Displaced public spaces in Ukrainian cities: Increasing diversity and inclusion in urban reconstruction through temporary occupation

Espacios públicos 'desplazados' en ciudades ucranianas: aumento de la diversidad y la inclusión en la reconstrucción urbana a través de la ocupación temporal

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Abstract

This research engages with the tragic consequences of "urbicide", the deliberate destruction of urban environments. While urbicide erases physical and cultural heritage, temporary urban phenomena can lead to the development of new tangible and intangible heritage, which could drive reconstruction and transformation. These temporary urban spaces are the result of collective action indicating diverse forms of "agency", negotiation and decision-making, which may lead to alternative urban development processes characterized by sense of belonging and social participation through "temporality". Through a case study methodology involving two cities in Ukraine, the research argues that the interaction of the temporary use of space with its informal appropriation may lead to long-term collective leadership and increasing levels of "autonomy" in the making of urban places. These processes of urban transformation, therefore, call for collective actions that respond to local needs and shared heritage, shaping urban spaces and associated cultural values. Exploring the cities of Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv, the research sheds light on the potential for this new intangible heritage, emerging through the temporary use of city center spaces by internally displaced people (IDPs), to contribute to post-conflict urban reconstruction and identify the conditions under which more inclusive and diverse urban development processes can counteract the effects of urbicide.

Keywords

Collective urban processes, public space, temporariness, intangible heritage, urbicide, IDPs, urban reconstruction

Resumen

Esta investigación aborda las trágicas consecuencias del "urbicidio," la destrucción deliberada de los entornos urbanos. Mientras que el "urbicidio" borra el patrimonio físico y cultural, los fenómenos urbanos "temporales" pueden conducir al desarrollo de un nuevo patrimonio tangible e intangible, que podría impulsar la reconstrucción y la transformación. Estos espacios urbanos temporales son el resultado de acciones colectivas que indican diversas formas de "agencia," negociación y toma de decisiones, y pueden conducir a procesos urbanos alternativos, caracterizados por el sentido de pertenencia y la participación social a través de la "temporalidad." A través de una metodología que aplica estudio de caso involucrando dos ciudades en Ukrania, la investigación sostiene que, si el uso temporal del espacio interactúa con su apropiación informal, esto puede conducir a un liderazgo colectivo a largo plazo y a niveles crecientes de "autonomía" en la creación de espacio urbano. Estos procesos de transformación urbana, por lo tanto, exigen acciones colectivas que respondan a las necesidades locales y al patrimonio compartido, generando espacio urbano y valores culturales. Al explorar las ciudades de Ivano-Frankivsk y Lviv, ésta investigación descubre el potencial de este nuevo patrimonio intangible, que surge del uso temporal de espacios urbanos por parte de desplazados internos (PDI), para contribuir a la reconstrucción urbana del posconflicto e identifica las condiciones bajo las cuales se puede lograr desarrollos urbanos más inclusivos y con mayor diversidad, capaces de contrarrestar los efectos del "urbicidio"

Palabras clave

Procesos urbanos colectivos, espacio público, temporalidad, patrimonio inmaterial, urbicidio, desplazados internos, reconstrucción urbana

Post-war urban regeneration: context and challenges in traumatized cities

Cities affected by war are confronted with "urbicide", the explicit destruction of their built environment, as well as the embedded cultural and symbolic meanings that shape their tangible and intangible heritage. This takes place under fractured political and socio-economic conditions, compounded by human rights challenges due to the forced displacement of the urban population. Recovery means that reconstruction processes need to carefully restore and preserve the social and spatial cohesion of the city, as well as its culture and heritage.

The term urbicide initially described "the destruction process of the diverse functions and human physical environment necessary for a vital urban life"[1] in reference to urban planning policies and urban renewal projects aimed at modernizing American cities by destroying deprived neighborhoods and their identities.[2] Later, Coward examined urbicide from the perspective of the destruction of the built environment, including symbolic buildings and other artefacts of cultural significance, as a process of killing "the collective memory of co-existence".[3]

Building on the above approach, urbicide targets urbanity as a plurality of places and social heterogeneity, as well as social interactions. This is aligned with Lefebvre's view of urban space as a tool of social reproduction, which is shaped by people's daily life practices, while reforming their identities and relations. The intentional destruction of urban space and urban experience (urbes), constitutes an attack upon community, "common life" and plurality, aimed at the homogenization of urban population and disruption of collective identity. [4]

Whereas "direct urbicide" refers to the visible and deliberate destruction of cities through strategies of place annihilation, bombing, physical destruction, "indirect urbicide" refers to the slow and less visible loss of urban space, including uneven development, socio-spatial segregation and displacement.[5] Direct or indirect violence against the social and spatial dimensions of cities destroys the sense of collective identity and can lead to the development of "collective spatial trauma."[6] Therefore, tangible and intangible cultural heritage, identity politics, and the social, institutional and political contexts in which they are situated, all have to be considered in order to understand urbicide.

Cultural heritage was universally defined by UNESCO in 1972 as "monuments", "sites" and "groups of buildings" which are of outstanding universal value from the

1   Ada Louise Huxtable and Robert A. Gross, "Against Urbicide," Newsweek, New York: Newsweek Publishing LLC, August 1970, 92.

2   Marshall Berman, "Roots, Ruins, Renewals: City Life After Urbicide," Village Voice, September 4, 1984.

3   Martin Coward, Urbicide: The Politics of Urban Destruction (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

4   Fernando Carrión Mena and Paulina Cepeda Pico, "Urbicide: An Unprecedented Methodological Entry in Urban Studies?", in Urbicide: the Death of the City, ed. Fernando Carrión Mena and Paulina Cepeda Pico (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2023), 3-22.

5   Kostyantyn Mezentsev and Oleksii Mezentsev. "War and the City: Lessons from Urbicide in Ukraine. Czasopismo Geograficzne, 93(2022): 495-52.

6   Rachel Pain, "Geotrauma: Violence, Place and Repossession," Progress in Human Geography 45, no. 5 (2021): 972-89.

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7   UNESCO, Convention concerning the
    Protection of the World Cultural and Natural
    Heritage (Paris, 1972), 2.

8   UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of
    the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, 2003), 2.

9   Harold Kalman, "Destruction, Mitigation,
    and Reconciliation of Cultural Heritage,"
    International Journal of Heritage Studies 23,
    no. 6 (2017): 538-55.

10 Roha W. Khalaf, "Cultural Heritage
    Reconstruction after Armed Conflict:
    Continuity, Change, and Sustainability," The
    Historic Environment 11, no. 1 (2020): 4-20.

11 Ida Susser and Jane Schneider, "Wounded
    Cities," in Wounded Cities: Destruction and
    Reconstruction in a Globalized World, ed.
    Ida Susser and Jane Schneider (London:
    Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003), 1-24.

12 Adrian Lahoud, "Introduction," Architectural
    Design 80, no. 5: Post-Traumatic Urbanism
    (2010): 14-23.

13 Scott A. Bollens, City and Soul in Divided
    Societies: Epic Cultures and Urban Faultlines
    (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor & Francis Group,
    2011).

14 Aleksandar Staničić and Milan Šijaković, "(Re)
    building Spaces of Tolerance: A 'Symbiotic
    Model' for the Post-War City Regeneration,"
    Architecture and Culture 7, no. 1 (2019): 113-28.

15 United Nations, Ukraine: Regional refugee
    response plan and flash appeal, 2022.

point of view of history, art and science.[7] However, it was not until 2003 that the intangible dimension of cultural heritage was introduced, encompassing not only "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills... that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage"[8] but also —among others— oral traditions, social practices and rituals.

In the case of war and conflict, the deliberate destruction of monuments and sites represents not only physical loss but also an attempt to erase collective memory. Efforts to reconstruct heritage sites and buildings are not only symbolic acts of resilience but also potential catalysts for political reconciliation,[9] for social cohesion, for stabilizing communities and for promoting sustainable development.[10] Therefore, there is a need for a paradigm shift towards the recognition that the processes of both loss and recovery (or reestablishment) of cultural heritage are intertwined with each other and can contribute conjointly to the generation of a sense of belonging in post-conflict recovery.

Considering that the reconstruction of cities following conflict may result in "socio-spatial inequalities… and marginalization of communities according to class, gender and deprivation; and degradation of urban life,"[11] recovery represents socio-spatial processes that respond to both the physical and psychological trauma caused by urbicide,[12] re-establishing a sense of place, belonging and identity. Urban governance and planning processes should generate urban strategies that promote urban peace and co-existence between preciously antagonizing urban residents. Even though such policies cannot bring peace, they can certainly be used to empower communities to participate and collaborate in planning processes to counter inequalities and exclusion of marginalized urban populations.[13] Community perspectives can produce creative responses that bring flexibility and adaptability to the city in order to increase its resilience and capacity to absorb future shocks and instabilities. By acknowledging the multifaceted nature of recovery and considering the broader socio-political contexts, strategic interventions can transcend physical reconstruction, foster the participation of local communities, and re-establish societies emerging from the shadows of conflict.

This research explores the effects of urbicide and loss of heritage in the built and unbuilt urban environment, combined with the possible challenges, interventions and potential effects of internally displaced people (IDP) in post-conflict reconstruction of Ukrainian cities. The paper argues that temporary urban spaces represent alternative forms of interaction between society and place, driving pathways for social inclusion and integration. The investigation uses qualitative data collection based on a case study methodology to understand emerging urban processes in two Ukrainian cities. The research explores the potential of a new intangible heritage, emerging through temporality, to contribute to socially cohesive post-war urban reconstruction.

Temporary urban spaces by IDPs as new intangible heritage

Conflict affecting urban space involves the demographic changes that occur due to violent displacement and the search for safe living conditions, with incoming IDP requiring provisions for housing and employment. Emerging population dynamics and their challenges may interfere with heritage preservation or with the opportunities for equitable socio-spatial integration or increase meaningful interaction and tolerance between diverse social groups.[14]

In Ukraine, the Russian invasion caused local population displacement on a scale and with a speed without equal since World War II.[15] The loss of their homes, employment and income, and high stress levels particularly during the first months of forced migration, have a significant impact on the deterioration of IDP's physical

and mental health. Therefore, their integration into the host society can be considered an asset for providing opportunities for territorial socio-economic resilience.

The temporary appropriation of urban space by IDPs in the host cities draws attention to the potential of temporary urbanism for creating new types of tangible and intangible heritage that may drive the post-war urban regeneration of affected cities. In particular, the informal creation of temporary places can offer a sense of attachment to the host city and give this particularly traumatized and vulnerable group, which may otherwise be segregated in IDP camps and temporary housing, visibility and agency.

Temporary interventions as heritage

Temporary uses of urban space have been the subject of multiple interpretations either as a provisional, substitutive and, therefore, forced, ineffective and of low quality phenomenon[16] or as an alternative to traditional, long-term, widely accepted urban interventions. In urban development, temporary uses have provided "counter-strategies" and "new development pathways" to transform urban spaces, serving as a testing ground for potential permanent solutions, stimulating curiosity in a particular public space and revealing its intrinsic characteristics.[17]

Additionally, temporary urban interventions provide interim solutions for urban development and management during a time of crisis.[18] Usually such interventions accommodate the mismatch of supply and demand between space and activities, be this housing, commercial or public urban space.[19] The ambivalent nature of these temporary interventions may lead to different political, economic and cultural outcomes depending on the involved actors. They may have an opportunistic attitude, capitalizing on uncertainty and making certain social groups even more precarious or vulnerable, or they can, instead, offer empowerment through spontaneous bottom-up activities and public participation.

Permanent and temporary have been associated with the formal and informal use of urban space, causing tensions within urban planning.[20] Formal or informal temporary activities do not turn permanent unless there is an internal dynamic and popular consent.[21] Examples include squats that have been granted tenure due to length of tenancy, post-war prefabricated housing that was not demolished due to the housing shortage, structures like the London Eye due to its popularity, and numerous community gardens, all of which have in common public support for their permanence. However, this trend has also led landowners to fear hosting temporary activities.

Nevertheless, temporary events in city centers and public spaces can challenge existing representations of power, institutions and functions by offering an alternative interpretation of place and opportunities for experimentation.[22] Through temporary appropriation, city dwellers produce urban space beyond mere inhabitation, gaining the agency and the right to transform the city, effectively creating public spaces as new urban heritage.[23] This can lead to new or altered symbolic meanings of appropriated spaces[24] and even to new cultural features, promoting diversity, increased quality of life and contributing to the common good. In times of increased displacement, mobile citizenship, temporary practices can redefine intangible cultural heritage to include shared, co-created cultures that are spatially fixed and permanent.[25]

Collective processes that drive temporary uses with increased agency and negotiation

New symbols and new temporary urban space use may be linked with newcomers to cities, including refugees and IDPs. As a group, they have been associa-

16 Karolina Marta Szaton, "The Temporary Use as a Strategy for Transforming the Space of Contemporary Cities. Space Transformations Supported by the Purposeful Application of Temporary Use, Based on a Case Study." Miscellanea Geographica 22, no. 4 (2018): 231-36.

17 Sandra Guinand et al., "Co-creative Temporary Use in Public Spaces: The Process is Everything." In Unfolding Dilemmas of Urban Public Spaces, ed. Johannes Riegler and Jonas Bylund, recommendations by JPI Urban Europe's AGORA, Policy paper, 2020, 55-74.

18 Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams, The Temporary City (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012): 19.

19 Ali Madanipour, Cities in Time: Temporary Urbanism and the Future of the City (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2017): 44.

20 Philipp Oswalt et al., Urban Catalyst: The Power of Temporary Use (Berlin: DOM Publisher, 2013).

21 Bishop and Williams, The Temporary City,16.

22 Petra Marko and Radim Lisa, Meanwhile City: How Temporary Interventions Create Welcoming Places with a Strong Identity (Bratislava, Slovak Republic: Milk, 2022).

23 Jose Antonio Lara-Hernandez, "General Introduction," in Temporary Appropriation in Cities: Human Spatialisation in Public Spaces and Community Resilience, ed. Alessandro Melis, Jose Antonio Lara-Hernandez, and James Thompson (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2020): 1-9.

24 Guinand et al., "Co-creative Temporary Use in Public Spaces," 55-74.

25 Penny Travlou, "From Cooking to Commoning: The Making of Intangible Cultural Heritage in OneLoveKitchen, Athens." In Cultural Heritage in the Realm of the Commons, ed. Stelios Lekakis (London, United Kingdom: Ubiquity Press, 2020): 177.

ted with the distinctive form of temporary camps, established to address urgent issues faced by displaced persons, while simultaneously "isolating" the city from their influence. Such urban spaces offer refugees/IDPs access to humanitarian relief and protection,[26] while simultaneously providing regulated spaces of control justified by safety requirements, depriving their inhabitants of their autonomy and freedom of movement.[27] From this perspective, camps are spaces of exception, serving as a crucial tool in preventing refugees from integrating into host societies, reflecting a perception of refugees as "temporary guests"[28] and denying migrants their subjectivity by creating impersonal and identity-deficient transit areas in the local contexts.[29]

Therefore, camps are designed as areas of invisibility for rightless non-citizens, typically located on the city outskirts. Although they may resemble city neighborhoods, they are not, with refugees having limited control over their space, movement, and influence in city planning. They are stuck between temporariness and permanency, between being humanitarian spaces of exceptional and ordinary urban spaces. The boundaries of camps can gradually blur and expand, evolving into "campscapes" with fluid, irregular shapes and elastic, spreading and non-static boundaries. Despite these features, however, they remain in an intermediate state of liminality, semi-formality and semi-legality.

The appropriation of public space through temporary events can offer socially and spatially marginalized groups the visibility and presence that they need for their emancipation. Although public spaces do not always allow complete freedom and tolerance,[30] they offer visibility and the chances for social encounters, political discourse, cultural and economic exchanges. Displaced migrants can become known to one another and active participants in local matters, which can be nurtured through the negotiations of urban life. From an urban governance perspective, displaced migrants can be viewed not as helpless, dependent and passive inhabitants[31] but as active contributors to the social, political, economic and cultural life of the city, as urban citizens and rights-holders.[32] The production of temporary public spaces can represent the right to urban life for IDPs, where they can live like any other urban citizen, regain their agency and engage in social integration. Thus, public space is no longer a backdrop for temporary use[33] but can unfold the creative potential of temporary urbanism in socially innovative ways[34] and become a symbolic space for the agency of displaced persons.

The formation of temporary public spaces initiated by refugees/IDPs questions the production and negotiation of informality. Such initiatives are often spontaneous and may contradict urban planning priorities and the vision of the local community. Even if it is not a form of protest or confrontation between displaced persons and local residents, the visual presence of symbols from another community or city, combined with a lack of planning, can lead to social tension. The significance of turning to urban informality lies in recognizing the piecemeal activities of refugees/IDPs in producing temporary public spaces both as politically significant in articulating urban citizenship and as urban activities emerging through negotiations among locals, displaced persons and authorities.[35] This can represent the autonomy of displaced migrants in shaping the urban space in the host community.

"Displaced" place attachment

The creation of temporary public space by forced migrants and displaced communities is closely linked to the concept of place attachment, defined as "the bonding of people to places,"[36] representing an emotional link to a physical site imbued with meaning through social interaction.[37] These bonds with a place that expresses the feelings and experiences[38] resulting from displacement caused by war and the loss of their city by indirect urbicide under occupation. 'Displaced place attachment'

26 Romola Sanyal, "Urbanizing Refuge: Interrogating Spaces of Displacement," International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 38, no. 2 (2014): 558-72.

27 Charlie Hailey, Camps: A Guide to 21st-Century Space (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2009).

28 Jonathan Darling, "Forced Migration and the City: Irregularity, Informality, and the Politics of Presence," Progress in Human Geography 41, no. 2 (2017): 178-98.

29   Daniel Göler, "Places and Spaces of the Others. A German Reception Centre in Public Discourse and Individual Perception," in Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities, ed. Birgit Glorius and Jeroen Doomernik (Cham: Springer Nature, 2020): 69-91.

30 Darling, "Forced Migration and the City," 178-98.

31 Philip Marfleet, "'Forgotten,' 'Hidden': Predicaments of the Urban Refugee," Refuge 24, no. 1 (2007): 36-45.

32 Isis Nunez-Ferrera et al., Idps in Towns and Cities – Working with the Realities of Internal Displacement in an Urban World, submission to the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement by IIED, JIPS and UN-Habitat, 2020.

33 Ivana Krmpotic Romic and Bojana Bojanic Obad Scitaroci, "Temporary Urban Interventions in Public Space," Prostor 30, no. 2 (64) (2022): 178-87.

34 Madanipour, Cities in Time, 156-66.

35 Darling, "Forced Migration and the City," 178-98.

36 Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," in Place Attachment, ed. Setha Low and Irwin Altman (Boston, MA: Springer US, 1992): 2.

37 Melinda J. Milligan, "Displacement and Identity Discontinuity: The Role of Nostalgia in Establishing New Identity Categories," Symbolic Interaction 26, no. 3 (2003): 381-403.

38 Rashad Alirhayim, "Place Attachment in the Context of Loss and Displacement: The Case of Syrian Immigrants in Esenyurt, Istanbul," Journal of Urban Affairs, no. ahead-of-print (2023): 1-23.

can help understand the connections made by the attempts of forced migrants to recreate "their place" in a new city. These temporary public spaces are a crucial precondition for, to some extent, preserving portable, but strong, place bonds.

Place attachment is multifaceted and varies in terms of the nature of bonds and the social or physical features of the place.[39] Alongside one's home, urban public spaces play a significant role in place attachment, which typically influences different dimensions: affective/emotional (such as pride, safety, comfort in pre-war times versus fear, insecurity and discomfort in public spaces during times of war), cognitive (in terms of familiarity, continuity, and self-efficacy versus uncertainty, discontinuity and isolation), and behavioral (involving stability and long-term bonds versus instability and disruption).[40] In the context of war, disruptive transformations can occur gradually and be anticipated (as in the case of voluntary relocation or phenomenological displacement) or they can be abrupt and profoundly disruptive (in the case of forced migration due to natural disasters or war).[41]

In the latter case, "displaced place attachment" occurs as the reflection of the desire to overcome the disruption of place attachment and recreate comfortable, familiar and even "stable" temporary public spaces, similar to those in the city of origin. This post-disruption strategy is distinct from the more traditional approaches of maintaining attachment to the "old place" or forming attachments to a "new place".[42] It also differs from maintaining or regaining attachment continuity through nostalgia, recognizing and redefining a shared past.[43] These new temporary public spaces involve active interventions to shape and even plan urban space in order to preserve place attachment in the present (rather than nostalgia for the past). At the same time, they keep alive the hope of returning to one's city (even if it is in ruins), facilitating the temporary reconstruction of public spaces as anchors for place attachment. These public spaces can be conditionally regarded as "portable public spaces", where portability lies in the possibility of taking them back to reconstructed cities as intangible heritage.

To summarize, the creation of temporary public space for and by forced migrants ensures their recognition as rights-holding urban citizens,[44] while simultaneously maintaining place attachment to the destroyed cities. This, in turn, contributes to inclusive urban reconstruction in the future.

To explore tangible and intangible perspectives of urban reconstruction, this research has focused on two cities in Ukraine exhibiting significant changes in the urban fabric as a result of temporary public spaces used by IDPs.

Temporary appropriation of public space by IDPs in Ukrainian cities: the case of Mariupol Street in Lviv and Kherson Street in Ivano-Frankivsk

The Russo-Ukrainian War commenced in February 2014, with the full-scale invasion ongoing since February 2023. Over a span of more than nine years of conflict, nearly every city has endured varying degrees of destructive impact. During the first hundred days of the full-scale stage of the war, every third city experienced direct (military) urbicide through shelling, bombing or street fighting.[45] Additionally, some occupied cities faced the effects of indirect urbicide. One of the most significant repercussions was mass forced displacement. While the number of IDPs was estimated at around 1.5 million in 2014-15, it had surpassed 6 million by 2022[46] (excluding refugees who left Ukraine). This protracted displacement, alongside the destruction of housing and entire cities, have prompted diverse processes of adaptation to the new host cities. This, in turn, has given rise to the emergence of new temporary public spaces initiated by migrants, besides a new intangible heritage linked to these experiences.

39 Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford, "Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework," Journal of Environmental Psychology 30, no. 1 (2010): 1-10.

40 Barbara Brown and Douglas Perkins, "Disruptions in Place Attachment," in Place Attachment, ed. Setha Low and Irwin Altman (Boston, MA: Springer US, 1992): 279-304.

41 John Dixon and Kevin Durrheim, "Dislocating Identity: Desegregation and the Transformation of Place," Journal of Environmental Psychology 24, no. 4 (2004): 455-73

42 Alirhayim, "Place Attachment in the Context of Loss and Displacement," 1-23.

43 Milligan, "Displacement and Identity Discontinuity," 381-403.

44 Nunez-Ferrera et al., Idps in Towns and Cities.

45 Mezentsev and Mezentsev, "War and the City," 495-521.

46 Daria Mykhailyshyna, Maksym Samoiluk, and Mariia Tomilina, "Refugees from Ukraine: who are they, how many are there and how to return them?" Final report, Centre for Economic Strategy, August 29, 2023, https://ces.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/bizhenczi-z-ukra%D1%97ni.-finalnij-zvit.pdf. (In Ukrainian)
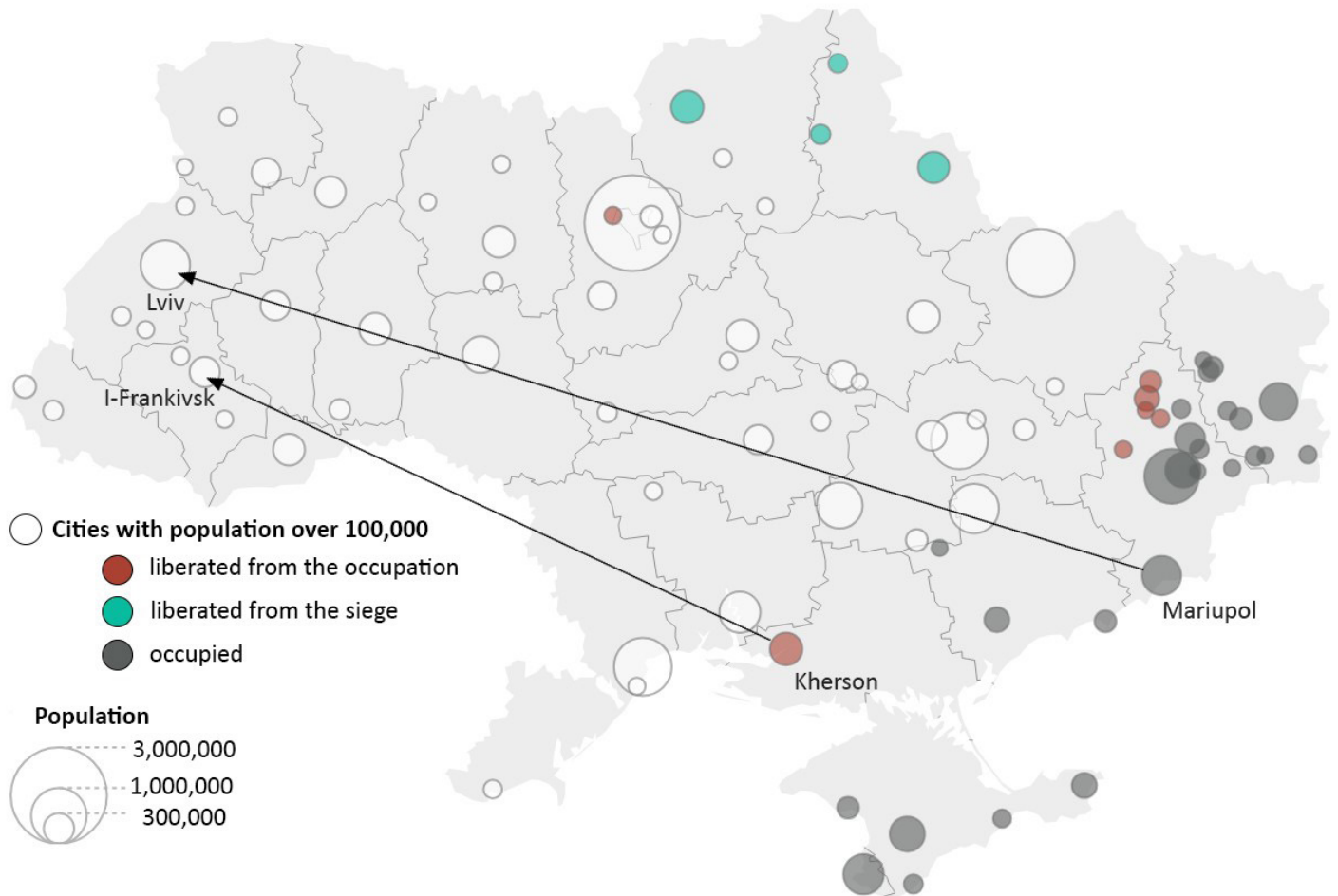
Figure 1. Case study cities

In this study, we relied on an in-depth analysis of two temporary public spaces initiated by internally displaced persons: Mariupol in Lviv and Kherson in Ivano-Frankivsk (Figure 1).

The former temporary public space was initiated by the displaced municipal authorities from the destroyed and occupied city of Mariupol. It is associated with the opening of the "Je suis Mariupol" support center for IDPs and the "Homecoming" mural dedicated to Mariupol. The objective of Mariupol authorities was to aid residents in adapting to their new cities by reintegrating and uniting people from Mariupol in "their love for their hometown and the hope of returning to Mariupol."[47] Adjacent to the support center, a 30-meter-long mural by a painter from Mariupol symbolizes the hope for Mariupol's liberation. On the wall, the artist has reproduced the city's damaged and destroyed landmarks, along with symbolic doves from Mariupol's Freedom Square (Figure 2, 5). Over the past year, this street has metamorphosed into a temporary public space for IDPs, transformed as a 'small home'. It is not just about receiving assistance, "it's about understanding, compassion and the sense of community among Mariupol residents."[48] Furthermore, this public space was temporarily transformed into a venue for celebrating the 245th anniversary of Mariupol city in September 2023.

On the other hand, Kherson Street in Ivano-Frankivsk city is a temporary public space associated with the entrepreneurial initiative of displaced persons from Kherson to open a café in Ivano-Frankivsk. The original concept was to design a café modeled on one that there was in their hometown, a city which had been temporarily occupied, was later liberated but, nonetheless, urbicided by the Russian military forces. This unofficially named Kherson Street is situated amidst recently built residential complexes, conveniently close to the city center. Over time, displaced people from Kherson, Berdyansk and various other cities

47 ""Je suis Mariupol" Support Centers Network operates in Ukraine" (V Ukraini pratsiuie merezha tsentriv pidrymky "IaMariupol"), Mariupol: Official site of the city council, July 1, 2023, https://mariupolrada.gov.ua/news/v-ukraini-pracjue-merezha-centriv-pidtrimki-"jamariupol"-adresi.

48 Tereshchuk Halyna, ""People's souls ache, diseases have worsened," said a doctor from Mariupol, describing the condition of Mariupol residents." Radio Liberty, July 24, 2022, https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/okupatsiya-mariupol-viyna-blokada/31956781.html. (In Ukrainian)

a

b

c

Figure 2. The "Je suis Mariupol" support center and the "Homecoming" mural as catalysts for the emergence of temporary public space in Lviv.

49 Lavriv Mariia, "The place where they gather. The residents of Kherson opened the Prostir. Coffee cafe in Frankivsk with 'watermelon' coffee," ShoTam, September 25, 2022, https://shotam.info/mistse-de-zbyraiutsia-svoi-khersontsi-vidkryly-u-frankivsku-kav-iarniu-prostir-coffee-z-kavunovoiu-kavoiu.

affected by the war have established other cafés and stores. This area consistently attracts a significant number of displaced individuals and is characterized as the "Small Island of Kherson in Ivano-Frankivsk," "a place where people congregate, evoking a sense of being in Kherson."[49] A year ago, this was a desolate street with an unappealing appearance, devoid of any commercial activity. Today, it has become a vibrant public space, featuring new daily routines and fostering a food consumption culture shared by both IDPs and local residents (Figures 3, 4, 5).

The research focused on a thorough review of local media and carried out eight in-depth interviews from October to November 2023: four in Lviv, focusing on temporary public spaces initiated by IDPs from Mariupol (LV-MA), and four in Ivano-Frankivsk, focusing on temporary public spaces initiated by IDPs from Kherson (IF-KH). Respondents included IDPs, local experts, and local authority officials (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Characteristics of In-Depth Interview Respondents

Respondent	Status	Gender	Conducted in
Case 1: Temporary public space in Ivano-Frankivsk (IF) initiated by IDPs form Kherson (KH)			
IF-KH-01	Local expert	male	October 2023
IF-KH-02	IDP	male	October 2023
IF-KH-04	IDP	male	November 2023
IF-KH-08	IDP	female	November 2023
Case 2: Temporary public space in Lviv (LV) initiated by IDPs form Mariupol (MA)			
LV-MA-03	IDP	female	November 2023
LV-MA-05	Local expert	female	November 2023
LV-MA-06	IDP	female	November 2023
LV-MA-07	Local authority	male	November 2023

The interviews confirmed that temporary public spaces become drivers for restoring agency among IDPs in the host city. Moreover, they contribute to altering urban planning prospects. Thus, a public space initiated by forced migrants "breathes new life into the place" (LV-MA-05) and the city even "started to breathe during the war" (IF-KH-01). A previously "quite neglected" space in the inner city of Lviv "with a rather archaic feel" has been "revitalized" and "has become a catalyst for both the street's development and the memory of Mariupol residents" (LV-MA-05). Similarly, the temporary use of street space in Ivano-Frankivsk boosted renovation (IF-KH-01). Within a year, a "plain street without any functional purpose," with "no vision," "crystallized as a public space" and "livened up," not least thanks to IDPs (IF-KH-01). The description by respondents of a previously "dark," "gloomy," "depressive" street transformed into a "bright" and "more vibrant" space is a vivid comparison. Thus, the crisis-induced temporariness of such public spaces has an impact on the cultural vibrancy of the hosting city.

The analysis of interviews indicates that, thanks to negotiation, there was no dissatisfaction on the part of local residents, local businesses or local authorities regarding the temporary appropriation and use of public spaces in either case. This holds true regardless of how and by whom these public spaces were initially transformed, i.e., by the city council of the occupied Mariupol (as in Lviv) or through the entrepreneurial initiatives of ordinary migrants (as in Ivano-Frankivsk). As our respondents noted, "no one in Lviv is against it" (LV-MA-05), "businesses in Ivano-Frankivsk are quite actively supporting internally displaced people" (IF-KH-01) and "the local authorities support the initiative" (LV-MA-03). Despite both host cities being traditionally seen as conservative when it comes to urban changes, initiatives by IDPs to create temporary public spaces represent a novel approach to fostering dialog and mutual acceptance between local residents and migrants. These initiatives contribute to the promotion of tolerance, the enrichment of diversity and the formation of a new intangible heritage, encompassing social practices, expressions, rituals and even the emergence of "a new art environment" (IF-KH-01).

While local residents typically "won't allow their culture to be interfered with," IDPs have "brought a note... an ounce of a different mentality into the city," "enriching it with a new essence" that "suits" the city (LV-MA-07). Respondents confirmed that local residents do not object to the idea of such temporary public spaces remaining in their city even after the war. They "don't see any arguments against leaving this space in the city," and this new "layer of memory" "won't be superfluous" (LV-MA-05). This serves as an important lesson on how "informal cultures" in, and regarding, such public spaces can foster conflict-free relations between local residents and migrants, facilitating collective actions for the benefit of the city.

Figure 3. "Prostir.coffee" café: devastated in Kherson (a) and recreated in Ivano-Frankivsk as a catalyst for the emergence of a temporary public space (b).

Figure 4. Kherson Street –a public space fostered by displaced small businesses in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk.

Figure 5. Temporary public spaces in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk

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Displaced public spaces in Ukrainian
cities: Increasing diversity and inclusion
in urban reconstruction through
temporary occupation

Espacios públicos 'desplazados'
en ciudades ucranianas: aumento
de la diversidad y la inclusión en la
reconstrucción urbana a través
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Undoubtedly, temporary public spaces have become a means to ensure IDP visibility and enhance their agency. This visibility is expressed through new names gradually being accepted as appropriate: the street of Kherson people" (IF-KH-04, LV-MA-05), "Kherson Corner" (IF-KH-02), "Mariupol Quarter" (LV-MA-03), or "a part of Lviv with people from Mariupol" (LV-MA-05). "[IDPs] are active. They are visible" (IF-KH-01). However, this visibility of forced migrants through temporary public spaces does not imply spatial segregation; on the contrary, it signifies more diversity: "[...] island? I wouldn't call it that... It's more like a raisin (on the cake), not an island. It's interesting for Frankivsk residents" (IF-KH-01).

Interviews with migrants also confirmed our assumption about the emergence of the phenomenon of "displaced place attachment." On one hand, temporary public spaces expectedly become a place that connects IDPs with their temporarily lost (occupied/destroyed) cities, with the past peaceful life: "It's a connection to the past life, associated with nostalgia and memories. There's always someone from Kherson there" (IF-KH-02) or "Nostalgia... This place has become popular for the people from Kherson" (IF-KH-04). Forced migrants "wanted something from peacetime...," "a piece of Kherson... as similar as possible," "to feel [there] at home" (IF-KH-08). Certain "material things evoke memories of the past life. Like magnets, they attract people" (IF-KH-02). On the other hand, through such temporary public spaces, a connection is preserved not only with the past but also with the present cities that they do not want to lose. These public spaces "remain a channel" with their hometown, for example, when somebody comes to the "Kherson Café" and "may ask, 'What's happening in Kherson?'" (IF-KH-08). This is especially important if a city is occupied, where physical belonging is weakened but attachment to the place is reproduced through temporary public spaces.

Such temporary public spaces gradually cease to be spaces for forced migrants alone, although they remain crucial for their communication, mutual support and the preservation of place attachment. As emphasized by both local residents and IDPs: "it's not just for the people from Kherson. It's for everyone... The connection to the Kherson community is not so essential" (IF-KH-04); "it's an integral part of the city, which supports Mariupol. It's wrong to separate the IDPs" (LV-MA-03); "It's very important for all of us, the people from Kherson. And, first and foremost, for the Frankivsk residents" (IF-KH-02). Interviewees noted, "our target audience has expanded from just [migrants] to everyone, everyone, everyone" (IF-KH-08). At the same time, it is essential to highlight the "symbolism" of temporary public spaces, which are "filled with meaning because of the people who visit it. It's a place of strength not only for [newcomers] but also for [locals]" (LV-MA-03). This lays the essential groundwork for the transformation of cities and urban governance, cultivating a "demand for the future" that is "heated" to be vibrant and dynamic (IF-KH-01).

New intangible heritage as a catalyst for urban change

Two pathways can be identified for the creation of temporary public spaces for and by forced migrants. The first is associated with the transformation of traditional support centers established by host cities into temporary public spaces for communication beyond the camps or dispersed accommodation within the city. Typically located centrally, they serve as symbols of the presence and visibility of refugees/IDPs in the city, whose spaces and uses expand over time to encompass adjacent streets and squares through highly visual street art and thematic events (e.g., city day celebrations).

The second pathway is associated with the entrepreneurial activities of refugees/IDPs, such as cafés, restaurants and stores. These activities tend to cluster on certain streets, squares and lanes, also creating temporary public spaces. Their temporariness is determined by the intentions (and rights) of the displaced persons to return to their places of origin. This type of temporary public space emerges to

meet the needs of the displaced community as a place for communication, experience exchange, mutual support and networking. However, the host community's efforts to support and, at the same time, diversify urban public spaces can turn them into citywide public spaces.

The temporary occupation dynamics explored through this research demonstrate the need for a closer connection between community-led uses of space and institutional planning, particularly in the context of traumatized city recovery. Capturing intangible connections to urban spaces created through temporary uses will require decision-making frameworks that question planning orthodoxies and allow for urban strategies that integrate the informal and temporal practices into established planning structures. This will be possible by embedding ongoing shifts in socio-cultural processes within formal urban dynamics promoting inclusive participatory mechanisms within planning processes.

The case studies demonstrate the emergence of urban practices led by new forms of intangible heritage recreated through collaboration and dialog between local residents and migrants, promoting forms of place-making rooted in expressions of social integration and intercultural exchange. These practices show new approaches to urban governance and power negotiation dynamics, demonstrating openness and tolerance when accommodating functions and uses in urban places. This, in turn, leads to the establishment of new responsible connections between social networks in cities, integrating host and home social, political and economic cultures and providing pathways for change through place attachment.

New practices, expressions and interactions concerning the acceptance and perception of public spaces emerge through forced migrants' appropriation of public spaces surrounding what are important physical places for them, wether, a support center or a café. This process shapes a new intangible heritage for the city, thereby enhancing diversity and inclusivity in cities that are traditionally resistant to such changes. This demonstrates the potential for collaboration between migrants and local residents in transforming the city and facilitating the integration, albeit temporary, of newcomers into the local community in a conflict-free or less contentious manner. The temporariness of public spaces gives way to the lasting impacts brought about by this intangible heritage.

Negotiations regarding temporary public spaces initiated by IDPs bring about a positive change in power dynamics and stimulate new forms of urban governance. Both the visibility and the agency of forced migrants increase in such temporary spaces, showcasing various forms of involvement in urban governance. Temporary public spaces have the opposite effect to the typical practices of segregating and isolating forced migrants in often peripheral camps, supporting the integration of urban IDPs not as powerless aid recipients but as participants in the place-making process.

Displaced place attachment affects both host and home cities. Migrant agency remains important for the restoration of their home city, while simultaneously bringing in changes for the host city. Does and will temporary occupation and the introduction of 'displaced public spaces' contribute to increasing diversity and inclusion in urban reconstruction? This study provides a compelling affirmative answer. The new intangible heritage, born out of urbicide, could and will drive urban reconstruction and transformation.

Acknowledgments

Entre la permanencia
y la temporalidad.
Campos, urbanidad
y tiempo

In between permanence
and temporariness.
On camps, urbanity
and time

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Figure sources

Figure 1: Authors' own design
Figure 2: N. Provotar, November 2023 (a); N. Provotar, May 2023 (b, c).
Figure 3: O. Melnychenko, August 2023 (a); P. Dudchenko, August 2023 (b).
Figure 4: N. Provotar, October 2023.
Figure 5: Authors' own design

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