

**Formation of the European Local Self-government
Model in Ukraine: Developments and
Expectations**

Political Preferences
2019, vol. 22: 5-18
DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.8055860
journals.us.edu.pl/index.php/PP
Submitted: 16/01/2019
Accepted: 11/03/2019



Vladyslav Strutynskiy

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1577-1652>

Liudmyla Strutynska-Struk

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3267-1389>

Abstract:

The article examines the issues of the formation European local self-government. The analysis of the local self-government development in Ukraine is presented. The author explores the existing local self-government legal framework with regard to a possibility of applying the European experience in this sphere to the Ukrainian legislation. Special attention is paid to the existing implementation problems of the adopted laws.

Keywords: local self-government, decentralization, Magdeburg Law, cross-border cooperation, European legislation

Introduction

Historians, lawyers, and political scientists link the emergence and development of local self-government on the European continent with the urban growth – the trend, which originated in Western Europe in the 11th century and continued over the course of the 12 until 14th centuries. During this period, the main principles of local self-government in most European cities were formed under the influence of the Charter of Liberties. The Charter included provisions concerning the rights of citizens towards the urban community, and stipulated the right of self-government. All citizens of the city swore an oath to the municipality, providing for mutual assistance, paying taxes to the city treasury, protecting the city from enemies etc.

Legal formalization of the local self-government is closely connected with the formation of the so-called Magdeburg Law. Many researchers note that the medieval urban governance based on the Magdeburg Law was the first historical form of the local self-government.

The very notion of “self-government” was first used during the French Revolution. It reflected the self-dependence of the communities with regard to the state. According to Yurii Paneyko (one of the most famous European political scientists of Ukrainian origin), the German scholar Rudolf Gneist contributed to the diffusion of term “local self-government”. He sought to adjust the English term “self-government” to describe the system of local governance in the mid-19th century Prussia. Gneist borrowed the term “local self-government” from the J. Smith’s paper “*Local self-government and centralization*”. In his work, J. Smith used the expression “local self-government” to define the type of functioning of local English administration. In some other countries- for example, in France – this terminology has not been used at all. As an alternative, the legislation the refers to the term “decentralization” (Paneyko 2002).

Depending on its structure, historical, national, and geographical as well as peculiarities, each and every state has a specific legal form of local self-government.

The modern legal understanding of the “local self-government” is determined by the norms of international law, as well as by national laws. The basic document is the European Charter of Local Self-Government, adopted on October 15, 1985 in Strasbourg. The Charter denotes the local self-government as the right and the ability of local governments to manage a substantial share of public affairs, “within the limits of the law, within their competences, and in the interest of the local population”.

Speaking of Ukraine – right after the adoption of the Act of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine by the Verkhovna Rada on August 24, 1991, when the country de-jure gained independence, it faced the problems of building a modern state with all its attributes, dealing with both internal and external challenges. The future of the country, which finally gained independence after the hundreds of years-struggle, largely depended on its ability to properly react to the above-mentioned problems.

An important component of the state-building process was the distribution of powers between the center and the regions, districts, cities, and villages. The experience of most European countries shows that local self-government structures play a very important role in these matters. And that is what determines the relevance of the selected topic of this scientific research.

Many European, American and Russian scientists and politicians focus on the subject of local self-governance. It is also the topic of the heightened interest among the Ukrainian scholars

(Czachor 2017; Dębski 2014; Ksenicz 2015; Szapowalenko 2010; de Tocqueville 2000; Paneyko 2002; Cherniak 2010). The relevance of the selected topic and the high level of its scientific developments made it possible to define the purpose of this paper. It is the analysis of historical preconditions and their influence on the formation of a European local self-government model in Ukraine.

The stated purpose implies dealing with the following tasks:

- tracing the historical preconditions for the development of local self-government in Ukraine;
- analyzing the formation of the legislative base of the European local self-government model in Ukraine and its actual implementation on the ground.

Historical preconditions for the development of the local self-government model in modern Ukraine

The modern version of the local self-government emerged in Europe after the French Revolution. Scholars argue that the term “self-government” can be interpreted in a broad and narrow sense. In a broad sense it refers to any state, where the central governing structures (parliament, president, government) are elected by and depend on the people.

But for the most part, “self-government” is defined in a narrow sense. In this case, it characterizes the self-governing communities, which emerge and function within the state. As a rule, this definition is synonymous with the local self-government, which stipulates that the affairs of an administrative-territorial unit are managed by its citizens via various elective structures. The effectiveness of such self-government model depends on a number of factors: the level of consciousness and responsibility of citizens, the maturity of civil society, the quality of the legislative framework, and the historical traditions.

The formation process of the local self-government system in Ukraine within its current internationally recognized territorial borders has been rather complicated and controversial. For a better understanding of these developments, it is necessary to trace the dynamics of the evolution of Ukrainian statehood and its local government elements in their historical retrospective.

It all goes back to the times of Kyivan Rus, which had all attributes of the state-territory, population and public authority. The development and consolidation of state structures by the Kyiv princes facilitated the formation of quite powerful and centralized forms of government. However, at the local level, an important role of the local government body was assigned to

viche – the popular assembly of the residents of a particular locality. The viche was called upon in order to implement the state policy of Kyivan Rus.

Following the dissolution of Kyivan Rus, the cultural and political center of Ukrainian statehood moved to its direct successor – the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. The rapid development of the cities, particularly Galych, Lviv, Lutsk, Volodymyr, and Holm, benefited from the development of trade and various crafts in the region. It sparked the interest of Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians, and Balkan peoples in this area of Eastern Europe. They started sharing their own management techniques, culture, and education with the locals. This led to combining the existing local self-government models with the elements of Western European self-government structures. Since most of the settlers were Poles and Germans, the local self-government was based mainly on the so-called German law, which was widespread throughout the German and Polish cities. Historians, lawyers, and political scientists usually refer to it as the “Magdeburg Law”. It had the decisive impact on the formation of the local self-government model in Ukrainian cities.

Most studies define the Magdeburg Law (*Ius municipale Magdeburgense*, *Sachsische Weichbild* or *Magdeburger Weich bildrecht*) as the medieval city law, which partially exempted cities from the authority of the central (royal) or the feudal administration, and allowed for the creation of local government bodies.

Its name derives from the name of the city of Magdeburg in Saxony, which was entitled to the right of self-government in 1188 by the Archbishop Wichmann. In 1294, this right was reaffirmed by the Saxon prince-electors Albert. The credentials, along with the compilation of the Saxon customary laws “*Sachsenspiegel*” (“Saxon Mirror”) written by Eike of Repgow and the municipal law (*jus municipale*), formed the so-called Magdeburg Law (Kaminska 2010). In Galicia, the Magdeburg Law appeared in the times of the Rus’ princes. Thus, Volodymyr-Volynskyi fell under the Magdeburg Law in 1324, while still being a part of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia (For details see: Khvedchuk 2012).

The first cities on the Ukrainian lands to receive the right of self-government were the Transcarpathian cities, which belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary (Khust, Tiachiv, Vyshkovo). In 1339 the last Galician prince Yuri-Boleslav granted the Magdeburg rights to the city of Sianok. Soon thereafter, as some of the Ukrainian lands came under the Polish rule, almost all Galician cities were privileged with the Magdeburg Law: Lviv (1356), Kamianets-Podilskyi (1374), Stryi

(1431), Lutsk (1432), Mukachevo (1445), Rivne (1493), Kyiv (1494), Dubno (1507), Ternopil (1548), Pereiaslav (1585), Bila Tserkva (1588), Chernigiv (1623), Vinnytsia (1640) etc. During the period from 1324 to 1797 various Ukrainian cities and towns were granted 85 Magdeburg credentials (*Magdeburgskoye pravo*).

In general, the transition of the Ukrainian cities and towns to the Magdeburg Law can be perceived as a positive and progressive phenomenon, which contributed to the development of the local self-government.

In the second half of the 17th century, during the days of the Cossack State, local self-government based on the principles of the Magdeburg Law was still in place. This allowed for a certain degree of localities' independence from the central Cossack administration. At the same time, the Cossack type of self-government (particularly in Zaporizka Sich) had its own fairly democratic institutions: an elected Sich Council, an elected leadership – *koshovyi*, *palankovyi* and *kurinnyi* leaders, as well as *kurinnyi* chieftain. Various economic, military, and judicial matters were addressed according to the principles of self-government.

However, the adverse political and military situation, the internal strife, and the struggle among the Cossack leaders' for the hetman's mace led to the Pereiaslav Council in 1654. As a result, a significant part of the Ukrainian lands came under the control of the Moscow Tsar (Mahun 2014), while the other part remained in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. But then, because of the three partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (carried out by Austria–Hungary, Russia and Prussia), the once-mighty Polish state disappeared from the map of Europe for quite some time. The Ukrainian lands were divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. By 1830, about 80% of Ukrainians became subjects of the Russian Tsar, and 20% - of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor (the modern territories of Bukovyna, Galicia, Transcarpathia) (Lytvynenko 2002). Russia had never applied the Magdeburg Law; therefore, by a special royal decree of 1831, Magdeburg Law was abolished in the Ukrainian territories, controlled by Russia (Kamińska 2010). The traditional national unity and sovereignty of the Ukrainian community, based on the customary law and enshrined in the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was being deliberately destroyed. The provisions of the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had been an integral part of the legal norms on Ukrainian lands for several centuries, were abolished in 1840. In this context, it is worth mentioning that in the documents signed at the Pereiaslav Council in 1654, Moscow committed not to abolish the Magdeburg Law in Ukrainian cities.

Following the World War I and the revolutions in the Russian Empire, Ukrainians once again tried to re-establish their statehood. The Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) and the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) were established on the territory of the modern Ukraine. The concept of the local self-government was proclaimed as an integral part of a new democratic constitutional order. The draft Constitution of the UNR (1918) provided for the creation of a local self-government system, where the local authority would belong to the municipal councils and town halls. This culminated in the proclamation of the Reunification Act of the UNR and ZUNR (*Akt zluiki UNR i ZUNR...*), which claimed the local self-government to be the crucial component of the re-established Ukrainian state. However, in this historical period Ukraine was not able to uphold its independence.

The interwar 20-year period *brought new challenges* for the Ukrainian statehood. Bukovyna was incorporated into Romania; Eastern Galicia and Volhynia – into Poland; Transcarpathia – first into Czechoslovakia, but after 1938 Munich agreement (between France, Britain, Germany and Italy) it ceded to Hungary. Consequently, the issue of local self-government on these territories was addressed in accordance with the domestic legislation of the respective countries. The largest share of the Ukrainian lands formed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic within the USSR. After the World War II, Northern Bukovyna, Eastern Galicia, Volhynia and Transcarpathia were permanently integrated into the Ukrainian SSR, which was an integral part of the Soviet Union until 1991.

During this period, the local councils at all levels were functioning in the Ukrainian SSR. De-jure their objective was to carry out the duties of the local government and self-government bodies. But de-facto they were deprived of any degree of independence, and were functioning as the mere elements of a centralized administrative apparatus.

Summarizing the historical development of the local self-government in Ukraine, one must note that there was a certain experience of the local self-government on Ukrainian lands even before the introduction of the Magdeburg Law – during the times of Kievan Rus. But due to the peculiarities of the geopolitical location of Ukrainian lands, over centuries the local self-government was subjected to the constant influence of Western and Eastern political cultures. Therefore, the emerging problems of the local self-government legislative framework formation and implementation process in modern Ukraine are understandable.

*Formation of the legislative framework of European local self-government model in Ukraine.
Theory and practice*

What were the main tendencies in the development of the self-government legislative framework in independent Ukraine? What was the Ukrainian perception of the European local self-government model and European laws, which proved to be rather successful in the EU member-states?

We have already mentioned the European Charter of Local Self-Government. After many years of discussions that took place in the Council of Europe since 1968, the Charter was finally adopted on October 15, 1985. The purpose of the Charter was to compensate for the lack of common standards in assessing and protecting the rights of a local government unit. The document summarized and defined the generally accepted principles of the implementation of democratic norms in Europe at the local and regional levels, and obliged all parties to guarantee the political, administrative and financial independence of the local self-government units.

The well-developed legislative framework at both European and domestic levels served as a vivid example of the local self-government formation for the independent Ukrainian state. It provided Ukraine with the possibility to choose the most effective course of action for building its own national self-government legislation, and to avoid mistakes that occurred during the implementation of the European Charter of Local Self-Government.

Ukraine, as well as other post-Soviet states, started looking for its own optimal model of local self-government, taking into account the national peculiarities, historical traditions etc. In order to say whether this process has always been successful or not, one should analyze its implications in practice.

The re-establishment of the local self-government in Ukraine and the formation of the respective legislation began with the adoption of the Law “On local councils of the Ukrainian SSR’s people’s deputies and local self-government” in December 1990. This law initiated the process of transition to a democratic system of governance, based on the decentralization and the local self-government. The term “local self-government” became common; the main principles for building the see government bodies were set. One of these principles was the prerogative of the local self-government structures to resolve the issues of local importance, based on the need to “... satisfy the socio-economic interests of the population concerned” (Article 5 of the Law) (BBP 1991).

The next step in the reformation of the state structures was the introduction of the institution of the presidency. In early 1992, the two laws were passed: the Law “On the Representative of the President of Ukraine” (BBP 1992) and “On local councils of the Ukrainian SSR’s people’s deputies and local self-government” (BBP 1993).

According to the first law, the President’s representatives in regions and districts formed the executive branch of power. They exercised the state executive power and controlled the local government bodies. The second law envisaged the creation of a system that would ensure the central public administration’s authority, while allowing for a broad autonomy of the local self-government bodies.

Whereas looking for more progressive models of the local self-government, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law “On the formation of local government bodies and self-government” on February 3, 1994. The law provided for the elimination of the regional and district local state administrations (BBP 1994). They were, however, already restored in 1995. These pseudo-reforms led to an increase of the authority of the government, whilst the scope of application of the mandate of the local self-government unit decreased significantly.

The further development of the local self-government in Ukraine was closely connected with the process of drafting the new Constitution. This quite contradictory constitutional process ended on June 28, 1996 with the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine (BBP 1996). Article 140 of the country’s Basic Law established the fundamental principles inherent to the functioning of the local self-government. It enshrined the right of local communities to deal with the issues of local importance within their competences in accordance with the Constitution and other relevant laws. Despite the fact that the Constitution took account of the recommendations of the European Charter of Local Self-Government, it set out only the general provisions for its formation in Ukraine. Therefore, it was necessary to further develop and adopt a more comprehensive law on the local self-government. There were all the legislative prerequisites for this process. But the lack of clarity with regard to a number of constitutional provisions, the not yet ratified European Charter of Local Self-Government etc. caused the emergence of different views on how the new law must look like. It resulted in the creation of the two new draft laws, which were submitted for consideration by the Verkhovna Rada. After a long debate, mutual concessions and compromises, on May 21, 1997 the Law “On local self-government in Ukraine” was adopted (BBP 1997a), and on July 15, 1997 the European Charter of Local Self-Government was ratified (BBP 1997b).

The new law determined the model, basic principles, legal status and responsibility of the local self-government bodies, and outlined a number of other important provisions that were designed to stimulate the development of the local self-government in accordance with the European standards. However, there were a lot of difficulties during the implementation process, as illustrated by the fact that 103 amendments (calculated by the author) to the Law “On local self-government in Ukraine” were made since its adoption till December 2016. A number of amendments was circumstantial. And even though the reform process is still ongoing, it should be noted that the existing legislative framework clearly defines the general competence of the local self-government structures in Ukraine. It derives both from the provisions of the World Declaration of Local Self-Government, adopted at the 27th Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities on September 26, 1985 in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), as well as from the European laws. The existing international practices make it possible to complement the Ukrainian national legislation with the standards of local self-government seen elsewhere in Europe. In this context, the Ukrainian legislator should examine in detail the European Charter of Urbanism. The Charter was adopted by the Permanent Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CE) in 1993. The drafting process began in 1980, when the Council of Europe introduced a new program entitled “For Better Life in Cities”. The European Charter of Urbanism is especially relevant for Ukrainian borderland cities. Over the centuries, Ukrainian borderland cities were developing with in different states, absorbing different traditions of urban development and urban culture. Thus, they require some special comprehensive methods of dealing with the question of the preservation of architectural masterpieces of different epochs and styles, solving the complex issues of modern urban development etc. And the local self-government bodies are directly responsible for the management of these issues.

Among the other important documents, which might be useful for the modernization of Ukrainian legislation on local self-government, there are the European Declaration of Urban Rights and the European Charter of Cities. Both documents were adopted at the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE) on March 18, 1992 in Strasbourg (*European Urban Charter*). The provisions of these documents were used for drafting the Charter of Ukrainian Cities, which was adopted by the Association of Ukrainian Cities on June 28, 1997 (*Khartiya ukrayins'kykh mist*).

The international standards of social order, developed and adopted by the majority of the European states, are also aimed at regulating the multidimensional issues of international economic and social cooperation of territorial communities and authorities. They are reflected in the “European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities” (*Evropeyska ramkova...*) adopted by the Council of Europe in 1980 in Madrid. From the Ukrainian perspective, the cooperation between the local self-government units of the border regions and their neighbors on the opposite side of the border is very important. This is due to the fact that Ukraine has common borders with the EU countries - Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary. At the same time, Ukraine borders with the countries that are not part of the European Union – Belarus, Russia, and Moldova. In European countries, the activities of the local government units, including the cross-border cooperation, have long been considered as the important elements of integration processes. Moreover, they also contribute to eliminating the economic and social imbalances of border areas, which ultimately leads to the improvement of the intergovernmental relations. Meanwhile, the post-Soviet sentiments are still very strong in Belarus, Russia and the eastern regions of Ukraine. Local authorities are de-facto controlled by oligarchic clans. The adoption on July 14, 1993 by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the Resolution on accession to the European Outline Convention (BBP 1993b) was an important step in providing the legislative basis for the development of cross-border cooperation, creating the Euro-regions. Since 1993 till 2015, 10 Euro-regions were created on the territory of Ukraine (“Bug”, “Carpathian”, “Upper Prut”, “Dniester”, “Lower Danube”, “Black Sea”, “Donbas”, “Slobozhanshchyna”, “Yaroslavna”, “Dnipro”). This was augmented by the adoption of the Law “On cross-border cooperation” by the Verkhovna Rada on June 24, 2004 (BBP 2004). Besides, Ukraine is actively using the European experience in organizing the Euro-regions. But, unfortunately, the rapid creation of the intergovernmental structures has not yet produced tangible results either in the economic or social sphere. In the east and south of the country, the question of the establishment of effective self-government structures and creating the Euro-regions is off the table. The Crimean peninsula was annexed. This is the fourth year now that an undeclared war continues. And one of the reasons for the escalation of the situation in the eastern borderland has been the lack of strong Ukrainian local government units.

Aware of the importance of safeguarding and promotion of the traditions of local self-government, the European community gives considerable attention to the involvement of young people in the development of the local self-government systems. In 1994, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe adopted the European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life (*Evropeyskaya Khartiya...*). In Ukraine, this problem is strategically relevant. The Ukrainian state structures, particularly those at the regional level, need smart, determined, immune to corruption, capable of exercising reforms young politicians. On September 27, 2013, the President of Ukraine issued a decree “On youth policy development strategy for the period up to the year 2020” (*Ukaz Prezidenta Ukraïni...*). Furthermore, in 2014 the draft of the “State programme of youth policy up to the year 2020” (*Nova Kraïna 2014*) was presented to the society. The document included the provisions of the European Charter, as well as the policy guidelines announced in the “Youth policy development strategy for the period up to the year 2020”. The next step is to implement the provisions of these documents in practice.

Despite the significant progress in the development of the local self-government legislative framework in Ukraine and harmonization of many provisions of national legislation with the European standards, there are still a number of obstacles preventing its full implementation. This particularly applies to the public authority decentralization and continued local self-government reforms. It is important to clearly define the competencies of the respective authorities, especially in the sphere of budgetary discretion. Addressing these pressures remains of critical importance to ensuring the quality and accessibility of public services, the realization of citizens` rights, the satisfaction of their needs and interests in various spheres of public life. Early efforts to this end have already been undertaken.

On approval of the Concept of reforming of local-governance units and executive power on April 1, 2014 (Order #333-p), the process of decentralization was launched. On 5 February 2015, the law of Ukraine „On Voluntary Amalgamation of Territorial Communities” was approved.

The considerable rise of amalgamated territorial communities (ATC) testifies their empowerment and effective outcomes of the decentralization reform of Ukraine. Noteworthy, according to statistics, in Ukraine in 2015 there were 159 ATC, whilst in 2018 – so far 874 merged communities have been merged.

Today dozens of international programs and projects facilitate the decentralization process in Ukraine. Further development of this process requires amending and supplementing the

Constitution of Ukraine. On August 31, 2015 the Verkhovna Rada adopted the corresponding Resolution “On preliminary approval of the bill on the amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine concerning power decentralization” (*Postanova Verkhovnoi Radi*). The debate in the Verkhovna Rada surrounding the Resolution demonstrated a struggle between the statesmen who understand the importance of European experience for the successful development of the local self-government in Ukraine on the one hand, and the politicians expressing the interests of oligarchic clans on the other hand. Yet, despite the internal political difficulties, the decentralization of State power in Ukraine and the local self-government reforms move in the right direction. As of early June 2018, 743 joint territorial communities had already been established. Currently, more than 6.4 million people live within these associations (*Decentralization – About Reform*).

The Verkhovna Rada adopted a legislative package to extend the powers of the local self-government bodies, and to optimize the provision of administrative services. So, the following laws were adopted: The Law of Ukraine “On cooperation of territorial communities” (BBP 2014) and The Law of Ukraine “On fundamentals of state regional policy” (BBP 2015a). This allowed for delegating powers to the local authorities, who are now responsible for dealing with the issues of the residence registration; issuance of passports; state registration of legal entities and individuals, entrepreneurs, associations of citizens; civil registration; resolving the land issues etc.

The new legislative framework has greatly increased the inter-municipal consolidation within the country, created the adequate legal and institutional structures and mechanisms necessary for the formation of self-sufficient territorial communities of villages, settlements, and cities. Besides, a new model of the financial management, according to which local budgets received a certain degree of autonomy and independence from the central budget, has already proven to be beneficial.

Conclusions

Firstly, the studies regarding the emergence and development of the local self-government on the Ukrainian territory, along with the complex analysis of the historical experience of its functioning, make it possible to use both the modern European legislation, as well as the historical peculiarities of Ukrainian lands, which over the course of centuries acquired a specific legal form.

Secondly, the results of the study help to understand the existing differences in the functioning of the local self-government structures in the western and eastern regions of Ukraine, especially in the borderland. In this context, the experience of the Euro-regional cooperation is very revealing. It shows that one of the main obstacles for the development of fruitful and transparent cross-border cooperation is the selfish interests of the Ukrainian political elite. Indeed, the transparency of Euro-regional cooperation would harm the interests of the practical politicians by making it harder to create and implement various corruption schemes.

Thirdly, the existing difference in the level of the local self-government decentralization between the European countries and Ukraine is a significant deterrent to the development of cross-border cooperation. For example, the decentralization process in Poland took place in 1999, while the adoption of the law on local self-government decentralization in Ukraine has always been deliberately delayed.

After all, the main thing is that the reform process has been triggered. The only possible way now is further development and improvement of the local self-government system in Ukraine, following the example of the European model of local self-government.

References:

Akt zluki UNR i ZUNR vid 22 sichnya 1919 r., yogo istorichne znachennya (Akt zluki UHP i ZUHP vid 22 sichnya 1919 r., yogo istorichne znachennya). http://pidruchniki.com/13780305/istoriya/akt_zluki_unr_zunr_vid_sichnya_1919_yogo_istorichne_znachennya (20/04/2018).

ВВР (1991). Закон України 1990, № 2. *Про місцеві Ради народних депутатів УРСР та місцеве і регіональне самоврядування*.

ВВР (1992). Закон України 1992 № 23. *Про представника Президента України*.

ВВР (1993а). Закон України 1993 № 3067-ХІІ. *Про місцеві Ради народних депутатів та місцеве і регіональне самоврядування*.

ВВР (1993б). № 36. Постанова ВР України *Про приєднання України до Європейської рамкової конвенції про транскордонне співробітництво між територіальними общинами або властями*.

ВВР (1994). Закон України 1994 № 22. *Про формування місцевих органів влади і самоврядування*.

ВВР (1996). *Конституція України*.

ВВР (1997а). Закон України 1997 № 24. *Про місцеве самоврядування в Україні*.

ВВР (1997б). Закон України 1997 № 38. *Про ратифікацію Європейської хартії місцевого самоврядування*.

ВВР (2004). Закон України 2004 № 45. *Про транскордонне співробітництво*.

ВВР (2014). Закон України 2014 № 34. *Про співробітництво територіальних громад*.

ВВР (2015а). Закон України 2015 № 13. *Про добровільне об'єднання територіальних громад*.

ВВР (2015б). Закон України 2015 № 156-VIII. *Про засади державної регіональної політики*.

- Cherniak, E. (2010). Gosudarstvennaya teoriya samoupravleniya v trudakh yevropeyskikh uchenykh L.Steina i R. Gneista (Государственная теория самоуправления в трудах европейских ученых Л.Штейна и Р. Гнейста). *Vestnik Kazanskogo universiteta (Вестник Казанского университета)*, 11, 384–96.
- Czachor, R. (2017). Wyzwania reformy samorządowej i procesu decentralizacji na Ukrainie po 1991 roku. *Przeгляд Wschodnioeuropejski*, 8(1), 79–90.
- de Tocqueville, A. (2000). *Democracy in America (Демократия в Америке)*: Moscow: Ves Mir.
- Decentralization – About Reform*. <https://decentralization.gov.ua/en/about> (04/06/2018).
- Dębski, S. (2014). *Kształtowanie się samorządu terytorialnego: przeszłość i teraźniejszość*. Grudziądz: Polskie Towarzystwo Nauk Politycznych.
- European Urban Charter*. <https://rm.coe.int/168071923d> (15/12/2017).
- Evropeyskaya Khartiya ob uchastii molodezhi (Європейська Хартия об участии молодежи в жизни муниципальных и региональных образований)*. http://lawrussia.ru/texts/legal_743/doc743a336x911.htm (14/02/2018).
- Evropeyska ramkova konvetsiya pro transkordonne spivrobitnitstvo mizh teritorial'nimi obshchinami abo vlastyami (Європейська рамкова конвенція про транскордонне співробітництво між територіальними общинами або властями)*. http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_106 (10/02/2018).
- Kaminska, H. (2010). *Mistseve samovryaduvannya: teoretiko-istorichniy iporivnyal'no-pravoviy analiz (Місцеве самоврядування: теоретико-історичний і порівняльно-правовий аналіз)*. Kyiv: KHT.
- Khartiya ukrayins'kykh mist (Хартия українських міст)*. http://yaremche.org/files/files/news/hartiya_ukrayinskih_mist.pdf (25/12/2017).
- Khvedchuk, J. (2012). Magdeburz'ke pravo міста Volodimir-Volins'kij (Магдебурзьке право міста Володимир-Волинський). http://www.ya.org.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1146:2012-03-01-13-10-44 (28/05/2018).
- Ksenicz, I. (2015). Decentralizacja a bezpieczeństwo Ukrainy. *Sprawy Międzynarodowe*, 1, 101–18.
- Lytvynenko I. (2002). Istorichni traditsii stanovlennya i rozvitku mistseвого samovryaduvannya v Ukraїni (Історичні традиції становлення і розвитку місцевого самоврядування в Україні). *Visnik Khmel'nitskogo institutu regional'nogo upravlinnya ta prava (Вісник Хмельницького інституту регіонального управління та права)*, 1; 43 – 49.
- Magdeburgskoye pravo (Magdeburgskikh prav)*. https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Магдебургское_право (28/04/2018).
- Mahun, S. (2014). *Pereyaslavskaya Rada-1654: politicheskoye porazheniye Ukrainy ili Den' vossoyedeneniya? (Переяславская Рада-1654: политическое поражение Украины или День воссоединения?)*. <http://gazeta.zn.ua/history/pereyaslavskaya-rada-1654-politicheskoye-porazheniye-ukrainy-ili-den-vossoedineniya-.html> (03/03/2018).
- Nova Kraїna (2014). *Kontsepsiya Derzhavnoi programi molodizhnoi politiki na perioddo 2020 roku (Концепція Державної програми молодіжної політики на період до 2020 року)*. http://novakraina.org/reform/youth_politics/konceptsiya-derzhavnoyi-programi-molodi (26/12/2017).
- Paneyko, Y. (2002). *Teoretichni osnovi samovryaduvannya (Теоретичні основи самоврядування)*. Lviv: Litopis.
- Postanova Verkhovnoi Radi (2015). Постанова Верховної Ради України. *Про попереднє схвалення законопроекту про внесення змін до Конституції України щодо децентралізації влади від 31.08.2015*.
- Szapowalenko, M. (2010). *Grupy interesów na Ukrainie*. W: A. Antoszewski, A. Kolodii, & K. Kowalczyk (eds.), *Transformacja w Polsce i na Ukrainie: wybrane aspekty* (pp. 249–60). Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT.
- Ukaz Prezidenta Ukraїni (2013). *Указ Президента України 27 вересня 2013 року Про Стратегію розвитку державної молодіжної політики на період до 2020 року*.