*Polukhina Elizaveta, Strelnikova Anna,
Vanke Alexandrina*

# THE TRANSFORMATION OF WORKING-CLASS IDENTITY IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA: A CASE-STUDY OF AN URAL INDUSTRIAL NEIGHBORHOOD

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: SOCIOLOGY
WP BRP 77/SOC/2017

*Polukhina Elizaveta[1], Strelnikova Anna[2], Vanke Alexandrina[3]*

# THE TRANSFORMATION OF WORKING-CLASS IDENTITY IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA: A CASE-STUDY OF AN URAL INDUSTRIAL NEIGHBORHOOD[4]

This paper presents an analytical description of working-class identity in three key periods of the socioeconomic transformations which changed the structure of a plant's industry and working-class life: the Soviet era (1930s-1980s), the time of economical change (1990s), and the post-Soviet years (2000s-2010s). The analytical framework of the study is based on the concept of 'cultural class analysis' (Savage 2015). It includes the concepts of habitus and cultural capital, and culture as embedded in economic and social relations (Bourdieu 1980).

In the course of the research we conducted an ethnographic case-study in 2017 and lived in the neighborhood of Uralmash, which was designed for workers of a heavy machinery plant dating back to the 1920s in the city of Yekaterinburg. Based on 15 in-depth interviews with Uralmash workers living in the neighborhood and 8 experts, and our field observations, we discovered 3 restructuring shapes of the Uralmash worker identity. These working class identities shapes referred to 3 determined periods. The Soviet period showed a 'consistent' working-class identity of the Uralmash workers, whereby the plant and working spirits were the centers of their lives. The 1990s was marked by severe deterioration of workers' social conditions and the loss of their familiar bearings in life. As a consequence, the Uralmash workers perceived themselves as 'victims of circumstances' with 'collapsing' worker identity in 1990s. Currently, 'Soviet' and 'post-Soviet' practices and values are combined in today's 'mixing' and an inconsistent worker identity. The notions of 'simple' and 'working-class' as sense-making images are encapsulated in nostalgic memories and retain their role as criteria for the delineation between inequalities and social discrimination along the 'them' and 'us': 'we are those who live belonging to the past'. The Soviet past still continues to be an important sense-making resource; in fact, it is the only 'universal' prop for them that support their subjective perception of themselves.

**Keywords:** industrial neighborhood, worker, working-class identity, ethnographic case-study.

**JEL Classification:** Z

[1] Candidate of Sciences (PhD) in Sociology, Associate Professor in Sociology at The National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE). E-mail: epolukhina@hse.ru

[2] Candidate of Sciences (PhD) in Sociology, Associate Professor in Sociology at The National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE), and Senior Researcher at Institute of Sociology Russian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: astrelnikova@hse.ru

[3] Candidate of Sciences (PhD) in Sociology, Doctoral researcher at the Department of Sociology of the University of Manchester, Research fellow at the Institute of Sociology Russian Academy of Sciences. E-mail:alexanderina.vanke@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

**'Cultural turn' in social class studies: the daily lives of the working-class**

Studies on issues of class identity in general and the identity of the working class in particular have a long tradition in the social sciences. According to Savage, for example, there are three phases of research in this phenomenon in the UK (Savage 2005:929-930): first, the post-war period of the 1950s, when social scientists focused their attention on the class consciousness of workers; second, the period of the 1970-1990s, marked by works of Goldthorpe and his colleagues with a focus on social structure and stratification (Goldthorpe, Llewellyn, Payne 1987); and, finally, the period after 2000, characterized by a cultural turn in social class studies and largely influenced by works of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1987; Savage 2016) and feminist theorists (Crenshaw 1991; Skeggs 2004). Despite the claims made by some sociologists that class identity has died out (Pakulski, Waters 1996), according to recent studies, it continues to play an important role in the subjective perception by individuals of the social universe and their place (Savage et al. 2015). It also makes a significant contribution to streamlining social practices (Bourdieu 1987) which help structure people's social, economic and cultural lives. In this sense, a detailed study of social practices paves the way for the reconstruction of identities, which are created through actions, interactions, and communications (Goffman 1956).

In the Soviet Union of the 1920s and 1930s, there was a system of building working-class neighborhoods around industrial enterprises; a system riddled with Soviet ideology. Sometimes, whole towns were formed around large industrial complexes, and such enterprises were called 'town-forming enterprises' (Morris 2015:28). In rarer cases, so-called Socialist suburbs were built around large industrial plants according to designs of Soviet architects, whereby it was expected that the working-class people living there would have everything they might need for a happy life (Ilchenko 2016:55). To that end, a socialist township would have such Soviet district infrastructure as factory kitchens with canteens, laundries, consumer service centers, recreation centers, kindergartens, schools and vocational training colleges. Socialist suburbs were usually built according to standard designs in major Russian cities (St. Petersburg, Magnitogorsk, Yekaterinburg, Ufa, Novosibirsk, Volgograd, Samara, Nizhniy Novgorod, etc.) and smaller ones (Nizhny Tagil, Kamensk-Uralsky, Pervouralsk, etc.), and in former Soviet republics (Baku, Kharkov etc.), and were of high economic and ideological significance. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, however, the government-owned plants and factories underwent a number of changes, with some of them being privatized and divided into smaller production units (Morrison 2008). The working-class neighborhoods that had been previously supported by their industrial enterprises began to decline and lose their attractiveness. In the 1990s foreign companies came into Russia, and today they operate in accordance with the neoliberal logic of productivity and profit maximization (for more information, see: Vanke 2018). In this regard, a study on the transformation of the identity of the workers of Uralmash (Ural Mechanical Engineering Plant) – a former Soviet-era enterprise still operating today – is relevant in the context of the changes in the Uralmash neighborhood as it transforms from a Soviet type to a post-Soviet type neighborhood, because it allows us to trace the link between the identity of Uralmash workers and the identity of a working-class neighborhood. What types of working-class identities were produced during the Soviet period, the period of transition and the post-Soviet period in this particular industrial neighborhood? How has working-class identity changed against the background of the large socio-historical transformations in Russia? What are the peculiarities of the current industrial working-class identity in post-Soviet Russia? For the purposes of reconstructing the class identity of our informants we need to localize them in the

space of social differences (Bourdieu, 1985:724-725) and analyze their attitude toward other social groups, which becomes apparent in their social practices, interactions and communications within the industrial neighborhood (Bottero, Irwin, 2003:467). Since 'class is largely connected to inequality' (Savage et al., 2015:45), class identity implicitly shows in workers' conversations about 'stratification' and 'inequality'. In this sense, class identity is expressed through the articulation of feelings and sensations of the informants toward the same people as they are, i.e., workers, and toward socially different people, i.e. members of other social groups, whom they deal with in their everyday life.

In the Soviet era, the working-class was thoroughly examined by Soviet sociologists. However, their research was limited by Soviet ideology and was mostly focused on the working conditions at enterprises and on psychology of workers' personalities (Yadov, Zdravomyslov 1970). After the collapse of the USSR, new social groups appeared in Russia and drew the attention of sociologists, while working-class studies fell out of fashion. However, a series of research projects conducted by Symon Clarke, Sarah Ashwin and colleagues on transformations of the labor market and movements in post-Soviet Russia in the 1990s demonstrated both the existence and invisibility of the working-class who were represented in their publications as 'Russian workers' with a focus on professions, jobs, labor protests and trade unionism instead of classes and class struggle (Clarke 2007; Clarke, Fairbrother, Borisov 1995; Ashwin, Clarke 2003). In today's Russia, despite the authorities attempt to present the working-class as the backbone of Russian economy (Vanke 2018), there is a lack of research on working-class life and identity. Industrial workers have become an invisible group in Russian society.

The concept of *the Soviet working class* is logically opposed to *the post-Soviet working class*, structured by the opposition 'Soviet'/ 'post-Soviet'. These terms have a temporality and locality reflecting working-class standing and other social processes in the Soviet space and in the Soviet era, as well as beyond and afterwards. The category 'Soviet' accounts for the geographical territory of the Soviet Union and for the period of the USSR's existence from 1922 to 1991, while the category of 'post-Soviet' refers temporally to the period after the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and spatially to the territories of the former Soviet republics, the former Soviet Bloc socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe. As for the working class, the division between its Soviet and post-Soviet representatives is mostly mental and imaginary. In reality people who belonged in the Soviet working class partly lost their class identity during the period of transition in 1990s and faced the problem of searching for new social (non-class) identities. However, this does not mean that classes and the working-class no longer exist in contemporary Russia.

This article contributes to the study of working-class identity in the context of their habitat, which forms their habits and thinking patterns, or their class habitus, according to Bourdieu (1980). As Morris notes, habitability, in general terms, is becoming one of the key categories, with the help of which people in Russian one-company towns give meaning to their lives in the post-soviet era (Morris 2015:43). Social scientists focus their attention on either social or territorial identities. There is a lack of comprehensive research on these two types of identity (for example, see: MacDonald et al. 2005; Morris 2015). This article fills in the gap in the literature on industrial workers' social identities and on how these are indissolubly related to their neighborhood identities in the context of the de-industrialization and transition from the Soviet regime to the post-Soviet one.

Within the framework of critical ethnography, working-class neighborhoods are regarded as cases, i.e. holistic phenomena placed in a specific social context. As MacDonald et al. (2005:885) note, social anthropology allows us to show the sociological significance of the interrelationship between class and neighborhood when we study the actual experience and the everyday lives of working-class neighborhood residents. Since working-class neighborhoods have their own social history and change over time, they should be regarded as cases from a genealogical perspective. Socio-historical and ethnographic projects with a focus on the transformation of working-class neighborhoods in Detroit (Kadushin 1996), Manchester, Liverpool (Klein 2004) and other post-industrial cities with specific environments can serve as examples of such studies.

The Uralmash neighborhood, which we have chosen, is a residential community in the northern part of Yekaterinburg, the 'capital city' of the Urals, a large Russian region (Fig.1). The Uralmash neighborhood was created in 1927 as a working-class settlement, a namesake of *'the plant of plants'*, which later became a Socialist city (Fig.2). The Ural Plant of Heavy Engineering (Uralmash)[5] was launched in 1933, and it was the largest factory in the USSR. In post-Soviet Russia, both the plant and the neighborhood have undergone changes, but the plant is still operating. Currently, both the plant and the neighborhood are officially part of Ordzhonikidzevsky District of the City of Yekaterinburg. The population of Ordzhonikidzevsky District is estimated at 287, 870 people as of January 1, 2017[6], with more than half of that being residents of the Uralmash neighborhood. The number of Uralmash workers is gradually declining, and according to different sources,[7] in 2017 it was approximately 2,400 people, with about 1,000 people being manual workers, most of who live in the Uralmash neighborhood.

The end of the Socialist system and the transition to a market economy has led to drastic changes in the plant's operational principles, and to a multilevel transformation of socio-economic relations. Therefore, in the course of the study, we were interested in the following issues: *how does a present-day worker at the Uralmash plant live, and what are his/her concerns? How does he/she perceive him/herself, the plant and the neighborhood, given the changes than have taken place?* To answer these questions, we explore both the memories of the neighborhood's past and narrative descriptions of the current situation and events taking place at the plant and in the neighborhood. We would like to emphasize that the Soviet-period class identity is imprinted on both personal memories and the material environment. This part of history can be revealed through analyzing interviews and be found in museums and archives. Moreover, the popularity of nostalgic-minded communities, whose members share their memories about the past with each other, has been growing in recent years. However, the role of ordinary workers in such materials usually falls below the radar; it is mostly the chief designers or project managers that are highlighted, not ordinary workers. Therefore, interviews are an important source of data on the formation and development of working-class neighborhoods.

---

[5]Official website of Uralmashplant. URL: https://www.uralmash.ru/. Accessed date: August 8, 2017.

[6] Official website of the Ordzhonikidzevsky District Administration. URL: http://xn--b1adaedhfaekef5alc3a2a.xn--80acgfbsl1azdqr.xn--p1ai/ see: Section Administration->Useful information->Analysis of the socio-economic development of Ordzhonikidzevsky District. Accessed date: August16, 2017.

[7] We had no direct access to official information on dynamics of the plant's workforce number. This figure is approximate and was computed based on the data received from experts.
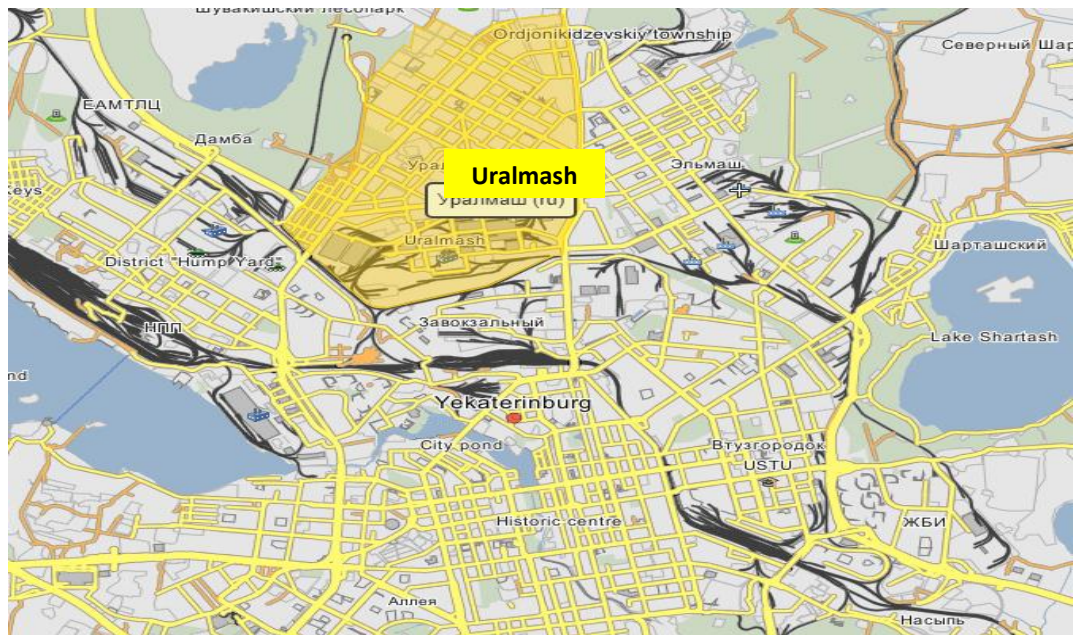
Fig. 1. The Uralmash neighborhood is highlighted in yellow on the map of Yekaterinburg. Source: http://wikimapia.org. Accessed date: August 8, 2017.



Fig.2. Post card of 1950's-60's with Uralmash neighborhood 'The socialist city of the Uralmashplant'. Source: local online group 'Nash Uralmash' [Our Uralmash] URL: http://uralmash.my1.ru. Accessed date: September 19, 2017.

**The Ethnographic Case-Study as a Neighborhood-Level Inquiry**

From a methodological point of view, social and urban ethnographic approaches (Hammersley 1992; Gobo, Molle 2017; Wacquant 2002) or ethnographic case-studies are the most productive and the most time-consuming ways to study everyday practices and social identities of worker and working-class neighborhood identities. An ethnographic case-study is a research strategy, aimed at a coherent and detailed analysis of one object, using all the possible data collection methods that are available. Some researchers do not consider participant necessary in the case-studies, however, we believe in the 'ethnographic approach' toward data collection including 'participation' in the cultural context. In our case the team of researchers lived in the neighborhood in question for a month. We are aware that the ethnographic method in its classical form requires longer-term study. However, we think that during the field work we succeeded in getting the feel of the culture of the neighborhood and in analyzing the transformation of the workers' identity with the help of biographical interviews and historical documents (for instance, archive of the plant's newspaper "For the Heavy Industry").

The data collection process was divided into two main phases. The first phase included the description of the neighborhood and the industrial plant based on the available data (local and plant websites, archival and online community data, etc.). The second phase consisted of field work, mainly observations and interviews with various neighborhood actors, mostly workers of Uralmash and residents of the city neighborhood called Uralmash.

Closer to the field work stage, we booked modest apartments online and became temporary residents of the 'old' Uralmash community, living at 34 Ulitsa Sorokoletiya Oktyabrya [Street of the 40th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution] in a five-story brick building. These buildings were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s. A few months earlier our research team visited the neighborhood and we made contact with some local residents and people who worked with those living in the neighborhood. We had several connections at the Uralmash plant. We got in touch with them, trying to establish acquaintances with workers through them. However, the situation at the plant did not favor our negotiators' attempts to persuade the workers[8] to take part in our study. We realized that it was useless do it 'from the top', i.e. through the management of the plant. Then we turned to our local colleagues, sociologists, asking them to help us approach workers using their personal contacts. As a result, we got our first contacts and interview arrangements thanks to a former employee of the plant ('a good friend of workers').

We visited the plant many times. We conducted expert interviews and established contacts with other groups of employees and residents of the neighborhood. Every day we obtained more and more contacts, and it became difficult to collect the increasing volumes of empirical data and write field notes (each of the three researchers were regularly keeping field notes). According to our methodology, interviews were to take place either at interviewee's home (see Fig. 3) or elsewhere in the neighborhood at a place convenient for the interviewee (see Fig. 4). We conducted all the interviews with the participation of a minimum of two researchers, because such a tandem interview practice helps obtain more reliable data. The second one took

---

[8]Plant's industry is not open for public debate (state orders etc), especially now, when the financial support is limited and layoffs in jobs took place.

notes, monitored the work of the voice recorder and the video camera, took photographs and helped to ask additional questions during the interviews.


Fig. 3. Photograph of an interview with an elderly Uralmashplant worker in her home, May 22, 2017

All interviews with workers followed a common format. First, we made calls to arrange meetings or confirm the previously agreed ones. At the meeting, we talked about our project and had the interviewee sign the consent form for participation in the study, with ethical issues, including work with audio-recording, photographic and video materials, being described in detail[9]. Next, one of us (usually the person who had called to arrange for the meeting had also been in contact with the informant earlier) conducted the interview on the following topics: biography as an explication of habitus, life in the neighborhood and/or at the plant, detailed questioning about the practices and lifestyles, using projective techniques (drawing social relationships representing the volume of social capital and a mental map of the neighborhood showing the perception of the neighborhood in residents' imagination). After the interview, we invited some participants to take a wrap-up walk around the neighborhood. We held 15 interviews with purposive sampling: plant workers and residents of the Uralmash neighborhood. Our sampling also included 8 expert interviews with people of other social groups (such as researchers, artists, photographers, museum workers, local authorities etc.) who provided us with contextual information about transformations of the plant and the neighborhood. These people were professionally involved in the work of the Uralmash plant or neighborhood (for example, the director of the Yekaterinburg history museum; the editor of the Uralmash plant newspaper; the head of district's administration). The expert interviews lasted for about 40 minutes and covered issues related to the neighborhood and/or the plant, depending on the professional profile of the interviewee (see the Supplement). For more information on the data collection procedure, see: Polukhina (in print).

We used the thematic method of data analysis; we picked out three main historical periods (Soviet, transition and post-Soviet) and analyzed the materials from the standpoint of the self-perception of the group through these historical periods, and of the changes in the status of the worker, his/her mobility and the changes at the neighborhood level.

---

[9]Our research documentation (guide for interview, consent form and mode of participant observation) was approved by Institutional Reviews Boards at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE IRB) at 17 May 2017.

Fig. 4. Photograph of an interview with a young Uralmashplant worker, taken in a square near a children's club close to the plant, May 26, 2017

## The Soviet Period (1930s-1980s): The Crystallization of Working-Class Identity

The Uralmash neighborhood is a clear example of a socialist city, i.e. a special-format working-class urban community originating the period of industrialization (the 1920s and 1930s) and constituting a self-sufficient territorial entity with integrated infrastructure for those who work at an industrial plant or factory (Meyerovich, Konysheva, Khmelnitsky, 2011). In Soviet times, such spaces around industrial plants and factories (enclosed neighborhoods or individual towns) were the centers of workers' lives (Fig. 2 and Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. A poster in the Uralmash Museum, describing about the construction of the plant and its neighborhood in the 1920-1930's. The poster contains the slogan '*Factories, stand up! Ranks link up*!'

The infrastructure of the Uralmash neighborhood, as a socialist city, originally contained a variety of public services facilities, such as catering outlets (factory kitchens, laundries, repair shops, kindergartens, schools, healthcare facilities, 'palaces of culture' and parks) [Ilchenko, 2016]. The design of a socialist city was a new concept for a shared way of life for Soviet workers, where the place of residence was standard and located near the plant and surrounded by neighbors working at 'their' plant.

*'Life was very active here, just very active! And, generally speaking, everybody knew one another. Many of the plant workers were friends'.* (female, an activist in the Uralmash neighborhood).

Our experts single out several periods in the development of the Uralmash working-class neighborhood in the Soviet era. First, the period of construction of the working-class neighborhood called the stage of forced labor (the 1930s). Second, the period of labor related to the wartime needs during the World War Two called the patriotic romanticism stage (the 1940s-1950s). Finally, the period of stability called the stage of developed socialism (the 1960s-1980s).

The first period was characterized by the mobilization of people for building the industrial facility, often with forced relocation to the place of construction where there was no housing or infrastructure. The second period was characterized by the propaganda of non-fixed working hours at the plant. The third period was characterized by a gradual improvement of working and living conditions for the workers of the plant. These stages were rarely distinguished in our interviews with workers. For them, there is one single Soviet period, characterized by such features as honoring workers' labor, the prestige of participating in the development of advanced mechanisms, and pride in their country and their jobs.

Sharing their memories, both the residents of the working-class neighborhood in question and the experts mostly spoke about the historically formed seclusion of that area and the image of the plant.

*'We have built 'the plant of plants'. Uralmash is like a neighborhood. It's an extremely secluded, an exceptionally autonomous area with an 82-year history.'* (male, head of the local district administration).

This seclusion has helped maintain a special local microenvironment, governing the lifestyle of the workers, strengthening their class consciousness, and influencing the formation of a special identity.

*'Factory civilization is a very good term, real good. I like it. Factory civilization has, no doubt, been preserved here; the factory system of values; inclusion in factory life – an inclusion for life; the sense of belonging to the plant for the rest of your days.'* (male, head of the local district administration).

In other words, the territorial and social attachment of the residential space to the plant was the basis for immobility, 'rooting' the worker in one place of work, one place of residence, one place of leisure. Based on interview and archival data, we can highlight collectivism, stability and emotional inspiration as some of the key fundamentals of worker identity in the Soviet period, which were supported by the local micro-habitat of the neighborhood.

***Collectivism.*** Ganzenboom and Nieuwbeerta (1999:340) call Communist regimes 'an experiment in the destratification of society'. This experiment looks exemplary for Socialist townships, whose space had a specific functional division (factory, 'palace of culture', factory kitchen, housing units, etc.) and contributed to the socialization of residents (mostly workers)

within townships, adding to the collective nature of many social practices and creating models for 'social recognition' by the general public of the image of a local working-class neighborhood. At the same time, the very design of the working-class neighborhood itself magnified the effect produced on self-identification as being a part of a huge family of workers. In the Uralmash neighborhood, for example, all the streets converged, as if rays, at the square in front of the plant. As a result, plant workers on their way to work described this as rivers of people running in one direction and with one single goal. Notably, the names of practically all the streets in the Uralmash neighborhood have references to Soviet history – anniversaries of the Socialist Revolution, early industrialization stages – which served as additional ideological support for the existing regime. Many cultural and patriotic events were held on the square in front of the plant; the plant served as an important focal point for staging events even outside the working hours.

'*There was fun and joy. There were contests. And relay races... Many events were held.*' (female, lathe operator of the Uralmash plant, aged 60)

Since collective measures were translated into a special 'vocabulary' of the social group of workers, it is not surprising that mental maps of the older plant workers reproduce the same structure of the neighborhood, with the plant and the square placed in the center (see Fig. 6 and 7). In other words, thinking about their community, the older generation residents picture the plant first, and only after that they arrange other objects around it.
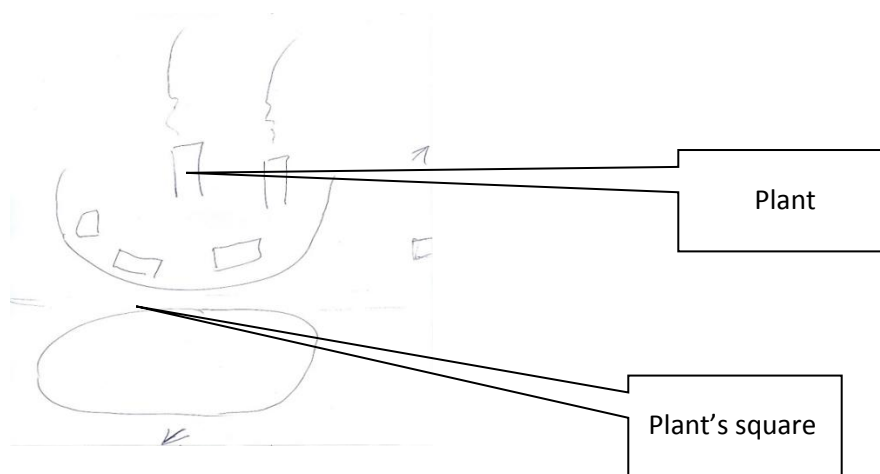


Figure. 6. Example of a mental map (a male plumber & fitter of the Uralmashplant, aged 53).
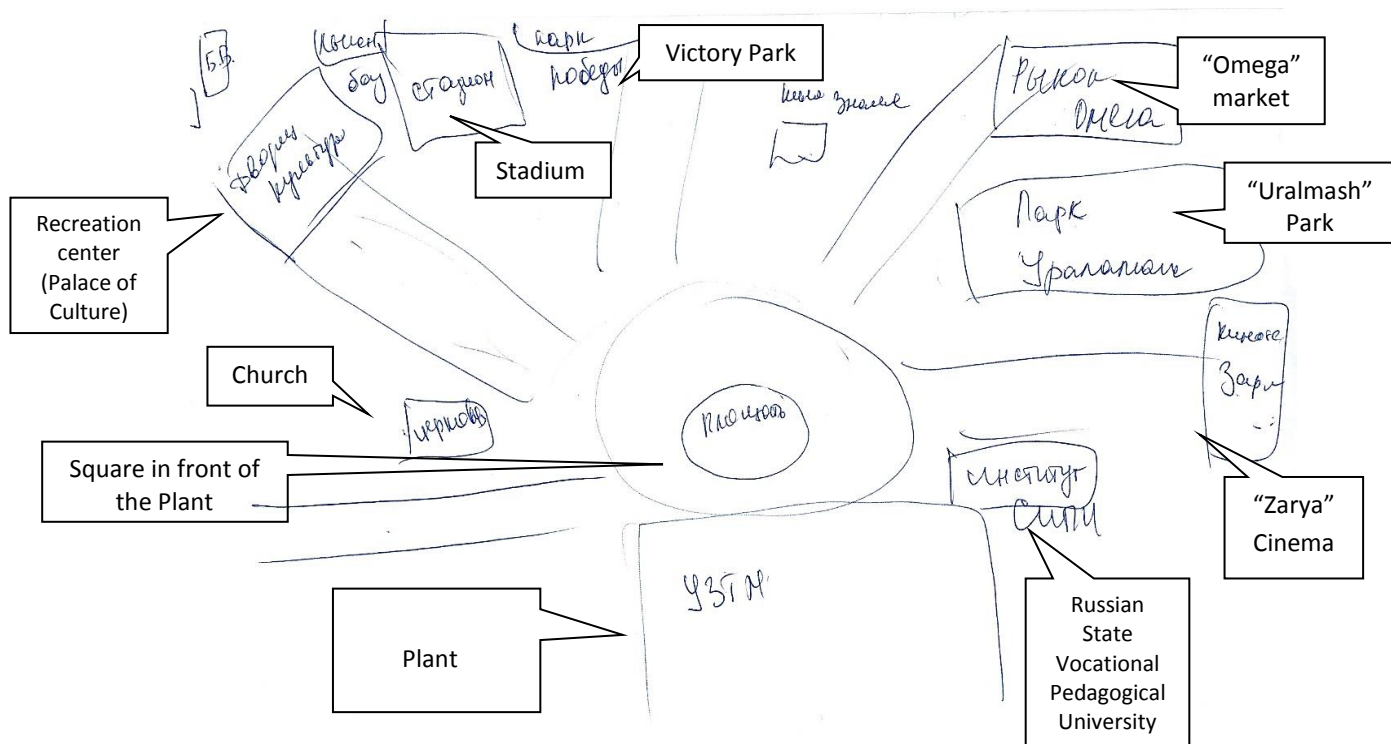
Fig. 7. Example of a mental map (a female heater & welder of the Uralmashplant, aged 43).

***Stability.*** In Soviet times, the plant provided its employees with various kinds of social support: guaranteed pensions, housing support, cultural education (e.g., free tickets to concerts, theaters etc. were distributed among workers), and offered them a scheduled living strategy for many years to come. This led to the perception that a working profession was stable and promising.

*'She wouldn't understand how one couldn't help working at the plant. Because they had everything; all they had to do was to go to work. Everything had been built for them. You see? They knew that when they retired they would have their pension. They knew that if they felt sick, they would go and get help, reasonable help. And they wouldn't have to pay for it. If they had a child, they would be given a place in the kindergarten.' (*female, an activist in the Uralmash neighborhood).

*'If the baby is taken to a daycare center, she, the woman, goes to work, and in the evening she picks up the baby. At 3 the child goes to kindergarten, and you are on this ride straightaway. Then a school, and a vocational training college after that. Everything is well thought through. And if there are no plants, no nothing – how can one live?'* (female, pump machinist of the Uralmash plant, aged 52).

An analysis of the narratives about the logic behind choosing an occupation says that all these aspects of stability contributed to the families' continuous commitment to professional interests. As a result, families of workers (husband and wife working at the same plant) were formed. These families were created by people who were living and working shoulder-to-shoulder with one another.

*I first met my husband at a skiing competition. He was also working at the plant. And there he somehow had set his sights on me. He was working on a different team… His mum was*

*working as an economist in a machine shop and his dad was a welder.'* (female, metalworker of the Uralmash plant, aged 60).

***Emotional inspiration.*** Joint activities, both during and outside working hours, contributed to the formation of a stable spectrum of emotions (positive, as a rule) – joy, pride, and patriotic euphoria.

*'People were proud that we were from that Palace of Culture. It was just our life. You see, folks were proud that Uralmash was there, up and running.'* (female, an activist in the Uralmash neighborhood).

*'It was such a wonderful time. The plant had lots of traditions, lots and lots of them. First, our life was filled with sports, holidays and festivities. The plant launch day anniversary, gatherings of working-class dynasties, jamborees of female plant workers. The local Young Communist League Organization, The Trade Union, the Communist Party Organization, and the Veterans' Organization – all of them were working hand in hand, and all that was pulling together and tightening up the collective. It was fabulous.'* (male, an employee at the Uralmashplant History Museum).

Many Uralmash people describe their participation in festivities as a special, joyful page of their lives: *'We were marching joyfully – some with melodeons, others with balloons.'* (female, metalworker of the Uralmash, aged 60).

*'The square was packed, with people converging from the Street of Metal Manufacturers and from the Ilyich [Lenin] Square, that is people from one workshop were marching and meeting with people from other workshops. Then the shop people would line up, with each shop flying its own flag ... You see? Everybody's marching and I'm marching too. Our generation recalls all that with joy… It would have been great if our children had lived through at least a tenth of what we experienced. Because it was so joyful.'* (female, an activist in the Uralmash neighborhood).

Working-class identity intersected with the identity of a Soviet person, which crystallized during the Soviet period (for a detailed analysis of Soviet identity, see (Levada 2003; Gudkov 2009). The identity of a Soviet worker, *'an ordinary Soviet man'* who is ready for labor and happy with very simple, ordinary things was supported by industrialization, the centrally planned economy and town planning principles, and enhanced the feeling of interconnectedness between people. As a result, the Soviet period of factory life is perceived as a 'wonderful time' and described in such categories as pride, happiness, and unity, both at work and leisure.

**Uralmash in the 1990s '… everybody was surviving at that time, struggling to make ends meet'[10]**

The end of the socialist system and the transition toward a market economy after 1991 led to drastic changes in the plant's operation principles, worsened workers' conditions and ushered in new economic agents and relations. During that period, there was '… a steep decline in production output due to curtailed government orders, the collapse of the procurement system, soaring prices and a non-payment or arrears crisis. As a result of the steep fall in government procurement for defense products, many factories were faced with the need to scale down their military production.' (Borisov, Kozina, 1994: 17-19). This coincided with a fall in the status of workers, who felt the deterioration of their conditions (Borisov, Kozina, 1994:28). In our study,

---

[10]Quotation from an interview (a male, an employee at the Uralmash History Museum)

this period is described through the loss of the seemingly ordinary way of life, through injustice, hardship and survival. This period also manifests itself in a lot of understatement and reticence with regard to the crime-stained events of that time.

### *The overall feeling of loss, 'when they ruined Uralmashplant, the lives of generations of the plant became meaningless'.[11]*

The interviewed workers were rather cautious and reticent when talking about the 1990s. In their biographical narratives, this period is a clear-cut boundary – a period of abrupt change; a 'time of survival', bearing the feeling of 'being abandoned' and a self-awareness of 'being a victim'. Since that time was relatively recent, they find it difficult to let go of their resentment. Due to the drastic deterioration of working conditions in the 1990s (job cuts, arrears in wage payments that lasted for many months), many of our project participants left the plant in the 1990s for 'new economy' industries, such as trade and services.

According to interviewees, the 1990s were the most severe years in their life. Looking back, they do not understand 'how they managed to survive'. There were wage arrears lasting for many months, and workers' families could not satisfy their most basic needs for food, they were hungry. This is illustrated by a fragment from an interview with a former Uralmashplant union member.

*'How are we to carry on, folks? Valentina Ivanovna, a crane operator in Machine Shop 29, tried to climb up the crane and fell. She says, 'Guys, ...I haven't had a crumb in my mouth for days now.'* (male, an employee at the Uralmash plant History Museum).

*'Very many people succumbed to alcoholism, especially young people, who failed to find their place in life, because when the plant was operating well and the wages were paid people could somehow make ends meet... Many people moved out, swapping apartments with each others.... the majority left for other areas. People were heading for where jobs could be found.'* (female, an activist in the Uralmash neighborhood).

Those plant workers who were able to continue working there through the 1990s had to moonlight. Considerable numbers of people went to other regions during their vacations to harvest crops – those harvests being sufficient to feed their households and sell to friends. Gardening and private subsistence farming became widespread as a means of livelihood; many people were gathering forest mushrooms.

*'We have mushrooms, and we have nothing to fry them with. What shall we use to fry them? There isn't any oil!'* (female, pump machinist of the Uralmash plant, aged 52).

The stories about the sweeping changes of the 1990s always contain an image of the 'culprit' of that injustice, at the hands of which the plant and its workers fell victim. But the images of this 'culprit' are rather vague and multi-faceted: in the interviews, one can trace an idea of an 'outside' (not coming from Uralmash, but from outside and beyond) a 'con-man' of many faces who has initiated the negative changes. The people partially engaged in the management of the plant most bitterly described the impact of privatization and the injustice caused by it.

*'Then they started to create these joint-stock companies. Nobody knew anything for sure – what they were and what we should do about them. They described them a way that was convenient for them. In the end, we set up a joint-stock company, and we were giving our shares*

---

[11]Quotation from an interview (a male , an employee at the Uralmash History Museum)

*to any Tom, Dick or Harry for peanuts [...] There were arrears in wages, but everyone needs to eat everyday, and people had to give those shares away practically for free [...], which at the end of the day made it possible for one company to buy them all up.'* (male, an employee at the Uralmash plant History Museum).

Gradually, hard pressed by financial difficulties, the plant had to sell off its valuable assets.

*'They began selling off our assets. There was a new Palace of Culture that belonged to the Uralmash plant. They left the old one. And the new one was sold and they said, 'This will go to our New Russian Uralmash [mafia].' Right! That's what they said. They began to govern things. They sold all our health spas. We had a health and recreation center in the woods and many camps – 4 pioneer camps. They sold them all.'* (female, chemical water treatment technician of the Uralmashplant, aged 58).

The workers perceive the 1990s as a time of loss and negative changes, the effects of which are still painful. Burawoy (2001:42) sums up this period: '... workers retreat rather than resist. Wages are not paid but workers still turn up for work in the vain hope that something will trickle their way ... Socialism has been so effectively discredited that it provides no more than nostalgia for the past.'

***The Criminal 1990s in the Uralmash Neighborhood***. The changes in the 1990s have significantly lowered the social status of plant and factory workers, depriving them of their key position for the state, which they held before. 'With the disappearance of the old ideology also disappeared the status privileges brought about by it, including economic ones, expressed in the size of wages. The new ideology is begotten by the real state of things and leads to the gradual legalization and legitimization of informal (including 'shadow') relations and status indicators with their inherent hierarchy' (Borisov, Kozina, 1994:28). One of the features of the Uralmash neighborhood is its 'criminal' past and the new forms of relationships typical for a time of change. This is the area where the 'freewheeling 1990s' left their largest footprint; as a result, Uralmash is often referred to by today's Russians not as *'the plant of plants', but as 'a neighborhood of criminals.'*

*'It was strongly recommended to stay away from the Uralmash neighborhood so we decided not to go to any event, because it was real dangerous.'* (male, an employee at the Museum of the History of Yekaterinburg).

In the 1990s, a special group of Uralmash neighborhood residents rapidly grew – a group of amateur athletes who become the informal comptrollers of the new emerging economy. As sociologist Volkov writes, it was a time when 'many bandit groups were leading a healthy way of life, abstaining, unlike [traditional] thieves, from alcohol and drugs and keeping themselves fit in gyms' (Volkov, 1999:61). The Uralmash criminal group was also believed to be engaged in protection and racketeering, the proceeds from which were later funneled into new businesses (Ivanov, 2014), since 'economic logic requires a reduction in violence and a transition towards more 'civilized' entrepreneurship practices' (Volkov, 1999:62). The economic influence of the group gradually increased, with many businesses in both the Uralmash area and the City of Yekaterinburg falling under its influence. Later, the group acquired an official political form –

the Uralmash Social & Political Union [OPS Uralmash[12]] (Ivanov, 2014). However, the people of Yekaterinburg and the Uralmash neighborhood do not regard this organization so much as a criminal group, rather than as a 'savior', making it possible for the residents of the neighborhood to get jobs and have public safety in the area.

*'It has never been that Uralmash people went wild, with no holds barred. There always has been some kind of order, their order, an alternative order. The people just organized themselves, put on fancy jackets and decided to start doing their own business. By the way, many of them are still alive. They had been working out in some gyms. Some had been skiing; almost all of them had been professional sportsmen. And doing sport had been highly respected at Uralmash.'* (male, an employee at the Museum of the History of Yekaterinburg).

*'The Uralmash [criminal group] – they are our kith and kin, folks from our school, the neighboring school […] I know many of them. What were they doing? First, they charged those who were working a fee. Then many of them became successful businessmen.* (female, an activist in Uralmash neighborhood).

During the 1990s, less successful workers (people without higher education, with unstable incomes, and from single-parent families) moonlighted or officially worked at companies connected to the criminal group, such as catering outlets and various service centers.

*'At that time, I was changing jobs very often. My friends even were calling me a 'tumbleweed'. As a matter of fact, the jobs were different, in different locations, but the employers were the same. They were our local Uralmash mafia, if you like. How did they get to know me? Again, as I said before, because of the restaurant. All those guys were messing around there.'* (female, pump machinist of the Uralmashplant, aged 52).

*'I found a gig at the new Palace of Culture. There was a restaurant there. It just so happened that I met one of my friends there. She was living with a gangster. Then he was shot dead. But she's alive and is doing well. He left her a lot of money. And so she says to me, 'I know the chief account who works in the restaurant at the Palace of Culture. Do you want to work as a dishwasher there?' And I did. And I worked there for 7 years. Seven years! […] When I first got there I realized that they didn't know at all what hunger was all about. They did hear that there was hunger somewhere. One banquet followed the other. You know how they were putting on the ritz in those years? Even now, I think, they don't show off like they did then! They're just afraid to. Many celebrities used to go there then. Well, it's impossible to tell you everything.'* (female, pump machinist of the Uralmashplant, aged 52).

On the whole, the plant workers have a rather positive attitude to those Uralmash people who are close to criminal circles. They consider them to be 'their guys' as people living in the same area, and they partly accepted the order instilled by them.

*'We knew some of them and what they were doing to make a living. But there was no such rule that if you're not with us, you're against us. They were respected for doing sports, not killing people. If it was like that, it was OK – you're my friend, my buddy, we're living together in the same neighborhood. No problem. But in some cities they lived by the rule that if you're not with us, you're against us. So you could be beaten up or charged rent, or something like that. We didn't have that here.'* (male, drafting technician of the Uralmashplant, aged 45).

---

[12] Authors' note: in the Russian language, the acronym OPS stands for both 'Organized Criminal Community' and 'Social & Political Union'.

In the aftermath of the 1990s, the self-awareness of workers acquired a new form. While in the Soviet period they perceived themselves as irreplaceable producers of state power, in the 1990s the innocent working-class becoming an expendable, weak group, a victim of change. The Uralmash industrial neighborhood, with a new economic life stepping in, was becoming a platform for the formation of a group of beneficiaries under the new regime, namely a criminal group, which became the shadow controller and partial employer in the community.

**The identity of Uralmash Workers in the Post-Soviet Period of the 2000s–2010s**

The identities of the plant's workers formed during the 'stabilization' period after the 2000's are composed of several dimensions, including both 'Soviet' and 'post-Soviet' practices, schemes, meanings and values. This can be explained by the fact that at the final stage of the socio-economic transformations (at the turn of the millennium) and in the context of Russia's neoliberal reforms of the 2010s which have led to the weakening of large-scale industrial complexes, Uralmash workers are finally losing their class identity, typical for those Soviet times. As a result, the workers are either re-assuming or reproducing different self-identity types, yet they are still preserving the memory of the Soviet past and are trying to find grounds for identifying themselves outside the labor context.

Our interviewees' image of this period is formed through the articulation of local patriotism in the context of Soviet-era nostalgia. Losing their class identity while preserving their Soviet identity in the new realities is a painful experience for the older generation of Uralmash.

*'About Uralmash – all that… is ours. It was my grandma who had built it and then, somehow, this Georgian [former managing director of the plant – Authors' note] trashed it all. I think everything is mine at Uralmash…. It was disgusting to see everything was moved out from the plant by the railroad car.'* (male, plumber of the Uralmashplant, aged 53).

*'Now optimization is under way! It turns out they did some optimization a year ago. Optimization – is it a reduction? How should we understand this word? The meaning is absolutely different! Optimiza-a-a-a-tion! I say, 'Well, is it good or bad? I don't understand!' I didn't even get it. A strange word indeed; it never had anything [to do] with reducing the number of human souls.'* (female, pump machinist of the Uralmashplant, aged 52).

According to these quotations, the moment of emotional loss is associated primarily with massive job cuts and the crippling of Uralmash, where the interviewees had worked all their life, as had their parents and sometimes their grandparents. However, despite the scaling down of production (and despite the course toward 're-industrialization' in Russia currently being discussed in the media), a Soviet identity continues to serve as the basis for the *weltanschauung* of the older plant workers who have difficulties adapting to the new economic realities. In this sense, today a Soviet identity exists in the post-Soviet context. In support of this statement, let us consider the following quotations:

*'Not without vanity, I'm a good man…. I was glad I was born in the Soviet Union. I totally conformed to the Soviet patterns planted in our heads.'* (male, plumber of the Uralmashplant, aged 53).

*'It seems to me that I am too innocent and credulous. I believe everybody.'* (female, metalworker of the Uralmashplant, aged 60).

These statements represent the characteristics of a Soviet identity bearer, that is, in the words of our participants, 'a good man', 'an ordinary man', 'a normal man' or, in the gender

aspect - 'a real cool dude'. The main features of a 'Soviet person' are not just about class characteristics; they are typically related to personal qualities and such categories as 'honesty', 'dignity', 'credulity', 'innocence' and 'industriousness'.

*'The real good guys - they are Russia's backbone. (Question: What do these people have in common?) Honor and human dignity… We go on belonging to the past. [I am] an ordinary man. A Russian. I love my Motherland, but not the state.'* (male, plumber of the Uralmashplant, aged 53).

In this quotation, the features of the 'Soviet person' are interwoven with the personal characteristics of an 'older generation Russian', who grew up in the Soviet Union.

Despite the existence of their national identity, the local patriotism of the informants shows in their love for their homeland and their neighborhood, and in their concerns about the life of ordinary people today, i.e. of Russian workers in general and the Uralmashplant workers, in particular. The following quotation shows a pronounced neighborhood identity of one of our informants:

*'This is not the very best neighborhood in our city, let me put it this way (laughing)…. [But] I like it the way it is…. Nor do I have a second Motherland …. It is my neighborhood. I was born and raised here. There is nothing to do about it now. I am the way I am.'* (male, plumber of the Uralmashplant, aged 53).

During the 'biographical walk' that we had, this informant noted with regret that the Uralmash area used to be greener and the fountains used to function uninterruptedly. Collective festivities and celebrations were held for workers on Ploshchad Pervoi Pyatiletki (Square of the First Five-Year Plan; Fig.8). Sport clubs and education classes were free of charge. However, as production declined, the infrastructure of the industrial neighborhood became dilapidated.

*'Still, it is not a plant campus, it's a socialist town. There was a monument here. A beautiful one, actually. And a fountain behind it. There were lots of fountains on the Uralmash campus, as a matter of fact. Everything was working, functioning, and nothing looked shabby.'* (male, plumber of the Uralmashplant, aged 53).



Fig. 8. Photograph of a/the square in front of the Uralmashplant – Ploshchad Pervoi Pyatiletki (Square of the First Five-Year Plan) in May, 2017.

Answers of the plant workers aged above 50 to questions about their social self-identification show that they often perceive themselves as 'pensioners', among other things. We are talking about 'working pensioners' (i.e. of pensionable age, but still working), who have relatively low but stable incomes from pensions paid by the state and wages from the plant. Some of our informants say in their interviews that they have sought to retire as soon as possible not because they wanted to rest and relax, but in order to get additional social benefits:

*'I wanted to retire early, since I had such a goal….I retired when I was 50, and now I am working. (Question: And why did you want to retire early? Back in the Soviet time). To start getting my pension earlier.'* (female, crane operator of the Uralmashplant, aged 54).

Most of the interviewees say they are saving up their pensions because of the volatile economic conditions. Using their modest savings, some workers can afford to travel abroad on vacation about once a year. Only female workers told us about their travels abroad in the company of their retired friends.

Along with the desire to be a working pensioner, there are also frequent answers saying that when the informants retire they plan to rest and relax.

*'Now it is more difficult to work than before, because there are no supplies, no procurement. I don't know why. We are undergoing global restructuring, but they don't supply us with the little necessary things and materials. In other words, it has become difficult to work. I guess I'm going to quit…. I'm a retiree. I'll be resting and relaxing.'* (female, metalworker of the Uralmashplant, aged 60).

That said, the most popular private 'recreation' place for plant workers is the garden,[13] where they spend weekends and vacations. The produce grown on those farms served as a means of survival back in the 1990's, when plant workers were not paid their wages. Even today, plant workers with low incomes prefer to go to their 'farms' in their down time, instead of spending money on entertainment and consumption in the city.

The statements below reflect the subjective attitudes of our interviewees toward people of other social groups, with such social categories being articulated in their stories as 'gilded youth', 'elite' and sometimes 'policemen' ('cops') and 'gangsters' as contrary to 'ordinary people'. These categories are typical for public discourses in post-Soviet Russia.

*'Well, this is the kind of folk we are – all of humble beginnings, workers and peasants. And this is the environment in which we are wheeling and dealing. If one of us jump higher, he leaves our cohort… now there are clear-cut boundaries, like I am this and you are that. 'Gilded youth' or some other people… Our Uralmash Office is 'elite'… The Office are our superiors, the management [of the plant]. Even the secretary, she is also 'a center of the universe'. As they say, a noble shepherd's daughter (chuckling). There are no easy and simple ways to approach her.'* (female, chemical water treatment technician of the Uralmash plant, aged 54).

*'But I didn't have that much life experience, and I think in [Soviet] times there was not such a strong division. Today, yes, you can feel it. (Question: Feel what?) Feel the differentiation…. Now we are having a crisis in this country. Accordingly, they have tightened the screws. The competition is fierce and, judging from my experience, a top manager will always make it worth his while… make it worth his while. Well, and someone on the lowest level will be made a punching bag. That's it. Can't you see the differentiation – luxury cars and cheap*

---

[13]Plot of land located at the suburb, it is similar to the self-support gardening farm with a small house (close to dacha) or without it. See the details about dacha space in post-Soviet Russia (Polukhina, 2014).

*ones. This kind of differentiation, mainly.'* (male, computer numerical control (CNC) specialist of the Uralmashplant, aged 42).

Everything related to 'workers' is described by such adjectives as 'innocent', 'humble', 'down-to-earth', 'ordinary workers' and 'ordinary laborers', while everything associated with the 'elite' is described as 'contemptuous' and 'pompous'. Workers do not feel at ease while communicating with higher positioned people, for example.

*'Our 'down-to-earth' neighborhood is somewhat closer to me. The big brass up there [the apartments of the plant's top management in the Nest of Gentlefolk neighborhood – Authors' note)] kind of fazes me'; 'He is a military retiree now. Used to work in the police force... And now he is... (pause), how should I put it? Kind of a simple man, yet... I should pick out the right word for him that would not offend him, and... Not contemptuous, but... (pause) Well, like a toff, you know? I allow you to love me, I allow you to speak to me. Like a glad-hander; close, but not too close. I don't communicate with him much.'* (female, chemical water treatment technician of the Uralmashplant, aged 54).

Such comments clearly reflect the subjectiveness of the social distances and inequalities (Bottero, 2007: 827) which arise on the level of communication between our informants and members of other social groups, which can be seen from the social attitudes on the part of the workers towards their relatives who have climbed up the social ladder ('toff'); secretaries, close to the Uralmash top management ('center of the universe'); plant management; and residents of the elite houses within the neighborhood.

The following quotations from the interviews of Uralmash female workers illustrate this viewpoint on setting social distances and determining their position in social space (Bourdieu, 1989: 16-17) with the help of adjectives and subjective sensations.

*'I feel okay. I am a worker, so what? I got used to it. I am a worker. I have female friends with higher education and none of them ignore me.'* (female, crane operator of the Uralmashplant, aged 54).

*'If people with higher education work somewhere in the offices here, they feel differently anyway. We come to the plant, change into a working uniform... (pause). All the same, they treat workers worse, I guess.... Those who work in the offices, they consider themselves better than us.'* (female, metal worker of the Uralmashplant, aged 60).

According to Bottero, people holding similar social positions are more inclined to maintain relations with each other, while holders of different social statuses are prone to avoid communicating with each other (Bottero, 2007:814). As you can see from these quotations, modern plant workers feel comfortable when dealing with people 'of their circle', though they also maintain relations with representatives of other professions having higher education or the same level of income, e.g. teachers, doctors, etc. Some of our informants regret that they did not get a higher education because they were not confident of themselves and their abilities, though they did have chances to enter college or university. According to the second quotation, lack of social confidence is supplemented by working clothes, with the latter serving as a class marker in this context.

When we asked our participants to describe workers, we received the following responses. 'Good' plant workers were called 'alkies' with foul mouths; modern plant workers want to improve their job skills and get an education, and that is why our informants call them 'professionals'. In confirmation of these viewpoints, let us consider two quotations:

*'I was taught to use foul language (laughing). Every second word is foul here. Really. Dirty words are popular here…. Looking at the people surrounding me, I can see that many use strong language… according to what they say, the best workers are alkies.'* (male, CNC specialist of the Uralmashplant, aged 42).

*'Now the working class is different. Why? For example, they put up Italian machines in our plant, and the guys are working. They are workers, machine operators, but they are with higher education. That is, the working class now is not like before – you would come to work, take a broom in your hands and start sweeping the floor. Today the highly rated and promoted are those who try their best to keep to the standards of their working specialty, who try to study and grow as professionals.'* (female, chemical water treatment technician of the Uralmashplant, aged 59).

These quotations demonstrate the fragmented identity of the worker and show a few of his/her images: the classical image, characteristic of Soviet-generation workers, and a new image, which, according to recent studies, is most typical for younger workers (see: Vanke, Tartakovskaya, 2016: 147-148).

## Conclusion

Our ethnographic case-study analytically investigated an industrial neighborhood according to temporal and identity-related aspects, observing stage-by-stage the transformations that have taken and are taking place not only in the physical space, but in mass consciousness as well. The plant neighborhood as a habitat is changing together with society, reflecting the key periods of working-class life and working-class identities (Soviet, transition, and post-Soviet). The Soviet period saw the crystallization of working-class identity, whereby the plant itself and the nearby square were the centers of workers' lives. The local microhabitat of the plant neighborhood enhanced the importance of the collective actions (*'Everybody's marching and I'm marching too'*), formed paternalistic expectations and social passivity (*'Everything is well thought through. And if there are no plants, no nothing – how can one live?'*), and provided a range of ideologically guided positive emotions (*'working at the country's plant of plants'*). The 1990s became a period of transition from a Socialist socioeconomic model to capitalism and was marked by a severe deterioration of workers' social conditions and the loss of their familiar bearings in life, and by the prevalence among workers of negative emotions in connection with their status as 'victims of circumstances.'

We can see that 'Soviet' and 'post-Soviet' practices and values are combined in today's Uralmash worker identity. We can see that the socio-professional grounds for this identity are intertwined with the territorial identity of the neighborhood, but not in synergy, as was typical for the Soviet era. This is accounted for by the fact that today's residents of the Uralmash neighborhood are fairly heterogeneous in their socio-professional status, and this is evident in their visual perception of the neighborhood and their vocabulary describing significant places. As a result, the notions of 'simple' and 'working-class' as sense-making images are encapsulated in nostalgic memories and retain their role as criteria for the delineation between the inequalities and social discrimination of 'them' and 'us': 'we are those who live belonging to the past'. At the same time, members of other social groups (workers of culture, scholars, architects, city activists and volunteers) are beginning to form modern meanings for the neighborhood, tapping

into the space and using it for 'amelioration' and 'gentrification' purposes, which coincides with global post-industrial transformation trends (Miles 2013).

Our analysis has shown that the Soviet past still continues to be an important sense-making resource for the identity of the Uralmash workers living in the same neighborhood. In fact, it is the only 'universal' prop supporting their subjective perception of themselves and their place in society (Gudkov 2009). The second, in terms of importance, sense-making resource for the identity of Uralmash workers is 'neighborhood-level' patriotism and the feeling of local territorial identity: the denomination 'Uralmash' is used by numerous organizations operating within the neighborhood: a stadium, a metro station, as well as an organized criminal group and a social & political union (of the 1990's). The collective sense of belonging to a neighborhood, supplemented by status characteristics, reflects class identity of a local community and its transformations in different periods (Robertson, Smyth, McIntosh 2008).

### References

*Ashwin S., Clarke S.*Russian Trade Unions and Industrial Relations in Transition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

*Borisov V.A., Kozina I.M.* ObIzmenenii Statusa Rabochikh Na Predpriyatii (Changing the Workers' Status at the Enterprise) // Sociological Studies, 1994, No. 11, pp. 16-29.

*Bottero W.* Social Inequality and Interaction // Sociology Compass.2007. № 1/2. P. 814–831.

*Bottero W., Irwin S.* Locating Difference: Class, 'Race' and Gender, and the Shaping of Social Inequalities // The Sociological Review.2003. Vol. 51. № 4.P. 463–483.

*Bourdieu P.* Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1987.

*Bourdieu P.* Social Space and the Genesis of Groups // Theory and Society. 1985. Vol. 14. № 6. P. 723–744.

*Bourdieu P.* The Logic of Practice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980.

*Burawoy M.* Dwelling in Capitalism, Traveling Through Socialism // The Critical Study of Work / Edited by Rick Baldoz, Charles Koeber, and Philip Kraft. Philadelphia: Temple University Press 2001. P. 21-44.

*Clarke S.*The State of the Russian Unions //Journal of Labor Research. 2007. Vol. 28. №. 2. P. 275–300.

*Clarke S., Fairbrother P., Borisov V.* The Workers' Movement in Russia, Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995.

*Ganzeboom H., Nieuwbeerta P.* Access to education in six Eastern European countries between 1940 and 1985. Results of a cross-national survey // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. 1999. Volume 32, Issue 4, December. Pages 339–357.

*Gobo G., Molle A.* Doing Ethnography. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2017.

*Goldthorpe J., Llewellyn C., Payne C.*Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

*Gudkov L.* Usloviya Vosproizvodstva 'Sovetskogo Cheloveka' (Conditions for Reproducing the 'Soviet Man') // Public Opinion Bulletin.Data. Analysis. Discussions. 2009, No. 2, pp. 8-37.

*Hammersley M.* What's Wrong with Ethnography? Routledge. London and New York. 1992.

*Ilchenko M.* "Green" Utopia of the Uralmash: Institutional Effects and Symbolic Meaning // Critical Housing Analysis. 2016. Vol. 3. № 2. P. 52–60.

*Ivanov A.V.* Yoburg. GorodKhrabrykh. Zdelano v Devyanostye(Yoburg.The City of the Brave. Made in the '90s). AST.Moscow, 2014.

*Kadushin A.M.* Neighborhood Transformation Design: A Case Study of Island view Village, Detroit. A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Architecture in The University of Michigan, 1996.

*Klein J.* "Moving on," Men and the Changing Character of Interwar Working-Class Neighborhoods: From the Files of the Manchester and Liverpool City Police // Journal of Social History. 2004. Vol. 38. № 2. P. 407–421.

*MacDonald R., Shildrick T., Colin Webster C., Simpson D.* Growing Up in Poor Neighbourhoods: The Significance of Class and Place in the Extended Transitions of 'Socially Excluded' Young Adults // Sociology. 2005. Vol. 39. № 5. P.873–891.

*Meyerovich M.G., KonyshevaYe.V.,Khmelnitsky D.S.* Kladbishche Sotsgorodov: Gradostroitelnaya Poliyikav SSSR (1928-1932 gg.) (Social Town Cemeteries: The Town-Planning Policy in the USSR (1928-1932), M. Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN): The B.N. Yeltsin Presidential Center Foundation, 2011.

*Miles A.* Culture, Participation and Identity in Contemporary Manchester // Culture in Manchester: Institutions and Urban Change since 1800, Manchester / Ed. by M. Savage, J. Wolffs. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2013.

*Morris J.* Notes on the "Worthless Dowry" of Soviet Industrial Modernity: Making Working-Class Russia Habitable // Laboratorium: Russian Review of Social Research. 2015. Vol. 7. № 3. P. 25–48.

*Morrison C.*A Russian Factory Enters the Market Economy. London, New York: Routledge, 2008.

*Polukhina E.* Uralmash As a Neighborhood of Industrial Worker: The Specifics of the Ethnographic Case-Study Implementation (in print). Proceeding for the International Symposium 'The Uralmash Project: The Cultural Future of [Post] Industrial Cities. Yekaterinburg.The Yekaterinburg Academy of Modern Art.

*Polukhina E. V.*Osobennosti social'nogo poryadka v postsovetskom dachnom prostranstve: trud, pokoleniyai gender (The peculiarities of social order in the space of post-Soviet dacha: work, generations and gender).Labyrinth. Journal of Philosophy and Social Sciences.2014. Vol. 3. P. 22-31. URL: http://journal-labirint.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Polukhina.pdf

*Robertson D., Smyth J., McIntosh I.* Neighbourhood Identity: People, Time and Place. The report. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2008. URL: https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/neighbourhood-identity-effects-time-location-and-social-class

(accessed: 10.08.2017).

*Savage M.* The Fall and Rise of Class Analysis in British Sociology, 1950-2016 //Tempo Social. 2016. Vol. 28. № 2. P. 57–72.

*Savage M.* Working-Class Identities in the 1960s: Revisiting the Affluent Worker Study // Sociology. 2005. Vol. 39. № 5. P. 929–946.

*Savage M., Cunningham N., Devine F., Friedman S., Laurison D., McKenzie L., Miles A., Snee A., Wakeling P.* Social Class in the 21st Century. London: Pelican an imprint of Penguin Book, 2015.

Sovetsky Prostoy Chelovek: Opyt Sotsialnogo Portretana Rubezhe 90-kh (The Simple Soviet Man: A Social Portrait-Making Experience at the Turn of the '90s) / Executive Editor: *Yu.A. Levada*, M., The World Ocean Publishers, 1993.

*Vanke A.* Masculinities, Bodies and Subjectivities: Working-Class Men Negotiating Russia's Post-Soviet Gender Order// Masculinity, Labour, and Neoliberalism: Working-Class Men in International Perspective/ Ed. by C. Walker, S. Roberts. London, New York: Palgrave MacMillan Ltd, 2018. P. 195–218.

*Vanke A.V.,Tartakovskaya I.N.* Transformatsii Maskulinnosti Rossiyskikh Rabochikh v Kontekste Sotsialnoy Mobilnosti (Transformation of Russian Workers' Masculinity in the Context of Social Mobility) // The World of Russia. Ethnology; 2016, No. 4, pp. 136-153.

*Volkov V. V.* Silovoye Predprinimatelstvo v Sovremennoy Rossii (Power Entrepreneurship in Modern Russia) // Sociological Studies, 1999, No. 1, pp. 56-65.

*Wacquant L.* Scrutinizing the Street: Poverty, Morality, and the Pitfalls of Urban Ethnography // American Journal of Sociology. 2002. Vol. 107. № 6. P. 1468–1532.

*Yadov V., Zdravomyslov A.* (eds) Man and His Work.A Sociological Study. New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1970.

**Supplement: Data on Project Informants**

**Table 1. Expert interviews; a total of eight interviews transcribed**

| Interview full code (number, gender, city, and date of the interview) | Primary position and current occupation | Interview venue | Interviewed during a walk | Total duration of interview (minutes) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Expert 1_M_YKB_15052017 | Director, the Yekaterinburg History Museum | At the informant's workplace - the Yekaterinburg History Museum | No | 76 minutes |
| Expert 2_F_YKB_16052017 | Sociologist, an Uralmash neighborhood resident | A walk in the Uralmash neighborhood | Yes | 143 (a 90 minutes' walk) |
| Expert 3_F_YKB_01062017 | Editor, Uralmash Newspaper | Editorial Board Offices, Uralmash | No | 55 minutes |
| Expert 4_M_YKB_24052017 | Historian,an employee of theYekaterinburg History Museum | A café in the Uralmash neighborhood | No | 113 minutes |
| Expert 5_M_YKB_26052017 | Employee of the Uralmashplant History Museum | At the informant's workplace - the Uralmash History Museum | No | 90 minutes |
| Expert_6_M_YKB_23052017 | Photographer, Author of the Uralmash Dynasty project, an Uralmash neighborhood resident | Café Skoroyedov, at Prospekt Kosmonavtov Metro Station, the Uralmash neighborhood | No | 61 minutes |
| Expert 7_F_YKB_25052017 | Activist, the Nest of Gentlefolk neighborhood, the Uralmash neighborhood | In the informant's home, at 6 Ulitsa Krasnykh Partizan, the Uralmash neighborhood | No | 102 minutes |
| Expert 8_M_YKB_02062017 | Head, Administration of Ordzhonikidzevsky District | At the informant'sworkplace, Administration of Ordzhonikidzevsky District | No | 35 minutes |

**Table 2. Interviews with Uralmash plant workers and residents of the Uralmash neighborhood; a total of fifteen interviews transcribed**

| Interview full code (number, gender, age, city, date of the interview) | Interview venue | Interviewed during a walk | Gender | Age | Education | Position (all are Uralmash workers) | Family status | Place of birth | Duration of the interview, including a walk (min.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1_F_54_YKB_17052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 17 minutes | Female | 54 | Secondary vocational | Crane operator | Married; has 2 children; son is 22 and daughter is 27 | Sverdlovsk (now renamed into Yekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 177 minutes |
| 2_F_49_YKB_17052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 60 minutes | Female | 49 | Secondary vocational | Pump machinist | Single; has a 25-year-old son | Sverdlovsk (now renamed into Yekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 200 minutes |
| 3_M_53_YKB_18052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 17 minutes | Male | 53 | Secondary | Plumber | Married; daughter is 27, son is 22 | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg),the Uralmash neighborhood | 124 minutes |
| 4_M_57_YKB_19052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 26 minutes | Male | 57 | Higher | Fitter | Married, has 2 daughters, aged 34 and 19 | Chelyabinskaya Oblast | 225 minutes |
| 5_F_60_YKB_19052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 34 minutes | Female | 60 | Secondary | Metalworker | Guest marriage (dating with a man); younger son alive, older son died | A village 100kmfromSverdlovsk (now renamed into Yekaterinburg) | 180 minutes |
| 6_F 43_YKB_22052017 | In the informant's home | No | Female | 43 | Incomplete higher | Heater/welder | Married; has a 17-year-old daughter, the older son died in 2015 | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 68 minutes |
| 7_M_42_YKB_24052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 12 minutes | Male | 42 | Incomplete higher | Computer numerical control (CNC) specialist | Single, dating a girlfriend; no children | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 117 minutes |
| 8_F_60_YKB_29052017 | In the informant's home | No | Female | 60 | Secondary | Crane operator, crane machinist, Skill Grade 6 | Married; has an adult daughter | Village Mostovskoye, Sverdlovskaya Oblast | 144 minutes |
| 9_F_58_YKB_31052017 | In the informant's home | No | Female | 58 | Secondary | Chemical water treatment technician | Divorced; her daughter is 40 | Nizhnestalinsk Settlement, Yuakutia | 128 minutes |
| 10_M_45_YKB_30052017 | In a cafe | Yes, 35 minutes | Male | 45 | Secondary vocational | Drafting technician | Divorced; his son is 23 | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 268 minutes |
| 11_F_27_YKB_20052017 | In the informant's home | Yes, 30 minutes | Female | 27 | Secondary, advanced training course at the plant | Crane operator | Divorced; currently cohabitating; no children | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinbur) | 132 minutes |
| 12_F_54_YKB_20052017 | In the informant's home | No | Female | 54 | Secondary vocational | Chemical water treatment technician | Single, never was officially married; used to cohabitate earlier; her daughteris 31 | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 150 minutes |
| 13_F_59_YKB_22052017 | In the informant's home | No | Female | 59 | Higher, HigherCPSU School, advanced training course at the plant | Chemical water treatment technician | Single, used to cohabitate earlier; no children | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 163 minutes |
| 14_M_29_YKB_26052017 | In a square Near Uralmash, near a children's club | No | Male | 29 | Secondary vocational | Construction metal worker | Married; has a 4-year-old son | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinbur), Zhelezhnodorozhny District | 94 minutes |
| 15_F_52_YKB_27052017 | At the informant's workplace, waste water treatment & water supply facility | No | Female | 52 | Secondary | Pump machinist | Cohabitation; has a 33-year-old daughter | Sverdlovsk (now renamed intoYekaterinburg), the Uralmash neighborhood | 144 minutes |

**Polukhina Elizaveta**
Candidate of Sciences (PhD) in Sociology, Associate Professor in Sociology at The National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE). E-mail: epolukhina@hse.ru