same time, even considering such differences and the resulting 'distortions', we could talk about certain points of similarities or common assessments.

All interviewees said they were familiar with the tools of democracy and participation, such as petitions, public hearings, and the participation budget (public budget). At the same time, almost everyone noted that petitions were hardly used, or at least they could not cite or mention any examples. Instead, there were many examples provided of various public discussions or hearings, initiatives of certain groups of activists (including those already implemented), examples of self-organization of residents to solve various problems or organize joint events, and so on. Some participants also talked about such a tool as dialogue events, although they pointed out that they had not heard about any of them in their community. The informants spoke with enthusiasm about the participation budget, the experience of its implementation in the previous year and future prospects. In general, all participants spoke about their community as such where there are many people with active positions, public organizations / NGOs.

Informants said that even though some problems can be solved without the involvement of local authorities, in general the authorities are open to dialogue and cooperation. Even those participants who were sceptical about the ability of local authorities to address specific issues effectively noted that in terms of communication all local authorities (both state and self-government) were constructive, open, and willing to engage in dialogue. Thus, the communication side of the government's work was assessed highly. It was also noted that the authorities actively communicate on social networks and through various channels of communication, maintain 'hot lines' for appeals, etc.

Additionally, all informants noted the activity of the head of the ATC and her openness

to communication. Most were able to provide an example of personal contact with her (including online) and stressed her involvement in all community decision-making processes. Those who could not provide such an example (due to lack of need to apply to her) were convinced that in case of need they can easily turn to her in person. However, it is important that although the factual account of the situation was the same for all interviewees, its assessments were radically different. Some informants stressed the effectiveness of such personal involvement of the head of the ATC and her personal close control over different issues' solving, while others emphasized the negative side of this 'dependence' / 'tying up' of all processes on one person and the lack of (development) institutional processes and relations in management of the ATC.

Even if the informants did not have the experience of personal appeals to the authorities, they gave examples from their acquaintances' experience or public initiatives. In general, there were mixed assessments of authorities' response to appeals. On the one hand, all participants noted the absence of bias or discrimination, general compliance with deadlines and mostly effective communication on these specific appeals (i. e. case they provided as examples). On the other hand, most of the given examples were not resolved in one way or another. For example, the decisions had been postponed or not yet been made or there had been a refusal, or the decisions had not fully suited the applicant. In majority of cases, denials and delays were related to the lack of resources (primarily financial) available to the community or to the complexity and intersection of areas / levels of competence (for example, several examples raised the question of whether the decision is entirely within local government / Starobilsk ATC's competence).

All informants were unanimous that most problematic issues and conflicts identified in the community relate to exactly such cases: first that's the garbage problems (its collection and disposal), maintenance and quality of roads, water supply, stray animals, overhaul and renovations, and infrastructural improvements. Among others problematic issues participants mentioned the allocation / allotment of land, including cites or portions for ATO veterans and other qualified categories of the population and other land management issues. Assessments of local authorities' activities and their fundamental ability to effectively solve such issues differed significantly.

Several informants emphasized the positive role of publicity in addressing issues and solving problems. There were also opinions voiced about only a formal / procedural consideration or decisions on individual appeals and unwillingness (according to informants) to make specific substantial decisions. For example, when the applicants received formal and often superficial answers within the time limits specified by law instead of actually resolving the issue in one way or another.

Regarding the assessment of **whether there have been any changes since the creation of ATC** and whether they felt it, the informants said it is too early to talk about it and draw conclusions. It is important though, there were differences between the answers of informants from the city (Starobilsk) and the countryside. The latter said that they would like more attention to countryside / rural areas residents and a more even and balanced (in their opinion) distribution of resources, especially financial. Residents of Starobilsk mostly said that they had not noticed the changes yet. Some of them noted some improvements in city infrastructure. In general, cautious optimism prevailed in the assessments regarding the changes in community life with the creation of the ATC. Separately, several informants noted the increase in transparency and openness of management processes.

Evaluating the work of various public (communal) institutions, informants noted that there are issues in the medical field: lack of medical staff, especially specialty doctors, limited funding. In general, the level of satisfaction with medical institutions in the community is lower than, for example, with educational institutions. Educational institutions (schools) were mostly evaluated as good / satisfactory. At the same time, several informants emphasized the urgency of reorganizing schools and establishing 'pillar' (*oporni*) schools in rural areas.

As for the work of municipal / communal utility service companies, most spoke of some improvement over the last year, although they judge it to be rather slow and often insufficient (there were often comparisons with other neighbouring ATCs). Still, their work was assessed as insufficient or inefficient. It is also important that majority of issues that were identified as urgent problems in the community were related to the work or sphere of municipal / communal services (garbage problems, water supply problems, roads, lack of infrastructural improvements, etc.).

The next block of questions concerned the local dimension of global issues, namely the rule of law, corruption, and law enforcement, as well as the activities of NGOs.

The rule of law was mainly interpreted by respondents in terms of trust (or rather distrust) in the court and how likely they considered it to be possible to obtain a fair trial. The majority of informants generally distrust the courts, even if they have not had personal encounters with them. It should be noted here that the majority stated that they did not face or apply to the courts themselves. Respondents consider courts corrupt ("corruption is our court first and foremost") and say that even when the law is on their side, they will have to take additional action – including spending a lot of money on a lawyer or resort to corruption, pressure, or nepotism. There were also answers that, of course, you can do nothing extra, but "then it will be endless". Thus, in general, the informants did not believe in the rule of law. In percentages they assessed it as "20/80" (i. e., 80% that it does not exist).

Corruption. In general, all participants said that corruption is a problem and that they knew about the existence of corruption in the city and community (in a broad sense). Two informants questioned whether "gifts of thanks" in medical facilities / for doctors could be considered corruption. As an example of community corruption all informants cited the recent arrest of a local official for bribery / corruption. At the same time, all participants denied that they had personally encountered cases of corruption, noting that they did not have such an experience when someone demanded or hinted at a bribe. Most rated their city / community as equally or less corrupt than the rest of Ukraine.

Regarding **the attitudes towards the police and the evaluation of their activities**, there is a pronounced negative attitude. Even though most informants said that they have no personal experience or knowledge of police activities and had not interacted with police, they immediately noted that other people in the community have a negative attitude towards the police and distrust it. Only one informant spoke about his positive attitude towards the police. It should be noted at once that he was involved in an informal security NGO ('militia' / 'squads' / joint patrols with the police) and also spoke about his positive experience of cooperation with the police. The rest of the participants did not even hear about the existence of this one or any other joint patrols or public security organizations.

Distrust of the police is partly due to low assessment of the efficiency and professionalism of its work. It was often mentioned that "it has already been two months as they are catching a maniac", that mostly police officers are young and have no experience / competence, etc. For example, participants said that police patrols respond to calls timely

and diligently. However, the effectiveness of these responses was low. At the same time, most noted that they had not personally dealt or come into contact with the police or its activities.

Unlike the police, **the work of Secret Service of Ukraine (SBU)** was largely assessed as effective and professional. There appears to be a certain level of respect for SBU's employees and they have good reputation in the eyes of informants. Half of the informants said that they dealt or come into contact with the SBU and its activities.

The activity of public organizations / NGOs. In general, all informants were able to provide several names or cases of public organizations and initiatives of different orientations and profiles in their community. Most also said that they periodically join such initiatives or NGOs as well as apply to them. Informants talked about their own support for CSOs' activities and mentioned that they are supported by the community. The cooperation of public organizations and activists with local authorities was also remarked and assessed positively.

Additionally, all participants mentioned **that there are organizations that provide free legal aid in their community.**

To identify lines of tension in the community we set to find out attitudes towards certain categories of the population or social groups and to find out whether informants identify any conflicts points of tension in their communities and which ones.

Thus, regarding **the attitudes to certain social groups**, we have found that most of the informants have positive attitudes towards IDPs. They believed that IDPs' arrival had a positive impact on community development. Mostly, they called them "resettlers" ("переселенці") and insisted that it is also a self-name. At the same time, several participants noted that in some cases IDPs are too demanding ("arrogant"). Informants also distinguish between those IDPs who live in the community (mostly positive attitudes) and those who live on the temporarily occupied territories (TOT) and just come to collect payments or get documents etc (cautious or negative attitude.)

The informants are wary and cautious of **the Roma**. Even if they note that they themselves do not discriminate against them, their associations and emotions indicate that they have negative stereotypes regarding Roma. It should be noted that the interviewer asked about "Gypsies" and "Roma" separately, and some informants insisted on a meaningful difference not only between these names / terms, but also between the groups of people they described. Regarding **Muslims**, there are mostly positive and good-natured attitudes. At the same time, they are perceived as alien, distant, nonlocal. Thus, this means that there are very few Muslims in the community, and they are not perceived as locals or "their own".

Words / categories **"Donetskie"** and **"Luhanskie"** (people from Donetsk and Luhanks) are associated with "resettlers" (IDPs), "ours", for many informants – it's "their own" people ("my kin", "relatives"). If the informants distinguished between these two categories, then the "Luhanskie" are perceived as ones 'closer', as more closely related. At the same time, mostly people use these terms to denote origin and not a place of residence.

The term / definition of **"Russian"** ("ruskie") is similarly perceived – in categories of origin or degree of kinship, rather than to describe those who are citizens of Russia. At the same time, the informants had a wide range of opinions, emotions, and associations: from negative (aggressors / occupiers) to positive ones ("I have relatives", "Slavs like us", "they live here with us").

Mainly **"Ukrainians"** evoked few associations and overall positive attitudes which means

that for most informants it is a self-reference category (because we usually do not have instant and clearly defined associations or stereotypes about the categories to which we belong as we consider it a "default category", as something that need not be further described or defined). There were also such adjectives used as "patriotic", "free", etc. All informants said in one way or another that they also consider themselves Ukrainians.

The words "**our people**" for informants refer either to a narrow circle of relatives and close acquaintances, or to fellow villagers or residents of their community, their district. While all informants spoke about positive associations ("reliable, trusted people"), one noted that there may be negative associations – in the context of *"our man will solve everything"*.

"**Nonlocals**" for most informants are those who are from another locality or community and more broadly from another region. Mostly the term is understood as a combination of origin and place of residence. Accordingly, the feelings or emotions that this word evokes are mostly cautious.

All informants in Starobilsk ATC were unanimous in their positive attitude towards the **Ukrainian military** which was mostly associated with defenders. Also unanimous was the radically negative assessment of the **so-called "LPR" and "DPR" military** – they were called "bandits" and "traitors". Still, attitudes towards the **Russian military** were mixed and depended on whether they were (personally) involved in hostilities in Eastern Ukraine. If they were described as involved, they were defined as aggressors and occupiers.

Those who remained in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts unanimously evoked sympathy and pity from the informants. These people were described as hostages who could not leave, as those who had no choice, and often as "retirees". Also, there were more diversity of attitudes and less empathy for those who remained in Crimea. Several informants directly said that they believed that *"they had made their choice"*.

As for the attitudes and orientations in the community, the vast majority rated it as 70/30, with 70 "pro-Ukrainian" and 30 "pro-Russian". At the same time, informants interpreted differently what it means and implies to be "pro-Russian" or to have pro-Russian" orientations.

Several issues of post-conflict settlement were also raised and discussed. In particular, the recognition of legal documents of transactions (for example, contracts for property sale) of the occupation administrations, the issue of amnesty and lustration, and monetary compensations / payments for surrendering weapons (firearms).

It should be noted that in Starobilsk community there was no definite consensus among our informants on all these issues. Regarding amnesty and lustration, informants emphasized the need for (personal) court decisions on a case-by-case basis and on a clear and exhaustive list of criteria of eligibility or non-eligibility with a strict adherence to procedures. A similar opinion was expressed about the recognition of transactions, although several respondents stressed the fundamental impossibility of such recognition.

Majority of informants were certain that those who committed war crimes or murders or held arm voluntarily are liable and should not be subject to amnesty. Similarly, most informants said that those who held office in the occupational administrations, were members of its 'law enforcement', or held positions of leadership should be subject to lustration. As for the surrendering of weapons (firearms), most informants are of the opinion that their return should be encouraged in a non-monetary (non-monetized) way and no money should be paid for the return.

The issue of commemoration. Most informants supported the need to establish a National Day of Remembrance for the victims of Russian aggression to pay respect to them and commemorate what happened, so “people won’t forget”. Still, one informant mentioned that first there should be a more definite recognition of the Russian aggression on the official / state level. Another informant said that there are already too many different marked days / holidays in the calendar and another one is not needed and won’t be really remembered. Regarding the creation of a Museum of Overcoming Russian Armed Aggression against Ukraine in their community, most informants agreed that it is a good idea. At the same time, they had different opinions on whether to do it now or to wait and if so, till when.

Finally, discussing existing **issues, conflicts, or rather lines of tension** in the community, all informants noted that there were almost no systematic “breaks”, tensions, or conflicts. Though with further discussion such preliminary assessment became more nuanced and less unambiguous as informants provided examples.

For example, all informants reported that there are currently no conflicts with IDPs in the community, although tensions have been high in the early years.

At the same time, the responses demonstrate that informants differentiate IDPs on those living in the community permanently and those who live on temporarily occupied territories (TOT) and only periodically come to collect payments, social benefits, and on other business. Also, several informants noted that IDPs have significant benefits and support programs aimed at them unlike other community residents. Still, one informant said that he or she personally (as an IDP) faced discrimination in job search and was refused position after stating his IDP status as *“someone unreliable, who might leave unexpectedly and are not here permanently”*. Two informants mentioned a conflict between one of the NGOs dealing with IDPs and local government (“previous one”) over the lease of premises. Now the conflict is either resolved or is in a frozen state due to the formation of the ATC and the change of local government.

Thus, in fact there are certain lines of tension regarding IDPs in the community which are primarily related to the limited resources and capabilities of the community and its institutions (financial resources, resources of time, human resources etc).

Informants denied that there have been any conflicts in the community due to ethnic or religious divisions. Still, the responses indicate that there is discrimination or stigmatization of Roma in the community, at least in the form of maintaining common negative stereotypes or hate speech towards them. Also, some informants stated that they encountered hate speech (not necessary aimed at them but on the gender / sexual orientation basis) and gender-based stigma.

At the same time, all these are rather signs of verbal and/or unconscious discrimination or stigmatization than actual conflicts or social tensions and should be discussed and treated accordingly (as former).

Regarding religious divisions, all informants noted a significant diversity of different religious communities in the ATC – primarily due to plethora of different Christian communities or denominations (different Orthodox communities and several Protestant communities of different orientations). However, participants noted that there were no religious conflicts, except for a church-building ownership dispute between two priests and active members / faithful of the OCU (Orthodox Church of Ukraine (ПЦУ)) and the UOC-MP (Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Moscow Patriarchy (УПЦ (МП))) several years ago which is either resolved

or frozen now. Also, in one of the Protestant communities its leaders are anti-vaccinators which results in the refusal of the majority of the faithful of this community to be vaccinated against COVID-19.

The topic of quarantine measures and vaccination against COVID-19 was not specifically raised in our study and interviews but from the analysis of the information we gathered, it is clear that there are corresponding conflicts and tensions in the community. Thus, while answering questions about corruption, several informants asked whether the falsification of vaccination certificates counted as such. Informants also mentioned ongoing and heated discussions on vaccination and quarantine measures in community's social media pages and resources. Problems related to distance education in schools and the restriction / abolition of public transport in the city of Starobilsk due to COVID-19 lockdown were also mentioned.

In general, all informants said in social media (mostly in relevant communities or pages on Facebook), there are active and often quite heated and intense discussions if not disputes or quarrels on a wide range of issues ranging from politics, the president, and coronavirus to criticism of local authorities, the daily life of the community, and any incidents in the community (e. g. dog attacks, street repairs, water problems, someone falling out of a hospital bed, etc.). Informants also said that there is a rather narrow circle of people who usually take an active part in online disputes and do not miss the opportunity to initiate them. However, all informants also insisted that the majority of such heated online disputes remained online and did not go offline, into the "real life".

When asked about the actual protests and rallies, the informants mentioned only few of such cases in the recent years – the rally against an increase of utilities cost / tariffs, the rally of self-employed entrepreneurs (ФОПи) against the new tax regulations, and the road closures to emphasize the roads' poor conditions. Regarding all these protests / rallies, respondents noted their self-organization (often through social media) and a rather small scale. Also, all informants pointed out that until 2018 there were more protests (especially in 2014-2017). Overall, the participants said that recently there were almost no protests in Starobilska ATC, especially ones of a large scale.

It should also be noted that all informants stressed the willingness of local authorities to engage in constructive dialogue, although they said that often the capacity of both local authorities and local NGOs is quite limited.

Finally, in the analysis of semi-structured interviews we identified the following problematic issues or conflict situations in the community:

- regarding water and water supply (and local Vodokanal – municipal utility service company) – old infrastructure and plumbing, too high (compared to the rest of the country) water prices. The problem has not been solved for a long time;
- regarding garbage, its collection, disposal, and recycling;
- regarding roads quality and maintenance;
- regarding the cleaning of river and floodgate;
- regarding the allocation of land in general and 2 hectares for ATO / OOS veterans in particular;
- regarding the lack of public transportation in the community;
- regarding stray animals (dogs) and activists' debates / conflicts of what to do with them.

As one can see, all these issues need to be addressed and are directly related to the infrastructure and financial capacity of the community. It should also be noted that some of these problems cannot be solved just at the level of one community, because the issues affect the interests of several communities or should involve different levels of government due to specific division of competencies (for example, landfills and recycling facilities, river and floodgate cleaning, roads maintenance and transport between communities, allocation of land when the plots are in different communities' subordination, etc.).

Additionally, several informants spoke about the relocation of the university (change of its legal address) and the military unit as negative examples of (inefficient) work of local authorities. Both the university and the military unit were seen by these informants as important taxpayers and employers which the local authorities "could not keep". The extent to which this perception of the situation is valid needs to be studied in more detail.

However, such opinions and responses indicate the need for the community to support the university in Starobilsk, its educational programs, and its infrastructure. This is of foremost importance not only because the university is an important employer for the city and the community but also because the university attracts youth and increases the involvement of young people in the community and is an important agent of change and growth for Starobilsk ATC.

The last block of questions concerned **economic issues**. All informants spoke about the problems with the availability of jobs, primarily due to the lack of large enterprises in the community. At the same time, several informants noted that the community also needs certain professionals and qualified workers, i. e. people with certain skills and education (primarily medical doctors, teachers, and qualified public administrators). Another problem is that many of the jobs available are low paid.

Several informants noted that the local government did not help the business, although the representative of the local government stated the opposite.

All informants noted that there are various programs to support the poor, IDPs, veterans, and other vulnerable groups provided by local authorities. At the same time, it was often difficult for informants to distinguish which programs were local and which were national.

Some informants noted that housing programs for IDPs are underfunded and require significant efforts to participate.

It was also said that it is easy enough to draw up all the necessary paperwork to receive such assistance or subsidies, and if there are difficulties, they are due to the requirements of national rather than local legislation.

Most informants have not used government credit programs, although they know or have heard of them. Some said they plan to take advantage of them in future.

According to informants, one of the key problems of the community is poverty and lack of financial resources in the community. At the same time, most are optimistic about the potential of the community and the prospects for its development. Among the main opportunities for the community development that informants mentioned are: further development of agriculture, tourism, and renewable energy. Still, the main obstacles are the outflow of young people and the working population as well as an insufficient level of infrastructure development, including infrastructure need for tourism and transport.

Analysis of interviews with community representatives: Henichesk Territorial Community

Attitude towards community authorities and their activities

Confidence in the elections

Most informants, regardless of their employment sector (public / municipal, civil, private) consider the elections fair and transparent. More confidence is expressed in the stage of elections that takes place at the community level (i.e., the voting process), less – in what is happening outside the polling stations. At the same time, some respondents mentioned violations at the stage of campaigning (political agitation) and registration.

Interaction between local authorities and citizens

Opinions of local authorities' representatives and other informants were divided. The former noted the authorities' openness to communicate with citizens and their broad involvement in discussions. It is important, that such discussions engage the residents not only of the city, but also of the villages (including their starostas) that are part of the community.

Contrary, citizens talked about the complexity of interaction with the authorities. On the one hand, according to them, the authorities always respond to written inquiries which they are obliged to respond to and are generally open to the opinion of the community (for example, they mentioned the possibility of personal appeal to the mayor or deputies). On the other hand, such a reaction is often formal and ineffective since it does not solve the problem. Appealing to this opinion, the authorities insisted that not all issues can be resolved by local governments: the key reason is the lack of material resources needed for infrastructural changes.

As for the tools of communication and interaction of citizens with local authorities, personal receptions and official written communication remain the most popular. Informants did not hear about any other available channels (for instance, petitions) thought there had been public hearings (latest – in 2020).

At the same time, some members of the community noted that social networks are actively used to discuss local issues. Some government officials said they read information on social media and if possible, tried to respond to it.

Interaction between government and the civil society sector

According to local government officials, not all civil society organizations in the Henichesk amalgamated territorial community (ATC) are active enough. As a result, interaction with them is moderate. At the same time, the community authorities have programs of financial support for CSOs as well as cooperate with them within certain areas (mainly in the social sphere). Representatives of the civil society, on the one hand, confirm the facts

of cooperation (in particular, through the provision of funds), on the other hand – they note its sporadic nature. Thus, there is no systematic and institutionalized interaction. Moreover, some civic activists believe that there are CSOs which are "convenient" for local government and with which it cooperates as well as "inconvenient" ones with which it interacts formally. Single cases of active opposition by the authorities (the level was not specified) to the activities of CSOs were also mentioned.

Attitude towards community authorities

Representatives of local self-government expressed the understanding that not 100% of citizens are satisfied with the work of local authorities, as there are objective reasons why it is not possible to cope with all the existing problems. The informants shared an understanding of the complexity of the problems but pointed out the lack of public trust in the work of local authorities, the officials' formalistic attitude to work, and an absence of results-based approach.

The key achievements and positive aspects of the local authorities' work were more easily brought up by the representatives of local self-government bodies. The focus was on maintaining harmony in the multicultural community and launching critical services after community amalgamation. The general opinion of most of the interviewees should be summed up as *"the authorities do their job, but we'd like them to do it better"*.

It is also a positive sign that the local authorities are aware of issues which are the source of dissatisfaction in the community. The problems will be discussed in detail below. Nevertheless, the general shortcomings of the local authorities' work include the need for control, "pushing" for effective work, as well as formality and focus on the process instead of the result.

Assessment of Impact of ATC formation

Most informants stated that no positive changes had taken place since ATC had been formed or that they were unaware of them. Still, among the positive points made by the informants, there were: the rupture of traditional corruption ties with the district authorities; the comprehensive analysis / audit of the work of community institutions in some areas; the launch of new educational institutions or improvement in the working schedule of existing ones.

Still, several informants believe that it has become more difficult to obtain administrative services, as they now need to go to the community centre – Henichesk. Some informants also spoke about such negative aspects as: low qualification and unpreparedness of managerial staff (including starostas); reduction of political weight / role of villages and their self-governance bodies were subsequently some managers / administrators lost their positions; the concentration of power in the hands of the head of the ATC, who cannot be physically aware of the problems in all settlements of the community, which is large enough.

Assessment of activities of the communal (municipal) utility service companies

Most informants expressed strong dissatisfaction with the communal (municipal) utility service companies and their (corrupt) activities. The informants from civil society sector stressed that some of their initiatives are related to the tasks that fall within the scope of responsibilities of these communal utility service companies.

At the same time, both government officials and community members acknowledge that basic utilities are provided, although there are some problems. A significant proportion of

citizens also expressed understanding of the plight of communal utility service companies due to low staff salaries, underfunding, and deteriorating infrastructure.

Satisfaction with the educational institutions

As for the educational institutions, most informants are generally satisfied with schools. Among the points of strengths, the informants mentioned the qualification of the local secondary schools' staff.

Speaking about the problematic points, the informants mentioned the issue of distance learning (related to quarantine restrictions) and logistics.

One informant complained about the quality of food and lack of heating in schools.

Satisfaction with the medical institutions

Most informants, regardless of their employment sector, note the diligence of the medical staff. At the same time, they emphasize that these employees are 'hostages' to the situation of underfunding, poor logistics, and lack of staff.

One of the informants also noted that there is a shortage of doctors not only in Henichesk, but also in the villages (family doctors) that are part of the community. A specific issue that was highlighted was the long delay in the payment of salaries to medical staff.

Local dimension of global problems

Rule of Law

Informants ambiguously characterize the situation with the rule of law in the community. Although everyone notes that law enforcement agencies are working, there is almost unanimous opinion that there are significant problems there.

Trust in the police

There is an extremely low level of trust in the police in the community. Among the reasons, there were: officers' indifference and formal attitude to the work, failure to carry out investigative work in the absence of additional control by the applicants, lack of results on cases regarded as high-profile in the community. At the same time, residents of the community continue to contact and apply to the police if necessary.

Moreover, some informants tried to explain the low quality of police work with low salaries, lack of qualifications, overwork, and the need to prioritize tasks (as a result, some of them are tabbed as secondary).

It is also crucial that some informants emphasized that the police diligently perform their duties of patrolling and maintaining public order during mass events.

Personal experience of interaction with the police

The low level of trust can be partly explained by the negative experience of interaction with the police by the informants themselves or their acquaintances.

Still, some responses provided positive cases of interaction with the police.

Assessment of the work of the prosecutor's office

In contrast to the situation with the police, significantly fewer informants had personal experience of interaction with the prosecutor's office. Most of them have heard about the reduction of the powers of the prosecutor's office but have not been able to remember any positive or negative examples of its activities.

Those informants who personally or whose acquaintances came into contact with the prosecutor's office had mostly negative experience and emphasized the limited physical access to this body during quarantine.

Assessment of the activities of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU)

Residents of the community are even less informed about the work of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) which is explained by the nature of the tasks this special service performs.

One informant noted the increase in the level of trust in the work of the SBU in recent years.

Assessment of the work of courts

Regarding the work of the courts, despite a few critical remarks, the informants generally had a positive opinion. However, some of them drew attention to the fact that the community population has a different opinion (i. e. negatively assess the activity of local courts).

One of the informants noted the improvement in the work of the courts due to the introduction of electronic tools of appeals and communication.

Non-governmental organizations involved in law enforcement

As for non-governmental organizations involved in the protection of public order, the interviewees most often mentioned the organization "Kosatska Varta" (*Cossacks Guard*).

Cases of vigilantism and illegal detention

None of the informants mentioned cases of vigilantism or illegal detention during the last few years.

Situation with corruption

Informants differed in their assessment of the level of corruption in their community. Opinions about corruption in Henichesk ranged from *"cannot be considered corrupt"* to *"as corrupt as the rest of Ukraine"*.

However, when it came to personal experience, all but two respondents said they had not faced any corruption.

The cases of corruption mentioned by the informants were mostly land allocation and construction issues related to the work of the city council, the State Service of Ukraine for Geodesy, Cartography and Cadastre (StateGeoCadastre), and the State Architectural and Construction Inspectorate of Ukraine.

Civil society sector activities

Informants differ in their awareness about the work of CSOs in the Henichesk community. Most of those interviewed either had not heard of CSOs at all, had heard of one-two, or only about some individual activists. One informant described the situation with public or-

ganizations in the community in detail emphasizing organisations formed on professional or common interests basis (veteran organisation, “Chonobytsi”, sport clubs etc.).

Other issues covered by CSOs’ activities include landscaping and free legal aid in cooperation with the authorities.

Assessment of civil society sector activities

Informants who expressed their assessment of the work of CSOs have an ambiguous opinion on this issue. On the one hand, they acknowledge the usefulness of some organizations or activists and the importance of their work, but on the other hand, they believe that not all of them are trustworthy.

Problem situations in the community

Conflicts / tensions between groups within community

Regarding conflict situations between different groups of the community residents, most informants noted that there are no significant conflicts based on nationality, political views, or place of origin (for example, regarding internally displaced persons). There are some particular cases of tension, but they are more related to the personal traits and interests of individuals than to their belonging to a particular group.

However, some informants believe that there is a tension (though not high) between Crimean Tatars and non-Tatar population of the community.

In the same context, the informants mentioned the case when two employees of Crimean Tatar origin were fired from a local gas station. However, the informants added that they consider this situation not related to the ethnic / national origin of these employees.

Several informants mentioned the Roma as another group involved in conflict situations.

One informant mentioned that earlier, in 2014-2015, there had been conflict situations with the Ukrainian military / paramilitary, but now such situations did not occur.

Tension between patriotic (“pro-Ukrainian”) and “pro-Russian” residents of the community were also briefly mentioned.

The ratio of patriotic (“pro-Ukrainian”) and pro-Russian orientations

According to almost all informants, a significant part of the community has a pro-Russian sentiment. Reflecting on the number of such people, the informants called the figures mostly in the range of 20-60%.

Nonetheless, some informants noted that they did not have “pro-Russian” people among their acquaintances.

Conflicts on social networking platforms

Social media platforms are a particular space for expressing dissatisfaction or channelling negativity. According to several informants, political views and pro/anti-Russian orientations are the main topics for discussions there.

According to informants, besides that most discussions are devoted to everyday problems and various current issues of the community and the country.

The positive side of such discussions is that they do not escalate into offline conflicts – this opinion is shared by all informants.

Conflicts / tensions between local authorities and community residents

One informant said that the potential source of tension in the community could be the relationship between the local government and residents. One of the active forms of disagreement with government or local policy is protest / rally. So, we asked the informants what protests have taken place in the community over the last few years and how the authorities reacted to them.

Most informants talked about the rallies over the power outage on the Arabat Spit (*Arabatska Strilka*) in the height of the tourist season.

Also, a significant number of informants mentioned the rally against mobilization which took place in 2015.

Other rallies mentioned by informants included demands to cut down the population of mosquitoes and jellyfish, against (high) gas tariffs and a rally of motorists who carry out illegal transportations to the Crimea (*“Chongar taxi drivers”*) against attempts to regulate their activities.

No less important is the fact that local authorities responded to almost all these actions.

To sum up this bloc of questions, it should be noted that, according to local government representatives, regardless of the nature of the conflict (whether it is between residents and local authorities or between different groups) local authorities try to prevent such conflicts and to resolve them through dialogue events aimed at finding solutions.

Community problems that need to be solved

The majority of problematic issues and cases in the community mentioned by informants were related to the condition of infrastructure and its maintenance and improvement. Prominent among them is the state / quality of roads and sidewalks, in particular the grading of unpaved ones.

No less crucial for the community is the issue of water supply and plumbing infrastructure which needs significant renovation.

In general, all municipal infrastructure and services including educational and medical need to be upgraded.

Although the reason for the protests in the summer of 2021 has been the outage of power to the Arabat Spit, there is the problem of stable electricity supply for the whole community that needs to be resolved.

Among other problems of community infrastructure informants mentioned: the development of Arabat Spit (arrangement of drainage and sewage), creation of a full-fledged embankment in Henichesk, renovation of the Shevchenko city park and the creation of new ones, and the repair of landfill sites.

Several informants confirmed the urgency of the issue of stray animals for the community.

Also, some mentioned the invasion of jellyfish and mosquitoes in the summer of 2021 and the inefficiency of local authorities in fighting them which was also the reason for the rally.

One informant stressed the problem of chemical wastes which have been stored for a long time in the village of Rykove and should be removed.

The issue of lack of sustainable work with international donor organizations for community development and the need to intensify it was also raised.

Cases of discrimination

Informants could not recall cases of discrimination on any grounds.

Attitudes towards different social groups

A separate block of questions concerned the attitudes of informants towards various social groups and associations and emotions these groups evoke.

Internally Displaced Persons

Most informants' key associations with IDPs were pity and a desire to help. Although informants did not directly articulate this emotion, their words clearly showed sympathy for those people who were forced to leave their homes.

Interestingly, one informant clearly distinguishes between IDPs living in the community and IDPs who are only formally registered there and live in the temporarily occupied territories (*"who are on tour, come only to receive their salary or pension and make a ckecknote that they are displaced"*).

Nonlocals

Most informants had positive associations with the category of "nonlocals" because for them "nonlocals" are, first of all, tourists and guests of the city. Some informants indicated that they had neither positive nor negative associations but instead used the term to refer to anyone who was not from the Henichesk community. One informant associated "nonlocals" with internally displaced persons.

Gypsies / Roma

Most informants had negative associations with Roma / Gypsies. They were first associated with theft and disorder. However, some informants mentioned the special way of life of the Roma.

"Donetskie" (People from Donetsk)

One third of informants associated the category of "Donetskie" with internally displaced persons and had no negative associations with them. Approximately the same number of informants connected the category of "Donetskie" with bandits – *"Yanukovych's gang"*.

Crimeans

Most informants associated the category of "Crimeans" with internally displaced persons, "migrants" (*pereselentsy / resettlers*). Several informants pointed out that the Crimean people are "brothers" and "partners". Two informants also pointed out the plight of those who now remain in Crimea, calling them "occupied" or "people captured without their will".

Russians ("russkie")

Most informants had no negative associations with Russians ("russkie"). Some of those interviewed by our team explained their opinion by the fact that they were "Russian" (ethnic origin) by themselves. In some cases, this category has evoked neutral associations such as "citizens of another state". Several informants had negative associations with Russians, including "the enemy", "weak people who can't say exactly what they want".

Ukrainians

Two informants expressed a neutral association regarding the category of "Ukrainians" ("citizens") while the rest were positive. Informants called the following associations: "good master", "warrior", "brothers", "patriots", "relatives".

Crimean Tatars

Most informants associated Crimean Tatars with something positive or have neutral associations. Several associations with Crimea were expressed. Several informants also pointed out that Crimean Tatars are "relatives", "brothers", "friends", "some of the locals", "citizens of our state". One of the informants called this group "warriors who have been pursued for many years". Only in one interview has been mentioned a negative association with caution, although, according to the informant, this is not due to personal experience.

Muslims

The majority of informants had positive associations with the category of "Muslims". About a third immediately associated them with Crimean Tatars. Some informants drew attention to the difference of the representatives of this group ("people who visit mosques", "people of other faith") but without a negative connotation. One of the informants named "caution" as the first association. He explained that it concerns both the potential danger from the members of this group and the need to be careful in interaction with them as to not to offend.

"Our people"

Only one informant had a negative association with the category of "our people" and associated it with nepotism. Other informants pointed out that "our people" were those with whom one has something in common: views, place of origin or residence, interests, faith. One informant associated this phrase with Ukrainians.

Ukrainian military

All the associations with the Ukrainian military shared by the informants were positive. In most interviews, they were called defenders. There were also such associations as "heroes", "professional people".

Russian military

The key characteristics of the Russian military were their lack of their own opinion and unquestioning execution of orders. Most informants described them as "enemies", "invaders" or those from whom one should expect danger. One informant noted that she had no negative associations with the Russian military.

Representatives of the illegal armed formations organized by the Russian Federation on the territory of Certain Areas of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts /

Regions (CADLR)

Almost all informants had an unequivocally negative attitude towards representatives of illegal armed formations organized by Russia in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Some informants emphasized the lack of thoughtfulness of their actions, calling them "idiots", "criminals", "people who just got lost".

Those who stayed in CADLR

Most informants sympathized with the people who remained in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Some informants stressed that these people did not have the opportunity (money, place to stay) to leave the temporary occupied territories (TOT). The others directly stated that they were unfortunate, pitiable, hapless, 'poor' people. It was also hoped that one day the residents of CADLR would return. One of the respondents called them "suckers". Informants expressed similar associations with those who remained in Crimea.

Transitional Justice

In connection with the ongoing debate on the issues of transitional justice which was revived by the draft law "On the Principles of State Policy of the Transition Period", we asked the informants for their views on key issues of post-conflict settlement.

Recognition of legal deals

It should be noted that the issue of whether to recognize transactions carried out in the temporarily occupied territories caused difficulties for informants. The position was almost unanimous that all these transactions should not be annulled after de-occupation – only one informant stated the opposite. The majority did not give an unequivocal answer regarding the specific procedures for recognizing or validating documents issued by the occupational authorities on the TOT. One of the informants offered the court procedure for processing such issues.

Another interviewee spoke out against the court procedure, explaining it by the need to take into account not only the legal aspect of such transactions, but also the political implications.

Amnesty

An amnesty is an equally significant aspect of transitional justice. Most informants spoke out against the blanket / unconditional amnesty, but their views on specific conditions were divided. One respondent said that anyone who took up arms should be punished. Another position was that only those who committed the murder should be liable. One of the informants went further and noted that the responsibility should extend only to those who killed a civilian, captured or seized civilian property. Additionally, some informants suggested such criterion for amnesty as whether participation in the illegal armed formations was forced or voluntary.

One informant expressed the opinion that the amnesty should cover only those who disarmed before the end of the conflict, sided with Ukraine, and helped it with information.

Another informant called for an amnesty for all those who "fought on the other side" and did not violate "the rules of war", "did not commit war crimes".

It is noteworthy that several informants stressed the impossibility of applying amnesty to those who committed war crimes.

Lustration

As for lustration after de-occupation, the informants also had quite different visions.

One informant expressed the opinion that the need for lustration will depend on the specific scenario in which control over the territories will be restored to Ukraine. In his opinion, such a step will be necessary if the return is not made by a peace negotiations and agreement, one of the points of which may be non-lustration.

Several informants only emphasized the need of an individual approach to lustration decisions.

One of them pointed out that a special body should be established, which would make decisions on each person / case.

As for the specific categories of persons who are to be subject to lustration, only a few informants expressed their position. One of them believed that lustration should be extended to all law enforcement officers and employees of "state bodies".

Another informant said that only the "top authorities" of the occupation administrations should be lustrated. Regarding this same category of "top officials", one of the informants made another proposal – "to send them to Russia".

Answering the question about lustration, one of the informants expressed a rather radical position to limit the voting rights of TOT residents after de-occupation for 25 years and not to hold elections to local governments in those territories for 15-20 years.

Payments for surrendering weapons

One of the provisions of the draft law "On the Principles of State Policy of the Transition Period" concerns cash payments for the surrendering of weapons (firearms). Thus, one of the questions we asked during the interview was about the assessment of such a measure.

Most informants spoke out against payments for weapons. According to them, the main impetus here should be liability in case of non-compliance with the respective decision of authorities. Still, one third of the informants supported financial rewards for voluntary surrender of weapons. One informant called for "distributing weapons to all Ukrainians" in order to equalize opportunities.

Commemoration

National Day of Remembrance for the Victims of the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine

The idea of introducing the National Day of Remembrance for the Victims of the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine was supported by most of those interviewed. A smaller number of informants did not support this idea. One of their arguments was the excessive number of different anniversaries and holiday already on the calendar. One informant had not yet decided on her position on this issue, having both arguments for and against such a decision.

Establishment of the Museum of Overcoming the Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine

One more question referred to the memory policy, namely the establishment of the Museum of Overcoming the Aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. Most informants did not support the opening of such an institution now. Some of them were generally against the opening of this institution while others point out that it is not a right time for it now.

One of the supporters of the Museum of Overcoming Russian Aggression noted that such institutions are needed foremost in the regions bordering the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and Crimea.

One of the informants who does not support the opening of the museum considered it necessary to create a specialized research institute.

Economic situation in the community

Employment

According to informants, the situation with the employment market in the community is not easy. The key areas where one can find a job are tourism, agricultural sector (for rural areas), public / municipal sector and trade (for Henichesk). The problem with the former (tourism) is the seasonal nature of work.

The rest of the sectors have unfilled jobs but salaries for these positions are so low that professionals and qualified workers do not apply there. As a result, part of the skilled population migrates either to large cities or abroad.

Local social programs

As for social benefits and privileges, according to informants, all those guaranteed by the state (including for ATO / JFO veterans) are provided in the community without delays or complications.

At the local level, the main tool of support for socially vulnerable groups is material (financial) assistance. To receive it, it is enough to write an application to the city council and attach documents confirming the need and rights to receive such funds. Internally displaced persons may also apply for such assistance. Moreover, IDP status is a reason to receive more money.

Some interviewees remarked on the work of social services (social care and social workers who visit vulnerable persons or those in need regularly) and care homes as an important and effective institutionalized tool of support.

Other programs and activities included the purchase of apartments (housing) for orphans and the provision of funds to ATO / JFO veterans, who are also internally displaced persons, to purchase housing.

NGOs help in those areas if there are no state or local support programs or people in need are not eligible for them.

Local business support programmes

According to some informants, there are no comprehensive local business support programmes. However, if there is a need to allocate land for the object of trade the local government helps.

Government Credit Programmes

Most informants had heard of such programmes, but only a few had experience of using them: one informant applied several times but was never approved; another took a "warm loan" («теплый кредит») to insulate the house.

Payment for utilities

The share of income that goes to pay for utilities, according to informants, varies from 5% to more than 100% (utilities cost exceeds income).

Local budget

According to representatives of local government, the largest share of the community budget goes to the maintenance of budgetary institutions: payment of wages and utility bills (energy). Consequently, the community needs additional funds for improvement of infrastructure.

Prospects for community development

Most informants see key prospects in the further development of tourism (mainly in the Arabat Spit) and in the agricultural sector. One of the informants also connects the possibility of future positive changes with the formation of the community due to decentralization. At the same time, some informants believe that the prospects for development are illusory both due to the general trends in the Ukrainian economy and the outflow of qualified personnel from the Henichesk community.

Analysis of focus-group discussion with the residents of Starobilsk ATC

Attitudes to local authorities and their work

All focus group members said that they trust the results of the local elections. It is important that the informants expressed more trust in the election process at the local level, but they had doubts about how the results of the elections were processed at the higher levels of election commissions.

As for communication with the authorities, it was foremost noted that it is now easy to communicate with local authorities, for example, through social networks.

Participants also provided specific examples of appeals to the authorities and how community problems were resolved (examples of cooperation). These examples were given in both positive and negative or neutral contexts.

Participants also said that they communicate within their communities when and if there is such a need to solve problems they encounter regularly.

Some participants heard about the participation budget, took part in public hearings and so on. Some participants also mentioned such a tool as dialogue activities.

Informants noted many positive changes related to decentralization but in some cases, they complained that these changes are either slow or insufficient, especially when compared to other communities (neighbouring ATCs).

As for the work of public (municipal / communal) institutions on the local level, the informants are more satisfied with the educational institutions (although there were complaints about the lack of interest of teachers in their work). On the other hand, the work of medical institutions and communal utility service companies was assessed as unsatisfactory.

Local dimension of global problems

As for the rule of law, most respondents said that they did not come into direct contact with situations in which they would be able to assess the rule of law issues. Thus, it was difficult for them to say anything regarding this topic.

All focus group participants said that they would call their community a corrupt one, "a community, in which there is corruption", but they also noted that it is not different from the situation in the country in general. They also mentioned the case of corruption charges against the head of the housing services who was under investigation at the time of the focus-group discussion ("the head of the housing department of the city council was detained while getting a bribe").

There is not much trust in the police, although the residents turn to the police for help. First of all, this is explained by the fact that the police are not professionally qualified. According to people, the police are "the same as others" i.e., "they drink, they indulge in celebrations, they do not know the law". This was often justified by the age of the police staff – "they are too young". Participants talked about police inefficiency. In particular, that they arrive to the place of emergency calls "when something has already happened".

Almost all participants heard about civic initiatives or directly participated in them. Among the areas / spheres of activities of local NGOs and activists in ATC were mentioned: stray dogs, human rights activities, garbage (utilisation and recycling of garbage), environmental issues, urban infrastructural improvements, advocacy, festivals and holidays, provision of safety and security during the night-time, educational work and educational projects for children, psychological assistance, blood donation etc. Overall, participants said that locals are involved in such initiatives and that there is support from the authorities (positive dynamics). However, the participants also talked about problems related to the abovementioned issues.

Problems and tensions within community

- The problem with stray dogs. The participants talked about it not only in terms of the problem itself (the presence of stray dogs or their attacks etc.), but also as a confrontation between different groups of activists. Moreover, this is the first issue participants mention when asked about tensions in their community.
- The problem with garbage: both with its collection and recycling /disposal.
- Problem with roads (their quality and maintenance). For example, there were road-blocks rallies aimed at attracting authorities' attention to this problem.
- They also noted an absence of public transport.

Regarding discrimination of IDPs, it was mentioned that nowadays it occurs much less compared to what it used to be. Moreover, only certain categories of IDPs are somehow discriminated (for example, those who do not live in the community but only come there to collect the payments of their social benefits, pensions etc).

Participants (women) also mentioned the gender discrimination as one they face from time to time.

Respondents also talked about disputes and quarrels on Internet and in social media groups / pages but noted that they "do not spill over into the real life."

The rally against the increase in costs of utility maintenance was also mentioned – the majority of group participants learned about it from social media.

Attitudes towards different social groups

In this block of questions, we asked about attitudes towards certain social groups and the associations and emotions they evoke.

As for the internally displaced persons (IDPs), the associations were primarily "active", "help", "unknownness", "pity". Participants often called this category "replaced people" ('переселенці').

Non-locals for the participants are visitors, students, emigrants, guests of the city. Also, several respondents said they were migrants.

"Our people" for the respondents are "replaced people" ('переселенці'), Ukrainians, relatives, locals.

Roma (Gypsies) evoked the following associations: "thieves", "dirty", "gold", "horses", "divination". It should be noted that the respondents called them both Roma and Gypsies, sometimes even noting that they distinguish between these terms.

As for Muslims, there is a *de facto* exoticism of the group, sometimes with derogatory language and stereotypes and (expected) religious symbols / criteria: "do not eat meat", "second religion", "mosques", "Quran". *"Not ours, so churki"*

There was a positive attitude and association with Donbass and mines towards 'Donetsk' and 'Luhansk' (adjective with original meaning of 'natives or inhabitants Donetsk or Luhansk'). At the same time, "Luhansk" people were called "compatriots" and among the emotions they evoke were pity, and there were no negative associations at all. Instead, in relation to the "Donetsk" among the associations there were "gangs", "incomers".

Associations with "Russians" (Russians) were mostly negative: "people", "enemies", "Russian-speaking", "invaders", "went":

"They used to live together, but now they have become enemies"

"They're killing us."

As for Ukrainians, the associative range was quite wide and diverse – from stereotypes to association with state symbols and certain qualities: "lard", "embroidered shirt", "patriotism", "shield / emblem", "independent", "flag", "fun", "(good at) sports", "hospitable", "conscious" (свідомі).

There was a negative attitude towards the Russian military: "aggressors", "enemies", "damage", "invaders".

The attitude towards the Ukrainian military was the opposite – for the respondents it was defenders, heroes, often relatives ("son") and predominantly positive emotions.

The so-called "LPR / DPR" troops were unanimously identified by the participants as "morons", "traitors", "collaborators" and caused negative attitudes and emotions.

As for those who remained in the occupied territories, there was a slightly different attitude towards those who remained in the territory of the so-called "LPR / DPR" and in the Crimea. While those who remained in the occupied parts of Donbass evoke only sympathy and associations such as "hostages", "relatives", "poor people", "close relatives", "innocent people", those who remained in the Crimea have a wider and less unambiguous range of reactions and associations. Respondents called the following: "hostages", "Crimean Tatars", *"There are innocents there, but there are also very some who are guilty, who called for Putin", "guilty", "Russified", "hostages of the situation".*

Issues related to Russia's military aggression against Ukraine

Participants disagreed on whether pro-Ukrainian views prevailed in their community. Although the majority first said that about 90% are pro-Ukrainian, then there was a discussion and some even talked about the 50/50 ratio. At the same time, the participants stressed the need to tell children at school about the war and the events that are happening.

During the discussion of certain issues of post-conflict settlement, the participants supported the recognition of legal transactions (in particular, documents on purchase and sale) issued by the occupation administrations. According to them, the recognition procedure should exclude the misappropriation of property during the occupation and, accordingly, combine both a certain automaticity of proceedings not to overload the courts and the principle of individual approach to each case.

Regarding the amnesty, participants differed: some respondents called for a gradation of responsibility / punishment for those who took up arms from the so-called "LPR / DPR",

while others believed that everyone should be punished. If it was a question of gradation of punishment – then the level of voluntary involvement in such armed groups was proposed as the criterion to differentiate and punish them accordingly "by law".

As for lustration, the participants are convinced that the police, the authorities, the security forces, and teachers should be lustrated. At the same time, those involved in life support should not be lustrated (for example, fire service personnel, doctors).

As for the system of obtaining Security's Service of Ukraine (SBU) permits for Ukrainian citizens to leave and enter CADLR and Crimea, it is considered unnecessary even now, not to mention the period after de-occupation, when the administrative border or line of contact *"will no longer exist"*.

Most participants are convinced that payments / monetary rewards will facilitate the surrendering of firearms. However, they noted that you can pay not only for the weapon itself (monetary compensation), but also for information about those who keep it. At the same time, the participants consider this issue to be very important and difficult to resolve. Still, they noted certain warnings in the use of monetary incentives and said that there should be responsibility, for those who have a weapon on hand and would not give it up.

Eight respondents supported the idea of introducing a National Day of Remembrance for the victims of the Russian armed aggression against Ukraine. They stressed that people should remember this period. Two participants did not support the idea, noting that there are many more important issues as well as that there are already many memorable days in the calendar and this day will be "lost" compared to others.

Half of the focus group participants supported the idea of creating a museum of overcoming the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine and noted that such a museum could already be created and replenished now. The others do not consider its creation a priority. For example, several respondents supported the idea that it was better to pay attention to the proper teaching of information about ongoing armed conflict at school.

Economic condition

Informants noted the difficult situation with jobs (employment) in the community. There are no jobs. Although the health sector is an exception (it was explicitly mentioned) – which indicates a shortage of doctors and medical staff. Mostly low-paid places to work and jobs are open while "good ones" are hard to find.

Most focus group participants need to save: to go on vacation or buy something expensive (big) they must save for a year.

Speaking about the proportion of utility costs to income, participants indicated from 30% to 80%. Also, most of the participants this year went on vacation.

Analysis of the focus group discussion with the residents of Henichesk ATC

Attitudes to local authorities and their work

Важливим в контексті ставлення до роботи влади є визначення її легітимності через довіру / недовіру. У контексті ставлення до роботи місцевих органів влади важливо оцінювати їх легітимність у громаді через довіру / недовіру до результатів виборів. Майже всі учасники фокус-групи висловили довіру до виборів загалом і до результатів останніх виборів на різних рівнях (і. е. місцевому та національному) зокрема. Важливо, що інформанти мали більше впевненості в процесі виборів на місцевому рівні, але висловили деякі сумніви щодо технічної обробки результатів виборів на вищих рівнях інших виборчих комісій.

Серед мешканців міста Хенічеськ АТК існує значна незадоволеність роботою міських органів влади. Хоча ця ситуація є типовою для всіх регіонів України, вона особливо небезпечна в цьому регіоні через його близькість до тимчасово окупованих територій (ТОТ).

Учасники фокус-групи скаржилися, що місцеві органи влади не реагують на скарги громадян, а звинувачують їх у відмиванні грошей.

В результаті, більшість інформантів заявили, що вони не хотіли б йти до місцевих органів влади, щоб вирішити свої проблеми. Недовіра до місцевих органів влади призводить до загальної недовіри до державної влади, що негативно впливає на ставлення до держави та її політики. Також важливо, що жоден з респондентів не мав досвіду використання будь-яких інституціоналізованих інструментів участі в громадському житті (петиціоні, публічному бюджеті тощо), окрім одного випадку з колективною скаргою.

Коли мешканці не можуть розраховувати на допомогу від місцевих органів влади, вони змушені вирішувати свої проблеми самостійно. Учасники фокус-групи заявили, що співпраця мешканців їхньої громади відбувається через інтернет.

Однак, інформанти також відзначили позитивні зміни в місті за останні кілька років. Головною причиною цих змін були відновлення та модернізація інфраструктури: вуличне освітлення, асфальтування тротуарів та центрального проїзду, ремонт деяких вулиць. Проте, за словами інформантів, навіть з деякими позитивними змінами все ще не ідеально.

Щодо роботи публічних установ, інформанти висловили задоволення роботою освітніх установ. Натомість, робота медичних установ та комунальних (міських) підприємств оцінювалась як незадовільна.

Local dimension of global problems

Більшість учасників фокус-групи вважають, що в Україні немає права, але не всі могли навести конкретні приклади. Водночас, люди не відчувають справедливості, оскільки немає покарання за економічні злочини, а є випадок нерозв'язаного резонансного вбивства.

Немає достатньої довіри до поліції, хоча місцеві мешканці звертаються до неї за допомогою. Люди вважають, що поліція зробить щось тільки якщо "у вас є гроші".

The level of corruption in the Henichesk ATC is assessed to be on a par with other regions. The participants emphasized the corruption of the local court describing it as *"the most corrupt institution in town"*.

On another note, we asked about the involvement of the local population in grassroots civic initiatives. Almost no one from the focus group participants heard anything about public activists which may indicate a low level of activity of such activists and organizations as well as the lack of awareness of the locals of what those activists actually do. The only initiative known to informants was about providing help for the stray dogs.

Conflicts and tensions within community

- Between the Crimean Tatars and the locals – for the land.
- Between local authorities and the residents of the Arabat Spit (*Arabatska Strilka*) (mainly related to the issues of infrastructure – water and electricity supply).
- Between local authorities and the "Chongar" taxi drivers, who blocked the initiative of local authorities to introduce regular bus lines to and from Chongar (where is the EECP to temporary occupied Crimea) that would decrease the demand for taxi services.
- With the head of the district hospital (medical superintendent), who was described by the focus-group participants as *"the most corrupt head doctor in the entire region"*.

The participants also mentioned a problem with **the water supply system (plumbing)** that causes regular interruptions in the water supply.

As mentioned above, the low quality (assessment) of local authorities' work, no efficient work with stray animals, and corruption of the court are also among the problematic issues that were pointed out by the participants.

Attitudes towards different social groups

For the internally displaced persons, whom the locals call "resettlers", neutral attitudes or sympathy prevails.

Although when talking separately about the IDPs from the Donbas, the participants shared mostly negative associations, as *one participant expressed it: "there are both refugees and bandits"*

At the same time, everyone expressed a positive attitude to the "Crimeans" – "friends", "relatives", "brothers".

"Russians" also evoke positive associations among informants: "relatives" and "brothers" prevailed among their answers.

The attitude towards the Crimean Tatars among the participants was almost equally distributed: from positive to negative. It is important to note that some informants are aware that the whole group cannot be judged by the behaviour of one single person.

At the same time, there is a positive attitude towards Muslims.

What is alarming is the mostly negative or indifferent attitude towards the Ukrainian military, but at the same time positive attitude towards the Russian military.

The focus group participants expressed mostly negative attitudes towards the members

of illegal armed formations organized by Russia on the territory of CADLR.

However, the majority of the respondents called the ordinary residents of CADLR "the hostages of the situation".

The attitude to those who currently live in the temporarily occupied Crimea was ambiguous, but with no negative associations. Many participants found it difficult to answer this question. Among the associations we could hear "Our Crimea", "happy people", "foreign country".

Issues related to Russia's military aggression against Ukraine

We were foremost interested in the attitude of the local population to the parties of the conflict in Donbas and Crimea. According to focus group participants, the majority of the population supports Ukraine's position, but the share of opponents is also rather significant (up to 30%).

Regarding transitional justice, in particular the recognition of documents, most participants are in favour of automatic recognition of documents (birth certificates, purchase / sales documents) issued by the occupation administrations of the Russian Federation in CADLR, although with an option to apply to court in controversial cases.

There is no consensus opinion on amnesty in general. Reflecting on the various formats of amnesty, the respondents noted the general wording "according to the laws of Ukraine" and called for individual cases to be considered, not all at once in bundle. This proves that the government needs to come up with an approach that will be implemented by the state and will also be communicated to the population.

Most participants also believe that each case of lustration should be considered separately, but they generally agree with the need for lustration of the leadership of the occupation authorities and law enforcement agencies. At the same time, as in the case of amnesty, there is yet no consensus formed in the population regarding lustration thus it is necessary to communicate the position of the state to them.

As for the proposal to pay for the surrender of weapons – there was no understanding for this idea among the group participants; the vast majority is in favour of inspections and liability for not handing in the weapons.

Most notably, there are issues with the focus group's participants perception and attitudes regarding the politics of commemoration – both as for the introduction of the National Day of Remembrance for the victims of Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine, and as for the opening of the corresponding museum. Although the attitudes to the establishment of the museum of overcoming the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine is slightly more positive – about a third of the participants support such an initiative.

All participants also do not support the proposal to introduce a mandatory Security's Service of Ukraine (SBU) permits to enter the temporary occupied territory of Crimea.

Economic condition

Informants noted the difficult situation with jobs (employment) in their community. The work is mostly seasonal – for the summer period; at other times of the year, it is hard to find any job. Also, some participants consider it necessary to "go somewhere" in search of a better job.

The income level of the residents of Henichesk ATC is estimated as low. According to participants, to pay for expensive services or goods one need to save up money, and one has to choose: either to go on vacation or to purchase something significant.

Much of the income is spent on utility bills – about 30-40% on average, in wintertime this share increases.

Key findings of focus group discussion analysis

Thus, based on the analysis of focus group discussions in Starobilsk and Henichesk amalgamated territorial communities, we come to the following conclusions:

- Residents of communities are mostly neutral or positive towards local government, although most of them complain about its work. Fewer informants have ever appealed to the authorities or used other tools of public participation.
- Assessing the work of municipal institutions, informants were positive regarding educational institutions, while medical ones and communal (municipal) utility service companies received negative feedback.
- There is a lack of trust in the work of the police in both communities.
- The economic situation in both communities is hard: the job opportunities are limited, incomes are low, and a significant part of them goes to pay for utilities.

As for the attitudes in the communities regarding the temporary occupation of CADLR and Crimea and certain issues of post-conflict settlement:

- Indifferent or negative attitudes towards the Ukrainian military are widespread in the Henichesk community, while Russians evoke positive associations in most focus group members. In the Starobilsk community, the situation is the opposite: there is almost unanimously positive attitude towards the Ukrainian military and negative one towards the Russians. In both communities, there is a clear and pronounced negative attitude towards the representatives of illegal armed groups organized by Russia on the territory of CADLR. At the same time, residents of both Henichesk and Starobilsk consider those who currently live at TOT hostages to the situation.

Among the main problematic points / issues mentioned by the informants were:

in Henichesk

- infrastructural improvements (roads, pavements, lighting),
- the deterioration of the city plumbing and interruptions in water supply,
- conflict between Crimean Tatars and locals for land,
- protests of the Arabat Spit residents about the inaction of local authorities regarding electricity supply (blackouts) and (abundance of) mosquitoes,
- protest of Chongar taxi drivers against efforts to regulate their activities,
- situation with the allegedly corrupt head medical doctor of the district hospital,
- lack of efficient work with stray animals,
- corruption of the local court;

in Starobilsk

- infrastructural improvements (roads),
- lack of public transport,
- the issue of garbage collection and disposal,
- unsatisfactory work of Vodokanal (municipal water supply utility company) and (very high) water tariff,
- the problem of stray dogs and related tensions between two opposing groups of activists,
- the issue of allocating land for a military cemetery for those killed in the Russian-Ukrainian war.

Conclusions

Summarizing the information obtained during the research and its analysis, it is noteworthy that the residents of both Starobilsk and Henichesk communities are united by a mostly neutral to positive attitude to local authorities, especially local self-governments. However, this does not preclude informants from complaining about their work. The residents also evaluate their work, especially in relation to citizens' appeals, as sometimes formal and not solution-oriented. At the same time, all informants noted that if the problems are significant for the community, the local government takes a constructive position and is often limited solely by financial capacity and specific division of areas of competency.

Both communities have confidence (trust) in the elections, especially local ones, and consider the elections to be overall transparent and fair. In the same way, they trust the work of CSOs, especially those whose activities are noticeable and considered socially important and necessary.

The work of educational institutions (primarily schools) is assessed positively, especially considering the complaints about the work of municipal utility service companies and medical institutions. At the same time, the dissatisfaction with medical institutions is mainly due to the shortage of staff and lack specialty doctors and not due to their actual work.

Importantly, there is a lack of trust in the work of the police and other law enforcement agencies in both communities. There was almost an unanimity about the high level of corruption in the judiciary system (local courts) and the lack of the rule of law, which was primarily interpreted as the inability to seek justice and obtain a fair decision in case of a lawsuit or appeal to law enforcement agencies. Also, both communities were identified as corrupt by the residents, albeit to a lesser extent than the rest of the country.

In general, both communities have a rather difficult economic situation, which is manifested primarily in problems with finding a job, low wages, high costs for utilities and rent, and so on. At the same time, in both communities, informants spoke of shortage of professionals and qualified workers, especially doctors.

As for the public attitudes in the communities, including regarding the temporary occupation of CADLR and Crimea and certain issues of post-conflict settlement, there is a difference between Henichesk and Starobilsk ATC. First of all, the attitudes to the Ukrainian military are positive in Starobilsk ATC and indifferent or negative in Henichesk ATC. The situation regarding the Russian military is reversed. At the same time, in both communities, there are pronounced negative attitudes towards the representatives of illegal armed formations of the so-called "LPR / DPR", which are often called "gangs". Residents of both Henichesk and Starobilsk communities consider those who now live in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine hostages to the situation.

Residents of both communities called for recognition of the legal deals carried out in the temporarily occupied territories, albeit with reservations (primarily on contracts of property sale). Similarly, both communities lack a consolidated position on whether to offer monetary incentives for surrendering weapons (firearms). Participants from both communities spoke of the need for lustration and amnesty, discussing possible criteria for the latter. Among the criteria, there were foremost the voluntary nature of the de-

cision to take up arms for the so-called "LPR / DPR", (non)committing war crimes, and assistance to Ukraine.

The lists of issues and conflicts discussed by the participants were similar for both communities. Among the key issues, there were infrastructure problems (infrastructural improvements of the city, roads, pavements, etc.), problems with water supply, garbage collection (and processing / disposal), and stray animals with conflicts between activist groups over what to do with such animals.

In *Table 1* and *Table 2*, we summarized the risk and tension factors which could cause conflict situations in communities.

Table 1. Risk and tension factors in Starobilsk ATC

Risk factor	Type of tension	Sphere	Participants	Type of threat	Recommendations for measures to reduce tension
Insufficient use of institutionalized tools of local democracy by residents (petitions, participatory budgeting, etc.)	Tension	Political	City council, community	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to promote the tools of local democracy among the population (including for young people – in public schools); allocate more resources to the participatory budgeting information campaign (including success stories)
Lack of community residents' trust in the work of local authorities, assessment of its efficiency as insufficient	Potential tension	Political	Local self-government bodies, community	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to improve communication of their activities and implemented projects (meetings with citizens, interaction with local media)
Low quality of municipal infrastructure (roads, plumbing, public transport)	Ongoing conflict	Socio-economic	Local self-government bodies, community utility companies, community	Urgent	Local self-government bodies to attract International Technical Assistance funds for the implementation of large infrastructure projects, optimize the use of available resources, more actively communicate their needs to central authorities
Low / insufficient quality of health care in the community	Potential conflict	Social, security	Local self-government bodies, local medical institutions (including paramedical and midwifery stations), community	Urgent	Local self-government bodies to attract international donor organizations' funds for the implementation of large infrastructure projects, optimize the use of available resources, more actively communicate their needs to central authorities
Lack of community residents' trust in the work of police, assessment of its professionalism as insufficient	Tension	Social, political, security	Starobilsk Police Department of the Main Department of National Police in the Luhansk oblast, community	Medium-term	Starobilsk Police Department of the Main Department of National Police in the Luhansk oblast to hold open events for the community; to raise the professional level of officers
Tensions between IDPs and the rest of the community	Tension	Social	Local self-government bodies, local IDPs, and IDPs who live in the TOT and only come to get their social benefits etc	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies in cooperation with NGOs to hold open events aimed at explaining the life situations of IDPs and consequently the need to provide them with additional support

Table 1. Risk and tension factors in Starobilsk ATC

Risk factor	Type of tension	Sphere	Participants	Type of threat	Recommendations for measures to reduce tension
Conflict of interests of individuals and groups of persons regarding the allocation of land in the community	Potential conflict	Socio-economic	City council, deputies, community	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to increase the transparency of decision-making procedures
Tensions between the city and the rural part of the ATC due to the perception of the distribution of resources and attention between them as unequal and unfair	Tension	Social	Residents of Starobilsk, residents of the villages that are part of the community, local self-government bodies	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to increase the transparency of decision-making procedures for the distribution of funding within the community
Low wages and lack of qualified personnel	Potential tension	Socio-economic	Local entrepreneurs, local self-government bodies, community	Medium-term	
Tensions between the Roma and the rest of the community	Potential tension	Social	Roma living in the community, local self-government bodies, community	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to develop measures to implement in the community the provisions of the Strategy for Promoting the Realization of the Rights and Opportunities of Persons belonging to the Roma National Minority in Ukrainian society until 2030
Pro-Russian sentiments of a significant part of the community's population	Tension	Social, security	Community, local self-government bodies	Medium-term	Department of Education of the city council and educational institutions located in the community to conduct events on patriotic education; to involve officers of Armed Forces of Ukraine and veterans of ATO / JFO, and volunteers in these events
Tensions between different denominations / churches in the community	Potential tension	Social, security	Religious communities of the UOC (Moscow Patriarchate), the OCU, protestant communities	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies and district state administrations to organize inter-confessional round tables to discuss problematic issues and to find common solutions

Table 2. Risk and tension factors in Henichesk ATC

Risk factor	Type of tension	Sphere	Participants	Type of threat	Recommendations for measures to reduce tension
Limited institutionalized instruments of local democracy (lack of petitions, participatory budgeting)	Potential tension	Political	City council, community	Medium-term	Local self-government to introduce tools of local democracy (online petitions, participatory budgeting) and to promote them among the population (including for young people – in public schools); to hold public discussions more often and publish up-to-date information about them on their information channel
Lack of community residents' trust in the work of local authorities	Potential tension	Political	Local self-government bodies, community	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to improve communication on their activities and implemented projects (meetings with citizens, interaction with local media)
Lack of inclusiveness in the interaction between local authorities and CSOs	Potential tension	Political	Local CSOs, local self-government bodies	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to institutionalize (through open selections to public councils and working groups) interaction with local CSOs
Low quality of municipal infrastructure (roads, plumbing, hospital)	Potential tension	Socio-economic	Local self-government bodies, community utility companies, community	Urgent	Local self-government bodies to attract International Technical Assistance funds for the implementation of large infrastructure projects, optimize the use of available resources, more actively communicate their needs to central authorities
Lack of community residents' trust in the work of police	Tension	Social, political, security	Henichesk Police Department of the Main Department of National Police in the Kherson oblast, community	Medium-term	Henichesk Police Department of the Main Department of National Police in the Kherson oblast to hold open events for the community, to raise the professional level of officers
Tensions between the Crimean Tatars and the rest of the community	Tension	Social, security	Crimean Tatars living in the community, Mejlis, local self-government bodies	Medium-term	In case of conflicts that may potentially have a relevant ethnic and religious basis, local self-government bodies should conduct dialogue events and explanatory activities on the nature of the conflict
Tensions between the Roma and the rest of the community	Tension	Social	Roma living in the community, local self-government bodies, community	Urgent	Local self-government bodies to develop measures to implement in the community the provisions of the Strategy for Promoting the Realization of the Rights and Opportunities of Persons belonging to the Roma National Minority in Ukrainian society until 2030

Table 2. Risk and tension factors in Henichesk ATC

Risk factor	Type of tension	Sphere	Participants	Type of threat	Recommendations for measures to reduce tension
Pro-Russian sentiments of a significant part of the community's population	Tension	Social, security	Community, local self-government bodies	Urgent	Department of Education of the city council and educational institutions located in the community to conduct events on patriotic education; to involve officers of Armed Forces of Ukraine and veterans of ATO / JFO, and volunteers in these events
Unresolved issue of illegal carriers in the direction of Crimea	Tension	Socio-economic	Carriers who carry out transportation to Crimea and from Novooleksiyivka to the administrative border, local self-government bodies, Henichesk District Administration	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to initiate a dialogue of all stakeholders (first of all, illegal carriers and State Tax Service) to develop a mutually beneficial solution
Regular power outages (particularly during the tourist season)	Tension	Socio-economic	Community (including the Arabat Spit residents), local self-government bodies, JTO «Khersonoblenergo»	Urgent	The Ministry of Reintegration to act as a coordinator of the dialogue on resolving the issue between the local self-government, Henichesk District State Administration, National Commission for State Regulation of Energy and Public Utilities, and JSC «Khersonoblenergo»
Negative attitude of the part of community towards the Ukrainian military	Tension	Social, political, security	Community, local self-government bodies, Border Guard Department "Henichesk", Henichesk District Territorial Center of Staffing and Social Support; the military, located in the village of Novooleksiyivka	Urgent	Local self-government bodies, in cooperation with the Border Guard Department "Henichesk", Henichesk District Territorial Center of Staffing and Social Support, and the military division located in the village of Novooleksiyivka, to hold open days in military units for the community, exhibitions of military equipment, events for schoolchildren, including screening thematic films
The benefits of community amalgamation are invisible to the public	Potential tension	Political, socio-economic	Local self-government bodies, community	Medium-term	Local self-government bodies to improve communication on their activities and implemented projects (meetings with citizens, interaction with local media)
Low wages and lack of qualified personnel	Potential tension	Socio-economic	Local entrepreneurs, local self-government bodies, community	Medium-term	

ANALYTICAL REPORT

For the Project

«Increasing Ministry of Reintegration Potential in Providing Coordination for Programmes of Conflict Emergence Risk Assessment in Communities and Facilitation of Local Development Potential for Strengthening of Social Cohesion of Communities that Suffered a Negative Impact of Armed Conflict»

