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# **OLD AND NEW RESIDENTS OF FORMER INDUSTRIAL NEIGHBORHOOD: DIFFERENCES AND IDENTITIES**

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## **OLD AND NEW RESIDENTS OF FORMER INDUSTRIAL NEIGHBORHOOD: DIFFERENCES AND IDENTITIES <sup>2</sup>**

This article discusses the phenomenon of recent decades associated with the redevelopment of former industrial areas and factory districts. These areas previously had a homogeneous environment in which residents construct a local solidarity, but now functions and image of industrial districts are changing. Transformations of former industrial spaces is analyzed on example of two Moscow neighborhoods. The author's research based on case study includes interviews with residents and developers, observations, analysis of media discussion and online communities, and secondary data analysis.

Relying on concepts of social differentiation and social identity, the author considers former industrial neighborhood in terms of housing statuses, visual representations, senses and subjective perception.

The research shows that the formation of a new territorial identity occurs in conditions of social and housing inequality.

JEL Classification: Z.

Keywords: social differentiation, urban space, social inequality, housing, industrial neighborhood, social identity, territorial identity.

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## Introduction

In last years, deindustrialization process is actively considered in urban sociology (Gotham 2001; Bodnar 2001; Tach, Emory 2017). Industrial urban areas now became a space for redevelopment, and this is a worldwide trend (Braae 2015). At the same time, the problem of deindustrialization has the country and regional specifics. In this article I will discuss deindustrialization and its social context on the example of Moscow, the capital of Russia, where industrial areas constitute about 20% of the territory.<sup>4</sup>

The specificity of deindustrialization process in Russia as well as in other Post-Soviet countries lies in the fact that main objects for redevelopment are territories of former Soviet industrial districts that have decayed after the collapse of the socialist planned economy (Gasidlo, Stein 1995; Juzva 1996; Swain 2007). In Russia and the former Soviet Union countries most part of industrial districts was detached and typical planned self-contained neighborhoods, or “socialist townships” (Meyerovich et al. 2011). These districts were built around the manufacturing entities and consisted of standardized blocks of housing and infrastructure buildings (institutional, administrative, and cultural) (Leetmaa et al. 2016). Yves Cohen argued that the principles of this factory-centered organization were clearly defined, the most important being the affirmation Soviet industrial facilities as symbolic centers of territory (Cohen, Lin 2009: 32). These districts were self-sufficient as multifunctional communities providing work, service, and housing: residents worked in the factories, lived nearby, and used factory’s infrastructure (Meyerovich et al. 2011).

The homogeneous milieu of Soviet industrial neighborhood began to disintegrate with the Post-Soviet transition, where factories were closed, or decreased their production and ceded facilities for other purposes according to contemporary economic situation (Polukhina et al. 2017). Only in last 5-7 years in Russia, especially in Moscow and other big Russian cities<sup>5</sup> industrial areas are being perceived as a space for large-scale reorganization, including demolition of unused old buildings, land reclamation, development of transport systems, and change of purpose of the territory from industrial to residential. The last factor is highly actual for Moscow due to the high cost of land and the lack of available space for construction.

This article is based on the materials of the research project “House instead of factory”, carried out in 2018.<sup>6</sup> In this project the phenomenon of modern housing development in the

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<sup>4</sup> Complex of urban policy and construction of Moscow city, official website: <https://stroimsk.ru/renovatsiya-promzon>

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Saint-Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod. These are big cities where developers (as in Moscow) able to invest to long-term projects.

<sup>6</sup> Project website: [present-past.ru/dom-zavod](http://present-past.ru/dom-zavod).

industrial areas is considered on example of two former industrial neighborhoods in Moscow. The main research question in this project is to understand, how redevelopment transforms not only physical, but social and symbolic spaces of a former industrial neighborhoods. The article will address 3 aspects of this issue: *What are the spatial and housing changes under the influence of redevelopment? What are the differences of spatial representations of industrial neighborhood between “old” and “new” residents? How do the spatial representations begin to form among “new” residents and what is it made of?*

The research cases are two typical former industrial districts in Moscow: Tushino and ZIL.<sup>7</sup> Tushino is located at periphery of the city (approximately 20 km from the city center), whereas ZIL is located relatively close to the city center (approximately 7 km) (see Fig. 1).

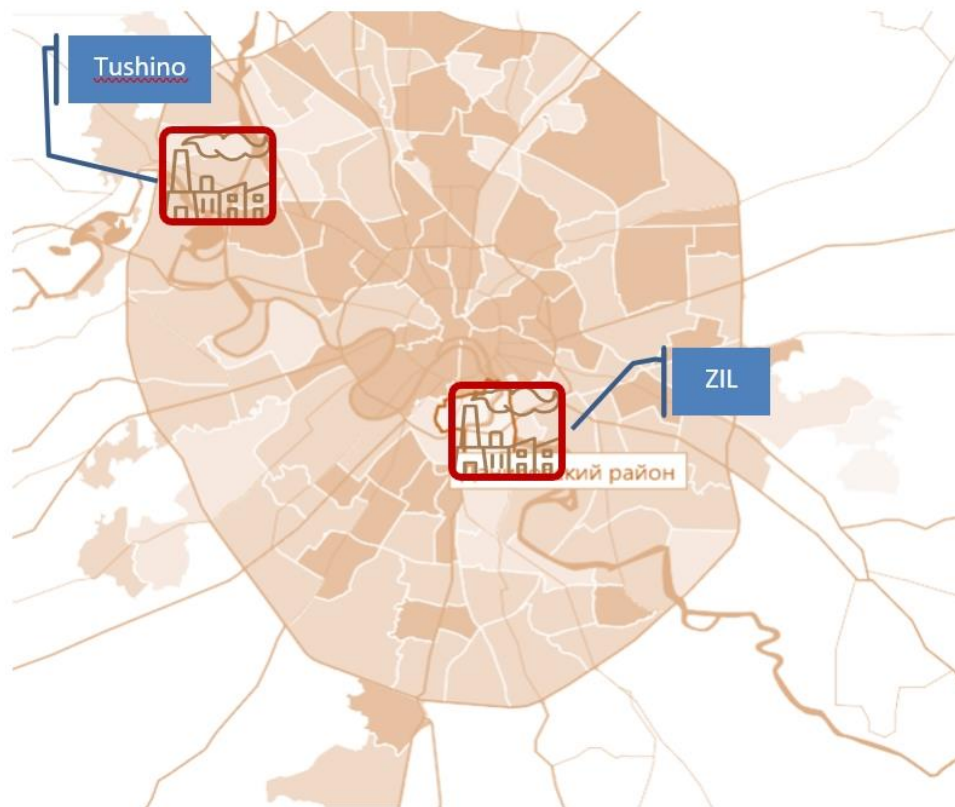


Fig. 1. Moscow city map where Tushino and ZIL are marked.

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<sup>7</sup> The project “House instead of factory” is a logical continuation of a larger research “The Past and Present of Workers’ Areas: Transformations of Socio-Cultural and Territorial Identity”. Research team at «The Past and Present of Workers’ Areas...» are: A. Strelnikova (head), A. Vanke, E. Polukhina, Ya. Bagina, O. Klyushina.

In both projects, non-official names “Tushino” and “ZIL” are used, despite the fact that they do not fully correspond to the contemporary official demarcation of administrative districts (Strelnikova 2018). By “Tushino” I mean the Tushino district within its historical boundaries (now it consists of 3 administrative districts: Pokrovskoe-Streshnevo, Yuzhnoye Tushino, and Northern Tushino). By “ZIL” I mean the territory of the former ZIL plant, which is currently redeveloping.

## **Case description**

The Tushino district (formerly a worker's village, then industrial town, and then part of Moscow) was formed at 1930<sup>th</sup> around two Soviet factories — the Tushino Machine-Building Plant (Tushino Plant) and the nearby Plant of Chernyshev, both had an aviation profile. The ZIL district was formed at 1920<sup>th</sup> around the largest machine-building plant with the same name (ZIL), which produced both industrial and domestic products.

The corresponding cases of new buildings in Tushino and ZIL are “ZILart” in the ZIL plant area, which is located directly on the site of the former factory territory, and “Tushino-2018”, which is located on the site of the former Tushino airfield. The cases are comparable in capacity of development, and in date of completion the first part of building (2018). These neighborhoods and cases were chosen by 3 reasons listed below.

- 1) They are pioneer projects of complex redevelopment in Moscow. Finish of 1st stage of development, building commissioning and moving residents into the new houses take place at 2018 both for “ZILart” and “Tushino-2018”.
- 2) They are projects with the largest capacity of development in Moscow. The construction area is 65 hectares at “ZILart” and 160 hectares at “Tushino-2018”.
- 3) They are the most debated territories in the media and in the official sources. Since 2015, two selected neighborhoods were in the top three areas for redevelopment most frequently discussed (Housing 2015).

For the case of ZIL neighborhood, we can talk about “the house at the site of the plant” in the literal sense, since the redevelopment of the former workshops territory and factory facilities is currently undergoing. For the case of Tushino neighborhood, we can talk about “a house on the site of the plant” in a figurative sense, since large-scale development “Tushino-2018” is carried out in nearby territories, while the territories of Tushino plants at this the moment has not yet become the object of redevelopment. However, this building belongs to the Tushino district in its historical boundaries and in the perception of local residents (Strelnikova 2018).

## **Conceptualizing differences and identities in urban space**

### **Social differences, spatial representations and identities**

The problem of social differences in urban space has a long history of study. Researchers at the Chicago school initiated the study of spatial urban segregation and neighborhoods. Later, the study of gentrification (Fraser et al 2013; Tach, Emory 2017) and housing inequality began to take shape as an integral element of stratification research (Zavisca, Gerber, 2016). For urban

studies, space is a coordinate system that is endowed with meanings through social actions and conventions (Lynch 1960). Moving in the physical space, people perceive it mentally and emotionally, determine landmarks and boundaries, are included in the identification and identification processes. This leads to the fact that various images of space are saturated by social meanings.

Kevin Lynch was one of the first who notice the relationship between the visual and cognitive perception of the urban environment (Lynch 1960). Subsequently, his ideas became the basis for many studies of the city and the development of strategies for urban development and planning. Based on empirical data, Lynch made an attempt to describe the characteristics of the structure of settlement and their image, which is formed by the inhabitants. In the analysis, he used a number of concepts that later became widely used in sociology and urban studies. These concepts include the mental image of the city and mental maps. The mental image is a general image of the city, which does not exist in reality and encompasses the perception of the environment by many observers. A generalized image is formed by citizens as a result of the “fundamental agreement” of individuals belonging to one social group: people from one group construct the similar images in their minds, highlighting some objects of space and not noticing others. According to Lynch, individuals with similar social characteristics are more likely to have a generalized image (spatial representations) of the urban environment.

Further attempts to develop and systematize ideas of spatial representations were undertaken by various authors. Stanley Milgram, analyzing the formation of individual images of space, found that non-verbal ideas about the city are difficult to translate into verbal form, and, in addition, inhabitants are subject to stereotypes about the city. As a result, he comes to the conclusion that the perception of a city is not individual, but common. Therefore, along with individual experience, it is necessary to study a collective spatial image, taking into account aspects that are common to majority of people (Milgram 1970).

Conceptualizing spatial representations as a part of identity helps to formulate the term “territorial identity” (Robertson, Smyth, McIntosh 2008). Territorial (or place-based) identity means a subjective perception of spatial attachment and belonging, a feeling that helps determine the status and interpret the meanings attributed to this territory (Droseltis, Vignoles 2010). It is an emotionally colored sense of belonging to a space, which is including through knowledge of those events, objects and locations that are associated with the past (Strelnikova 2018).

Territorial identity can be described through the practice of using the space and through the symbolic interpretations of the space: for instance, how often a resident visits each parts of

territory, which landmarks he knows, what he considers a symbol of a territory, what places he perceives as “own”, etc. (Droseltis, Vignoles 2010). In fact, territorial identity is a set of senses embedded in space. Robertson, Smyth, McIntosh emphasize that identity constructed through everyday social interactions within various localized settings (Robertson, Smyth, McIntosh 2008). In turn, the measurement of territorial identity allows to detect representations of social differences in the physical space (Bourdieu 1985).

### **Industrial neighborhood: from planning to identity**

In a previous works, the experience of East Europe and the former Soviet Union related with the transformation of old industrial areas discussed in 2 main aspects: from the point of view of urban planning policy and from the point of view of the residents. Juzva (1996) analyzed the opportunities for revitalization of Upper Silesian Agglomeration in Poland and draws attention to the environmental problems of industrial areas. Crowley (2016) explored Russia's monotowns (Soviet one-industry towns) and concluded that old residents of Post-Soviet industrial territories belongs to precarious positions. Leetmaa (2016) analyzed the post-Soviet city Tartu (Estonia) in a context of development and planning approaches applied for large housing estates have transformed from the Soviet period.

The target of Soviet planned economics was to expand industrialization, so industrial districts were constructed in major cities. In Soviet period, factory districts of Russian cities consist of subspaces for work and life in the immediate vicinity of industrial facilities. Many of industrial districts were built as self-sufficient “socialist cities” (Meerovich et al 2011) and had not only economical but ideological value. These districts had a typical planned composition: the factory is in the center of territory as its symbolic dominant, and standardized blocks of housing nearby. Accordingly, the colleagues were the neighbors as well, so their everyday life was strongly related with homogeneous milieu, and, therefore, residents of the industrial neighborhoods had place-based identity and solidarity (Meyerovich et al. 2011). In this situation we can speak about the “neighborhood effect”: this is a phenomenon of interrelationship between the inhabitants which can be considered as a part of social capital (Hastings 2009). Person who belongs to active residential environment with high level of social cohesion, has more opportunities in a career, family, social life, etc. and feel solidarity with people of similar socio-cultural backgrounds and lifestyles (Leetmaa 2016). This solidarity can be also the part of place-based identity because it includes belonging to the group localized in the certain territory and emotions related with the belonging.

Now, when plants closed or drastically reduced activity, all their manufacturing successes are in the past. Becoming the subject of memories, the industrial past is reconstructed through

the most vivid, typical, recognizable events (Mian 2017) and through the nostalgic identities, i.e. identities belongs to the past. Velikonja in his research shows that living with a nostalgic identity is a way to feel the emotional connection with the successful past (Velikonja 2009: 536). Conducting interviews with elderly inhabitants of Post-Soviet countries he found out they frequently call themselves “ex-people”, i.e. people who lost everything because of collapse the Soviet regime. So, we can presume that nostalgic identity is an essential companion of every significant social transformation, including the transformation of industrial neighborhood.

In this research I study old and new residents of the former industrial neighborhoods. It is possible to analyze territorial identity of old residents because they have experience of living on the territory. But what is about the new residents, especially who only buy housing but did not live at that place? On the one hand, it is difficult to talk about the formed identity of people who have just bought a housing, but have not yet moved to this place. On the other hand, the basis for the formation of identity is the perception of space, spatial representations (Lynch 1960; Lynch 1981; Droseltis Vignoles 2010).

Even before moving to the area, a person forms a primary image of this space based on previous personal experience (for example, traveling to the area, having friends from the area) or from external sources (information from the media, information from the developer).

In the research I presume that the identity of the new residents is an *emerging* identity (*pre-identity, initial identity*). It will be formed during the live in a new residential complex. However, even before the moment of residence, one of the basic elements of identity is formed - an image of space, i.e. ideas about the area and its surroundings, about its main characteristics. I think this is the starting point for the formation of territorial identity. Emotional connections between recognizable objects will be built around the image of space and a search will be made for the differences between “our” part of the district and the rest of the territory.

### **Housing and industrial neighborhood.**

Belonging to different housing groups is one of the forms of social differentiation in urban space and can be used in analysis of transformations of industrial neighborhoods. Housing groups, or housing classes (Rex, Moore 1967; Saunders 1984; Krotov et al 2003), can be understood a group of members with a similar set of characteristics, reflecting both the living conditions of the individual, and whether he or she is the owner of any real estate suitable for living. In a market economy, housing is commonly referred to non-financial assets along with land, vehicles, consumer durables, as well as valuables and intellectual property (OECD, 2013), and can be purchased on the real estate market.



In Soviet times, both in Russia and in Eastern European countries, the distribution of housing occurred by non-market mechanisms (Krotov et al 2003). Housing was distributed among employees and it was free of charge (as a social housing rental). In USSR, standard conditions were for the most part of Soviet people: to wait in a housing queue during a several years, even decades, and then to obtain a room or a flat just as a “social tenant”, not as “owner”. At the same time, work, family and social status predetermined personal opportunities to obtain housing, those who were close to distribution system or to the socialist ruling class, had better opportunities as in housing allocation system (Barsukova 2000; Krotov et al 2003: 5) as in other Soviet system of dispatching goods (Cohen 2009 32-33). But ideologically the Soviet system provided everyone with the same housing conditions.

In the post-Soviet period, housing from a distributed resource became an element of market relations because all “social tenants” got the right to privatize social housing. It was free of charge procedure, i.e. just changing a status from “social tenants” to “owner”. Most part of homeowners (2/3) in contemporary Russia is exactly who privatized Soviet housing (Cherkashina 2018), i.e. who did not buy it. In general, the housing stratification of modern Russian society is poorly understood, and this is largely due to the lack of reliable data to analyze it. Statistical and longitudinal data have a very limited range of issues that reflect the consumer properties of the home. With regard to micro studies, the classification proposed by researchers are not universal, but are developed or adapted for specific tasks (Ajzinova 2007; Zavisca, Gerber, 2016). However, there are a number of common features: basic types of housing groups are defined in relation to the homeownership of housing (owners and non-owners); main characteristics of housing are determined, on the basis of indirectly assess housing. Deindustrialization and redevelopment are the socio-economic context that allows us to consider the housing status of old and new residents of industrial areas.

In Post-Soviet period, the transformation of the economy is superimposed on the transformation of social structure (Bourdieu 1985). Thus, the specificity of the Soviet past makes it necessary to consider changes in the industrial districts in the context of social differences and identities, which is reflected in the geographical space (Echevskaya 2015; Strelnikova 2016; Polukhina et al 2017).

## **Data and Research Design**

The research is designed to describe the differences and identities of old and new residents of the former industrial areas. The methodical arsenal of the study included secondary data analysis, observation, interview, and mental mapping.

**New residents:** 14 sessions of observation in the area around construction sites and in nearby parts of Tushino and ZIL district; 3 expert interviews with representatives of developers; 17 semi-formalized interviews with buyers - future residents of “ZILart” and “Tushino-2018”,<sup>8</sup> most part of interviews included mental mapping; in the course of the desk research, information sources were analyzed (media discussions, official statistics, information of district administrations, materials of social networks and blogs, thematic sites) for 2010-2018, containing references to “Tushino-2018” and “ZILart”, as well as the townships themselves. Fieldwork were conducted during a 2018. For “Tushino-2018”, at the moment of data collection 1<sup>st</sup> stage of building (1<sup>st</sup> houses) was completed.

The logic of the interview was built to gradually immerse the informant in the context of the area: “Primary perception: me in the area”, “Perception through the prism of social differences: mine and others in the area”, “Perception through action: area as a space for the realization of opportunities”.

Mental map is a type of projective pictures which represents a visual projection of a selected part of space; the visualization of individual perceptions of space. The results of the use of mental maps can be a generalized image, a typology of elements, a frequency analysis. The prospect of using the drawing technique (mental map) in addition to the interview is related to the fact that social relations in the urban space is reflected on the visual image (Lynch 1960; Milgram 1970). Also, the meanings of the past and present are actualized in the visual display of the area. In general, mental maps make people see ideas about social reality (Bourdieu 1985) and visualize the meanings of life rooted in space. From a methodological point of view, analyzing interviews and visual data, it is possible to use complementary strategies, for example, classifying the visual elements of an area image and combining visual and textual interpretations of the process of drawing up a mental map.

**Old residents:** For this article I analyze 10 interviews from the total of which were conducted as a part of a previous project.<sup>9</sup> This material complements data of new residents.

As already mentioned, in the research is presumed that the identity of the new residents is the initial identity, pre-identity. These are ideas about the space from which territorial identity will emerge in the future. Should also be noted, buyers (future residents) of new buildings, even before the end of construction, in most cases actively communicate with each other: on

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<sup>8</sup> During interviews with new residents, a question was asked whether housing was purchased for personal residence or for investment purposes. Almost all informants answered that these housing are intended for personal living. Only 2 informants reported that they purchased housing here for the purpose of resale, but explained that they might also live here for some time.

<sup>9</sup> The project “House instead of factory” is a logical continuation of a larger research “The Past and Present of Workers' Areas: Transformations of Socio-Cultural and Territorial Identity”. Research team at «The Past and Present of Workers' Areas...» are: A. Strelnikova (head), A. Vanke, E. Polukhina, Ya. Bagina, O. Klyushina.

specialized sites dedicated to this particular building project, in messengers (Telegram, Whatsapp), etc. This suggests a virtual neighborhood that is formed before the real neighborly communication. All of our informants are included in such a virtual neighborhood. Also, all informants were repeatedly at the construction place, observed its dynamics, and had the opportunity to visually compare their residential complex with the nearby territory. Thirdly, a part of them (Tushino-2018) at the moment has already been settled in the first-place built houses.

## **Results. From socialist townships to modern housing complexes**

### **The past, present and perception of space**

In Tushino neighborhood, plants of the aircraft, and airfields of the polar and military aviation were located. Therefore, stories about the aviation and aviation-related facilities are a significant part of the territorial identity of the old residents:

*«I perceived Tushino as a powerful aviation neighborhood»* (male, 65, the old resident of Tushino);

*«For me, the symbol of Tushino is a propeller... a motor, a plane, something like that. Here we have aircraft plants and airfields»* (female, 58, the old resident of Tushino).

As to old residents of ZIL neighborhood, they generally perceive the area and the plant inextricably:

*“The fact is that whole territory of the Proletarian District... formerly it was called the Proletarian... The whole territory of the district was a factory. Only people lived here working at the factory mostly. Houses all around the factory were built for their workers. Look around here, these are all houses... Well, this wonderful palace was built by plant, of course, the stadium – by plant. That is, everything was for the factory workers”* (female, 73, the old resident of ZIL).

So, factories contributed to the socialization of residents within a territory and formed a “horizon of life opportunities and ways of their realization” (Echevskaya 2015: 196). In this situation, old products of the plants are still the subject of pride among the old residents:

*“It was the best work, the best details... <...> Can you imagine, we made very accurate drawings without computers and everything worked!”* (male, 65, the old resident of Tushino).

However, this pride is almost absent among new residents of the developing complexes. In my research only 1 new resident mentioned that she knew the old product of the plant and admired it:

*“I knew there was a plant at ZIL. We even had a grandma's ZIL fridge. Moreover, such a story at the refrigerator was... For almost a hundred years, the fridge really worked, well, when my grandmother was young, my father was very few years old, and they often moved, and this refrigerator roamed the world along with the family. And you know, it worked for such a long life. And then my sister once, about 10 years ago, came to visit our grandmother once again, and then said: “Why do you need this refrigerator?” And took it and threw it out, did not confer with anyone. Well, of course, my father and I were very sad: “Well, it is not just a refrigerator, so, how was it possible to act so badly with him...”. That was such a story” (female, 39, the new resident of “ZILart”).*

In this story, we can see that new resident admits that the old products of ZIL plant were of very high quality and appreciated by the whole family. When the symbol of the new development district was discussed, this informant called the refrigerator ZIL as a symbol. But other new residents, as a rule, described the industrial past as something insignificant and even unpleasant:

*“In my view, Tushino is some remote factory district, it is not presentable. Why do we have word “Tushino” in our name too?” (male, 40, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”);*

*“The old part of the ZIL district ... well, you know, there is such an ugly-ugly place, \*\*\* [obscenity], living there is of course very scary (female, 37, the new resident of “ZILart”);*

*“Tushino... the area is old. Tushino makes the impression ... as if there is a “window” to the Soviet Union. Elderly area for elderly people” (female, 37, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”)*

*“There is industrial district [Tushino], 50 years old or more ... I think it is a little old-fashioned, there are old five-floors buildings there. And our building, of course, is the exact opposite”. (female, 28, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”).*

Earlier we discovered that for old residents (especially for the older generation), the plant itself and the associated infrastructure facilities are still integral elements of the symbolic image of the industrial area (Strelnikova, Vanke 2017). This central element was a symbol of the neighborhood during the Soviet past:

*«You know, everything here began with plants, the district started to grow with plants... and everybody knew about it» (female, 58, the old resident of Tushino).*

The perception of space through the factories and Soviet industrial facilities is addressed to the past, i.e. reflects not the daily routine of the current moment, but the experience of the Soviet everyday life, which formed the structure of their vital world and continues to be significant. Old

residents do not feel themselves as comfortable as before: the homogeneous environment of friends and colleagues was replaced by kaleidoscopic heterogeneity. Thus, the Soviet past and nostalgia remains an important semantic resource for the identity of the inhabitants of factory districts, being practically the only “universal” pillar supporting the subjective perception of themselves and their place in society (Gudkov 2009). Old residents act as “guardians of the past”, constructing the symbolic space where the territories of work and life were inextricably linked.

In modern projects of “city within a city”, the center, of course, is no longer a factory, but a residential complex or some facilities serving as an anchor for future residents. According to our research, the anchor for “ZILart” is a freshly build park “Tyufeleva roscha”, for “Tushino-2018” is new stadium “Spartak”. These elements are related to leisure, not to work.

But interestingly, the developers themselves understand that even by architecture the new building format is somewhat similar to the Soviet one:

*“The largest of all [redevelopment] projects is ZILart. The largest, most complex, most ambitious of all existing, the most probably such sign. They reorganize the industrial territory, which until then had been a landmark for the city as a whole, was city-forming in the 1920s - 1930s, and created around itself several large areas of residential development and infrastructure”* (male, top manager in development company);

*“At first we wanted to call our residential complex “Rays”. Because we have, if you look at the type of building, it is a little bit radially, like the sun's rays, diverging to the sides. And there would be such a roll with the socialist painting, such a bright, happy, smiling, sun-drenched, and people seem to believe in a beautiful bright future. <...> Or another name from the Soviet era.”* (female, top manager in development company).

### **Boundaries and identities**

The influence of developers in the formation of the primary perception of the territory (and, therefore, the initial territorial identity) of new residents is very high. In the interview the idea is traced that new residents are very susceptible to advertising. When describing the motives for buying a home, they simply retell the advertising script:

*“Everything that we conditionally imposed on them in our advertising, formulated and sold, that’s what they repeat. They chose our project because it is a city within the city, it is a unique, separate, has independent living environment, and a good ecological component”* (female, top manager in development company).

As developers as the future residents believe the projects “Tushino-2018” and “ZILart” are similar by their concept: both imply a comprehensive development called the “city within a city”, i.e. territory which is functionally divided into separate clusters: work, residential, shopping and recreational:

*“On the territory of 65 hectares almost in the center of Moscow we will create a completely new urban environment... Our approach is to build an integrated area, designed according to the same rules... In ZILart we will build not only residential buildings, but also the Museum Center, theaters, magnificent spaces for recreation, education and entertainment”* (official web site of developer);<sup>10</sup>

*“When we were just planning a project, in the market did not exist the concept of “city within a city”, buyers did not know that there was such an opportunity, such an option to buy an apartment in a complex development project: everyone was used to separate (“spot”) buildings. And we created just “city within the city” with all city functions”* (female, top manager in development company).

In contrast to the focused development built on small city spaces, the “city within a city” is the development of a large area, including the creation of infrastructure for all spheres of life: transportation hubs, places for leisure, children's institutions, and so on. The project "ZILart" is planned to build 1.56 million square meters of real estate, including 950 thousand square meters of residential real estate. The project "Tushino-2018" is planned to build 1.4 million square meters of real estate, including 715 thousand square meters of residential real estate. The remaining areas for the both projects are offices, shopping facilities, parking lots, other infrastructure facilities (Russian Business Consulting 2015).

In my point of view, the concept of “city within a city” is very similar to the concept of a “socialist township” because both are based on idea of planning a self-contained neighborhood with social homogeneity. In Soviet times, the factory provided its employees with a variety of social support, helped plan life strategies. Joint activities, both during and after work, contributed to the formation of a local identity with a feeling of a typical spectrum of emotions, usually positive, and intragroup cohesion. Comparing the excerpts about the social milieu we can see the almost same interpretations of social homogeneity for old and new residents: cooperation based on the similar territorial and social statuses:

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<sup>10</sup> URL: <https://zilart.ru>

*“We had ... such a communality. People knew each other, not that now. We worked together. Before, we talked, worked, and spent our free time together. We attended demonstrations, we had some kind of community work days, that is ... ”* (female, 58, the old resident of Tushino);

*“All friends lived compactly, in neighboring houses. I do not know anyone who would not be from Tushino”* (male, 35, the old resident of Tushino);

*“As far as I know, the same families will live here, like ours. Pretty young. With enough finances to buy an apartment here. Stable middle class. Therefore, we have a lot in common, we are similar... we have the same views on leisure, I think”* (female, 28, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”).

In the case of new residents, the developers help them to form the cooperation even before settling in houses: they organize special meetings for those who bought apartments, organize sports and leisure activities directly in the area of redevelopment. That is, many of the future residents are already well acquainted with each other and with the territory where their new home is located:

*«Various events are supported by the developer ... for example, of a sporting nature. And there are a lot of future neighbors there, children are being led, that is, there is some kind of "movement", activity going there. I think that after settling this will continue, we will have a lively and young district, that is, I think that it will not be sleeping in the usual sense, and it will be a city within a city, with its infrastructure and for people who are ready to use it all, who appreciate it”* (male, 30, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”);

*“It will be an ideal area for those who value their comfort, business opportunities, creative realization and inspiration from diverse cultural events”* (official web site of developer).<sup>11</sup>

Turns out that developers are constructing not only houses but also a community of people with a more or less similar social statuses.

During the collection of mental maps with the new residents of the residential complex “Tushino-2018”, an interesting detail came to light: the informants drew a fairly detailed picture of the territory of the new building, indicating all the infrastructure and even the exact location of the houses. However, these detailed drawings existed as if in a vacuum: the nearby area of the old building was depicted as strokes or was completely absent. For new residents, elements reflecting the “environmental friendliness”, “sportiness” and “modernity” of “Tushino-2018”

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<sup>11</sup> URL: <https://zilart.ru>

(the river, the future green embankment, the Spartak stadium and the new metro station of the same name) became the centers of meaning. The interviews help to clarify this situation: informants, on the one hand, perceive their place of residence as a space with a homogeneous social environment, and, on the other hand, have vague concerns about the “factory” district.

Based on data collected we can assume “city within a city”, as a “socialist township”, able to create a new locality i.e. may affect the revision of the current borders of old territories:

*“Any building, especially residential, for the urban body - as fast carbohydrates. That is, it gives fast money, it gives a fast influx of new tenants, new people, new “social fabric” and, of course, this leads to the fact that social and transport infrastructures are updated, and the boundaries of some old clusters are changing, <...> the whole geography of the area are changing”* (male, top manager in development company);

*“[Our part of the district] is youth and modern. And the rest – out-of-date, Soviet... We are different”* (female, 37, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”).

It is important when discussing the further development of the former industrial areas, as splitting of old areas into “renewed” and “not renewed” segments may increase social inequality. In the case of “ZILart”, complex development completely replaces the former factory territory, but remains separate from the surrounding spaces. In the case of “Tushino-2018”, the new “city within the city” is actually disintegrated from the other parts of the district, i.e. in this case, redevelopment only enhances the contrast between the old and the new territory.

## **Housing statuses in industrial neighborhood**

As our research shows, the heterogeneity of the former industrial areas related with the various resources of the residents, one of the indicators of which is housing status. In the new buildings, “ZILart” and “Tushino-2018”, the property status of new residents is the same - they are owners who purchased housing at the expense of personal or mortgage funds. No any other status is available because in both buildings no other form of housing is provided (no social housing). In the old buildings of both townships, “free-of-charge” Post-Soviet privatized housing prevails, there is also municipal (non-privatized) housing. Since the level of material well-being is directly related to housing status (Cherkashina 2018), this differentiation shows that the “new” inhabitants belong to better-off groups than the “old” ones.

In Tushino, Soviet housing development of the 1950-1960th years dominates in the housing stock; in the area of ZIL a lot of 1920-1930<sup>th</sup> years and later buildings. In this regard, the development of both the Tushino airfield and the territory of the ZIL serves as a noticeable



contrast and a model of the modern “city within a city” project, and this contrast is emphasized by the developers themselves:

*“A distinctive feature is the complete absence of an archaic residential or industrial building, it is a completely new residential cluster”* (official web site of developer).<sup>12</sup>

As a result, the new residents of these complexes symbolically separate themselves from the surrounding territories:

*“We are, and they are all the rest Tushino”* (male, 32, the new resident of “Tushino-2018”);

*“I wanted the homogeneous community to be here. [In “ZILart”] will not be social housing, and this fact is very important for me”* (male, 33, the new resident of “ZILart”).

Representative of developers also says that the new inhabitants are different from those who live in the “old” Tushino:

*“[Old] Tushino is something retrograde associated with old Moscow, with some disorder, as in everyday life, so in the social sense. And here people are all new. Not that someone inherited an apartment, but those people who bought an apartment here. Initially there are people of a certain social status”* (female, top manager in development company).

Consumer properties of housing belong to “old” and “new” residents also significantly differ. “Old” housing in the industrial neighborhoods mostly consists of Soviet panel housing with old-standard layouts, “new” is a contemporary designed with a variety of layouts. In contrary to new residential complexes, old housing has not a parking area, a common space on the ground floors, etc. In general, new housing meet a nowadays standards and offer spacious dwellings:

*“This is a modern new building, namely a modern one, in terms of the fact that it is glass, concrete, glass. Something that fits the American urban style”* (female, 37, the new resident of “Tushino”).

## Conclusions

Key periods of social and economic situation in Post-Soviet cities reflect on the fate of former industrial areas. In Soviet period these areas were perspective, in Post-Soviet they became “unnecessary”. On a way from socialist townships to modern housing complexes, spatial

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<sup>12</sup> URL: <https://tushino2018.ru>

and housing changes take place under the influence of redevelopment. In Russia we can observe just a first examples of residential redevelopment and its social results.

The transformation of urban areas from industrial to post-industrial is reflected in the narratives of residents and developers. According to the developers, the territories of industrial districts are “depressed”, and they need to be turned into a comfortable urban environment. Place-based identity of the old residents consists of nostalgic images of a safe society and solidarity among people. As Velikonja said it based on dissatisfaction with the present, and used to create and feed the image of the perfect past (Velikonja 2009). The emerging identity of the new residents based on the wish to isolate themselves from the old district. In order to enhance local social cohesion joint cultural events can be organized.

Paradoxically that the modern design is used in the contemporary redevelopment projects. but developers try to employ an allusion to the Soviet architecture, art and ideas. They redeveloping not only physical space but even idea of “city within the city”.

Using the example of old and new residents of industrial areas, we found that they belong to different “housing groups”. The heterogeneity of the housing statuses can affect the revision of the current borders of former industrial neighborhood and probably the spatial segregation of old area. At this stage, we can formulate hypotheses about which groups of society have opposing interests when discussing the former factory territories. For instance, these are developers whose activities are aimed not only at changing the visual landscape of the industrial areas, but also the social composition of a neighborhoods.

In 2003, Krotov, Buravoi, and Lytkina noted that “social differences are manifested rather in the interior of the apartment, but not in the type of housing” (Krotov et al 2003: 3). At that time, the status consistency, i.e. the relationship between the housing and economic classes, when families with equal welfare conditions live in the same types of housing, was only being formed. Now, 15 years later, the process of socio-spatial differentiation in Russia became more noticeable. The housing market has formed, and social differentiation is intensified. Redevelopment accentuates the differences between the “old” residents of industrial neighborhoods who live in the former factory buildings, and the “new” residents who buy dwelling in new buildings constructed on the former factory spaces or in nearby areas. These differences related with spatial representations and helps to build a model of socio-cultural and territorial dynamics of the industrial areas. This is an important point, which should be probed more closely in subsequent studies.

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