



Politecnico di Torino

MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAMME IN
TERRITORIAL, URBAN, ENVIRONMENTAL AND LANDSCAPE PLANNING
CURRICULUM: PLANNING FOR THE GLOBAL URBAN AGENDA
ACADEMIC YEAR 2023/2024

**"TRANSFORMATION OF MOSCOW: ASSESSMENT OF URBAN RENEWAL
THROUGH THE RENOVATION PROGRAM AND
MY STREET AND MY DISTRICT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS"**

Supervisors:
Prof. Magda Bolzoni
Prof. Giancarlo Cotella

Candidate:
Elina Kanzafarova

Abstract:

The transformation of urban spaces is the basis of modern urban planning strategies, as cities around the world face problems of renewal and revitalization. This thesis considers the dynamic picture of Moscow's efforts to update cities, the main attention is paid to the Renovation program, the improvement programs "My Street" and "My District". From an interdisciplinary point of view, it assesses the impact of these initiatives on the structure of the city and seeks to evaluate the impact of these programs on the city's social, economic, and spatial dynamics.

The thesis begins with the study of the theoretical foundations based on the literature of urban renewal, the theory of public space and the social and economic dynamics that shape the urban environment. Methodologically, a mixed method approach is used, including interviews, questionnaires, document analysis, and GIS-mapping to cover a variety of perspectives and data.

The Case Study of the Zuzino district acts as a center that offers an idea of the implementation and results of the "Renovation" and "My District" programs. A detailed analysis of urban planning strategies, public involvement and the impact of programs sheds light on the complexity of urban renewal in Moscow.

The opinions of administrative officials, specialists and local residents give a rich idea of the path of transformation, revealing the nuances of social changes, the preservation of architectural heritage and housing accessibility. Alternative perspectives and local initiatives provide opposite visions, emphasizing the different future of cities and the importance of community-centric approaches.

KEYWORDS

Urban Renewal; Moscow Transformation; Renovation Program; Gentrification; Public Participation; Housing Affordability; Spatial Dynamics; Community Engagement; Urban Environment; Resident Surveys

Acknowledgements:

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Magda Bolzoni and Prof. Giancarlo Cotella, for their invaluable guidance, support, and encouragement throughout this journey. Their expertise, wisdom, and unwavering commitment have been instrumental in shaping this research and my academic growth.

Special thanks to my dear friend Sasha, who is also completing her studies at Polito this year, for her moral support, and for keeping me updated with the latest news and developments, always keeping a finger on the pulse. Your friendship and encouragement have been a source of strength and inspiration.

I am immensely grateful to my mother, Inna, for her unwavering support, belief in me, and endless encouragement. She has been a constant source of motivation, providing wise counsel and a listening ear whenever I needed it most.

To my beloved partner, Kostantin, who has been by my side throughout almost the entire process, I owe a debt of gratitude. Your unwavering support, patience, and understanding have been my rock during the highs and lows of this journey. You have not only been my companion but also an integral part of this endeavor.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to all those who have contributed in ways big and small, shaping this thesis and enriching my academic and personal growth.

Contents

1. Introduction	8
1.1. Background and context.....	8
1.2. Research questions and objectives	8
1.3. Significance and contribution to the field	9
1.4. Thesis Structure	9
2. Literature Review	11
2.1. Key Concepts, definitions and Theoretical frameworks	11
2.1.1. Urban Renewal	11
a/ Renovation of housing stock	13
2.1.2. Improvement of the urban environment.....	18
a/ Public Space. Successful and unsuccessful.....	21
b/ Public Place Theory.....	25
c/ Urban Beautification Programs	26
2.1.3. Social, economic and spatial dynamics	28
a/ Public Participation and Participatory Planning Theory	29
b/ Gentrification.....	31
c/ Residential Location Theory	35
d/ Housing affordability	36
3. Methodology	38
3.1. The research approach.....	38
3.2. Data collection methods	39
3.3. Tools and techniques	40
3.3.1. Interviews.....	40
3.3.2. Surveys	42
3.3.3. Document Analysis.....	43
3.3.4. Literature Review.....	43
3.3.5. GIS Mapping	44
3.4. Selection of case study neighborhoods	44
3.5. Ethical Questions	49
3.6. Context and limitations of the study.....	49
4. Case Study.....	51
4.1. Previous research on the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow..	51
4.1.1. Historical and current context	51
4.1.2. The first renovation of the Moscow housing stock	52
4.1.3. Moscow renovation program	53
4.1.4 Classification of residential buildings to be demolished	56

4.1.5. Improvement of the urban environment. Blagoustroistvo. My Street program and My District program.....	57
4.1.6. Public space	59
4.1.7. Gentrification	60
4.1.8. Housing affordability.....	63
4.1.9. The law on All-Russian renovation	65
4.2. Zyuzino district	67
4.2.1. Description of the Zyuzino District	68
4.2.2. Ecological Features of Zyuzino	68
4.2.3. History and Development of Zyuzino	69
4.2.4. Institutions and Facilities in Zyuzino District.....	69
4.2.5. Urban planning analysis of the Zyuzino district	72
5. Programs Analysis in Zyuzino District	82
5.1. My District program in Zyuzino	82
5.2. Renovation program in Zyuzino.....	83
5.2.1. Renovation projects by district blocks	91
a/ Group 1 - Blocks 7, 10, 14.....	96
b/ Group 2 - Blocks 25, 26, 31, 35, 36A.....	98
c/ Group 3 - Blocks 36, 37, 38.....	99
d/ Group 4 - Blocks 40, 41, 42.....	100
5.2.2. Concluding Reflection on Zyuzino Renovation Program.....	102
6. Perspectives from different actors.....	103
6.1. Administrative Interviews Analysis	103
6.1.1. Impact of the Renovation Program in Zyuzino District	104
6.1.2. Community Engagement and Social Changes	105
6.1.3. Renovation's Impact on Urban Aesthetics and Architectural Heritage	107
6.1.4. Concluding Reflection on Administrative Interviews Analysis	107
6.2. Expert Insights - Unveiling Perspectives.....	109
6.2.1. Initial Impressions and Impact Assessment	109
a/ Initial Impressions	109
b/ Overall urban environment and quality of life	112
c/ Differences in the development and implementation.....	113
6.2.2. Community Involvement and Public Participation	114
a/ Community involvement.....	114
b/ Impact on local communities	115
c/ Navigating Gentrification in Moscow's Urban Landscape.....	115
6.2.3. Unforeseen Consequences and Long-Term Impacts.....	116
a/ Unexpected consequences	116

b/ Long-term consequences	117
6.2.4. Residential Complexes and Housing Impact	118
a/ Affordability and Availability	118
b/ Architectural Heritage and Urban Aesthetics	118
6.2.5. Recommendations and Future Research	119
a/ Recommendations to legislators and city authorities	119
b/ Learning from Diverse Urban Experiences	120
6.3. Resident Surveys and Opinions	122
6.3.1. Resident Interviews Analysis	123
6.3.2. Resident Surveys Analysis	125
6.4. Navigating Urban Visions: Comparative Analysis of Official Renovation Program and Alternative Perspectives in Zyuzino	128
6.4.1. Foundation of the alternative project	131
6.4.2. Alternative project proposal	133
7. Conclusions and recommendations	142
7.1. Discussion of the results and limitations of the research	142
7.2. Discussion of the implications of the findings	146
7.3. Recommendations	151
7.4. Future research perspectives	152
8. References	153
9. Appendices	158
9.1. Methodology Appendix	158

List of Tables

Table 1. Terminology of the basic concepts (conservation, repair, reconstruction, restoration and renovation of buildings); Source (in Russian): Babenko G.V., Lukin M.V, 2017	14
Table 2. List of people interviewed, Source: author's elaboration	41
Table 3. Institutions and Facilities in Zyuzino District. Source: website of the Zyuzino Municipal District.....	71

List of Figures

Figure 1. Moscow Map. Source: author's elaboration	45
Figure 2. Chosen districts. Source: author's elaboration.....	46
Figure 3. Green areas. Source: author's elaboration.....	47
Figure 4. Catching area of green zones. Source: author's elaboration.....	48
Figure 5. Location of the Zyuzino district.Source: author's elaboration	67
Figure 6. Land use. Source: author's elaboration.....	73
Figure 7. Type of buildings. Source: author's elaboration.....	74
Figure 8. Amenity. Source: author's elaboration.....	75
Figure 9. Satellite image of Zyuzino. Source: yandexmaps.....	76
Figure 10. Leisure. Source: author's elaboration.....	76
Figure 11. Levels. Source: author's elaboration	77
Figure 12. Years of construction. Source: author's elaboration	78
Figure 13. Transport accessibility. Buses. Source: author's elaboration.....	79
Figure 14. Transport accessibility. Metro. Source: author's elaboration.....	80
Figure 15. Transport accessibility. Trams. Source: author's elaboration.....	81
Figure 16. Blocks of the Zyuzino district. Source: author's elaboration	86
Figure 17. The main groups of blocks of the Zyuzino district. Source: author's elaboration	87
Figure 18. Houses included in the renovation program in the Zyuzino area. Source: author's elaboration.....	88
Figure 19. A map duplicating relevant information about the renovation program. Source: author's elaboration.....	89
Figure 20. The location of the participating houses by block. Source: author's elaboration.....	90
Figure 21. Sketch of the development of the renovation project in Zyuzino, sources: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino	91
Figure 22. Renovation Overview - New Buildings, Blocks, and Social Infrastructure. Source: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino	92
Figure 23. Previous Building Layout - Buildings Included in Renovation. Source: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino	93
Figure 24. Building Heights in Renovation Area. Source: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino.....	94
Figure 25. Diverse Architectural Scenarios by the Shtab Bureau.....	133
Figure 26. Fragment of the renovation project, Block 37, by the Shtab Bureau.....	133
Figure 27. Visualization of a fragment of a project proposal by the Shtab Bureau	134
Figure 28. Comparison of the development, Block 37, by the Shtab Bureau	134
Figure 29. Comparison of technical and economic indicators, Block 37, by the Shtab Bureau.....	135
Figure 30. The development plan, Alternative Proposal, by the Shtab Bureau.....	136
Figure 31. Parking Policy, by the Shtab Bureau.....	137
Figure 32. Street and road network, by the Shtab Bureau.....	138
Figure 33. Functional zoning, by the Shtab Bureau.....	139
Figure 34. Height of the buildings, by the Shtab Bureau.....	140

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and context

In recent years, Moscow has undergone significant changes in its urban landscape, with the implementation of several major urban renewal programs, the Renovation and My Street and My District Improvement Programs. The Renovation and My Street Programs are two major urban development initiatives launched in Moscow in recent years. In 2017, the Moscow City Government introduced the Renovation Program, an ambitious initiative set on breathing new life into the city's aging housing structures. The grand plan involves the replacement of 5,000 residential buildings with contemporary housing units, marking a significant leap toward modernization. Concurrently, the My Street Program, initiated in 2015, is geared towards a broader urban transformation. Its mission extends beyond housing, focusing on reshaping the very fabric of Moscow's urban landscape and enhancing the overall quality of public spaces. These two initiatives, launched within a span of a few years, represent a comprehensive effort to revitalize both the living spaces and the communal domains within the city. The My Street program aims to improve the urban environment and public spaces in Moscow by renovating streets and squares, installing new lighting, landscaping, and street furniture. The My District Program, introduced alongside the other two initiatives, focuses on enhancing the quality of life and social infrastructure at the district level, complementing the broader urban renewal efforts.

The transformation of Moscow through the Renovation, My Street, and My District Programs has far-reaching implications for urban planning. These extensive programs have sparked varied reactions from a wide spectrum of stakeholders—residents, activists, urban planners, and government officials all weighing in on the matter. While there's optimism about these initiatives tackling the city's aging infrastructure and elevating the living standards of its people, criticisms haven't been far behind. The impact on the city's social dynamics has been a focal point of concern. Questions arise about the sufficiency of social infrastructure, unmet assurances, and the sprouting of new residential complexes.

As we navigate the complexities, it's crucial to acknowledge that these programs don't operate in isolation. The bigger picture involves a dynamic interplay of factors. They're not shaped in a vacuum but are influenced by broader government territorial policies that cast a wide net over urban development nationwide. To truly grasp the essence of the Renovation, My Street, and My District Programs and their implications for Moscow's urban canvas, delving into the wider context of these policies becomes imperative.

This dissertation aims to investigate the impact of urban renewal on Moscow through an assessment of the Renovation, My Street, and My District Programs. The study focuses on various aspects, including public space, urban environment improvement, housing affordability, the development of new residential complexes, and the enhancement of overall urban aesthetics. Additionally, it seeks to analyze the broader government territorial policies that influence urban development in Russia and their effects on these programs. This research will provide a critical evaluation of the Renovation, My Street, and My District Programs, examining their implementation and their consequences for urban planning and policy-making not only in Moscow but also in a broader context.

1.2. Research questions and objectives

The Renovation Program is this ambitious initiative set on giving a facelift to Moscow's aging residential buildings. The My Street and My District Programs, in turn, seek to revitalize public spaces, streetscapes, and enhance the quality of life at the district level throughout the city. It's a promising picture, but let's not overlook the fact that these programs carry significant weight in shaping the urban landscape of Moscow, with implications echoing through the corridors of gentrification and the pivotal role of public space.

The research sets out to answer several key questions, including the main one:

- How do these programs affect the social, economic, and spatial dynamics of the city?

As well as two secondary questions that will help to touch in more detail and reveal the main topic of the dissertation:

- What is the role of public participation in these programs, and how effective has it been in addressing the concerns of local communities?
- What are the experiences and perspectives of long-time residents, newcomers, and policymakers regarding the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow?

The purpose of this dissertation is to deepen our understanding of the interaction of urban policy, the evolution of public spaces, the growth of new residential areas in Moscow, and the dynamics of complex centralization. The goal, in particular, is to provide insight into how cities can contribute to more inclusive and sustainable urban development in solving these multifaceted problems.

1.3. Significance and contribution to the field

This dissertation, titled "Transformation of Moscow: assessment of urban renewal through the Renovation program and My Street and My District improvement programs," aspires to make a substantial contribution to the field of urban planning. The research will delve into the impact of the Renovation, My Street, and My District Programs on various aspects of Moscow's urban landscape. It will provide a comprehensive analysis of this policy, its implementation and the social and economic consequences for urban districts arising from it.

The dissertation is significant in several ways. Firstly, it will contribute to a better understanding of the impact of large-scale urban renewal programs on public space, social infrastructure, and the built environment. Secondly, it will provide insights into the challenges and opportunities of implementing such programs in a complex urban setting like Moscow. Finally, the findings of this study will inform policymakers and urban planners on the best practices for balancing the needs of urban renewal with the preservation of public space and social equity.

In general, the purpose of this dissertation is to shed light on the influence of renovation programs, "My street" and "My district" on the urban structure of Moscow and contribute to the ongoing discussion about the future of urban planning in Russia.

1.4. Thesis Structure

The thesis structure is designed to provide a comprehensive exploration of the transformation of Moscow through the assessment of urban renewal initiatives, focusing on the Renovation Program and My Street and My District Improvement Programs.

The introduction sets the stage by establishing the background, context, research questions, objectives, and the significance of the study. The literature review delves into key concepts, definitions, and theoretical frameworks related to urban renewal, the improvement of the urban environment, and social, economic, and spatial dynamics.

The methodology section outlines the research approach, data collection methods, case study selection, and tools employed, including interviews, surveys, document analysis, literature review, and GIS mapping. Ethical considerations and the context and limitations of the study are also addressed.

The case study is a pivotal chapter, offering a comprehensive examination of the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow. It provides historical context, details on the renovation program, classification of buildings, and insights into the Zyuzino district, including its description, ecological features, history, and urban planning analysis.

Programs analysis in the Zyuzino district follows, scrutinizing the My District and Renovation programs, with a detailed breakdown of renovation projects by district blocks. Perspectives from different actors, including administrative interviews, expert insights, resident surveys, and alternative project proposals in Zyuzino, are thoroughly explored.

The concluding chapter synthesizes the findings, discussing the implications for urban regeneration and gentrification literature. Recommendations are provided for legislators and city authorities, and limitations of the research are acknowledged. Future research perspectives are outlined. The thesis concludes with a comprehensive list of references and relevant appendices, including a detailed methodology appendix.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Key Concepts, definitions and Theoretical frameworks

This section serves a dual purpose in providing clear definitions of key concepts that will be applied throughout the dissertation and introducing the theoretical frameworks that will guide the study, with a specific focus on central literature and topics.

To commence, it is essential to establish a shared understanding of key terms and concepts that will be used throughout the dissertation and will prominently feature in the analysis. These definitions will underpin the subsequent exploration of renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow, ensuring clarity and precision in their usage within the context of this study.

In addition to establishing key concepts, this section also lays the foundation for the research by outlining the primary theoretical lenses that will steer the study. The theoretical frameworks draw inspiration from seminal works by influential authors such as Brocco B, Florida, R. Gehl J, Harvey, D, Jacobs, J, Lefebvre, H, and others who have significantly contributed to the discourse on urban renewal and related concepts. These frameworks provide a conceptual structure for the analysis of data, rooted in the insights and perspectives derived from the central literature that forms the backbone of this research.

By delving into the work of these prominent scholars, the theoretical frameworks selected for this study not only contribute to the academic dialogue surrounding urban renewal but also offer valuable insights and perspectives that will guide the interpretation of findings throughout the dissertation.

2.1.1. Urban Renewal

Urban renewal is a dynamic process of revitalizing and enriching the urban environment. It involves diverse strategies and initiatives intended to breathe new life into urban spaces, making them more livable, functional, and visually appealing. A profound grasp of the urban renewal concept is crucial for delving into its consequences and evaluating its impact on shaping the urban landscape.

Basically, the renewal of cities is to renew spaces, creating an environment in which people can live, work and connect. City dwellers strive for a sense of belonging, security and well-being. Recognizing that a genuine bond between people and spaces can positively drive the socio-economic development of cities is paramount.

Throughout history, urban renewal, characterized by extensive state-led redevelopment, has been instrumental in shaping urban landscapes. A notable instance of this phenomenon occurred in mid-20th century Europe and North America, involving the substantial transformation of existing neighborhoods through demolitions and subsequent constructions of new retail districts, housing projects, and highways.

Let's dive into a standout case of urban renewal from the mid-20th century — the transformation of New York City. This ambitious endeavor, dubbed the "Manhattan Project" (unrelated to the World War II atomic bomb project), unfolded in the 1960s and 1970s. The initiative entailed tearing down old structures, often rundown and non-residential, making way for the development of fresh districts, including the notable Battery Park City. The repercussions of this project reverberated through New York's urban structure and landscape.

In Europe, a parallel instance of urban renewal unfolded in the revitalization of Barcelona, Spain, especially in the Barceloneta district during the 1992 Olympic Games. This transformation included the restoration and reconstruction of old areas, the creation of new infrastructure facilities and the renewal of public spaces.

Insights from researchers and planners like Jane Jacobs, Robert Moses, and the experience of Levittown in New York have contributed to the discourse. These experts have scrutinized the

outcomes of such projects. For instance, Jane Jacobs criticized the practice of demolishing old neighborhoods and erecting new housing, contending that it disrupts the socio-cultural fabric of the city.

Jane Jacobs, in her seminal work "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" [1961], offers a critical examination of urban renewal practices. Central to her critique is the detrimental impact of urban renewal on established communities. Jacobs contends that the wholesale destruction of neighborhoods, often justified by addressing perceived urban problems, led to the displacement of communities. This displacement, in turn, disrupted social bonds and cultural connections, challenging the very fabric of urban life.

«Our present urban renewal laws are an attempt to break this particular linkage in the vicious circles by forthrightly wiping away slums and their populations, and replacing them with projects intended to produce higher tax yields or to lure back easier populations with less expensive public requirements. The method fails». [Jacobs, 1961, pp.270, chapter 15: Unslumming and slumming]

Moreover, Jacobs advocates for a paradigm shift in urban planning, emphasizing a bottom-up, community-driven approach over the traditional top-down models. She argues that involving local residents in decision-making processes is essential for creating vibrant and sustainable urban spaces [Jacobs, 1961, pp.162-164, chapter 8: The need for primary mixed uses]. Jacobs champions the virtues of mixed-use developments and diverse, dense neighborhoods, asserting that these characteristics are pivotal for fostering social interactions, economic vitality, and a genuine sense of community [Jacobs, 1961, chapter 6: The uses of city neighborhoods].

"The Death and Life of Great American Cities" challenges the prevailing wisdom of the time, advocating for organic development where neighborhoods evolve naturally. Jacobs contends that overly rigid and top-down planning approaches stifle the spontaneous and diverse growth of communities. Additionally, she questions the efficacy of large-scale urban renewal projects as the linchpin for economic revitalization, proposing a more nuanced understanding of the factors contributing to the economic viability of neighborhoods.

«Virtually all sophisticated city designers today combine the two conceptions in various permutations. The rebuilding technique, variously known as "selective removal" or "spot renewal" or "renewal planning" or "planned conservation"—meaning that total clearance of a run-down area is avoided—is largely the trick of seeing how many old buildings can be left standing and the area still converted into a passable version of Radiant Garden City». [Jacobs, 1961, pp.23-24, Introduction]

This quote raises an important question about strategies for urban environment renewal, particularly how to combine two approaches: preserving old buildings and partially removing them to create updated spaces.

In the context of Urban Renewal, often associated with the mass demolition of old buildings and the construction of new ones, the "selective removal" approach seems more flexible. This method involves leaving standing buildings to preserve historical and cultural value, while updating other elements of the urban space.

Additionally, the mention of "Radiant Garden City" may allude to the ideal image of a city with improved infrastructure and a well-maintained environment, which is one of the goals of Urban Renewal and renovation programs in various cities.

In essence, the critical analysis presented by Jacobs in her work offers valuable insights into the complexities and pitfalls of urban renewal. As we delve into the multifaceted nature of this urban planning strategy, it is imperative to consider the arguments put forth by Jacobs and their implications for contemporary urban development.

a/ Renovation of housing stock

Urban renovation initiatives have a rich history that can be traced back to the late nineteenth century in developed countries [Chigbu, 2012]. These efforts gained momentum in the late 1940s, particularly in industrial cities of the United Kingdom and Europe, as a response to the post-war needs of citizens [Klemek, 2011]. England and Germany, in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and the war's devastation, implemented renovation programs. Meanwhile, Scandinavia utilized urban renovation and socio-economic revitalization initiatives to enhance the quality of life for its residents [Metzger, Olsson, 2013].

Urban redevelopment has become a widespread practice, covering both developed countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as underdeveloped regions and post-war regions. Rapid population growth in underdeveloped cities has led to inefficient and disadvantaged urban neighborhoods, characterized by the lack of adequate urban spaces, services and infrastructure.

In Russia, the definition of "renovation" was formulated at the legislative level in 2017 during the development of the housing stock renovation program in Moscow. By Federal Law No. 141 of July 1, 2017, "On Amendments to the Law of the Russian Federation on the Status of the Russian Federation's Capital," the following concept was introduced: "Renovation of the housing stock in the city of Moscow is a set of measures aimed at renewing the living environment and creating favorable living conditions for citizens, improving public spaces in order to prevent the growth of dilapidated housing stock in Moscow, ensuring the development and improvement of residential areas." The program itself aims to increase the housing stock by demolishing panel-type buildings from the 1950s-1960s and subsequently constructing modern multi-story buildings in their place.

In Europe, renovation aligns closely with the principles of sustainable development. It aims to update outdated housing stock through major repairs, partial reconstruction, and the implementation of energy-efficient technologies while preserving the fundamental structure of the building. The goals of renovation include improving the ecological performance of buildings and reducing energy poverty among the population. This approach is particularly suitable for the adaptation of industrial facilities.

Renovation methods can be classified as extensive and intensive. Extensive methods involve constructing new buildings in place of demolished structures or on newly developed areas. Intensive methods, on the other hand, encompass modernization, reconstruction, major repairs, and restoration of existing buildings [Samoilov E.K., 2021].

The focus of an urban renovation program should include the provision of adequate infrastructure, such as sufficient street space for physical distancing, transportation terminals, and buildings. Moreover, it should prioritize public participation, particularly among marginalized and disadvantaged residents, ensuring their inclusion in the decision-making process and economic opportunities. Urban renovation policies should be designed to benefit all residents, irrespective of their color, race, gender, or socioeconomic status. Additionally, combating administrative and structural corruption within municipalities and authorities is crucial. Promoting transparency, supported by a free and independent press, is indispensable in the planning and execution of renovation projects.

In world practice, there are several approaches (strategies) that consist in solving a complex of complex tasks related to the conservation, reconstruction, restoration and renovation of buildings. The terminology of the methods used for this category, each of which has its own specifics and scope, as well as the main risks of using these methods are presented below in tabular form [Table 1]. Analysis of sources shows that the experience of urban development with panel buildings requiring 40-50 years of operation to take measures for their demolition or reconstruction has been accumulated by many countries of the world [Babenko G.V., Lukin M.V., 2017].

<i>Nº</i>	<i>Designation of the method</i>	<i>Method Definition</i>	<i>The main risks of using the method</i>
1	Conservation	In relation to objects of cultural heritage, it means a complex of research, survey, design and production works carried out in order to prevent deterioration of the condition of these objects (their appearance and authentic materials), including emergency and protective works	The main risk is the possible loss of the object or its individual elements
2	Repair	Means a set of measures aimed at restoring the main characteristics of the appearance, decor, load-bearing structures and other elements of buildings	The main risk is the use of new materials that degrade architectural and aesthetic qualities, physical characteristics (strength, etc.), environmental friendliness of the object
3	Reconstruction	It consists in the complete or partial reconstruction of the building or its elements. Risk minimization is ensured by conducting retrospective historical, archaeological, literary, etc. surveys, taking into account environmental changes	The main risk is the receipt of the so-called "new model" as a result of the work, leading to the falsification of the historical building, violation of its historical spiritual component
4	Restoration	It consists in carrying out works on partial repair, restoration of lost elements and preservation of individual elements of the building, allowing to restore the documented original or later (in accordance with a reasonable choice) appearance of the building	The main risks are the duration of the restoration period, the high cost of individual works, the risk of replacement (loss) of the original decor
5	Renovation	The alteration of buildings used for objects that do not represent historical value (consisting, for example, in adding storeys, improving structures, using new materials and architectural solutions, changing the functional texture, etc.)	The main risk is pressure from large development companies, for which demolition with subsequent development is more profitable and pays off faster, compared with renovation

Table 1. Terminology of the basic concepts (conservation, repair, reconstruction, restoration and renovation of buildings); Source (in Russian): Babenko G.V., Lukin M.V., 2017

Renovation is essentially a makeover for existing buildings, a transformative process aimed at enhancing their livability, sustainability, and energy efficiency. The overarching objective is to elevate residents' quality of life while concurrently curbing energy consumption and lessening environmental impact.

This refurbishment spectrum spans from superficial facelifts to substantial structural revamps, all geared toward enhancing residents' well-being, boosting buildings' energy efficiency, and prolonging their functional life.

Viewed as a response to the aging of existing housing stock, renovation addresses issues stemming from outdated systems, materials, and designs. Social and economic factors, such as population shifts, migration patterns, or alterations in housing demands, can also propel the need for renovation.

Renovation assumes diverse forms, encompassing individual home improvements, extensive renovation initiatives, or collaborations between public and private entities. The array of

stakeholders involved ranges from residents and property owners to public authorities and private developers.

While closely intertwined with concepts like urban regeneration, revitalization, or renewal, renovation distinctively centers on existing structures. The revitalization of cities, on the other hand, has a broader perspective, covering social, economic and environmental aspects.

Within the housing realm, renovation specifically pertains to enhancing, modernizing, or restoring existing residential properties. Densification strategies for renovation aim at optimizing space utilization within these properties or the surrounding urban landscape to accommodate more housing units [Brocco B, 2012].

Strategies for renovating housing stock with a densification goal encompass architectural design, spatial optimization, sustainability considerations, and policy frameworks. These initiatives may include converting single-family homes into apartment buildings, converting underutilized spaces such as basements or attics into residential areas, or modifying existing buildings for multi-functional structures.

When applying densification strategies to the renovation of housing stock, the focus is on maximizing the potential of existing buildings and urban areas to meet the growing demand for housing. This may include converting single-family homes to multi-family homes, replacing underutilized buildings, or remodeling existing structures to create additional living spaces. By updating and tightening the housing stock, the goal is to provide more housing options in already established areas, reducing the need for new construction on Undeveloped Lands.

Renovation and densification strategies often go hand in hand, as they both seek to optimize existing resources and infrastructure. Densification through renovation can contribute to the revitalization of neighborhoods, promoting more sustainable land use patterns, and addressing housing shortages in urban areas. It can also help preserve the character and historical value of existing buildings while meeting the evolving needs of residents.

However, densification strategies for housing stock renovation also raise important considerations such as balancing increased density with preserving neighborhood character, addressing infrastructure and services capacity, ensuring affordable housing options, and involving community engagement and participation in decision-making processes.

Therefore, exploring densification strategies within the context of housing stock renovation is relevant to understanding how existing properties can be transformed and adapted to address housing challenges and achieve sustainable urban development. This intersection between densification and renovation offers insights into innovative approaches, policy considerations, design principles, and community engagement necessary for effectively managing urban growth and improving the quality and availability of housing.

Studying foreign practices in the implementation of housing renovation programs is crucial for understanding the current renovation program in Moscow. Such research allows for an evaluation of the effectiveness of various approaches and methods of renovation used in other countries and helps determine which measures contribute to achieving desired outcomes. In this analysis, I particularly explore the innovative community engagement strategies employed in housing renovation projects abroad. By identifying and examining the unique contributions of community involvement in these initiatives, this research aims to shed light on potential enhancements for the ongoing renovation program in Moscow. The focus is on understanding how fostering strong community partnerships can lead to more sustainable and socially beneficial outcomes in the context of urban renewal.

The New Deal for Communities (NDC) program was one of the most intensive area-based initiatives (ABIs) ever launched in England [Lawless P., Pearson S., 2012]. Introduced in the late

1990s, this program aimed to transform and improve specific areas facing high levels of social problems and deprivation.

The NDC was marked by its concentrated efforts on particular areas, aiming to tackle intricate social, economic, and physical hurdles. Actively engaging local residents, communities, businesses, and various stakeholders in decision-making and project implementation was a cornerstone. This active involvement unfolded through thorough consultations, community representation in planning and monitoring, and the establishment of effective feedback channels.

Embracing a multidisciplinary approach, the program encompassed a range of projects and activities spanning social, economic, health, education, and infrastructure domains. This diverse strategy facilitated a holistic resolution of community issues.

In the context of the shifting urban planning paradigm in Chinese cities, a bottom-up social planning approach has gained prominence, moving away from the limitations of traditional top-down strategies [Sato, Shigeru, 2020]. This transformation resonates with Jane Jacobs' critiques of destructive urban planning practices that disregard local communities and contribute to the erosion of the urban fabric. The identified issues, such as the destruction of traditional neighborhoods, standardized urban spaces driven by profit, and unsustainable relocation models, align with Jacobs' concerns regarding the negative consequences of top-down planning on community cohesion and well-being.

In the realm of community engagement strategies, the book "Japanese Machizukuri and Community Engagement: History, Method and Practice" advocates for fostering diversification during the urban renewal process through various mechanisms and collaborative efforts among stakeholders. This approach aligns with successful strategies abroad, emphasizing the importance of involving local interest groups and promoting civic participation in urban planning.

In the post-war years in the West, to overcome the housing crisis, standardized panel buildings were constructed, which significantly altered the appearance of small European towns known for their neatness, coziness, and aesthetics. However, over time, authorities decided to transform these dilapidated structures, considering them not to meet the modern requirements of urban life.

In Halle and Lainefeld, cities in East Germany, the architectural firm Stefan Forster Architekten was responsible for the reconstruction of Soviet buildings. This project received recognition at an international exhibition, becoming a prime example of urban renewal in Saxony-Anhalt [Stefan Forster Architekten official website].

The main goal of the renovation activities for panel buildings was the modernization of existing structures and their surrounding areas, rather than demolition and complete replacement. Significant changes were made to the appearance of the buildings, including the removal of entire floors and sections to create a more modern and dynamic look, as well as the addition of courtyards and terraces for the residents' relaxation. Covered spaces, flowerbeds, raised gardens, parking spaces, pedestrian paths, and ramps were created in the surrounding areas to provide a comfortable and pleasant living environment. The apartments themselves underwent modernization, including changes to the layout of the rooms and even updating the building facades with color schemes.

Overall, Stefan Forster executed a total of 8 similar projects for the modernization of panel buildings. However, compared to the housing renovation program in Moscow, the scale of Forster's projects was relatively small. In Moscow, such projects cannot be implemented on the same scale due to the vast number of existing panel buildings, which require significant financial and time resources, as well as expertise. Additionally, in the densely populated city of Moscow, it is impractical to consider projects that do not involve significant densification of the housing and increasing the number of floors in new buildings.

In Germany, the renovation of five-story buildings was carried out over a period of six years. Projects and documentation were developed starting from 1994 and then swiftly implemented. All risks were taken into account during the design stage, and the implementation phase had minimal errors. The main works took place between 2000 and 2006. The authorities completely refurbished around three million apartments, replacing approximately 60% of the entire five-story building stock.

This approach to building renovation could be utilized for the restoration of dilapidated and unsafe buildings that are historical or architectural landmarks and located in the historic city center.

In Germany, entire neighborhoods were also recreated in place of old ones. Some quarters were completely rebuilt, while other parts were demolished, making way for new developments. The central focus of all these activities was to improve the quality of life for the population and create the most favorable conditions for living.

In Bordeaux, the mayor implemented measures to attract capital and enhance the city's appeal, focusing on trade and tourism. Transportation reforms, historical building reconstruction, creation of squares, walking routes, and bicycle lanes, as well as the introduction of green spaces, transformed the city. Housing renovation involved a campaign to address residents' needs and regular public meetings for project development. Bordeaux's inclusion in UNESCO's list and increased tourism and commerce exemplify its success.

Considering public opinion, as practiced in Bordeaux, would be valuable for Moscow's renovation program. While opinions of all residents may not be necessary, involving those affected by demolitions and resettlements is crucial. Incorporating public input can reduce tensions and ensure smoother implementation.

France's national urban renovation plan, "Greater Paris," covered 490 neighborhoods and 4 million inhabitants. The Duquesne district in Lyon underwent extensive renovation based on sustainable planning principles. New multi-apartment buildings with social housing were constructed, certified with green standards, and improved public spaces were created.

In France, methods such as expanding facades and reducing the number of apartments were employed to increase the size of each unit within buildings. Reconstruction was carried out without evictions, with funding shared by tenants and municipalities.

Tokyo also experienced significant renovation after the Great Kanto earthquake, rebuilding thousands of houses. However, in the 1950s, these buildings were completely reconstructed, leaving only a small architectural monument.

The housing renovation program in Istanbul can be broadly divided into two main categories. The first category involves the relocation of residents from illegally constructed areas known as "gecekondu" or "built overnight." The second part of the renovation program includes the demolition of old multi-story buildings. "Gecekondu" refers to spontaneously built housing that often lacks basic sanitation facilities and utility connections such as water, electricity, and sewage.

In the 1990s, a mass resettlement program was initiated. Despite the inconveniences mentioned, many residents opposed the demolition, even though legally their houses were considered unauthorized constructions. Istanbul residents demanded guarantees from the government, including monetary compensation and housing in specific areas of the city. As a result, multi-story buildings started to replace the former slums. Some apartments were transferred to the former "gecekondu" residents, while others were allowed to be sold by developers. Becoming property owners in prestigious neighborhoods of Istanbul, the "poor" inhabitants of shanties began to sell or rent out their properties as they couldn't afford the exorbitant bills for gas, water, and electricity [Prokhorova E.A, 2019].

The second part of the renovation program involves the renewal of Istanbul's housing stock. Modern buildings are replacing old and dilapidated structures. In this process, the residents

themselves play a crucial role, rather than the government. Construction is financed by developers who are interested in selling apartments in the new buildings, which surpass the total area of the old housing. During this time, property owners are offered the option of renting a house and paying \$ 20,000. Upon completion of construction, residents will move to renovated buildings at the same address. The choice of the company to implement the project belongs to residents who make the final decision based on the company's reputation and rental housing reviews.

Analyzing the experience of housing renovation in various countries, it can be concluded that the choice of the "model" of renovation, aimed at updating the housing stock and improving living conditions, depends on specific goals, available resources, and the historical context of urban development. It should be noted that European countries prefer reconstruction and modernization, allowing for the preservation of the historically established housing stock in a modern and efficient state. However, there are also cases of complete replacement of outdated housing with new constructions, as seen in Istanbul, Paris, and Tokyo. Each specific case provides insights into the necessary measures for the successful implementation of the housing renovation program in Moscow.

2.1.2. Improvement of the urban environment

The concept of the urban environment is incredibly diverse, drawing attention from various scientific disciplines like urban planning, ecology, economics, and sociology [Notman O., 2021]. From an architectural and urban planning standpoint, it involves spatial aspects like building density, street layout, design, and infrastructure networks. Ecologists, on the other hand, explore the urban environment by considering the interplay of abiotic and biotic factors, forming the intricate ecosystem of a city.

Economically, the urban environment is seen as material capital, assessed for its value and capable of generating financial returns through land rent. Sociologically, it serves as a social environment for livelihoods, where interactions in economics, politics, education, culture, and leisure define the city. In this context, the city is a uniquely crafted environment with embedded values, norms, rules, and symbols.

Enhancing the urban environment stands as a pivotal goal in urban planning, striving to uplift the physical and aesthetic appeal of public spaces—be it streets, parks, or buildings—with the aim of fostering a more sustainable and livable habitat. This drive for improvement goes beyond aesthetics; it extends to positively impacting public health, promoting social cohesion, fueling economic development, and bolstering environmental sustainability. In this process, the city's identity naturally evolves, shaped by the transformations in its public spaces.

Delving into the human aspect, Charles Montgomery [2013] delves into the repercussions of these urban improvements on residents' happiness, highlighting the intrinsic connection between urban spaces and well-being. In parallel, Jane Jacobs [1961] underscores the vital role of vibrant urban environments in maintaining the overall health of a city.

Moreover, urbanists are strong proponents of sustainable urban design. This encompasses practical measures like incorporating green roofs, establishing bike paths, and implementing efficient public transport systems. These interventions not only diminish reliance on cars but also actively contribute to the overall betterment of the environment.

Beyond these physical changes, urbanists assert the importance of a socially just approach to urban environment enhancement. They emphasize the need for equitable access to high-quality public spaces and services for every community member. This mission involves addressing critical issues such as urban sprawl, housing affordability, and public safety, ensuring that the benefits of urban improvements are shared inclusively.

A rich tapestry of interdisciplinary perspectives on the urban environment emerges when exploring the works of Russian scholars like O.Ya. Yanitsky, T.M. Dridze, L.B. Kogan, and V.L. Glazychev. Yanitsky's concept of social-ecological urban metabolism, for instance, conceptualizes the city as a networked metabolic organism. It continuously transforms substances—material, energy, information—reflecting intricate dependencies between humans and natural factors. This approach acknowledges the complex interactions influencing health, consciousness, social behavior, and the environment, recognizing both direct and mediated impacts.

The environmental approach developed by the founder of the Russian school of social and urban studies, L.B. Kogan, is based on viewing the city as a system of spatial and social interactions, emphasizing the unity of sociocultural processes and their spatial envelope. In this perspective, the urban physical space is not merely an accompaniment or framing of social reality; it actively integrates into it. Russian urbanist V.L. Glazychev, echoing Kogan's sentiments, characterizes the environment through the interconnection of spatial structure and human behavior, emphasizing the specific "pattern" of the urban environment formed by various combinations of natural landscapes, city layout, and socio-anthropogenic elements [Notman O., 2021].

Jan Gehl [2010] connects the improvement of the urban environment with the concept of creating people-centered cities. He argues that urban environments should prioritize the needs and well-being of individuals, fostering a human-scale approach to city planning and design.

Gehl emphasizes that successful cities are those that prioritize the quality of life for their residents and visitors. He advocates for creating urban environments that are vibrant, accessible, and conducive to human interaction. By focusing on the needs and experiences of people, Gehl believes that cities can become more livable, sustainable, and enjoyable.

Gehl underscores the intrinsic link between enhancing the urban environment and the transformation of public spaces, positioning them as key conduits for urban improvement. In his perspective, public spaces play a crucial role in urban life, acting as essential hubs that beckon people to linger, partake in social interactions, and cultivate a sense of community.

The author contends that cities can elevate their urban environment by prioritizing pedestrian-friendly spaces, crafting inviting public areas, and fostering active transportation. A critical focus, according to him, should be on designing streets and public spaces that resonate with human-scale activities, such as walking, cycling, and socializing. This approach not only uplifts the physical surroundings but also significantly contributes to the overall health, happiness, and well-being of individuals.

Moreover, Gehl stresses the significance of integrating nature and green spaces into urban landscapes. He accentuates the positive impacts of parks, gardens, and other green zones in ameliorating air quality, offering recreational avenues, and augmenting the aesthetic allure of cities. By weaving nature seamlessly into the urban fabric, Gehl envisions cities as more sustainable entities, capable of providing a higher quality of life for their residents.

Cities are dynamic entities, undergoing continuous transformations influenced by various global trends. Among the prominent trends observed in the enhancement of urban environments are:

- A significant trend involves an increasing emphasis on sustainability in urban development. Many cities are placing a priority on incorporating green spaces, promoting public transportation, and constructing energy-efficient buildings. For example, the High Line in New York City is a popular elevated park built on a former railroad track, while Singapore's Gardens by the Bay [Novak M., 2021] features innovative sustainable technologies such as vertical gardens, solar panels, and rainwater harvesting systems.
- Cities are embracing smart technology as a means to bolster infrastructure, boost public safety, and stimulate economic development [Townsend, 2013]. This involves employing sensors and data analytics to efficiently handle traffic, optimize energy consumption, and

elevate public services. Take Copenhagen, for example, where the Smart City strategy strives to curtail carbon emissions, amplify the utilization of renewable energy, and foster citizen engagement through data-informed decision-making and innovative collaborations.

- Tactical urbanism involves the use of low-cost, temporary interventions to test and transform urban spaces, such as pop-up parks, street art, and guerrilla gardening. Tactical urbanism allows citizens to reclaim public spaces and experiment with new uses and designs without waiting for formal approval or long-term funding. Examples include the annual PARK(ing) Day event in Dublin, where parking spots are temporarily converted into mini-parks, and the "playable cities" movement, which uses interactive installations to encourage playful and social interactions in public spaces.
- Cities are witnessing a notable shift toward active transportation, championing biking and walking as means to bolster public health, alleviate traffic congestion, and elevate urban livability. This shift manifests in the creation of additional bike lanes, the crafting of pedestrian-friendly streets, and the establishment of public spaces that actively encourage physical activity, as highlighted by Speck [2012].
- A resurgence of interest in place-making emphasizes the creation of dynamic and inviting public spaces that nurture social interaction and community engagement, echoing the sentiments of Jacobs [1961]. This approach involves crafting visually appealing, accessible, and multifunctional public spaces that capture the unique character and history of the surrounding neighborhood. A notable success in place-making is the Melbourne Laneway Revitalization Project, where previously overlooked laneways were transformed into a vibrant pedestrian-friendly area adorned with street art, cafes, and shops.
- Another noteworthy trend is the increasing recognition of the significance of inclusive design in urban planning. The call for urban environments that are accessible to individuals of all ages, abilities, and backgrounds is gaining traction. Inclusive design entails the development of public spaces and infrastructure that are devoid of barriers, fostering social inclusion and equality—an imperative underscored by Gebhardt [2014].
- Cities face increasing risks associated with climate change, natural disasters and social upheaval. In response, they are actively embracing strategies to fortify their resilience and adaptability. These initiatives encompass a spectrum of measures, from upgrading infrastructure and formulating emergency preparedness plans to launching programs aimed at fostering community resilience. A notable example is the 100 Resilient Cities program, spearheaded by the Rockefeller Foundation. This initiative is instrumental in assisting cities globally in crafting robust resilience strategies. These strategies are designed to tackle the intricate web of interconnected challenges spanning social, economic, and environmental facets of urban life. In essence, these efforts are vital steps toward creating cities that can withstand and navigate the complexities of the contemporary world.

As we navigate the intricate terrain of global trends shaping urban landscapes, it becomes apparent that the evolution of cities transcends mere physical alterations. Woven into this evolution is the compelling concept of the Right to the City, a concept articulated by David Harvey. This idea establishes a profound link between urban progress and the equitable distribution of rights and privileges among the urban populace.

According to Harvey, the present interpretation of the right to the city is unduly restricted, primarily favoring a select political and economic elite who mold cities to suit their personal preferences [Harvey, D, 2008, p.38]. Transitioning from a broad perspective on global urban trends to a nuanced exploration of the Right to the City, we delve into the intricate relationship between urban space development and the fair allocation of rights and opportunities among city dwellers.

Harvey puts forth the notion that the Right to the City extends beyond mere access to urban resources. It's more than that—it's about having the agency to shape and mold the city in

alignment with the needs and aspirations of its dwellers. This involves granting citizens the collective power to actively participate in the decision-making processes that wield influence over the urban landscape. It's about a shared authority to collectively influence the social, political, and economic fabric of the city.

«The democratization of that right, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization» [Harvey, D, 2008, p.40].

In the realm of enhancing the urban environment, the Right to the City underscores the significance of democratizing urban spaces. It champions the cause of ensuring that urban development caters to the welfare of all residents, especially those from marginalized and disadvantaged communities. The Right to the City stands as a challenge to prevalent modes of urban planning and development, often characterized by profit-centric growth, gentrification, and the exclusion of certain societal segments. It advocates for an inclusive approach that prioritizes the well-being and interests of the entire urban populace.

By recognizing and exercising the right to a city, communities can demand and actively participate in processes that improve the urban environment. This includes promoting equal access to quality housing, transportation, green spaces and public amenities. This also includes complex methods that worsen the state of the environment, such as unstable development, pollution and depletion of Natural Resources.

In addition, Urban law contributes to the creation of an inclusive and livable urban environment. It calls for preserving and strengthening social diversity, cultural heritage and community cohesion. This means evaluating and preserving the unique identity and characteristics of the various territories and ensuring that urban development does not lead to displacement or marginalization of vulnerable populations.

In practice, urban law can manifest itself through various actions and strategies. This may include mass actions, the organization of communities and the promotion of planning processes with public participation. This may also include mobilizing residents to challenge unfair policies and practices, and creating alternative urban planning models that favor social and environmental sustainability [Harvey, d, 2008, p.39].

Thus, urban law, expressed by David Harvey, plays a decisive role in improving the urban environment. It allows communities to build their cities in a way that meets their needs, respects their rights, and promotes sustainable and inclusive urban development. By exercising urban law, residents can contribute to the creation of dynamic, equal and environmentally responsible urban spaces.

Examining the multifaceted aspects of urban development, from global trends in urban development to the authoritative concept of "city law" by David Harvey, we find a natural transition to the most important area of public spaces. The concept of urban law essentially implies the collective influence of residents on the urban environment and emphasizes the need for equal access and participation [Harvey, D., 2008]. In this context, the success or failure of public spaces becomes a fundamental aspect of urban planning. Studying both successful and unsuccessful examples of public spaces allows us to understand how the principles of urban law are transformed into material, living experience within the framework of urban construction. Let's take a look at the complex dynamics of public spaces by examining patterns that embody ideals of inclusiveness, community engagement, and shared ownership, and patterns that do not promote dynamic, human-centered environments.

a/ Public Space. Successful and unsuccessful

The works of Henri Lefebvre, especially the books "urban revolution" [2003] and "spatial production" [1991], are quite relevant and relate to the concept of public space. Lefebvre's ideas

provide a critical insight into the social, political and spatial dimensions of public space and its relationship to the wider urban environment.

Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of everyday life in an urban context. He discusses the experiences, experiences and diaries of the townspeople, emphasizes their role in the formation and assimilation of urban space. It emphasizes the need for broader participation and Inclusive Urban Planning, which prioritizes individuals' life experiences.

In the book "Urban Revolution" Lefebvre explores the historical development of cities and the processes of urbanization [Vershina I., 2018]. He argues that urbanization is not just a physical phenomenon, but a social and political phenomenon that changes the organization and practices of society. Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of public space as a place of social meetings, communication and political participation in the urban context. He sees public space as the most important Arena for democratic participation and expression of collective life.

«The urban is, therefore, pure form: a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity. This form has no specific content, but is a center of attraction and life. It is an abstraction, but unlike a metaphysical entity, the urban is a concrete abstraction, associated with practice. Living creatures, the products of industry, technology and wealth, works of culture, ways of living, situations, the modulations and ruptures of the everyday— the urban accumulates all content». [Lefebvre H., 2003, The urban revolution, pp.118-119]

Building on his earlier work, Lefebvre further develops the concept of the "right to the city." He argues for the democratization of urban space, advocating for the collective right of individuals and communities to participate in the decision-making processes that shape the urban environment [Vershina I., 2018].

"The Production of Space" expands on Lefebvre's ideas by delving deeper into the social production and reproduction of space. Lefebvre argues that space is not a neutral backdrop but a socially constructed entity that reflects power relations, social practices, and modes of production. He highlights the ways in which dominant groups and institutions shape space to serve their interests while excluding or marginalizing certain social groups. Lefebvre's concept of the "spatial triad" (perceived space, conceived space, and lived space) illustrates the complexity of spatial production and the multiple ways in which space is perceived, conceived, and experienced by different individuals and groups [Lefebvre H., 1991, The production of space, p.40]:

- Perceived Space: perceived space refers to the immediate sensory experience in the physical environment of human beings. It encompasses the ways in which people perceive urban space and interact with their senses, including sight, sound, touch and sense of smell. The perceived space is subjective and depends on personal experience, cultural traditions and individual interpretations. This emphasizes the importance of sensory and empirical aspects of urban life.
- Conceived Space: conceived space refers to the space as it is planned, designed, and represented by urban planners, architects, and policymakers. It encompasses the formal and abstract representations of space, such as maps, plans, and architectural drawings. Conceived space is the result of intentional human interventions and reflects the dominant ideologies, power structures, and socio-economic interests at play in the urban environment. It represents the spatial visions and aspirations of those who shape urban development.
- Lived space: also known as social space, the living space is the space of everyday life and the social experiences that take place in it. Lived space emerges through the social interactions, routines, and activities of individuals and communities. It includes the social relations, cultural practices, and symbolic meanings attached to specific places within the urban fabric. Lived space is dynamic and constantly evolving, shaped by the actions and experiences of its inhabitants.

Lefebvre's model introduces three essential elements that bring out the rich, intricate nature of urban space, capturing its subjective, planned, and lived dimensions. Together, they offer a lens through which we can unravel the complexities of urban life, exploring the dynamic interplay between human agency, spatial practices, and social relations within the city.

When it comes to public space, Lefebvre's insights illuminate its contested nature, revealing the ongoing struggles for control and use. He critically examines the transformation of public spaces into consumer-driven environments or exclusive domains, emphasizing the need to reclaim these spaces as shared resources for collective appropriation and social interaction [Lefebvre H., 1991, *The Production of Space*, p.101]. Lefebvre advocates for the democratization of public spaces, envisioning a scenario where citizens actively participate in shaping and reshaping urban environments based on their needs and desires.

Lefebvre's theoretical framework challenges us to view public space not merely as physical locations but as socially constructed and politically charged arenas. His ideas prompt us to question prevailing power structures that dictate the design, control, and utilization of urban space. By acknowledging the social and political dimensions inherent in public space, Lefebvre's work becomes a valuable resource for endeavors aimed at creating public spaces that are inclusive, accessible, and vibrant—spaces that foster democratic participation, social interaction, and the well-being of urban communities.

Today, people are beginning to understand that the concept of "House" does not end in an apartment or entrance, but includes the space in which a person finds himself after leaving the entrance: in the yard, on the street, in the park.

Courtyards, streets, public spaces in different countries can be different due to many fundamental differences—climatic, economic, political, as well as the dissimilarity of mentalities, traditions and Customs - everything that underlies the regulation of the human environment. Approaches to landscaping residential areas in Europe, America and Asia are completely different, but the wishes are the same — to create a complete and safe environment that improves living conditions.

Public space is the term used to describe any area that exists and uses for the public. This includes physical spaces such as parks, streets, squares and sidewalks. In other words, the territories of functional planning formations designed to provide people with free access to objects and complexes of public structures, pedestrian connections between these objects and their complexes, as well as between them and public transport facilities, warehouses, car parks. The concept of public space is closely related to the idea of the public sphere, which refers to the sphere of public life in which public opinion is formed and discussed.

Let's move on to understanding a successful public space. Successful public spaces go beyond simple functionality and aesthetics. They serve as places of social and cultural gathering, strengthen the sense of belonging and promote interaction with society.

In her seminal work "the death and life of Great American cities" [1961] Jane Jacobs explores the intricacies of successful public spaces and highlights their key role in the structure of urban life. The cornerstone of his ideas is to promote the diversity of the use of public spaces, so streets and squares should be purposefully designed for a wide range of events, thereby attracting people of different ages and social strata.

"Today, American cities, in their dreams that open land is an automatic blessing and quantity equals quality, instead spend money on parks, playgrounds and land use projects that are too large, too frequent, too superficial, too unsuccessful. Too boring or too uncomfortable to use" [Jacobs, 1961, P. 110-111, Chapter 5: "Use of neighborhood park"].

Jacobs advances the argument that the success of public spaces is intricately tied to the density and mixed-use nature of urban areas. She contends that vibrant urban landscapes arise from the

seamless integration of residential, commercial, and public domains. The pedestrian realm emerges as a focal point in her discourse, asserting that spaces designed to prioritize pedestrian safety and allure, including well-crafted sidewalks and street-level commercial establishments, contribute significantly to the overall appeal of the urban environment [Jacobs, 1961, pp.217-218].

Furthermore, Jacobs advocates for an eye-oriented design approach, where the physical layout of spaces is crafted to capture attention and foster interaction. Open building facades and storefronts, according to Jacobs, play a crucial role in creating an environment that not only promotes a sense of safety but also encourages social engagement.

Community involvement takes center stage in Jacobs' narrative, underlining the belief that the most favorable outcomes in urban design are achieved when the local community actively participates in the creation and management of its surroundings. This collaborative approach, she contends, leads to the cultivation of public spaces that truly resonate with the needs and aspirations of the community.

According to Gehl [2010], a successful public space is one that prioritizes the needs and experiences of people, creating vibrant and inviting environments for social interaction, leisure, and community engagement.

On the other hand, an unsuccessful public space lacks the qualities that make it attractive, comfortable, and enjoyable for its users. Gehl identifies as contributing to the success or failure of public spaces: Human scale, People-oriented design, Activity and diversity, Accessibility, Safety and security, Continuity and connectivity.

Thus, these places become venues for various events, from cultural events and performances to informal meetings and entertainment. A successful public space is one that effectively fulfills its purpose and satisfies the needs and desires of its users. It is characterized by several main attributes:

- **Functionality:** think of it as the ability to serve a specific purpose and offer opportunities for various activities. Think of a well-designed space, organized and equipped with facilities that complement its intended use, be it comfortable seating areas, playgrounds, dynamic sports facilities or versatile performance spaces.
- **Accessibility:** spaces that are open and accessible to every community member, regardless of age, mobility or socioeconomic status. Imagine a place organically inscribed in the environment with many access points and convenient transportation options. Thus, it becomes a space that invites everyone to participate, promotes inclusiveness and provides equal opportunities for participation.
- **Safety and Security:** puts the safety of successful public space users at the forefront. It is well lit, well maintained and includes effective observation measures to create a feeling of comfort and security. Adequate signs, clear paths and accounting for potential hazards contribute to the creation of a safe environment.
- **Aesthetics and Design:** a visually attractive and well-designed public space enhances the overall experience of its users. Thoughtful design elements such as landscape design, architectural features, public art installations and placement strategies create a sense of individuality, uniqueness and beauty.
- **Social Interaction and Community Engagement:** successful community spaces promote social interaction by bringing people together and creating opportunities for community engagement. They create conditions that promote social connections, cultural exchange and a sense of belonging, promote social cohesion and active social life.

Conversely, a failed public space often lacks one or more of these key attributes. It can suffer from poor design, inadequate conditions, lack of maintenance, lack of accessibility or lack of attention to protection. Failed public spaces can appear unpleasant, underutilized, or even dangerous, leading to little community participation and a decrease in overall value to the public.

The Gel approach emphasizes the importance of people being at the center of urban design and creating public spaces that improve the quality of life and promote social interaction and the well-being of society.

According to Madanipur [2021], successful public spaces are spaces that go beyond physical designations and take into account social and cultural aspects that affect inclusiveness. These are accessible and welcoming spaces for a wide variety of people and communities. Successful community spaces eliminate social inequalities, economic imbalances, cultural biases, and physical barriers by actively working to remove barriers and create a more inclusive environment. Accommodation refers to the physical act of allocating spaces for public use, while distancing refers to social and cultural barriers that exclude certain groups from these spaces. Madanipur argues that public spaces should go beyond simple physical design and take into account the social aspects that shape inclusiveness.

On the other hand, unsuccessful public spaces are those that perpetuate exclusivity, either through intentional design or neglect of inclusivity considerations. These spaces may have physical barriers that limit accessibility, lack amenities and services that cater to diverse needs, or reinforce social and cultural hierarchies that marginalize certain groups. Unsuccessful public spaces fail to create a sense of belonging and do not facilitate meaningful social interaction and engagement among different communities.

It's crucial to recognize that people's views on the success or failure of public spaces can greatly differ, shaped by diverse cultural, social, and contextual factors. The assessment of a public space's success should take into account specific goals, context, and the needs of the users associated with that particular space.

Now, delving into the characteristics that distinguish successful from unsuccessful public spaces and understanding the social and cultural elements influencing their inclusivity, let's shift our focus to the theory of public spaces. This theory seamlessly extends our exploration of urban public spaces, providing a structured framework to comprehend the principles governing their design and functionality.

Taking inspiration from Jan Gehl's seminal work, "Life Between Buildings" [1971], we'll dive into the theory of public spaces. It not only enriches our grasp of successful public spaces but also unveils the intricate relationship between urban design and human experience. In the upcoming sections, we'll explore the foundational principles of this theory and unravel their practical significance in crafting vibrant and inclusive urban public spaces.

b/ Public Place Theory

Let's dive into how this theoretical framework can shed light on the impacts of Moscow's Renovation, My Street, and My District programs on public spaces. It helps unveil how these initiatives influence the accessibility and use of public areas, as well as their role in promoting social interaction and community cohesion.

In Jan Gehl's groundbreaking work, "Life Between Buildings" [1971], he underlines the crucial need for urban environments that prioritize people's needs and experiences. According to him, truly successful cities prioritize designs on a human scale, streets that welcome pedestrians, and lively public spaces fostering social interactions and community bonds. Gehl's ideas challenge prevailing urban planning norms that prioritize vehicular flow and commercial growth over the well-being and happiness of residents.

Jan Gehl's influence extends globally, shaping urban planning and design practices. His ideas gave rise to the concept of "placemaking," emphasizing the creation of vibrant, inclusive public spaces that encourage social interaction, community involvement, and a sense of belonging.

Numerous cities worldwide have embraced Gehl's principles, transforming public spaces into environments centered around people, with a focus on pedestrians, cyclists, and public life.

While Jan Gehl may not be the sole architect of public space theory, his research, insights, and writings have played a pivotal role in advancing it. His extensive studies of urban life spotlight the importance of observing and understanding human behavior in public spaces. Through detailed observations of how people engage with urban environments, Gehl has provided invaluable insights into the dynamics of public spaces and how they can be designed to better meet the needs of their users.

Gehl's observations and theories advocate for designing successful public spaces with people in mind, prioritizing pedestrians, comfortable seating, greenery, public amenities, and fostering a strong sense of place and community in urban settings. His contributions have significantly shaped the narrative that urban spaces should serve the people, not just the interests of vehicles or commerce.

Diving into public space theory is like unlocking a treasure trove of insights into the role and significance of public spaces in urban settings. For our dissertation journey, it's a crucial tool to unwrap the implications of programs like My Street and My District on how we create, design, and experience public spaces in our city.

Now, let's shine a light on another key facet of public space theory relevant to our topic—the intricate dance of power dynamics and inclusivity in how public spaces are used. Public spaces should be like open arms inviting everyone in, regardless of origin, age, gender or cultural identity. This theory acts as our compass, helping us critically assess how well the My Street and My District programs navigate issues of inclusivity, social fairness, and the fundamental right to the city. It's our guide to understanding whether these programs champion the needs of marginalized communities, ensure everyone has a fair shot at public spaces, and steer clear of the exclusions that gentrification might bring, limiting certain groups' access to and enjoyment of these shared spaces. Moreover, public space theory dives into the connection between public spaces and the formation of collective identity and a sense of place. The Renovation, My Street, and My District initiatives offer a chance to mold Moscow's image through visually appealing and culturally significant public spaces. Public space theory helps us decode how these programs influence the residents' and visitors' perception, attachment, and emotional ties to the city. By scrutinizing the design elements, symbolism, and cultural nuances embedded in public spaces, we can gauge how effectively these programs contribute to shaping a distinctive urban identity and nurturing a sense of pride and belonging among the people.

Integrating public space theory into our analysis, this dissertation aims to illuminate how these programs impact the quality, accessibility, and inclusivity of public spaces. The goal is to assess whether these initiatives succeed in crafting lively, socially inclusive, and culturally meaningful public spaces that foster community engagement, social interaction, and a profound sense of place. The insights gleaned from this research aim to inform urban planning strategies that prioritize the creation of meaningful and inclusive public spaces, ensuring that the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs enhance the overall urban experience for all residents of Moscow.

c/ Urban Beautification Programs

Let's walk through the fascinating world of Urban Beautification Programs — an area where the visual and functional aspects of our urban spaces come to life, woven into the fabric of the well-being and satisfaction of urban residents. This part of the dissertation is our introduction to the principles and practices that shape these programs, revealing their magical effects on urban infrastructure and public spaces.

Urban Beautification Programs are choreographers of urban aesthetics who organize initiatives and strategies to enhance the visual appeal, functionality and overall quality of our urban environment. These initiatives are like artists with a palette of Design, Landscaping and public engagement, all aimed at creating cities that not only attract attention, but also create places where people like to live and breathe.

«The naive idea that beautification is politically neutral and constitute an objective improvement in the public interest simply ignores the nature of what public space is, and how it functions in empowering or disempowering the community that insists on it, prioritizing representation over function» [Tartari M., 2021].

The quote challenges the notion that beautification projects are politically neutral. It implies that considering beautification as a straightforward, unbiased improvement overlooks the complex nature of public space and its interactions with various communities.

There's an emphasis on understanding the nature of public space. Public spaces are not just physical environments but are also social and political constructs. How these spaces are designed and maintained can either empower or disempower the communities that use them.

The quote introduces a dichotomy between representation and function in public spaces. It implies that sometimes beautification efforts might prioritize the visual representation of a space over its actual functionality, and this can have implications for the communities using that space.

In essence, the quote calls for a more nuanced and critical approach to beautification initiatives. It encourages planners and designers to consider the socio-political dimensions of public space, ensuring that beautification efforts are inclusive, representative, and truly beneficial to the communities they serve, rather than being driven solely by aesthetic concerns.

Jane Jacobs [1961] outlines principles of urban beautification, emphasizing the importance of multifunctionality in public spaces to cater to various activities and encourage a diverse range of citizens. She underscores the significance of mixed-use developments, stating that successful urban areas exhibit a variety of mixed-use buildings, fostering activity on the streets at different times of the day.

Regarding the practices of urban beautification, Jacobs advocates for community involvement in the planning and beautification processes, asserting that meaningful changes should reflect the needs and preferences of the community. She also emphasizes the value of attractive design in urban spaces, promoting activity and social interaction [Jacobs, 1961, pp.433].

In terms of the impact of beautification programs, Jacobs contends that successful initiatives should contribute to increased activity and social life among city residents, making urban spaces conducive to communal engagement.

Kevin Lynch's work "The Image of the City" [1960] does not directly focus on Beautification Programs and the detailed discussion of the principles and practices of urban beautification. However, he makes a significant contribution to understanding how people perceive and navigate the urban environment.

Lynch introduces the concept of "imageability," emphasizing that successful cities should have distinct and memorable features. He identifies five key elements that form the city's image: paths (routes that people can use for movement), edges (explicit boundaries), districts (areas with a common character), nodes (prominent objects), and landmarks (visible and structural features) [1960, p.8, p.46: Chapter 3].

The impact of beautification programs on the urban atmosphere and residents' lives is likely related to the images they create. If beautification makes the city more recognizable, comfortable, and attractive, it can contribute to a positive city image, enhancing the quality of life for its inhabitants.

Urban environments worldwide are witnessing transformative changes through the implementation of diverse Urban Beautification Programs. This perspective is not merely speculative but is shaped by a thorough analysis of various texts and initiatives aimed at enhancing urban infrastructure and public spaces. Examining notable instances offers valuable insights into the principles and practices underpinning these programs.

One outstanding example is the Gardens by the Bay project in Singapore. This comprehensive landscape complex integrates modern architectural structures, vertical gardens, solar panels, and rainwater harvesting systems. Beyond its aesthetic enhancements, this project stands as a paradigm of sustainable urban design.

New York City's Urban Greening Program exemplifies a commitment to creating numerous parks, squares, and green areas across diverse neighborhoods. Such projects are designed to improve public spaces, providing citizens with accessible and inviting places for relaxation and recreation.

Hamburg's "Green Network" Initiative is a notable effort to transform the city's public spaces by creating a network of interconnected green areas and parks. This initiative focuses on promoting sustainability, biodiversity, and improving the overall urban living experience.

In my analysis of various texts and programs, I have identified that these initiatives generally embody a range of principles and practices directed towards the transformation of urban infrastructure and public spaces. The following are key aspects commonly encompassed in such programs:

Principles of Beautification:

- Human-Centric Approach: Beautification programs generally prioritize the needs and comfort of urban residents. This involves creating spaces that cater to pedestrians, cyclists, and public transportation.
- Aesthetics and Design: Programs often strive to improve the visual appeal of the urban environment, including landscape design, street lighting, street art, and other elements contributing to aesthetic allure.

Beautification Practices:

- Infrastructure Renewal: Programs involve updating urban infrastructure such as roads, sidewalks, bridges, public transportation, and parking areas.
- Creation of Public Spaces: Development of public spaces like parks, squares, plazas, and waterfronts to provide areas for leisure, social interactions, and events.

Impact of Beautification Programs:

- Enhanced Quality of Life: Beautification programs directly impact the daily lives of urban residents by providing convenience, safety, and comfort in public spaces.
- Stimulation of Social Activity: Crafting attractive public spaces fosters social activity, interaction among residents, and the formation of communities.
- Economic Implications: Improving the urban environment can lead to increased economic activity by attracting new businesses, tourists, and investments.

2.1.3. Social, economic and spatial dynamics

Urban dynamics encompass the intricate interplay of social, economic, and spatial factors, each exerting influence on the others. Exploring the impact of urban renewal on societal structures involves a comprehensive analysis of changes in public spaces, their perception by residents, and the resulting effects on community relations.

Economic consequences of urban renewal delve into consequences on the local economy, including attracting investments, generating employment, fostering entrepreneurship, and

stimulating key industries. This economic transformation is intricately linked to broader urban development initiatives.

Simultaneously, spatial dynamics scrutinize changes in land use, architectural configurations, and urban planning resulting from renewal efforts. This involves the redevelopment of areas, creation of new public spaces, modifications in transportation infrastructure, and the overall transformation of the cityscape.

Together, these dimensions form a comprehensive understanding of urban and societal development. This knowledge serves as a guide for crafting adaptive strategies, fostering sustainable development, and ultimately improving the quality of life for urban residents.

a/ Public Participation and Participatory Planning Theory

Public Participation (PP) is a process in which citizens, local communities, and other stakeholders actively engage in various aspects of decision-making, planning, and project implementation related to public issues and the environment. This process involves the inclusion of civil society in shaping policies, development programs, and other initiatives, ensuring a broader spectrum of opinions and preferences in decision-making [André P., Enserink B., Connor D., & Croal P., 2006].

Public participation is a crucial tool in the processes of urban renewal and decision-making related to the urban environment. This involves engaging citizens, local communities, and stakeholders in defining priorities, devising strategies, and participating in shaping the city's character. Public opinion becomes an integral part of decision-making, contributing to a more accurate reflection of the needs and preferences of various segments of the population [Mela, A., & Toldo, A., 2019, Chapter 5].

Several models of public participation exist, including consultation, collaboration, and partnership. In consultations, society is informed about decisions made by authorities without active involvement in the decision-making process. Collaboration implies more active interaction between authorities and the community at various stages of the project, while partnership involves joint efforts to achieve common goals. The choice of a specific model depends on the particular situation and project objectives.

Public participation involves a set of procedures aimed at consulting, involving, and informing the public to allow those affected by a decision to contribute to that decision. The key element here is "input," which distinguishes participation methods from other communication strategies. Existing literature highlights various methods falling under public participation, ranging from eliciting opinions through surveys and focus groups to obtaining judgments and decisions for policymaking, such as consensus conferences and citizens' juries [Rowe, G., & Frewer, L. J., 2013]

Evaluating the effectiveness of public participation involves analyzing results, the level of engagement, and participant satisfaction. Challenges may include heterogeneous participation, unbalanced representation of groups, difficulties in involving minorities, and issues related to information transmission and understanding. Overcoming these challenges requires the development of inclusive and transparent participation mechanisms, taking into account diverse opinions and the needs of different population groups.

The exploration of Public Participation provides a foundational understanding of engaging communities in decision-making processes related to urban development. Building upon the principles of public participation, Participatory Planning Theory delves into more comprehensive frameworks that guide collaborative and inclusive urban planning initiatives. This theoretical shift is essential for a deeper exploration of how communities can actively contribute to shaping the urban environment, extending beyond mere input to active involvement in the planning and decision-making processes.

Engaging with participatory planning theory underscores a fundamental commitment to democratic ideals. This system is based on the fact that urban planning decision-making processes should be open to the active participation of a wide range of stakeholders, ensuring the consideration of various points of view and opinions.

The conventional top-down planning methodologies often employed tend to neglect the nuanced needs and aspirations of local communities. In stark contrast, participatory planning aims to redress this imbalance by empowering individuals and communities. This empowerment is realized through their direct engagement in the planning process, fostering collaboration, and granting them a substantive role in shaping the development of their localities, urban spaces, or regions.

Sherry R. Arnstein's seminal work, 'A LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION' [1969], introduces a conceptual tool that vividly captures the different echelons of citizen involvement in decision-making processes. This "ladder of citizen participation" articulates eight distinct rungs, each signifying varying degrees of influence that citizens can wield in shaping decisions that impact their lives and environments. Arnstein's framework provides a visual schema that aids in comprehending the evolving dynamics of societal participation in planning endeavors.

- Non-participation:

At this level, citizens have no impact on decision-making. They are excluded from the process, lacking the opportunity to influence.

- Tokenism:

This level involves the formal inclusion of citizens, but their opinions are rarely considered. Participation is limited to symbolic gestures, providing no real influence.

- Informing:

Citizens receive information at this stage but without the ability to influence the process actively. It represents a passive form of participation.

- Consultation:

Here, citizens provide feedback, but final decisions are still made by others. It is a more active form of participation but with limited influence.

- Placation:

This level gives citizens the appearance of influence but leaves them in the role of "appeased." Decisions consider their interests but not necessarily with their active involvement.

- Partnership:

At this stage, authoritative structures begin to collaborate with citizens, considering a higher level of activism and influence from society.

- Delegated Power:

Citizens are granted power and participate in decision-making. They become full-fledged participants.

- Citizen Control:

This is the highest level of citizen participation, where citizens have control over decision-making processes and fully determine their direction.

Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" serves as a good illustrative example of how Participatory Planning Theory can be applied in practice. Participatory Planning Theory aims to

ensure that citizens do not remain at lower rungs of the ladder but rather occupy levels where their opinions are considered in the development and implementation of urban projects. The theory aims to create mechanisms that facilitate active citizen participation in shaping their urban space and influencing decisions.

b/ Gentrification

Gentrification is a complex urban process characterized by the displacement of lower-income communities by higher-income residents, often accompanied by physical and social transformations in neighborhoods. This literature review explores various theoretical perspectives and historical developments related to gentrification.

Gentrification was first theorized by Ruth Glass in 1964 and continues to be a prevalent issue. Early debates on gentrification focused on middle-class suburbanites seeking proximity to jobs and cultural amenities, while Marxists emphasized the role of capital and class in driving gentrification.

Gentrification has been theorized from multiple perspectives, each offering insights into the underlying drivers and dynamics of this urban phenomenon. Early debates presented opposing viewpoints, with liberal humanists emphasizing cultural factors and consumer demand [Zukin S., 2009], [Florida, R., 2005], while structural Marxists focused on capital, class, and production [Slater, T., 2006], [Ley, D., 1993]. These perspectives gradually converged, acknowledging the interplay between culture, consumption, and capital in driving gentrification.

Marcuse [1985] proposed a synthesis of these perspectives, emphasizing the push-pull forces shaping gentrification. He highlighted the shift from manufacturing to service-oriented economies, leading to a reduced demand for lower-skilled labor and an increased demand for higher-skilled professionals. This structural analysis emphasized the impact of changing economic conditions on the displacement of the poor.

Hamnett [1984] sought to reconcile the liberal humanistic and Marxist approaches by recognizing the connection between culture, consumption, and the changing division of labor. He argued that the rise of a locationally concentrated service class played a significant role in the gentrification process.

Another line of thought in gentrification literature explores the appropriation and commodification of cultural aspects by the market. Scholars such as Zukin [1987] and Lees [2003] have examined the role of cultural markets, the creation of new authenticities, and the emergence of global high-end super gentrifiers. They highlight the influence of consumer culture and the cyclical nature of gentrification driven by market forces.

Richard Florida [2017] introduced the concept of the creative class as a resource for urban revitalization, linking gentrification to the presence of artists and creative professionals in cities. Craig Young explored the entrepreneurial re-imagining of cities, where stakeholders curate an ideal urban environment and citizen.

Smith [Hackworth and Smith, 2001] offers a historical analysis of gentrification, identifying three waves of this phenomenon. The first wave, before the economic recession of 1973, was characterized by localized instances of gentrification often supported by public sector funding. The second wave emerged in the late 1970s and involved the integration of gentrification into wider economic and cultural processes. This wave saw the emergence of real estate frontiers and the involvement of the private market. The third wave, starting in 1993, witnessed larger developers becoming actively involved in the gentrification process, with less resistance and increased state involvement.

Urban sociologist Sharon Zukin in the book «Naked City. The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places» [2009], shows how the historic districts of New York, thanks to low housing prices, old buildings, small family shops, cultural and social practices of the inhabitants, become fashionable, attract wealthier residents, large businesses and gentrify. Their commercialization is taking place: rental and housing prices are rising, because of this, former residents and small businesses, thanks to which the space attracted attention, are forced to leave it. Their right to stay in their home is not protected in any way.

The social structure of the district is changing, old everyday practices are being lost, spaces are being filled with new people. There are expensive shops and restaurants serving their needs, and the interests of the former inhabitants are no longer taken into account. New groups claim the right to live and work in this space, a competitive struggle is unfolding for it.

New owners are restoring old houses and displacing long-time residents from their small inexpensive apartments. Then new people come with their consumer demand, neighborhoods become even more fashionable and expensive, and a new wave of super-rich gentrifiers displaces the previous wave of the middle class (artists, musicians, journalists, etc.). New cultures do not have time to gain a foothold. They are being absorbed by commerce – chain stores, restaurants, office buildings, expensive real estate – and growing consumption, which is supported by the city authorities.

The acquired "roots" are erased, the place is reset and loses its connection with the past. In pursuit of a "creative" image, cities around the world are losing their identity, becoming more closed and homogeneous (including thanks to the network business), similar to each other "cultural hypermarkets". Because of this, they lose their charm.

The preservation of physical space alone is not enough to maintain diversity in the city. If the architectural form remains, but people and small businesses are displaced, the social framework changes – cultural diversity also decreases, business becomes the same type, the image of the city changes [Jacobs J., 1961].

And so, this whole process can be called in one word - gentrification. In other words, Gentrification is the process of a neighborhood or area changing to become more affluent, with accompanying changes in demographics, housing prices, and business development. This often results in the displacement of lower-income residents.

Gentrification is the process by which urban neighborhoods, typically housing low-income residents, attract reinvestment and resettlement by middle-class individuals. This process is evident in the redevelopment and upgrading of housing and retail landscapes. Socially, it is often characterized by the displacement of existing residents due to rising rents and property taxes. Many local governments now explicitly encourage this process in the hope of gaining more amenities and higher tax revenues. While originally associated with the redevelopment of older buildings, the process now also includes "new build" gentrification, where neighborhoods are razed, and new buildings are constructed from scratch [Jonas A., McCann E., Thomas M., 2015, p. 32].

In the context of neoliberalism, city government and real estate developers often present gentrification as a joint venture that brings private profits and increases the tax base, but also has positive effects such as urban retraining, order, security, cleanliness and, in some cases, social unrest and improved facilities [MacLeod, 2002]. This is often accompanied by a tale of physical and social revival, but in reality neoliberal processes tend to exclude long-term tenants from the housing market and limit their access to basic services. Thus, these residents are forced to move to more accessible but often abandoned areas, and this process is commonly called movement [Hamnett, 1984; Marcuse, 1985]. This leads to social polarization, where wealthier people are concentrated in elegant areas that are exclusive and elitist, while less fortunate groups are concentrated in less desirable and accessible areas.

Displacement can take various forms, including direct offset, which replaces displacement and displacement pressure, as defined by Marcuse [1985]. Direct displacement occurs when households are forced to move due to physical or economic actions, such as aggression from homeowners, worsening construction conditions, or rising rents. On the other hand, forced displacement prevents individuals from moving to one neighborhood or another due to unattainable prices or abandonment, depriving them of the opportunity to live in an area that they would otherwise have chosen. Marcuse also introduces the concept of displacement pressure, which refers to the deprivation of social rights and services faced by less wealthy families during the transformation of their neighborhoods. Zukin [2009, 2016] and Young [2006] examined the exclusion mechanisms and process of "alienation" that occur during gentrification when long-term residents are marginalized and treated as outsiders in their communities. Davidson [2008] uses the terms "community movement" and «Neighborhood Resource movement» to further explore the loss of sense of place and changes in existing neighborhood structure. This research specifically focuses on displacement pressure, which involves subtler forms of alienation and other effects that occur before physical displacement occurs.

Zukin [2009] and Young [2006] investigate the exclusion and othering of long-term residents through the creation of a new identity, an idealized and profitable imaginary, and a new sense of authenticity. They argue that gentrification has negative impacts on the social capabilities of long-term residents that extend beyond out-pricing and physical displacement. This occurs through the morphological transformation of the urban fabric, which exacerbates exclusion and disrupts social interaction and cohesion. The new global imaginary establishes codes and values that define who belongs in the regenerated space and who does not, often excluding those who are not deemed profitable or marketable within the neoliberal framework. Consequently, the urban morphology is altered to cater to the needs of the desired inhabitants. This transformation extends beyond commercial spaces and consumption areas, as discussed by Zukin [2009], and also affects urban typologies, (semi)public spaces, and affordable services. These changes result in reduced access and further reinforce the process of othering. (Semi)public spaces and affordable services, no longer considered essential components of the gentrifiers' lifestyle, either disappear to make way for profitable ventures that exploit increased land values, or they are privatized, heavily regulated, policed, and cleansed of "inappropriate" users to create a sense of security and exclusivity that aligns with the new city image [MacLeod, 2002]. These new typologies, referred to as "interdictory spaces" by Flusty [2001], systematically exclude individuals deemed unsuitable or threatening, particularly those whose class and cultural positions diverge from the builders and their target markets.

Thus, in addition to the direct economic displacement experienced by long-term residents, there are three mechanisms of exclusion and othering in gentrifying neighborhoods:

Exclusion and othering by representation: This occurs through the cyclical creation of a new authenticity and consciously chosen lifestyle that contrasts with the existing residents' way of life [Zukin, 2009]. Long-term residents may find themselves marginalized and excluded based on the values and codes embedded in the new imaginary.

Exclusion and othering through marketing strategies: Gentrification often involves marketing campaigns that specify the desired resident profiles for the neighborhood, effectively excluding those who do not fit the envisioned demographic [Young, 2006]. This targeted marketing further perpetuates othering and exclusion.

Exclusion through the morphological transformation of the urban fabric: The entrepreneurial nature of gentrification and the emergence of new values and lifestyles result in changes to the physical characteristics of the neighborhood. These alterations align with the needs and preferences of the gentrifying population, but they also limit access and reinforce othering for long-term residents [Zukin, 2009].

Gentrification extends beyond economic displacement and encompasses a transformation of the urban discourse, the creation of a new imaginary or representation of the ideal city and citizen, as well as changes in the urban fabric that cater to the lifestyles, values, and needs of the gentrifiers. Both representation and urban practice have profound impacts on the social capabilities and sense of belonging of long-term residents. The spatial dimension influences social dynamics, as the space of the new authenticity reduces accessibility and a sense of belonging for long-term residents. Simultaneously, the social dimension shapes the production of space, as the needs and values of the gentrifiers transform the urban morphology to reflect their preferences and exclude others.

The spatial triad model developed by Lefebvre [1991] offers a valuable framework for understanding the production of space and its social implications in gentrifying neighborhoods. According to Lefebvre, space is not just a physical entity but is shaped by social relations, and in turn, it influences social relations. The spatial triad consists of three interconnected components: spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation [Gentrification in Moscow research thesis].

Spatial practices refer to the actual processes involved in producing the physical environment, such as the construction and development of buildings and infrastructure in urban areas. Representations of space, on the other hand, involve the conception and imagination of space. This includes the planned use of space, often driven by the expectations and needs of the dominant or hegemonic group in society. These representations of space become the frame of reference for communication about space, which then influences spatial practices. Finally, spaces of representation are the lived spaces inhabited by individuals and communities. These spaces are imbued with their needs, values, and experiences, often diverging from the dominant representation of space.

Applying this spatial triad model to the context of gentrification, we can explore how the creation of a new discourse and a new authenticity, propagated globally through marketing strategies, leads to the morphological transformation of the urban fabric. This transformation, in turn, produces social exclusion and othering through the interplay of representation and spatial practices. The curated and promoted representation of space by the gentrifiers influences the actual physical changes in the neighborhood, while both representation and spatial practices contribute to the process of othering and exclusion of long-term residents. In other words, the dominant representation of space by the gentrifying group manifests in their spatial practices, which further marginalize and exclude long-term residents, encroaching upon their spaces of representation.

Expanding on Lefebvre's model, he also posits that society operates on three socio-spatial levels: the global, the urban, and the private. In the capitalist city, the global and private domains tend to suppress the urban level, including the act of habiting or place-making. Habiting, in this context, refers to a more authentic form of place-making driven by local agency rather than imposed by global powers. This aligns with Lefebvre's concept of the space of representation or lived space, which is a critical aspect of the spatial triad. Furthermore, Lefebvre acknowledges the "third wave" of gentrification, influenced by globalization, where a super-mobile and translocal population embeds their identities in a global context. Their values and new authenticity, as described by Zukin, are shaped by a "decontextualized cultural capital" and universalized imaginaries.

Bringing these models together in the research context, the intersection of globalization and gentrification leads to the imposition of contemporary western models and decontextualized cultural capital onto post-soviet urban structures. This substitution replaces pre-existing representations of space rooted in post-socialist norms, values, and experiences with neoliberal capitalist models and a global metropolitan habitus. The dominant representation of space appropriates and transforms the space of representation of long-term residents, resulting in indirect forms of social displacement, othering, and exclusion.

The intersection of gentrification, neoliberalism, and globalization is a crucial aspect to consider when analyzing later the gentrification processes in Moscow. Sharon Zukin's conceptualization of gentrification [2009] as the creation of a new authenticity through the promotion of a new imaginary aligns with this perspective. This imaginary is not solely shaped at the local level but is influenced by global forces, facilitated by processes of globalization and the compression of time and space.

Globalization and the compression of time and space, as discussed by David Harvey, contribute to the emergence of a desired lifestyle and space that conform to international standards. This lifestyle and space are defined at a global level and marketed accordingly. Retail chains launch international campaigns that shape desires and preferences on a global scale, while planning and design experts, as well as academics, communicate and compete globally, disseminating trends and icons across different regions. The interaction of multinational employees across borders further facilitates the development of shared imaginaries and lifestyle aspirations. Although local contexts play a role in shaping spatial and social change, there is a universal recognition and perpetuation of typologies and trends.

This phenomenon has been theorized as the third wave of gentrification, wherein the middle-class of the 1990s, as defined by Neil Smith, is being replaced by super-gentrifiers. These super-gentrifiers have their imaginations and aspirations produced at the global level. Geographers and sociologists have extensively studied this globalized wave of gentrification, highlighting the impact of global forces on local urban transformations [Hackworth., 2001; Zukin, 2009].

Furthermore, the rise of neoliberalism has turned the formation of the urban fabric into an entrepreneurial project. The global reference imaginary, propagated by private entities such as real estate agencies and public actors like city administrations, has shifted focus away from equality, wealth redistribution, and welfare. Instead, there is a greater emphasis on enabling economic enterprise within cities. Major cities engage in global competition to attract multinational headquarters, establish themselves as global financial hubs, or host world cultural and sporting events, all in an effort to gain prominence on the world stage [Smith, 2002]. Similarly, smaller cities and neighborhoods strive to attract ideal and sustainable residents through regeneration projects and facelifts, with sustainability often being equated with economic viability. Unfortunately, regeneration is often reduced to gentrification, perpetuating the reproduction of globally constructed desirable lifestyles, typologies, and spaces of consumption. This understanding is seen as vital for the success of the entrepreneurial city project, and public-private joint ventures play a significant role in this process [Marcuse, 2009].

While examining the intricacies of 'Gentrification,' we delve into the driving forces and consequences of urban transformation, shedding light on the dynamics that shape the socio-spatial landscape of cities. This theoretical lens offers valuable insights into the processes of neighborhood change, housing markets, and the displacement of communities. Now, let's pivot to 'Residential Location Theory.' This theory, while distinct in its focus, shares a symbiotic relationship with gentrification dynamics. It provides a complementary perspective by exploring why people choose to reside in specific areas and how these choices influence housing patterns, land use, and the spatial distribution of social groups. As we transition, we'll uncover how 'Residential Location Theory' contributes to our understanding of the residential preferences and decisions that underpin gentrification processes, further enriching our exploration of urban transformations and their social implications.

c/ Residential Location Theory

In Chris Hamnett's 1984 article titled "Gentrification and Residential Location Theory: A Review and Assessment" specifically focuses on the relationship between gentrification and residential location theory. It examines how residential location choices are influenced by various factors and how these choices contribute to the gentrification of neighborhoods. This perspective can offer

valuable insights into the spatial dynamics of gentrification and its connection to the residential preferences of different social groups.

Residential location theory plays a decisive role in understanding spatial dynamics and the laws of housing selection. This theory provides a framework for examining the way individuals and households make decisions about where to live based on a variety of factors, including housing availability, availability of facilities, and neighborhood characteristics. By including The Theory of accommodation in the analysis of these programs, we can get an idea of their potential impact on housing preferences, socio-economic imbalances and the spatial distribution of the population within the city.

One key aspect of residential location theory relevant to the dissertation topic is the concept of housing affordability. The programs which aim to improve the urban environment and upgrade housing stock, is essential to assess them also in the field of the affordability of the renovated housing units and new residential complexes. Residential location theory can help analyze how these programs affect the availability of affordable housing options for different income groups. It enables us to examine whether the programs contribute to the exacerbation of housing affordability challenges or if they address the issue by providing a range of housing options that cater to diverse income levels.

Another important consideration is the accessibility to amenities and services in residential location decisions. These programs often focus on enhancing public spaces, improving infrastructure, and creating amenities within neighborhoods. Residential location theory allows us to investigate how these improvements influence residential choices and preferences. It helps us understand whether the programs successfully create attractive and livable neighborhoods that offer a variety of amenities such as parks, recreational facilities, shopping centers, and schools. By examining the relationship between the programs and residents' access to amenities, we can assess the effectiveness of the initiatives in creating well-rounded and desirable living environments.

Additionally, residential location theory helps us understand the impact of the improvement programs on the spatial distribution of population. It enables us to analyze how these programs shape residential patterns and whether they contribute to spatial disparities or promote more equitable distribution of population across the city. By examining factors such as proximity to employment centers, transportation networks, and social infrastructure, we can evaluate whether the programs lead to concentrated gentrification in certain areas or if they foster a more balanced and inclusive distribution of residents.

d/ Housing affordability

The concept of housing affordability holds immense significance within the realms of housing policy and urban planning, denoting the ability of individuals or households to secure suitable housing without enduring excessive financial strain [David S. Bieri, 2012]. This critical facet extends beyond mere monetary considerations, encompassing factors such as income, access to affordable housing options, and the overall financial impact of housing expenses on individuals and communities.

The intricate nature of housing affordability stems from a confluence of factors, ranging from the escalating costs of housing and stagnant incomes to disparities in supply and demand. Its ramifications extend beyond the individual, affecting families and entire communities. When housing costs devour a substantial portion of household income, repercussions manifest as financial strain, diminished quality of life, and housing instability. This issue also amplifies social inequalities, as marginalized groups and those with limited financial means encounter challenges in securing affordable housing options.

In "The New Urban Crisis" [2018], Richard Florida identifies housing unaffordability as a pivotal element of the contemporary urban challenge. He dissects the phenomenon wherein housing costs in prosperous cities soar to levels inaccessible for broad demographic segments, particularly young professionals and low-income individuals. Florida integrates this housing challenge into a broader context of urban predicaments, including economic inequality, social segregation, and other intricacies faced by modern cities.

Florida underscores that housing unaffordability is not solely a consequence of exorbitant real estate prices but is exacerbated by economic inequality, the allure of prosperous cities to affluent investors, and the dearth of effective government policies in the housing construction sector. Several factors contribute to this problem, especially in thriving cities: escalating real estate prices, economic inequality driving spatial disparities, and the role of global capital influencing local markets.

Proposing remedies to housing affordability challenges, Florida advocates for increased government involvement, subsidies for affordable housing, measures to address economic inequality, and fostering sustainable, balanced urban development to mitigate wealth concentration. He stresses the need for housing construction strategies that consider socio-cultural needs and demographic diversity.

In conclusion, the exploration of housing affordability's social, economic, and spatial dynamics offers profound insights into the intricate interplay between the housing sector, society, and the urban environment. A nuanced analysis of these dynamics, contextualized within specific cities and their renovation programs, enhances our comprehension of how these factors shape living environments and socio-cultural dynamics. Future research, building upon these findings, holds promise for contributing to policies that enhance housing affordability and foster sustainable, socially-oriented urban environments.

3. Methodology

This dissertation embarks on an exploration of the Renovation Program, a large-scale initiative targeting the renewal of aging residential structures in Moscow, alongside the My Street and My District Programs, which aim to breathe new life into public spaces and streetscapes, ultimately enhancing the overall quality of life at the district level. While these programs hold the potential to elevate the living standards of Moscow residents, their impact on the city's social, economic, and spatial dynamics constitute focal points of investigation.

At the core of this research lies the principal question: How do these programs influence the social, economic, and spatial dynamics of the city? Complementing this overarching question are two secondary inquiries, poised to delve into specific facets and unravel the complexities of the dissertation's focal point.

The first secondary question probes the role of public participation in these programs, scrutinizing its effectiveness in addressing the concerns voiced by local communities. This inquiry seeks to unveil the extent to which the inclusion of citizens in decision-making processes contributes to the success and resonance of the urban renewal initiatives.

The second secondary question delves into the experiences and perspectives of various stakeholders—long-time residents, newcomers, and policymakers—regarding the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow. By capturing the diverse viewpoints of these groups, the research aims to construct a comprehensive narrative that reflects the varied impacts and perceptions associated with these urban development endeavors.

The overarching goal of this dissertation extends beyond the mere investigation of these programs; it aspires to deepen our understanding of the intricate interplay between urban policy, the evolution of public spaces, the emergence of new residential complexes, and the phenomenon of gentrification in Moscow. Through this exploration, the research endeavors to contribute valuable insights that can inform more inclusive and sustainable urban development strategies. As the study unfolds, it will shed light on how cities can navigate the challenges posed by these initiatives, fostering urban environments that are both vibrant and equitable.

This section of the dissertation outlines the research design and approach that will be used to investigate the research questions. It includes a detailed description of the data collection methods, sampling strategy, and participant selection. It also discusses the ethical considerations that need to be taken into account during the research process.

The methodology section of this research is pivotal in elucidating the systematic approach employed to investigate the intricate interplay between the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs and their multifaceted impacts within the context of a specific district in Moscow. By concentrating the research on a single district, we aim to provide a granular analysis of the socio-economic and spatial dynamics at play within the chosen area. This methodology section outlines the research design, data collection methods, and analytical tools used to navigate this exploration effectively.

3.1. The research approach

The research design adopted for this study is primarily characterized as a case study approach. A case study design is particularly appropriate when delving into a specific geographical unit, such as a district, as it permits an in-depth examination of the unique circumstances, dynamics, and contextual factors that define the selected locale. This research will focus on one of Moscow's districts to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the discussed programs localized impacts. By employing a case study approach, we seek to capture the nuances of the district's development, the experiences of its residents, and the implications of these programs within a specific urban setting.

The research approach for the dissertation " Transformation of Moscow: assessment of urban renewal through the Renovation program and My Street and My District improvement programs" can be a mixed-method, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. Here is how we can justify the choice of a mixed-method approach:

Qualitative Analysis:

- Objective: To gain a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural and social aspects of the changes induced by the renewal programs.
- Methods: Interviews with residents, local authorities, and experts; focus group analysis; content analysis of documents related to the programs.

Quantitative Analysis:

- Objective: To obtain statistical data and quantitative characteristics of the changes.
- Methods: Collecting data on housing price dynamics, social mobility, infrastructure changes, and using surveys and questionnaires to obtain statistical indicators.

Case Study Analysis:

- Objective: To examine specific examples of districts or streets that underwent renovation to identify peculiarities and successful/problematic aspects.
- Methods: Select representative case studies for in-depth analysis, use comparative methods to identify similarities and differences.

Longitudinal Observation:

- Objective: To study the long-term effects of the programs.
- Methods: Analyzing changes over time using time series; conducting interviews with program participants over different time periods.

A mixed-method approach will allow for a more comprehensive and in-depth exploration of the subject, combining the strengths of various methodologies and providing a more thorough understanding of the transformations in Moscow brought about by the renovation programs.

3.2. Data collection methods

To compile a comprehensive dataset supporting the analysis, a mixed-methods approach was employed. This involved collecting both qualitative and quantitative data to offer a well-rounded perspective on the research questions. The primary data collection methods included surveys and questionnaires administered to residents and newcomers within the selected district. These surveys gauged perspectives, experiences, and attitudes regarding the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs.

Surveys and questionnaires were distributed through online platforms, such as forms.yandex.ru, and shared in local groups and chats. Additionally, existing quantitative data sources specific to the district, such as housing market data, economic indicators, and demographic information, were analyzed through secondary data analysis.

The Mayor of Moscow official website and the open data portal of the Moscow Government served as key sources for accessing geographically referenced information on construction projects, beautification initiatives, and housing stock regeneration efforts in the city. These resources allowed stakeholders to access and analyze relevant information related to the city's ongoing developments and socio-economic landscape.

Qualitative data were derived from in-depth interviews with a select group of key stakeholders, including long-time residents, newcomers, experts, and local authorities. These interviews

facilitated a nuanced understanding of individual experiences, motivations, and decision-making processes.

Official documents, reports, and policy documents related to the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs were analyzed through document analysis. The Mayor of Moscow official website, the project's specific web page, and the open data portal of the Moscow Government served as primary sources for this analysis.

A comparative analysis of Renovation Programs, including the implemented program and the alternative 'Renovation of a Healthy Person,' was conducted. This investigation aimed to assess the effectiveness and potential benefits of the two programs, providing a basis for comparing approaches and identifying strengths and weaknesses.

A case study analysis delved into specific parts of the district and its streets that underwent renovation. This analysis aimed to identify unique characteristics and assess both successful and problematic aspects of the process. Visual data collected from the Mayor of Moscow official website, the project's specific web page, the open data portal of the Moscow Government, Google Street View, Yandex Panoramas, media publications, and blogs contributed to this assessment.

The collected data underwent rigorous analysis, with quantitative data subjected to statistical analysis to identify trends, patterns, and correlations. Qualitative data from interviews and document analysis were subjected to thematic analysis to uncover emerging themes and narratives.

3.3. Tools and techniques

In this section, we outline the tools and techniques used for our dissertation data collection and analysis. Interviews, both structured and semi-structured, provided insights from program participants and experts, analyzed through thematic coding. Surveys gauged residents' opinions quantitatively, employing statistical methods for trend identification. Document analysis scrutinized official documents for key program insights. A literature review identified trends in scientific research on Moscow's renovation. GIS mapping visually analyzed urban changes, enhancing spatial understanding. This comprehensive approach combined qualitative and quantitative methods for an objective view of Moscow's renovation programs.

3.3.1. Interviews

The interview component of the research serves as a critical avenue for delving into the nuanced perspectives of key stakeholders involved in or affected by the Renovation program, "My Street," and "My District" initiatives in Moscow. This qualitative approach provides a profound understanding of subjective experiences, opinions, and insights that may elude quantitative methods.

Conducting three types of interviews — experts, administrative representatives, and residents — I embarked on this endeavor from mid-September to early November 2023. The table below [Table 2] shows all the people who were interviewed, except for residents, since information about them was not requested.

<i>No</i>	<i>representatives</i>	<i>description</i>
1	Expert 1	A Visionary Urban Planner, boasting over 11 years of experience in urban planning, brings a wealth of knowledge to the table. With a background in developing master plans for major cities, including Samara and Chelyabinsk, Expert 1 is actively contributing to Moscow's urban renewal efforts. Their dual role as an educator at the Russian Academy of National Economy and as a Senior Analyst in a commercial organization positions them as a key figure bridging academia and practical implementation.

2	Expert 2	The Sociologist's Perspective, a city sociologist and educator, delves into the societal nuances intertwined with urban dynamics. Their role as the author of the Telegram channel "Urbanism as the Meaning of Life" and their contributions to the "Eco-Urbanist" magazine underscore their commitment to disseminating urban knowledge. Expert 2's sociological lens promises to unravel the social
3	Expert 3	Societal Dynamics and Conflict Resolution, with a background in sociology and a focus on the Social Movement Theory, Expert 3 bridges academia and practical experience. Having served as a municipal deputy in the Troitsk urban district, they bring insights into the intersection of urban development and local governance. Their media engagement through "Who's Your City" and extensive city explorations amplify their role as a societal observer and communicator.
4	Expert 4	Practitioner in Public Spaces, a practitioner in the realm of public spaces, brings a hands-on perspective to our exploration. Their involvement in the development and coordination of public space and street projects, particularly in Derbent, showcases their practical understanding of implementation challenges and successes. Expert 4's focus on transportation strategies and city branding adds a practical dimension to our analysis.
5	Expert 5	The Journalistic Lens, a seasoned journalist with experience at "Architectural Digest," offers a unique journalistic lens to our analysis. Through their editorial leadership, they have observed and reported on various facets of urban development. Expert 5's insights promise to shed light on the media's role in shaping public perceptions of Moscow's evolving urban landscape.
6	Deputy 1	Director of the Zuzino District School
7	Deputy 2	District advisor and direct administrator of the renovation program in Zyuzino district

Table 2. List of people interviewed, Source: author's elaboration

Engaging with experts (a total of 5), I utilized diverse channels, from direct contact through publicly available information to recommendations from within their professional networks. As we embark on a comprehensive analysis of expert interviews, the narratives of seasoned professionals in the field of urban development and renovation come to the forefront. These individuals, each with a unique tapestry of experiences and expertise, provide a multifaceted lens through which we can scrutinize the urban transformation endeavors in Moscow.

For administrative representatives, initial outreach involved monitoring social media profiles of deputies and submitting requests for office visits during their designated hours. Subsequently, personal appointments were arranged, including a specially scheduled meeting with a deputy intimately involved in the renovation process in the Zyuzino district.

In our interview with Deputies we gained valuable insights into the intersection of administrative roles and community engagement. One is a municipal deputy in the Zuzino district and the Deputy Director of the Zuzino District School. As a deputy with a dual responsibility, they play a pivotal role in both the governance of the district and the educational sphere, offering a nuanced perspective on the impact of urban renewal initiatives on educational institutions and the local community. Deputy 2's extensive involvement in the youth council of Zyuzino, their role as a public

advisor, and participation in the Moscow City Duma illustrate a dynamic engagement with civic life and involvement in the renovation process of the Zyuzino district.

In approaching residents, various methods were employed. Initial outreach was through announcements in neighborhood Telegram groups, subsequently supplemented by in-person surveys conducted on the streets of the district. Respondents were either volunteers from online communities or individuals encountered during on-site visits. The challenging nature of this approach resulted in approximately 10 comprehensive interviews, capturing diverse perspectives.

These interviews unfolded within a specific timeframe, aligning with the outlined period. The deliberate selection of participants aimed at ensuring diversity in demographics, perspectives, and roles. Structured and semi-structured interview questions tailored to each category of participants were designed to elicit meaningful responses aligned with the research objectives.

Ethical considerations and informed consent were prioritized throughout the process, ensuring participants were well-informed about the research's purpose and their rights. The subsequent data analysis employed qualitative methods, such as thematic coding, to distill meaningful patterns and insights from the rich interview responses.

In summary, the interview component stands as a pivotal element in obtaining context-specific information, contributing significantly to the comprehensive evaluation of Moscow's urban renewal programs.

The interview component is crucial for obtaining rich, context-specific information that contributes to a comprehensive evaluation of the urban renewal programs in Moscow.

3.3.2. Surveys

The survey component of this dissertation systematically aims to gather residents' opinions and perceptions regarding the urban renewal programs under investigation. The objective is to employ survey tools to quantify and analyze resident sentiments, providing meaningful insights into the overall satisfaction and impact of the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs.

In terms of methodology, a survey form was developed on a Russian platform similar to Google Forms, specifically Yandex Surveys. The survey design ensured the privacy of participants, requesting only their experience of living in Moscow without soliciting personal information. Dissemination strategies involved a multi-channel approach, distributing the survey through online platforms, community centers, direct household distribution, and even physical postings in the Zyuzino district.

The survey included a comprehensive set of questions addressing satisfaction levels, perceived benefits, concerns, and suggestions for improvement. The questions were structured to facilitate statistical analysis and interpretation, incorporating both closed-ended and Likert scale questions to allow residents to express their opinions quantitatively.

To maintain the ethical integrity of the research, measures were taken to ensure participant privacy and confidentiality, including the anonymization of survey responses and obtaining informed consent from participants before data collection.

The strategic inclusion of diverse Moscow neighborhoods, such as Danilovsky, Izmailovo, Lyublino, Gol'yanovo, Bogorodskoye, Vostochnoye Izmailovo, Ryazansky, Sokolinaya Gora, Aeroport, Tverskoy, Metrogorodok, Akademicheskyy, and Zyuzino itself, expanded the scope beyond the initial focus on Zyuzino. This expansion aimed not only to corroborate or challenge insights gleaned from interviews but also to explore the resonance of issues and aspirations across various districts.

The survey, disseminated over two months in October and November 2023, garnered 47 responses from participants across different Moscow districts. The dataset, though stochastically obtained, provides a mosaic of perspectives, contributing a unique opportunity to identify commonalities, disparities, and overarching themes transcending individual neighborhoods.

3.3.3. Document Analysis

The methodology incorporates a systematic review of official documents, plans, reports, and laws related to the Renovation program, including a critical analysis of their content to extract key program aspects, themes, and conclusions. The legal framework governing the programs was thoroughly examined, focusing on laws directly associated with renovation programs. Key legislations studied include "On the status of the capital of the Russian Federation," the Moscow Law on guarantees to persons vacating residential premises, the Moscow Law on additional guarantees during housing stock renovation, and Federal Law No. 141-FZ outlining specifics for the renovation of housing stock in Moscow.

Additionally, official websites with authoritative information, such as the Foundation for Renovation and the Mayor of Moscow Sergei Sobyenin's portal, were scrutinized for their content. This comprehensive approach aimed to gather insights from both legislative documents and official program platforms.

Furthermore, the analysis delved into the official renovation project, exploring descriptions, technical details, and graphical information such as maps and visualizations. This examination was crucial for understanding the guarantees, goals, methods, and instruments of the program. The findings from this document analysis were integral to the Case Study section, particularly in the first subsection on Previous research on the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow.

By combining legal examinations, analysis of official websites, and a thorough review of the renovation project, the document analysis method contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the programmatic landscape and forms a crucial part of the research methodology.

3.3.4. Literature Review

In the Literature Review section, the primary tool employed was the study of scientific research and publications focusing on the topic of renovation and urban renewal in Moscow. This involved the systematic analysis and organization of literary sources to uncover common trends and define areas of interest within the research.

Key concepts, definitions, and theoretical frameworks were extensively explored, providing a foundational understanding of the subject. The literature review delved into crucial aspects such as urban renewal, the renovation of housing stock, the improvement of the urban environment, and the dynamics of social, economic, and spatial elements. Concepts like public space, participatory planning theory, gentrification, residential location theory, and housing affordability were thoroughly examined to build a comprehensive theoretical framework.

The exploration extended to case studies, with a dedicated section focusing on previous research on the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow. This part served as a synthesis of literature related to Moscow, these specific programs, and key terminologies associated with the research topic. Historical and current contexts, the evolution of the Moscow renovation program, and classifications of residential buildings slated for demolition were thoroughly covered. The literature review also included an examination of the My Street program, the My District program, public space, gentrification, housing affordability, and the All-Russian renovation law.

Additionally, a significant resource was the book titled 'Landscaping in Renovation: Approaches and Problems' by the Committee on Architecture and Urban Planning of the City of Moscow, GBU

"Main Architectural and Planning Department of Moscow Architecture" (2018). This source provided insights into the fundamentals of landscaping and the transformation of streets, extracting key principles for creating a comfortable environment.

Overall, the Literature Review section employed a multifaceted approach, synthesizing diverse literary sources to establish a robust theoretical foundation and contextual understanding of the research topic.

3.3.5. GIS Mapping

The GIS Mapping component of the methodology played a pivotal role in conducting a comprehensive spatial analysis of changes within the urban environment, with a specific focus on the case study of Zyuzino. In this phase, alongside the collection of statistical data and information pertaining to the district's characteristics, a detailed urban analysis was conducted using Geographic Information Systems (GIS). This involved a meticulous examination of building types, land use, services, and other relevant factors. The GIS tools facilitated an in-depth exploration of building height, construction years, and the district's transportation accessibility, encompassing bus, metro, and tram services.

The application of GIS allowed for the creation of detailed maps that visually portrayed the territorial transformations occurring within Zyuzino. These maps served as valuable tools to elucidate the spatial relationships between different elements, providing a dynamic and comprehensive understanding of the urban fabric. The integration of GIS in the analysis enriched the research by offering a spatial dimension to the examination of the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow, contributing to a more holistic assessment of the urban changes underway.

3.4. Selection of case study neighborhoods

Exploring the local identity of typical districts, often characterized as monotonous and lacking uniqueness, holds significant interest for understanding potential urban planning conflicts. Unveiling the influence of such identity can serve as a foundation for a more adaptable urban planning policy in the realm of mass residential renovation. This approach suggests that involving residents in the design process and working with the local identity of typical districts could effectively regulate urban conflicts.

The process of selecting a neighborhood for this dissertation proved intricate, focusing on one due to resource constraints and deadlines. This decision recognized the physical impossibility of comprehensively covering large urban areas without a team of sociologists and urbanists. To streamline the selection, an analysis of various Moscow districts [Figure 1] was conducted, initially considering the number of buildings in the Renovation program and their geographical distribution.

Six districts [Figure 2] —Horoshevo-Mnevniki, Kuzminki, Severnoye Izmailovo and Izmailovo, Svyiblovo, Zyuzino—were initially identified as potentially interesting. Sviblovo, in the northeastern part of Moscow, was chosen for its residential nature and limited walking access to public spaces. Khoroshevo-Mnevniki, in the northwestern part, offered a mix of modern developments and diverse social backgrounds. Kuzminki, in the southeastern part, presented a combination of residential buildings and limited public space access. Northern Izmaylovo, in the east, displayed a mix of older and newer structures, posing challenges related to public space access. Izmailovo, in the east, showcased a blend of older and newer buildings, creating unique challenges. Zyuzino, in the southwestern part, was selected for its diverse housing options.

Further analysis considered the accessibility of green areas [Figure 3,4], with three districts—Horoshevo-Mnevniki, Kuzminki, and Zyuzino—chosen based on their varied access to green

spaces. Zyuzino, with its green spaces, Soviet-style architecture, and the highest number of inhabited buildings under the Renovation program, emerged as the logical choice.

The selected district, Zyuzino, serves as a microcosm for addressing overarching research questions, exploring the impact of Renovation and beautification programs on the city's social, economic, and spatial dynamics. It also delves into the role of public participation and gathers perspectives from long-time residents, newcomers, and policymakers.

The case study focuses on Zyuzino, aiming to examine specific interventions, assess the role of public participation, analyze diverse experiences, and evaluate program implementation successes and challenges at the neighborhood level. Employing a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of Zyuzino's experiences and broader implications for urban planning and policy-making.



Figure 1. Moscow Map. Source: author's elaboration

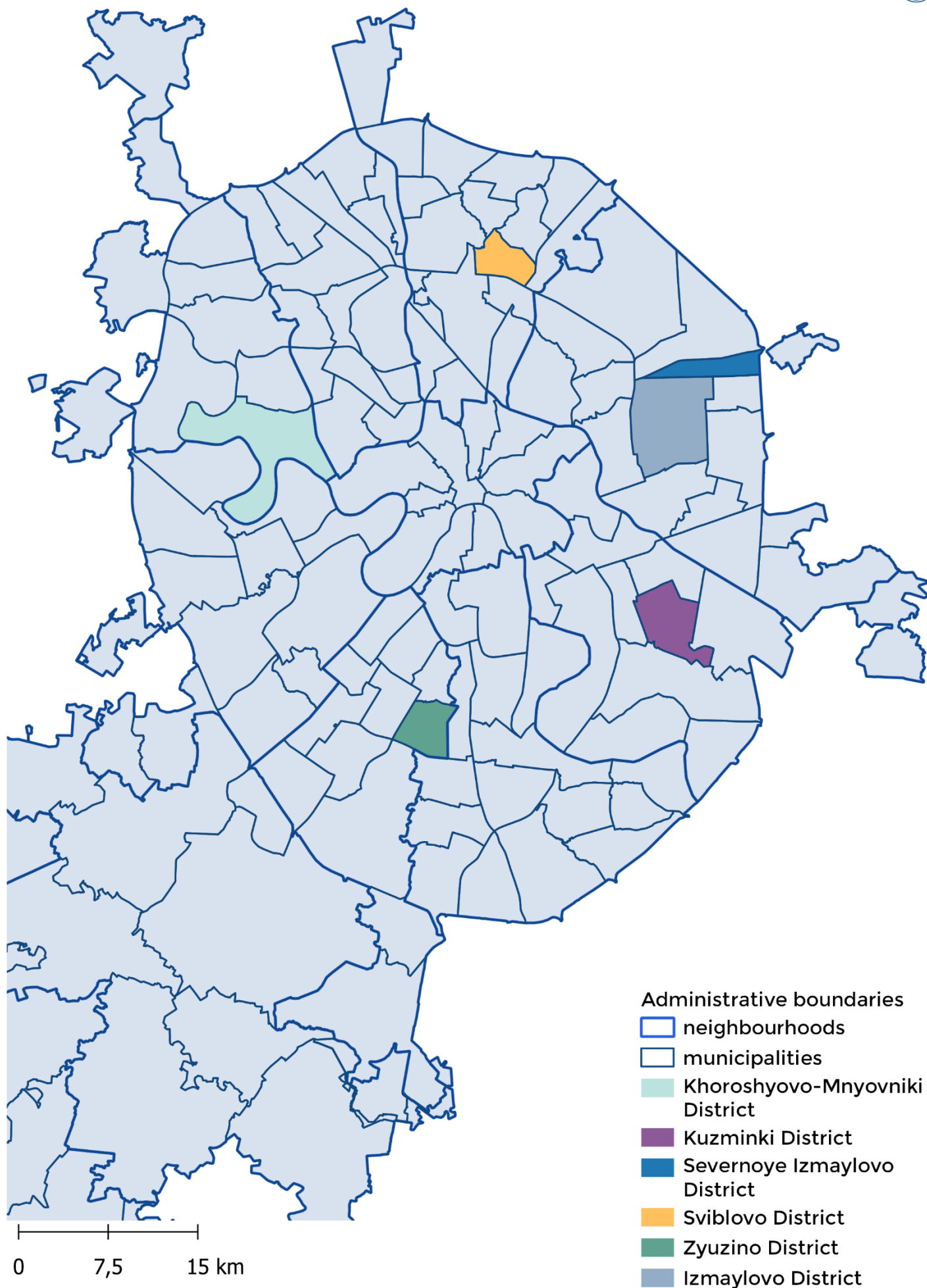


Figure 2. Chosen districts. Source: author's elaboration

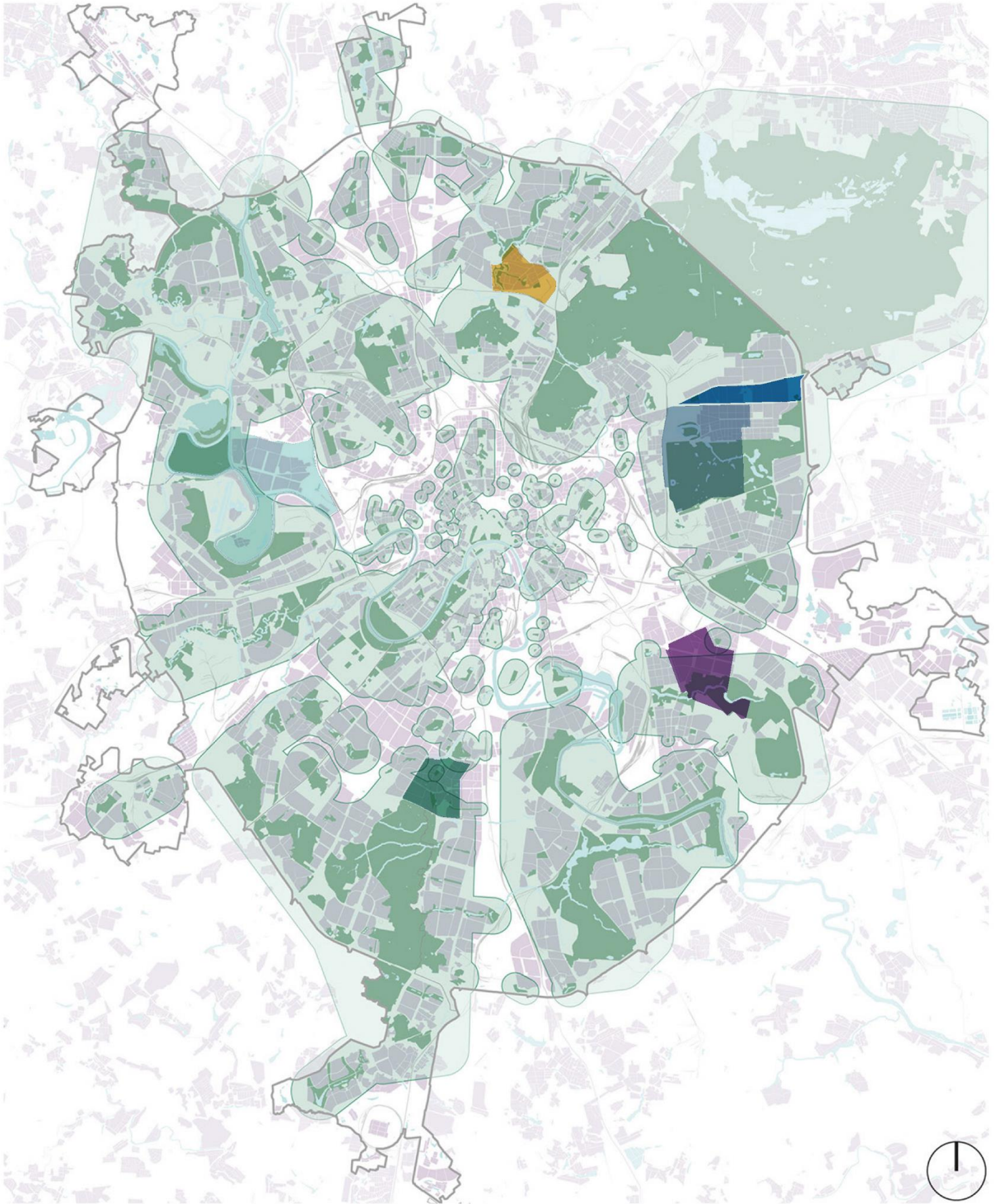




Figure 3. Green areas. Source: author's elaboration

Legend:

-  residential areas
-  public green areas

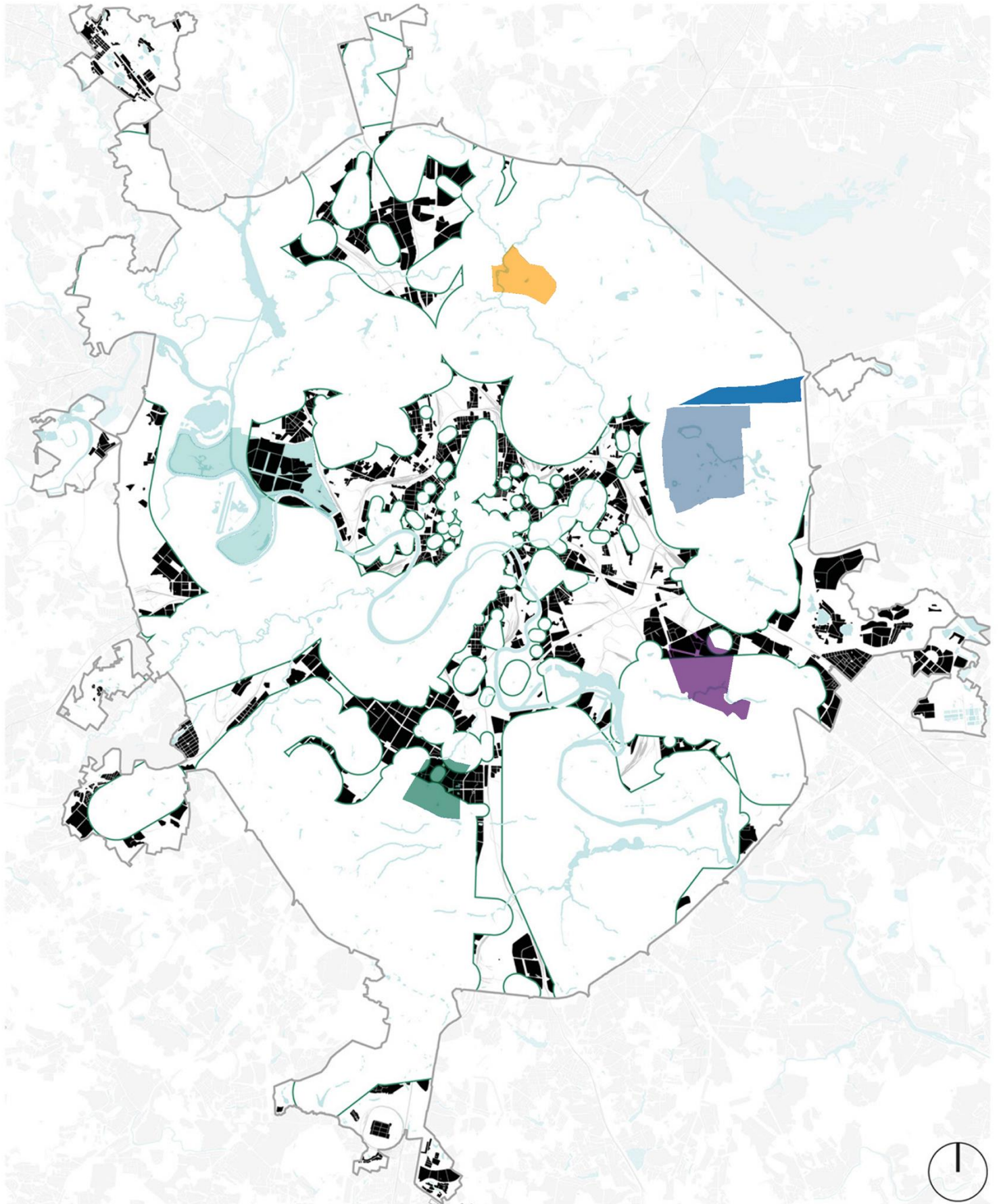




Figure 4. Catching area of green zones. Source: author's elaboration

Legend:

-  residential areas
-  catching area of green zones

3.5. Ethical Questions

In the exploration of Moscow's urban transformation through the Renovation program and My Street and My District improvement initiatives, ethical considerations are paramount in upholding the integrity and well-being of all participants. Ethical principles guide the research process, addressing key questions to establish a framework for responsible conduct.

The principle of participant confidentiality is foundational. To protect personal information, participant data and responses will be coded and anonymized. This measure ensures that individuals' privacy is upheld throughout the research.

Obtaining informed consent is a crucial step in ethical research. Residents, administration representatives, and experts will be fully informed about the research's goals and nature. The consent will be sought, emphasizing transparency and respect for participants' autonomy.

Maintaining transparency in research objectives is imperative. Clear and accessible communication of objectives, methods, and expected outcomes will be provided in notifications and final reports. This transparency serves to build trust among participants and the wider public.

To foster a feedback-oriented approach, participants will receive feedback on the research results. This practice promotes openness and honesty, acknowledging the contributions of participants and ensuring a reciprocal exchange of information.

These ethical considerations collectively establish a framework for conducting research that is ethically sound and responsible. By addressing participant confidentiality, informed consent, transparency of research objectives, and feedback mechanisms, the research endeavors to safeguard the interests and well-being of all involved parties.

3.6. Context and limitations of the study

The research on the "Transformation of Moscow: assessment of urban renewal through the Renovation program and My Street and My District improvement programs" is conducted within a specific context and is subject to certain limitations. These contextual factors and constraints define the scope and boundaries of the study.

Context:

The primary focus of the investigation is within a specific district in Moscow. This targeted approach is influenced by practical considerations, such as the singular researcher involvement and the absence of a team of sociologists to conduct surveys. However, circumstances allowing, the survey questionnaire and interviews with residents may extend to encompass a broader geographical scope, encompassing the entire city of Moscow, based on the participants' preferences and willingness.

Moreover, the Document Analysis component will scrutinize documents that govern policies across the entire city of Moscow, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the overarching urban renewal strategies.

The Comparative Analysis of Renovation Programs and Case Study Analysis will be concentrated within the same specific district in Moscow. This focused approach facilitates a detailed examination of the intricacies within this particular area, providing depth and specificity to the comparative and case study analyses.

Limitations:

Geographic Scope:

- Constraint: The primary survey and interview activities are limited to a specific Moscow district.

- Potential Mitigation: The possibility of broadening the geographic scope for surveys if circumstances permit.

Researcher Capacity:

- Constraint: A single researcher is involved in the study.
- Potential Mitigation: Collaborative efforts with other researchers in the future could expand the research capacity.

Comparative and Case Study Focus:

- Constraint: Comparative Analysis and Case Study Analysis are confined to the same district.
- Rationale: This limitation allows for an in-depth exploration of the specific district, offering valuable insights into localized urban renewal dynamics.

By acknowledging these contextual considerations and limitations, this research aims to provide a thorough examination of urban renewal initiatives within the specified framework, offering valuable insights within the defined scope.

4. Case Study

This section delves into a detailed case study, a vital aspect of our research, focusing on a specific district within Moscow. The aim is to provide a thorough exploration of the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs, dissecting their impacts and intricacies within the unique context of this urban locale. By narrowing our focus to one district, we seek profound insights into how these programs interact with various aspects of the urban environment.

Choosing a specific district is grounded in the belief that scrutinizing a localized context will offer a deeper understanding of how these programs unfold at the neighborhood level. This micro-level analysis allows us to closely examine the social, economic, and spatial dynamics shaping the district's urban landscape, revealing patterns and lessons that might be overlooked when considering the entire city.

Before delving into the selected area, it's essential to analyze prevailing issues in the city that Renovation and beautification programs aim to address.

The lack of public spaces in Moscow is a mounting concern amid rapid urbanization and increased demands for development. The construction of large-scale complexes has replaced parks and squares, impacting social interaction and leisure. This imbalance in resource distribution affects neighborhoods differently, emphasizing the pressing need for public space development. Efforts have been made, but challenges like high land costs and prioritizing other forms of development persist, requiring a collaborative, multifaceted approach.

Turning to the issue of living space shortage and housing stock renovation, the construction boom has aimed to address housing needs but presents challenges. The increasing population density strains public infrastructure, impacting transportation, healthcare, and education. Additionally, the construction often replaces public spaces with private amenities, eroding communal areas. Displacement of existing communities, particularly in lower-income neighborhoods, is a consequence of rising property values, contributing to gentrification.

The motivations behind the housing stock issue can be categorized into demographic, economic, and political factors. The city's growing population demands new housing, driven by a thriving economy that incentivizes large-scale real estate projects. Political initiatives, including tax breaks and simplified permitting, further encourage developers to address the housing shortage.

In summary, these urban challenges require a comprehensive understanding and collaborative efforts from urban planners, policymakers, and citizens to shape sustainable, inclusive urban environments.

4.1. Previous research on the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow

4.1.1. Historical and current context

Exploring the urban landscape of Moscow involves delving into its historical and legal dimensions, providing a holistic foundation for understanding contemporary challenges and facilitating informed decision-making. This encompasses a thorough analysis of the city's evolution, past initiatives, and existing norms, essential for robust urban studies.

In this context, the article "Main Stages of Modern Urban Development in Moscow" by Suptelo Natalia Petrovna offers valuable insights. Spanning from the 1950s to the present, it chronicles Moscow's transformation in response to economic, social, and political shifts. The initial phase witnessed rapid industrialization, marked by extensive construction to accommodate a growing population and enhance infrastructure.

Subsequent stages reflected a shift towards preserving cultural heritage in the 1970s and 1980s, emphasizing the restoration of historical landmarks. The 1990s marked a period of urban renewal post the Soviet Union's collapse, focusing on modernizing infrastructure and renovating old buildings.

Suptelo's article also introduces two significant programs related to Moscow's urban development. The Comprehensive Reconstruction of Five-Storey Building Areas (1996-2010) aimed to enhance living conditions by replacing old buildings with modern ones. The renovation program, a focal point in this dissertation, generated mixed reactions among residents, showcasing the complex dynamics of urban change.

Today, Moscow's renovation program stands as the world's largest urban renewal project, lacking precedent in Russia. The absence of a scientific base and established mechanisms for such massive undertakings underscores the novel nature of this initiative.

Reflecting on Moscow's housing history, the Soviet era witnessed diverse developments. "Stalinkas," constructed from the 1930s to the 1950s, epitomized grandeur and ornate design for party officials. Communal apartments and dormitories were common for citizens, illustrating varied housing types.

The 1950s and 1960s ushered in "Khrushchevki," addressing housing shortages with quick construction. Despite architectural simplicity, they significantly improved living conditions, showcasing the impact of affordable housing.

These housing shifts introduced the microdistrict concept, employing the "matryoshka principle" for planning. Daily, periodic, and episodic needs shaped microdistricts, emphasizing accessibility to essential services.

In the 1970s and 1980s, "Brezhnevks" emerged to meet demands for spacious apartments, constructed on the city's outskirts. These developments mirrored evolving societal needs, showcasing Moscow's dynamic urban evolution.

In essence, the city's housing history reflects a continuous adaptation to economic, demographic, and cultural shifts, with each era leaving a distinct imprint on Moscow's urban fabric.

4.1.2. The first renovation of the Moscow housing stock

In the late 1990s, Moscow initiated its first housing renovation program under the guidance of then-Mayor Yuri Luzhkov. This ambitious endeavor sought to enhance the living conditions of city residents by addressing the deteriorating and outdated housing stock, a legacy of the Soviet era. The core objective involved the replacement of aging structures with modern apartment buildings through a process of systematic demolition and reconstruction.

Specifically targeting the five-story panel buildings from the initial period of industrial housing construction (1957-1968), the program sought to eliminate structures with a service life of 25-50 years. Operational from 1994 to 2000, the initiative faced obstacles during the 1998 economic crisis. In parallel, the Russian government implemented a focused program to modernize panel houses, emphasizing the reconstruction of buildings based on typical series and construction materials.

The execution of the program posed logistical challenges, particularly regarding the relocation of residents within the same administrative district. Legal disputes arose, prompting amendments to the law on resident guarantees in 2004. Residents were now protected from being relocated outside their administrative district and were given options such as choosing a new apartment, paying for additional space, or receiving monetary compensation. The renovation process continued by ensuring residents were moved to apartments of similar size.

By 2000, the program had met its planned targets, surpassing expectations in 2006 and 2007. However, issues surfaced as the buildings slated for demolition deteriorated rapidly due to neglect since 1995, compounded by a shortage of land for new construction. The year 2009 marked 70% completion, with the Central and Southern districts fully renovated. Investor withdrawals and complications in land acquisition, attributed to amendments in the Land Code, were exacerbated by the 2008-2010 financial crisis.

As of the end of 2018, 81 structures awaited demolition, marking the final phase of the program in Moscow. Successful completion was achieved in the Central, Northern, Eastern, Southeastern, Southern, Northwestern districts, and Zelenograd, marking a significant chapter in the city's ongoing urban development.

4.1.3. Moscow renovation program

«The housing renovation program in Moscow is a large-scale project aimed at improving people's living conditions and creating a comfortable, safe and friendly living environment. Thanks to the Renovation Program, the living conditions of many Muscovites will improve. They will not just move to new apartments of a larger area, but will also receive a completely new living environment — courtyards without cars, children's playgrounds and sports grounds, convenient parking lots, landscaped squares, boulevards and parks. » [GBU "Main Architectural and Planning Department of Moscow Architecture", 2018, p.8]

To start our exploration, let's delve into the official Renovation program website, where we encounter the following insights:

The Renovation initiative encompasses structures dating back to the initial era of industrial housing construction, specifically those built using standardized designs between 1957 and 1968, as well as those akin to them concerning structural attributes.

At present, a substantial segment of these edifices has attained a notable level of both moral and physical deterioration, exacerbated by the impracticality of conducting comprehensive repairs.

Upon thorough examination of load-bearing elements, non-load-bearing components, engineering systems, and equipment, a discernible trend emerges—the technical state of these buildings exhibits a diminishing load-bearing capacity and operational efficacy of their structural components. It becomes apparent that undertaking any repair endeavors would fail to instigate substantive technical transformations or enhance the living conditions of residents while adhering to safety protocols. Predictably, continued operation of such structures will render them unsuitable for habitation within the forthcoming decade to fifteen years.

The Renovation agenda, ratified until the year 2032, aspires to breathe new life into the housing inventory, thwarting the proliferation of emergency dwellings across the capital. This comprehensive initiative not only promises a qualitative enhancement of the urban landscape but also envisions the creation of comfortable, aesthetically pleasing quarters. By methodically and efficiently orchestrating territorial layouts, the program anticipates an elevation in the accessibility of crucial infrastructural facilities. In essence, these initiatives seek to mold a contemporary architectural identity for the city [Program's official website].

From an economic standpoint, renovation is an investment project that involves a combination of practical actions such as design, expertise, construction, and other works aimed at renovating the housing stock and solving socio-economic issues related to efficient housing management. [Prokhorova, 2019]

In July 2017, President Vladimir Putin signed amendments to the law "On the Status of the Capital of the Russian Federation," establishing the legal relationship features for the purpose of renovating the housing stock. The text of this law was adopted by the State Duma in the third

(final) reading on June 14, 2017, and approved by the Federation Council on June 28 of the same year. It is worth noting that after the first reading, the renovation bill underwent significant revision. Over 130 amendments were made by deputies and the government during the second main reading, most of which were adopted. In addition, important amendments were developed and adopted after parliamentary hearings on renovation, in which residents of buildings covered by the program participated.

According to this law, the renovation of the housing stock in Moscow (renovation) is a set of measures carried out in accordance with the renovation program in the city of Moscow, aimed at renewing the living environment and creating favorable living conditions for citizens, maintaining public order, preventing the growth of emergency housing stock in Moscow, ensuring the development of residential areas and their improvement. The law defines renovation exclusively as the demolition of residential buildings that do not meet certain requirements and the resettlement of residents in new homes, while in the general sense, renovation means the continuous improvement of living conditions. At different stages of a building's life, renovation can involve repair, major repair, modernization, reconstruction, or demolition.

The final list of buildings to be demolished in Moscow, approved and posted on the official website of the Mayor of Moscow on October 3, 2017, included 5,175 buildings. This represents more than 350,000 apartments, currently housing around 1 million people. The renovation program in Moscow is planned to continue until 2032.

As we've explored the 'Moscow Renovation Program,' we've gained insight into the ambitious urban development initiatives aimed at transforming the city's residential areas. This program, as we've seen, encompasses various strategies and considerations for enhancing living conditions and urban infrastructure.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the legal underpinnings of this program, we now turn our attention to 'The Main Provisions of the Law on Renovation in Moscow.' By examining these legal provisions, we can better appreciate the mechanisms through which the renovation program is executed and its implications for residents and urban development in Moscow.

The main provisions of the law on renovation in Moscow

Modern cities face the challenge of abandoned areas, aging housing stock, and worn-out urban infrastructure, necessitating the development of tools for the advancement of already built-up territories. Among them are methods such as reconstruction, restoration, revitalization, and redevelopment. Distinguishing a clear boundary between these approaches can be challenging, but they can be broadly summarized under the term "renovation."

It's important to note that in Russia, the term "renovation" has two definitions: a scientific one and a colloquial one used in urban planning practice, particularly in connection with specific political projects. In everyday practice, the term "renovation" is most commonly applied to projects involving the mass reconstruction of typical Soviet housing, the first mass series. Currently, there is no precise definition of "renovation" in the Urban Planning Code, but generally, it is understood as the process of renewing a territory with the aim of improving the quality of life on it.

In Russia, the term "renovation" is closely associated with the renewal of the housing stock, particularly Soviet microdistricts. In Moscow, a series of programs for the renovation of the housing stock has been developed, where the main tool for working with such areas is demolition followed by compensatory construction and increased building density. The programs were created to improve living conditions for citizens, prevent the growth of emergency housing, and qualitatively renew the urban environment, among other objectives.

The process of demolishing buildings and subsequent construction of new ones is an expensive undertaking. Additionally, Soviet microdistricts are located close to the city center and have a high cost of land. Therefore, renovation becomes economically viable only with a significant increase

in construction volumes, which can significantly degrade the quality of the living environment and comfort in surrounding areas. It also places a considerable burden on transportation, engineering, and social infrastructure.

On July 1, 2017, Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin signed amendments to the law "On the Status of the Capital of the Russian Federation," addressing specific legal aspects related to the renovation of the housing stock [Federal Law No. 141-FZ of July 1, 2017]. This law was approved by the State Duma on June 14, 2017, in the third (final) reading and endorsed by the Federation Council on June 28 of the same year. It is noteworthy that the renovation bill underwent significant revisions after its initial reading.

These are the main provisions of the law on renovation in Moscow:

- The law on renovation in Moscow entails the demolition of buildings from the first period of industrial construction that have similar characteristics to those that will be renovated, and in which two-thirds of the owners and tenants have voted for their inclusion in the renovation program. It is not possible to challenge this decision in court, and owners and tenants can only dispute the size of the premises offered or the amount of monetary compensation.
- The area designated for the construction of new housing is ensured with various infrastructure facilities in accordance with territorial planning documents, urban planning standards, and other requirements. The preparation of documentation for the planning of the area is carried out without taking into account previously approved documentation.
- In cases where changes to the types of permitted use provided in the current documentation are required to implement the renovation program, the preparation of documentation for the planning of the area is carried out simultaneously with the preparation of changes to be made to land use and development regulations.
- Owners and tenants of residential premises are provided with equivalent housing or equivalent compensation in cash. An equivalent housing unit is considered to be a unit in which the number of rooms and living space is not less than the original, and the total area of such a unit exceeds the total area of the vacated residential unit. The unit also meets the standards of improvement and has enhanced finishing in accordance with the requirements of the regulatory legal acts of the city of Moscow. The unit is located in a multi-apartment building in the same district of Moscow, with some exceptions.
- The provided housing unit is granted with the same rights and restrictions as the original property owner/tenant, and a separate apartment is provided in exchange for a room in a communal apartment.
- Owners of residential premises are exempt from paying contributions for the capital repair of common property in a multi-apartment building from the date of its approval in the renovation program.
- Additional payment is provided by written request for the purchase of a larger unit or one with more rooms, while in other cases, no additional payment is provided.

Let's take a closer look at the text of the renovation law. It specifically states that adjustments to the rules of land use and development can be made as necessary for the types of permitted use of capital construction objects and land plots, as well as for the maximum parameters of permitted construction. Given these conditions, it is logical to conclude that there will be insufficient insulation, inadequate distance between new buildings, and as a result, insufficient greenery. As a result, the program aimed at creating favorable living conditions for citizens will have a reverse effect. According to the legislation, such housing will meet the landscaping standards set for the city of Moscow, but the standards themselves will be lower.

In addition to the criteria of the number of rooms and living space, the cost of the provided housing must also be taken into account to determine its "equivalence" to the property being vacated. The cost of the housing is determined according to the rules established in part 7 of Article 32 of the Housing Code of the Russian Federation, based on the purchase price [introduced by Federal Law No.141-FZ of 01.07.2017].

The purchase price includes the market value of the housing, as well as all losses incurred by the property owner due to its expropriation, including losses incurred in connection with changing the place of residence, temporary use of other housing before acquiring another property, moving, searching for another property to acquire ownership rights, formalizing ownership of another property, and terminating obligations to third parties prematurely, including lost profits.

At the same time, since the approval of the law on renovation, some additional provisions have been introduced. The Moscow Renovation Fund was established to support the renewal of the living environment and create favorable conditions for citizens' living, prevent the growth of emergency housing stock, and develop residential areas and their improvement. The fund is financed through its own funds, the Moscow city budget, and other sources in accordance with Russian legislation. In March 2019, new amendments (Resolution of the Government of Moscow dated March 11, 2019 No. 174-PP) were approved that allowed the Fund, with the owner's consent, to transfer ownership of a smaller residential area in exchange for the previously owned property, with an additional payment according to the market price per square meter. The Fund could also relocate owners to other areas with their consent. These amendments caused some social tension among property owners subject to renovation, who framed pressure from the Fund to accept decisions regarding relocation to other areas or smaller apartments [Prokhorova, 2019].

4.1.4 Classification of residential buildings to be demolished

Elena Alexandrovna Prokhorova, in her 2019 article on the implementation of Moscow's renovation program, delves into the classification process of residential buildings earmarked for demolition. The criteria considered include technical condition, storey count, apartment numbers, and the level of social infrastructure in the vicinity.

The study reveals that the selection criteria hinge on a detailed analysis of building characteristics within the program. Notably, a majority of the slated buildings are brick constructions rather than panel structures. Moreover, all the buildings in the analyzed list fall under the second class of capital, boasting a minimum service life of 125 years. Despite having half their service life remaining, the program mandates their demolition, posing challenges for authorities and occupants who could potentially extend the buildings' lifespan through timely repairs.

Regular maintenance, including current, selective, and complex repairs, emerges as a viable means to sustain the housing stock and prolong its existence. However, the implementation of the renovation program disregards this, leading to a looming shortage of living space in Moscow and complicating matters for both authorities and citizens.

The article critiques the absence of an economic justification for the chosen renovation method and emphasizes the oversight of not conducting surveys to assess the current structural condition accurately. This omission raises questions about the necessity of such drastic measures.

Special attention is given to the iconic "Khrushchevki," five-story residential buildings with a common misconception regarding their construction material. Initially built with brick, a switch to reinforced concrete panels occurred in the 1960s. Despite this, they present outdated planning, low ceilings, small kitchens, weak internal wall insulation, and a lack of essential amenities, rendering them unsuitable for contemporary living standards. Originally intended for temporary housing post-World War II, these structures exhibit design flaws, structural defects, and a dearth of modern comforts, making their inclusion in the renovation program a critical aspect of Moscow's urban transformation.

4.1.5. Improvement of the urban environment. Blagoustroistvo. My Street program and My District program

If we go back to the book "Landscaping in renovation. Approaches and problems" / by order of the Committee on Architecture and Urban Planning of the City of Moscow, it gives an understanding of the principles of forming a comfortable living environment.

The principles of creating a comfortable living environment in the areas undergoing renovation reflect a comprehensive approach to organizing modern residential quarters that reshape the city's image:

- Delicate integration into the existing environment: taking into account the context of the existing buildings, established transportation and pedestrian links, social infrastructure, and attractions. Organic connection and interaction with preserved areas of development.
- Unified architectural image: creating human-scale volumetric and spatial solutions. Embracing diversity in types of residential buildings, silhouettes, floor levels, and façade designs. Ensuring proper insolation for neighboring and preserved buildings.
- Optimization of land use: organizing the district's structure by defining residential units, including groups of multi-apartment residential buildings and private areas. Delineating private and public spaces, as well as areas for preserving existing development.
- Creation of quality open spaces: permeability of the residential environment, establishing convenient green pedestrian connections within the quarters, and improving public spaces such as streets, squares, parks, and boulevards.
- Well-considered greening strategy: reconstructing existing greenery, including the protection of preserved vegetation, planning and sanitary pruning, and transplantation of greenery. Creating a new greening system that considers the new functional-planning and landscape structure of the area, along with developing optimal greening approaches for each section.
- Convenient placement of social infrastructure: ensuring an adequate number of kindergartens, schools, clinics, and other social infrastructure facilities within walking distance for residents. Locating commercial and everyday service facilities on the ground floors of residential buildings, along streets, and within the inner passages. Providing pedestrian accessibility within the quarters to children's and sports playgrounds, parking areas, and dog walking zones.
- Convenient placement of transportation infrastructure: increasing the density of the road network and allocating a portion of the territory to inner passages within the quarters. Clearing courtyards from traffic and transit. Organizing parking spaces for cars on the inner passages, as well as multi-level or underground parking lots.
- Comfortable urban streets and service facilities: locating everyday service facilities on the ground floors of residential buildings with entrances at street level, and positioning standalone service facilities within the boundaries of the quarter.
- Barrier-free use and accessibility of the environment: creating conditions to ensure physical, spatial, and informational accessibility to facilities of various purposes. Establishing a barrier-free environment throughout the territory, ensuring safe movement, comfort, and the ability for all population groups, including people with disabilities, to independently engage in essential activities (such as sports, shopping, attending schools, kindergartens, and cultural centers).

We will revert back to these principles as starting points for analyzing the implementation of programs, the outcomes of urban fabric transformation, and other spheres.

The My Street Program (Program Moya Ulitsa) is a separate initiative launched by the Moscow city government in 2015. The project has involved the renovation and beautification of many public spaces in Moscow. Its goal is to improve the quality of public spaces in Moscow, such as streets, squares, and parks, and to make them more attractive, functional, and comfortable for residents and visitors. The program includes a range of measures, such as repairing sidewalks and roads,

installing new lighting and street furniture, and creating new green spaces and pedestrian zones, bike paths, and public parks, as well as the renovation of historic buildings and monuments. The project has helped to make the city more livable and attractive for residents and visitors alike.

The article "My Street: Moscow is getting a makeover, and the rest of Russia is next" [2018] by Michał Murawski, published in The Calvert Journal, explores the ambitious urban regeneration project in Moscow called My Street, which aims to transform the city's public spaces into more attractive, user-friendly and accessible places for citizens. The project, launched in 2015, covers more than 50 streets and public spaces in the city centre and involves a range of interventions, from repaving sidewalks and installing new lighting to redesigning squares and adding public amenities such as benches, bike racks and kiosks.

«Blagouostroistvo is an untranslatable Russian word referring to the improvement (and/or beautification) of public services or infrastructure. Despite this mundane meaning, its etymology is quite grandiose — literally, blagouostroistvo means something like the arrangement, provision or construction (ustroistvo) of a blessing (blago). » [Murawski, 2018]

The concept of blagouostroistvo originated from the campaigns for the improvement of welfare in the Russian countryside after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. The word was transplanted to the city with the modernization campaigns of late Tsarist Russia, and the first official commissions for blagouostroistvo were established in Moscow and St Petersburg in the 1910s. During the Stalin years, blagouostroistvo was used as a tool to achieve a pure society by removing dirt and disorder not only from the streets but also from citizens' souls.

Moscow was in the midst of a blagouostroistvo campaign, which is arguably the most important transformation of its center since Stalin's time. The campaign began in 2012 when Vladimir Putin announced the foundation of a brand new park, Zaryadye, on the site of a demolished Khrushchev-era hotel adjacent to the Kremlin, Red Square, and St Basil's Cathedral. Strelka Institute for Media, Architecture and Design played a significant role in this transformation. In 2009, Strelka was founded with the task of training a new interdisciplinary generation of architects, designers, critical theorists, and tech gurus. Strelka's consulting operation was separated from its educational and publishing wings and registered as a separate company, Strelka KB, in 2013.

The Moscow city government spent over 15% of the municipal budget on blagouostroistvo in 2016 and 2017. Moscow is undergoing the most uncompromising reconstruction of its inner and outer peripheries since Khrushchev's mass housing campaign. The blagouostroistvo campaign is being conducted on a scale, zeal, and extravagance that is unprecedented in Russia's modern history.

The renovations included the replacement of old asphalt with new, high-quality pavement, the installation of new benches, streetlights, and trash cans, and the planting of trees and flowers.

However, the campaign did not escape criticism. The main point of contention was the quality of the work performed. Many publications and bloggers raised this issue in the online space, discussing it extensively [Ilya Varlamov, MOSLENTA, Novostroy, etc]. A distinctive feature was that in some areas, the work was done with high quality. Streets paved with tiles two or three years ago remain in almost perfect condition. However, in most cases, the quality of the work requires improvement.

Criticism has also been directed at the repairs being conducted without prior consultations with local residents and communities, and that the introduced improvements do not always align with the actual needs of the communities. Additionally, it has been mentioned that people are annoyed by the inconveniences arising during the works, and some express dissatisfaction that the city center is being beautified rather than the outskirts [MOSLENTA].

Despite these criticisms, the "My Street" campaign was largely seen as a success, and it contributed to a significant improvement in the city's public spaces and infrastructure. The

campaign has also inspired similar urban improvement programs in other Russian cities, and it has become a symbol of the country's growing focus on urban development and modernization.

The article [Murawski, 2018] also discusses the wider impact of the My Street program on urban development in Russia, with other cities in the country now looking to Moscow as a model for urban renewal. The author notes that the program has been successful in improving the physical environment of the city, but questions whether it will lead to broader social and economic changes in Moscow and beyond.

I would also like to note that it is impossible to assume that the My Street program ended its existence in 2018. After it, one more initiative program appeared. "My District" is the separate program aimed at improving the quality of life in residential areas, so it has different focuses and approaches.

So, "My Street" is a program that focuses specifically on improving the quality of urban streets and squares. It aims to create attractive and safe public spaces that promote social interaction and enhance the aesthetic appeal of the city.

The continuation of the "My Street" initiative is the "My District" program. Covering each of the 146 districts and settlements in Moscow, it not only aims at improving overall well-being but also focuses on the comprehensive development of infrastructure. At the same time, special attention is given to preserving iconic landmarks that make each district recognizable and unique [ecomoscow.rbc.ru]. "My District" is a program that aims to improve the overall livability of neighborhoods by addressing a range of issues, such as infrastructure, transport, social services, and public spaces.

Thanks to the "My District" program, launched in 2019, the neighborhoods of Moscow situated farther from the city center have become more comfortable for their residents. One of the initial successful projects was the transformation of Kapotnya, where a cozy park with walking paths, picnic areas, and scenic viewpoints along the river emerged. New pedestrian and bicycle routes connected it to the 850th Anniversary Park of Moscow, establishing convenient infrastructure for active leisure [ag.mos.ru].

The program's top priorities were determined through the votes of engaged citizens, who favored the creation or enhancement of central district areas—parks, squares, plazas, and waterfronts. There was also a desire to include the improvement of school courtyards, clinic areas, and cultural institutions in the program across all Moscow districts.

The "My District" program goes beyond mere beautification; its objective is to ensure the comprehensive development of Moscow's residential areas. Analyzing the needs of residents in each district led to the formulation of the initial program version, encompassing crucial and urgent measures [sobyanin.ru].

Recognizing that the concept of ideal beautification is not one-size-fits-all but often comprises individual preferences, the "My District" program will remain open to updates and additions. It aims to incorporate the opinions and requests of Moscow residents to create the most comfortable living environment possible.

These programs do not end, they pass into each other and merge. While these programs have different focuses, they can all be considered as part of an overarching effort to improve the quality of life in residential areas.

4.1.6. Public space

Public spaces, integral components of the urban fabric, historically shape cities, emphasizing their dynamic and sociocultural roles. Sergazy and Samoilov [2020] discuss various public spaces—squares, parks, streets—each serving diverse functions like leisure, transportation, and event

hosting. Understanding these functions is crucial for effective design. Notable public space categories include urban parks, streets, cultural venues, commercial spaces, and civic areas, each contributing uniquely to the urban landscape.

Many global cities, including Moscow, grapple with the challenge of developing new residential areas without adequate provision for public spaces. This imbalance, favoring residential or commercial zones over public amenities, disrupts the urban environment. Public spaces, pivotal for a vibrant and livable city, foster social interaction, recreation, and community bonds. In Moscow, with its high residential density, such spaces play a crucial role in providing residents gathering spots and social outlets.

Addressing this issue requires prioritizing public space creation in new residential zones. City planners must emphasize parks, playgrounds, community centers, and cultural amenities, ensuring inclusivity. By doing so, Moscow can nurture a balanced, healthy, and inclusive urban environment.

Blagouostroistvo, closely tied to public space, aims to enhance its quality, attractiveness, and functionality. It involves landscaping, installing amenities, and improving accessibility and safety measures. Recognizing the role of public spaces in fostering well-being, Blagouostroistvo creates environments conducive to various activities, from leisure to civic engagements.

Examining the interaction between public space and the Moscow renovation program, the book "Landscaping in renovation. Approaches and problems" [by order of the Committee on Architecture and Urban Planning of the City of Moscow] indicates that the program extends beyond improving living conditions to creating a modern, high-quality urban environment. The initiative enhances planning organization, forming a network of public spaces like boulevards and recreational areas, improving accessibility to essential infrastructure in residential areas.

In this context, the book suggests solutions for functional planning and landscape organization in residential areas. It identifies public spaces near transport hubs, socially significant objects, yard territories, urban parks, squares, streets, and sidewalks as key types. Each type has specific recommendations, ensuring a comprehensive approach to enhancing public spaces in the evolving urban landscape.

4.1.7. Gentrification

Delving into the intricate phenomenon of gentrification, our exploration begins with a broad understanding, laying the foundation for a more detailed examination within the distinctive context of Moscow. The dissertation titled "Transformation of Moscow: Assessment of Urban Renewal through the Renovation Program and My Street and My District Improvement Programs" serves as the guiding framework, steering our focus from the general discourse on gentrification to a nuanced exploration of its manifestations in Moscow.

The roots of gentrification in Moscow can be traced back to the early 2000s, when the city gained momentum along with economic growth and Urban Development. However, by the mid-2000s gentrification became more widespread and noticeable, facilitated by large-scale urban renovation projects, such as a renovation program that transformed the cityscape through the reconstruction of old neighborhoods.

Over the past 15 years, Moscow has witnessed a substantial acceleration in the gentrification process. Urban renewal initiatives, notably the renovation program, have transformed working-class and industrial neighborhoods. New residential and commercial developments have emerged, accompanied by a significant surge in property values. While this has brought positive changes, concerns linger regarding the displacement of longstanding residents and the potential loss of historical and cultural landmarks.

In addition to physical metamorphoses, gentrification touched the social structure of Moscow. The influx of wealthy and cosmopolitan residents has created new cultural and social spaces — art galleries, cafes and restaurants that make the city more diverse and cosmopolitan. However, this transformation did not go smoothly and led to tensions and conflicts between different social groups.

Reflecting on this 15-year trajectory, we can say that the gentrification of Moscow led to significant changes in the physical, social and cultural landscape of the city. While the creation of new public spaces and opportunities has been commendable, social inequalities have raised concerns about preserving culture and relocating communities rooted in the city's history.

Building on our exploration of gentrification's historical roots and contributors, from Ruth Glass's seminal observations to contemporary perspectives, our journey leads us to 'Gentrification Theory.' This theoretical framework becomes our lens for critically analyzing the intricate forces propelling gentrification in the global urban context. Employing this theory, our aim is to uncover the underlying drivers, including shifts in property values and the displacement of vulnerable communities. This lens sheds light on the complex interplay between urban transformation and social equity, particularly in the context of Moscow's Renovation, My Street, and My District programs.

Gentrification theory, as a conceptual framework, offers insights into the urban transformation process, especially in inner-city neighborhoods experiencing an influx of wealthier residents and alterations in the built environment. This framework becomes instrumental in comprehending the multifaceted dynamics of urban transformation, economic shifts, and social disparities accompanying the gentrification process, providing valuable perspectives for discussions on urban planning, housing policy, and community development.

In Marieke Krijnen's article "Gentrification and the Creation and Formation of Rent Gaps: Opening Up Gentrification Theory to Global Forces of Urban Change" [2018], the exploration of gentrification theory extends to encompass global forces shaping urban landscapes. The article moves beyond conventional perspectives, integrating global dynamics into the analysis to emphasize the intricate interplay between local and global influences, shedding light on the complexities of contemporary urban change.

Gentrification, a phenomenon with dual impacts, unfolds as a complex urban process. On the positive spectrum, it triggers economic revitalization, infrastructural enhancements, augmented property values, and an improved quality of life for certain residents. However, the flip side reveals potential consequences such as the displacement of long-term inhabitants, the erosion of affordable housing, cultural shifts, and social tensions.

Critiques and debates surrounding gentrification theory abound. Opponents argue that it fuels social inequality, segregation, and the erosion of community identity, while proponents contend it ushers in positive transformations, job opportunities, and increased tax revenues. Central to these debates are concerns about housing affordability, social justice, and the role of government policies in managing gentrification processes [Lees, L., 2008].

Examining Moscow through the lens of gentrification theory, certain programs, such as the renovation initiative, emerge as potential catalysts for gentrification. These programs inject substantial investments into neglected areas, triggering a surge in property values and attracting higher-income residents and real estate developers, potentially leading to the displacement of lower-income, long-term inhabitants.

Moreover, the creation and enhancement of public spaces within these programs contribute to the gentrification process. The improvement of parks, plazas, and pedestrian zones heightens the appeal of neighborhoods, luring affluent residents and businesses. This transformation, while enhancing the aesthetics, also raises concerns about potential exclusion or marginalization of existing communities.

A critical assessment of the impacts of these programs on gentrification, public space, and housing affordability becomes imperative. This dissertation seeks to unravel the intricate relationship between these programs and the underlying mechanisms of gentrification theory. It aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how these initiatives shape urban transformation in Moscow, delving into the social, economic, and spatial dynamics, considering factors such as property value shifts, socio-demographic changes, and community responses.

An anonymous thesis on gentrification in Moscow, available at gentrificationinmoscow.wordpress.com, scrutinizes spatial practices contributing to the exclusion of marginalized communities. The author contends that Moscow's renovation and beautification initiatives, like the My Street program, have inadvertently marginalized low-income residents. While striving to enhance the urban environment, these programs have often prioritized the interests of wealthier residents and commercial enterprises, leading to the exclusion of vulnerable communities.

The thesis underscores several key points:

1. **Spatial Exclusion:** Renovation initiatives have spatially excluded marginalized communities, catering primarily to the preferences of affluent groups and displacing lower-income residents.
2. **Loss of Affordable Housing:** Gentrification in Moscow has diminished affordable housing options, exacerbating social inequalities and compelling vulnerable populations to relocate to the city's outskirts or suburbs.
3. **Commercialization and Privatization of Public Spaces:** Gentrification has led to the commercialization and privatization of public spaces, limiting accessibility for lower-income groups.
4. **Displacement and Social Segregation:** Moscow's gentrification processes have spurred social segregation, concentrating wealthier residents in renovated areas while marginalized communities are pushed to the city's peripheries, fragmenting communities and eroding social cohesion.

By examining the spatial triad model developed by Lefebvre and considering the mechanisms of exclusion and othering in gentrifying neighborhoods, we can analyze how the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow contribute to these processes.

The spatial triad model allows us to understand the production of space and its social implications in gentrifying neighborhoods. In the context of Moscow, the programs involve the physical transformation of the urban fabric, including the redevelopment of residential areas and the redesign of public spaces. These spatial practices are driven by representations of space, which may be influenced by the dominant ideologies, interests, and visions of urban development.

The renovation program in Moscow aims to modernize and improve the quality of housing stock by demolishing older residential buildings and replacing them with new residential complexes. This process of physical displacement can lead to direct displacement of long-term residents, as well as exclusionary displacement, where potential residents are prevented from moving into the area due to unaffordable prices or abandonment. The creation of new residential complexes in the context of gentrification often caters to a wealthier demographic, contributing to social polarization and the concentration of wealth in certain neighborhoods.

Furthermore, the My Street program focuses on the transformation and revitalization of public spaces in Moscow. This includes the renovation of streets, pedestrian areas, parks, and cultural spaces. However, these transformations may not always prioritize the needs and values of the long-term residents. Instead, they may align with the representations of space propagated by gentrifiers or the dominant urban development discourse. This can result in the exclusion and

othering of the existing residents, as the new design and amenities cater to a different demographic or prioritize commercial interests over public accessibility.

By analyzing the discussed programs through the lens of the spatial triad model, the thesis can delve into how these initiatives shape the urban fabric, redefine public spaces, and impact the social capabilities and sense of belonging of long-term residents. It can explore how the dominant representations of space in these programs contribute to the gentrification process, exacerbate exclusion and othering, and reshape the socio-spatial dynamics of Moscow neighborhoods.

The Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow involve significant changes to the urban landscape, including the demolition of older residential buildings and the construction of new residential complexes, as well as the revitalization of public spaces. These transformations can have profound effects on the social fabric of neighborhoods and the experiences of the residents.

In the context of physical displacement, the renovation program may result in the forced relocation of long-term residents from their existing homes. As older buildings are demolished to make way for new residential complexes, residents who cannot afford the new housing or do not meet the criteria for relocation assistance may be displaced to other areas of the city. This displacement process disrupts social networks and community ties, leading to the loss of a sense of place and belonging for these residents.

Furthermore, the creation of new residential complexes through the renovation program can exacerbate social divisions and othering. The design, pricing, and marketing of these complexes often target a wealthier demographic, attracting a different socio-economic group to the area. This can lead to the exclusion and marginalization of the existing residents who may not fit the desired profile of the new developments. The representations of space embedded in the marketing strategies and the physical design of the new residential complexes contribute to the formation of a new identity and authenticity that is often inaccessible to the long-term residents.

In addition to physical displacement, the My Street program's transformation of public spaces can also contribute to othering and exclusion. The redesign of streets, parks, and cultural spaces may prioritize aesthetics, commercial interests, and the needs of a specific demographic, neglecting the preferences and experiences of the existing residents. The representations of space in the revitalized public areas may project a new vision of the neighborhood that is disconnected from the lived experiences and cultural values of the long-term residents. This can further deepen the sense of exclusion and marginalization among these residents, as they feel alienated from the transformed public spaces.

By exploring the dynamics of physical displacement and othering by representation in the context of the studied programs of Moscow, the thesis can shed light on the social consequences of these initiatives. It can analyze how these programs contribute to gentrification, social divisions, and the marginalization of certain groups within the city. Furthermore, it can provide insights into the experiences of the long-term residents who are directly affected by these transformations and offer recommendations for more inclusive and equitable approaches to urban development and public space design in Moscow.

4.1.8. Housing affordability

It's crucial to delve into the term 'Housing affordability' in the specific context of Russia, particularly Moscow. The article "Is Affordable Housing Available in Russia?" scrutinizes the pressing issue of the lack of affordable housing in the country. As stated by A.G. Kulikov, "Housing affordability is a fundamental category, the basis of the foundations of housing policy of any state. In this respect, our country has lagged behind not only developed countries but also a number of other countries with economies in transition."

The examination encompasses various programs like "Housing for the Russian Family" and "Young Family," addressing the problem through government initiatives, financial instruments, and social support. Despite an 80% increase in housing affordability in Russia from 1998 to 2013, highlighted by experts from the Institute of City Economics, the article notes that many new housing projects remain inaccessible due to factors like high prices, unsuitable living conditions, lack of infrastructure, and legislative obstacles.

The article sheds light on the restrictions and problems hindering citizens from realizing their right to affordable quality housing in Russia. It underscores the importance of considering these factors when evaluating the availability of housing in the country.

In the nexus between the renovation program and housing affordability, lies the impact of renovation activities on housing costs, accessibility, and the socio-economic fabric of neighborhoods. While the program seeks to enhance the urban environment and housing quality, it necessitates addressing potential consequences for housing affordability, ensuring accessible options for all segments of the population affected by the renovation efforts.

Several housing affordability issues emerge within the context of Moscow's renovation program. Displacement and disruption are inherent problems, stemming from the demolition and reconstruction of existing housing stock, particularly affecting residents in older buildings earmarked for renovation. This upheaval often disrupts established communities and can lead to increased housing costs for those undergoing displacement.

The cost of renovated housing is another challenge. Despite the program's goal of improving housing quality, the introduction of modern amenities and upgraded infrastructure may escalate prices, rendering them less affordable for certain segments of the population. The emphasis on upscale housing within the program can limit affordable options for low and middle-income residents.

Socio-economic segregation is a potential outcome, as the renovation program may contribute to a divide within the city. Higher-income residents moving into renovated areas increase living costs, making it challenging for lower-income residents to afford housing in desirable locations. This concentration of poverty in specific areas accentuates social inequalities within the urban landscape.

Solving the problem of Housing Accessibility requires joint efforts with the participation of politicians, city planners, developers and public organizations. Strategies include the construction of affordable housing, the implementation of lease control policies, financial assistance programs, and the promotion of mixed-income areas.

The understanding and resolution of housing affordability are pivotal for fostering inclusive and sustainable communities. Prioritizing affordable housing initiatives empowers policymakers and urban planners to mitigate housing inequality, paving the way for more equitable and livable cities.

Turning our attention to the pressing matter of 'Housing Affordability' within Moscow's renovation program, we confront tangible challenges influencing residents and policymakers alike. This examination delves into factors shaping housing costs, accessibility, and the socio-economic landscape, echoing the insights of [David S. Bieri, 2012] and A.G. Kulikov. Transitioning to 'Housing Affordability Theory,' our theoretical exploration widens our comprehension, drawing from Upuli Perera and Peter Lee's article, 'A relational lens to understand housing affordability in the 21st Century.' This framework aids in connecting the dots between the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs, unraveling their potential impact on housing affordability in Moscow. Our investigation seeks to illuminate how these programs may either compound or alleviate the challenges associated with affordable housing, enriching our grasp of the socio-economic fabric in the city.

This theoretical framework becomes instrumental in analyzing how the discussed programs shape housing affordability in Moscow. It assists in identifying contributing factors such as changes in property values and the availability of affordable housing options.

Housing affordability theory, as a conceptual framework, delves into the intricate factors and dynamics influencing the affordability of housing. Embracing economic, social and political considerations, it focuses on the challenges of the housing market, recognizing that housing costs play a key role in determining the overall well-being and quality of life of households. The theory explores the interplay of housing prices, household income, interest rates, supply and demand, and government policies, shedding light on the intricate web shaping the affordability of housing options.

In delving into the exploration of housing affordability, Perera and Lee's article, "A relational lens to understand housing affordability in the 21st Century," propels us into a realm that transcends conventional perspectives. The authors adeptly argue that prevalent approaches, fixated on individual financial constraints, lack the depth required to comprehend the intricate tapestry of social, economic, and political factors that intricately mold housing affordability in our contemporary era.

Their call for adopting a relational perspective becomes a clarion call, recognizing the dynamic and interconnected nature of housing affordability. It beckons us to move beyond the confines of individual incomes and housing prices, urging an exploration of the myriad relational aspects. Social relationships, power dynamics, and institutional structures all play crucial roles in shaping the affordability landscape of the 21st century.

As we navigate the theoretical landscape of housing affordability, the dissertation can ingeniously intertwine with Perera and Lee's relational lens. It becomes an avenue for dissecting how Moscow's renovation programs may either exacerbate or alleviate the intricate challenges tethered to housing affordability. This exploration extends to scrutinizing the affordability of renovated housing units, evaluating the accessibility of new residential complexes, and discerning the potential ripple effects on housing prices and rental rates throughout the city.

However, the dissertation's scope extends beyond the economic facets. It extends its gaze to the social and economic implications entwined with housing affordability. The potential displacement of lower-income residents, shifts in neighborhood demographics, and the consequential impact on community cohesion emerge as focal points. The role of housing policies and regulations comes under scrutiny, providing a lens to understand how these measures, as part of the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs, address or potentially exacerbate housing affordability issues.

In unison with Perera and Lee's call for a relational understanding, the dissertation unfolds as a tapestry of inquiry, weaving through the complexities of Moscow's urban landscape. It promises not only to shed light on the dynamics of housing affordability but to act as a beacon for informed policymaking and urban planning.

4.1.9. The law on All-Russian renovation

The framework of Russia's national policy for renovation is underpinned by a set of laws and regulations, chiefly the Federal Law on the Renovation of Housing Stock and the Federal Law on the Beautification of Urban Areas. These legislative instruments not only establish the legal foundation for renovation programs but also delineate the procedural intricacies governing their execution.

At its core, the overarching objectives of Russia's national policy for renovation encompass multifaceted dimensions. There's a resolute commitment to enhancing the quality of housing and living conditions, the development of contemporary urban infrastructure, the optimization of urban land and resources, and the catalyzation of social and economic development across cities and regions.

A landmark development in this trajectory is the Federal Law on All-Russian Renovation, endorsed by the State Duma in December 2020. This legislation represents a monumental effort towards elevating the quality of housing nationwide. Focused on residential buildings surpassing the 30-year mark and deemed dilapidated or unsafe, this comprehensive program, though voluntary in essence, extends its influence across entire areas once initiated.

The scope of the program is ambitious, involving a holistic overhaul encompassing roofs, windows, plumbing, heating systems, and other critical infrastructure. Execution lies in the hands of the Renovation Fund, a dedicated non-profit entity entrusted with the financial and managerial facets of the program. Funding, in turn, is derived from a combination of federal, regional, and municipal budgets, alongside contributions from property owners.

However, the law has not been immune to criticism, with concerns raised about its perceived vagueness and potential ramifications, including forced evictions and the demolition of historic structures. Advocates of the legislation counter these concerns, emphasizing its imperative role in enhancing housing quality and fostering a contemporary and comfortable living environment. The success of the program is intricately tied to its implementation and the transparency and accountability of the Renovation Fund.

To actualize the overarching goals, the national policy incorporates diverse programs and initiatives like My Street, the Renovation program, and Housing for the Russian Family. These initiatives, offering financial and technical support, are integral to the broader agenda of renovating and modernizing housing, infrastructure, and the urban environment.

Underpinning the successful implementation of these endeavors are key government agencies, including the Ministry of Construction and Housing, the Federal Agency for Housing Construction, and the Federal Agency for Urban Development. These entities play pivotal roles in not only executing renovation programs but also in monitoring their efficacy, thus collectively steering the nation toward an urban landscape marked by enhanced quality of living and sustainable development.

4.2. Zyuzino district

Zyuzino district is a residential area known for its mix of residential complexes, green spaces, and amenities that cater to the needs of its residents.

Zyuzino is well-connected to the rest of Moscow through public transportation, including metro stations and bus routes, making it convenient for residents to commute to other parts of the city.

This district's geographical significance and the interplay of various social dynamics underscore its relevance as a compelling subject for a detailed exploration. As we delve into the detailed description of Zyuzino, a comprehensive understanding of its unique characteristics within the framework of the renovation program will unfold.

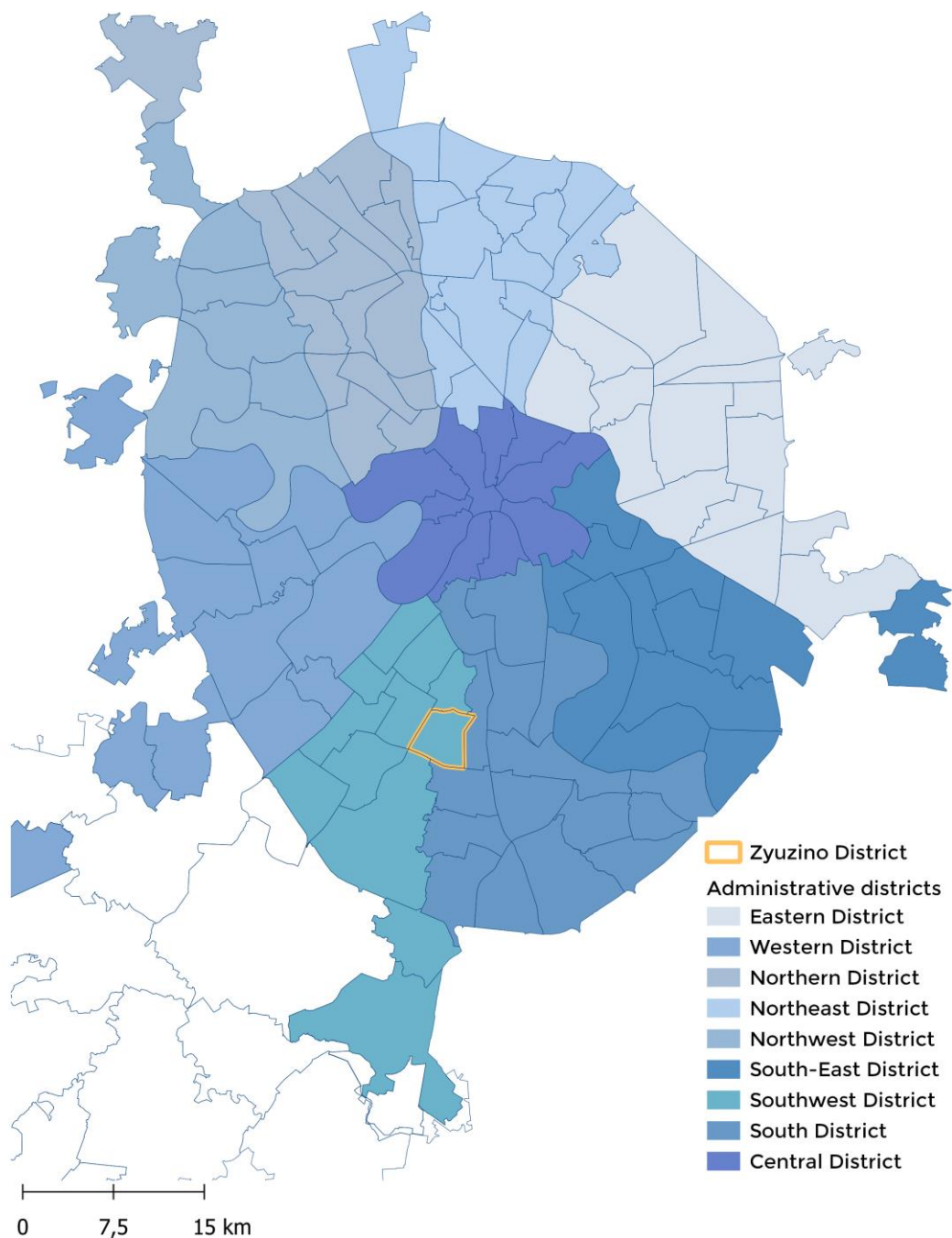


Figure 5. Location of the Zyuzino district. Source: author's elaboration

4.2.1. Description of the Zyuzino District

Zyuzino is a district located in the southeastern part of the Southwest Administrative District of Moscow [Figure 5]. This district has been at the center of a renovation program, becoming one of the three districts with the highest number of buildings scheduled for demolition. It is expected that 182 buildings will be demolished, which is exceeded only in Perovo and Kuzminki.

As of today, Zyuzino is the fifth most populous district in the southwest part of Moscow, covering an area of 545.04 hectares. However, in terms of area, the district significantly lags behind Perovo (ranked 39th) and Kuzminki (ranked 54th), each of which is at least one and a half times larger than Zyuzino.

As of 2022, Zyuzino finds itself among Moscow's top ten "overpopulated" districts. With a population density of 23.3 thousand people per square kilometer in the South-Western Administrative Okrug (ЮЗАО), Zyuzino grapples with urban challenges stemming from its compact 5.45 square kilometer expanse. This scenario underscores the intricate dynamics of urban living and prompts a closer examination of the implications and strategies employed in the city's ongoing renovation programs.

Due to the compact layout of the district, it can be said that the renovation will cover almost the entire Zyuzino area. In other words, if any building is not demolished, it will likely be located near the new construction sites for resettlement.

The boundaries of the Zyuzino district follow the axis of Sevastopolsky Prospekt, then along the axis of the Kotlovka River, as well as the axes of Nakhimovsky Prospekt, Simferopolsky Boulevard, and Balaklavsky Prospekt. The northern boundary of the district adjoins the territory of the Bitsevsky Les natural park and extends to Sevastopolsky Prospekt.

The majority of the residential housing stock in the district dates back to the first period of industrial construction and is characterized by a high degree of wear and tear.

Transportation for residents is provided by both the metro and surface public transportation. The district is well-served by bus and trolleybus routes. Zyuzino has four metro stations: "Nakhimovsky Prospekt," "Kakhovskaya"/"Sevastopolskaya," "Chertanovskaya," and the "Zyuzino" station, which opened on December 7, 2021, at the intersection of Sevastopolsky Prospekt and Kakhovka Street. This has made the district even more convenient for residents who need to quickly and seamlessly commute to the center of Moscow.

4.2.2. Ecological Features of Zyuzino

One of the prominent aspects of Zyuzino is its favorable ecological environment. The district is free from harmful industrial facilities, which has a positive impact on the environmental conditions, as highlighted by Vladimir Kashirtsev, the General Director of the real estate agency "Azbooka Zhilya." Zyuzino distinguishes itself from neighboring districts by its compact location away from major highways such as Varshavskoye and Kaluzhskoye Shosse. The northern part of the district is adjacent to the Bitsevsky Les natural park, creating a unique blend of urban life and nature. Tall apartment buildings are surrounded by greenery.

The district is also known for its green spaces, extensive parks, squares, and alleys, as emphasized by Doxikyan. The Kotlovka River flows along the northern boundary of Zyuzino, surrounded by green areas, and in the heart of the district, there is a park with a lake bearing the same name. Two other lakes are situated in the western part of the district, surrounded by benches and playgrounds. Local residents also take care of ducks, providing them with food.

The environmentally friendly atmosphere extends to residential quarters, where large trees occupy every available space between the buildings. Thanks to this, Zyuzino consistently ranks among the top five cleanest ecological districts in the capital.

It is important to note that due to the relatively small area of the district, there is no need for the construction of additional shopping centers. The residents of Zyuzino are already provided with all necessary infrastructure, including grocery stores, clinics, kindergartens, schools, and more. The Kotlovka River, a right tributary of the Moskva River and the third largest, is partially concealed in an underground collector. In the past, on the right bank of Kotlovka, there were the villages of Zyuzino, Kotel near the river's mouth, as well as the Upper and Lower Kotly.

Since 1991, a portion of Kotlovka, adjacent to Korobkovsky Garden, has been recognized as a natural monument of regional significance.

Originally, there was a city square in the courtyard of residential buildings between Bolshaya Yushunskaya Street and Kakhovka. In 2013, the improvement process of this area began, and in 2014, Zyuzino Park was officially opened. Here, playgrounds with exercise equipment for children and sports, dog walking areas, an artificial ice rink, bicycle and pedestrian paths were created, along with benches, trash containers, and street lighting. As part of the improvement, numerous new trees and shrubs were planted, and the pond's shores were arranged.

Currently, this has become one of the most popular recreational spots in the Zyuzino district.

4.2.3. History and Development of Zyuzino

- From the 11th to the 13th century, settlements of Vyatichi people existed in this area.
- The name "Zyuzino" originates from a village known since the 16th century, which was also called Skryabino and Skaryatino.
- In 1627, the village of Zyuzino was mentioned in the tax register.
- In 1628, the village came under the ownership of the boyar Alexei Sitsky.
- In 1646, the village became the property of Boyar Gleb Morozov, and later, in 1662, it was owned by his widow, Boyarina Feodosiya Morozova, who became the heroine of Vasily Surikov's famous painting.
- In 1687, Zyuzino was transferred to Prince Boris Prozorovsky.
- In 1688-1704, the Church of Boris and Gleb was constructed in Zyuzino, and since then, the village was occasionally referred to as Borisovskoye or Borisoglebskoye, named after the church. This building in the Naryshkin Baroque style has survived to this day and is the only architectural monument in the area.
- From 1785, the Beke family owned the village, and later, the estate was used by Moscow University staff as a summer residence.
- In 1889, merchants Dmitry Romanov and Fyodor Turbin built brick factories in the village.
- From 1861 to 1918, Zyuzino was the administrative center of the Zyuzino Volost of Moscow County.
- The Zyuzino district became part of Moscow in 1960 and became a typical Soviet district with numerous Khrushchyovkas (five-story apartment buildings) and developed infrastructure. Schools, kindergartens, maternity hospitals, and hospitals built during the Soviet era continue to operate here.
- From 1958 to 1964, housing construction was active in the area, and it was here in Moscow that the first five-story apartment buildings, known as Khrushchyovkas, were constructed.
- In 1965, 1st Zyuzino Lane was renamed to Perekop Street in honor of Perekop, the site of battles during the Civil and Great Patriotic War. A monument "Heroes of Perekop 1920-1944" was erected to commemorate this event.
- In 1991, the temporary municipal district of Zyuzino was created, and in 1995, this district became a permanent part of Moscow.

4.2.4. Institutions and Facilities in Zyuzino District

TYPE	NAME	ADDRESS
------	------	---------

MEDICAL FACILITIES

HOSPITALS	Outpatient Oncology Center of Moscow Clinical Scientific and Practical Medical Center "Kommunarka,"	22 Azovskaya Street, Moscow.
	Moscow Scientific and Practical Center of Narcology, Clinical Branch No. 1	16 Bolotnikovskaya Street.
POLYCLINICS	City Clinical Hospital No. 1 of the Department of Health of Moscow, , Branch No. 1	12A Kakhovka Street.
	City Clinical Hospital No. 1, Branch No. 3	20-1 Azovskaya Street
	Children's City Polyclinic No. 69, Branch No. 2	20-2 Azovskaya Street

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ACADEMIES (PUBLIC, PRIVATE)	None	None
COLLEGES AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS	State Budgetary Professional Educational Institution of Moscow "Educational Complex of Urban Planning 'Stolitsa'"	25 St. Chongarsky Blvd., Building 1.
	State Budgetary Educational Institution of Further Professional Education "Technical Fire and Rescue College No. 57"	20 Simferopolsky Blvd.
	Moscow Instrument-Making Technical School of the Plekhanov Russian Economic University	21 Nakhimovsky Ave.
SCHOOLS AND PRESCHOOL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (COMPLEXES)	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 536" (complex).	
	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 1708" (branch).	
	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 538" (complex).	
	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 2042."	
	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 1279" (complex).	
	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 554" (complex).	
	State Budgetary Educational Institution "School No. 1948 'Lingvist-M'" (branch).	

	Autonomous Non-Commercial Organization "School 'NIKA.'"	
SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS - 2 TOTAL		
	Autonomous Non-Commercial Organization "Center for Medical, Biological, and Environmental Problems"	8 Simferopolsky Blvd.
	All-Russian Research Institute of Control Automation in the Non-Industrial Sphere named after V.V. Solomatin	4/2 Sivashskaya Street.
CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS - 5 TOTAL		
	Library No. 196	24/1 Simferopolsky Blvd
	Library No. 181	44/1 Bolotnikovskaya Street.
	Library No. 168	1 Khersonskaya Street.
	State Budgetary Educational Institution of the City of Moscow "Children's Music School named after N.Ya. Myaskovsky"	2/2 Azovskaya Street.
	Cultural Centers of the South-Western Administrative District, Structural Division "Academicheskyy"	52/4 Bolotnikovskaya Street.
RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS - 4 TOTAL		
	Church of the Holy Righteous Princes Boris and Gleb	7 Perecopskaya Street.
	Church of Priest Veniamin, Metropolitan of Petrograd and Gdov	13/9 Kakhovka Street.
	Church of Holy Martyr Ermogen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, the Miracle-Worker	28 Simferopolsky Blvd.
	Church of the Icon of the Mother of God of Consolation and Comfort	Intersection of Kakhovka Street and Azovskaya Street.
INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES - NONE		
FLAT SPORTS FACILITIES		
	Basketball Court	9 Azovskaya Street, Building 2
	Football Field	34 Balaklavsky Ave, Building 5
	Ice Hockey Rink	38 Balaklavsky Ave
	Football Field	5 Kakhovka Street, Building 5
	Ice Hockey Rink	11 Kakhovka Street, Building 1
	Outdoor Fitness Park and Workout Area	11 Kakhovka Street, Building 2
	Outdoor Fitness Park	13 Kakhovka Street, Building 1
	Volleyball Court	1 Kerchenskaya Street, Building 1
	Ice Hockey Rink	16/3 Simferopolsky Blvd., Building 3
	Ice Hockey Rink	9 Khersonskaya Street, Building 2
	Football Field	30/2 Bolotnikovskaya Street
	Mini Football Field	17 Bolotnikovskaya Street
	Volleyball Court	24/1 Azovskaya Street, Building 1

Table 3. Institutions and Facilities in Zyuzino District. Source: website of the Zyuzino Municipal District

Selecting Zyuzino as the district for the case study offers several compelling advantages:

1. **Representative of Moscow's Diversity:** Zyuzino is a diverse district within Moscow, capturing various socioeconomic, demographic, and urban characteristics. This diversity can provide rich insights into how the Renovation and My District programs impact different segments of the population.
2. **Distinct Urban Landscape:** Zyuzino exhibits a unique urban landscape, encompassing both older housing stock and newer developments. This duality allows for a comprehensive analysis of how these programs interact with existing urban fabric and architectural heritage.
3. **Real-World Relevance:** Zyuzino is an area where the analyzed programs have been implemented or are actively underway. This real-world relevance ensures that the case study findings are pertinent to ongoing urban development efforts in Moscow.
4. **Community Engagement:** The district's residents and businesses have likely been engaged in discussions and activities related to these programs. Their perspectives and experiences can offer valuable insights into public participation and program outcomes.
5. **Feasibility:** Conducting a case study in a single district is logistically manageable and allows for an in-depth exploration of the area without spreading resources too thinly.
6. **Comparative Analysis:** By focusing on Zyuzino, you can also potentially draw comparisons with other districts in Moscow that may have experienced different program implementations. This comparative analysis can highlight variations in outcomes and help identify best practices.
7. **Practical Lessons:** The findings from Zyuzino can serve as practical lessons for urban planners and policymakers in Moscow and beyond, as well as inform future iterations of similar programs.

In summary, Zyuzino presents a well-rounded and relevant choice for your case study, offering the opportunity to explore the complexities of urban development, public participation, and program impacts within a specific and diverse district in Moscow.

4.2.5. Urban planning analysis of the Zyuzino district

The urban planning analysis of the Zyuzino district stands as a crucial component in the broader examination of Moscow's transformative initiatives. I would like to note that the data on the maps shows the situation at the beginning of 2022.

As Moscow undergoes a multifaceted metamorphosis, marked by initiatives aimed at both infrastructural rejuvenation and community enhancement, the examination of Zyuzino serves as an insightful case study. This analysis delves into the intricacies of urban planning strategies, shedding light on the district's unique characteristics, its historical context, and the impact of urban renewal programs on its spatial configuration.

Through a meticulous examination of Zyuzino's urban planning dynamics, this section seeks to unravel the nuances of how these transformational programs are manifesting at the local level. By scrutinizing the district's physical layout, architectural composition, and socio-economic fabric, we aim to draw valuable insights into the efficacy, challenges, and potential ramifications of Moscow's ambitious urban renewal endeavors.

Zyuzino, with its diverse housing landscape, intricate network of public spaces, and historical significance, offers a rich tapestry for exploration. As we navigate through the urban fabric of Zyuzino, we embark on a journey to decipher how these programs are influencing the district's spatial structure, social dynamics, and overall urban experience.

Let's take a closer look at Figure 6, which focuses on land use in Zyuzino. This map highlights not only residential areas but also other aspects of the territory, such as public spaces, recreational zones, commercial plots, and infrastructure. It provides us with a visual representation of the overall balance between different functional areas in the district. This is a crucial initial observation that will be utilized in the subsequent analysis of the interplay between land use, the renovation program, and other improvement initiatives. This map is complemented by Figure 7, which illustrates the typology of buildings, as you will explore later. On this map, we can distinguish not only the structure of built-up areas but also the diversity of social and commercial facilities important for the residents of the district. It highlights essential facilities for the population, such as daycare centers, schools, clinics, and various services.

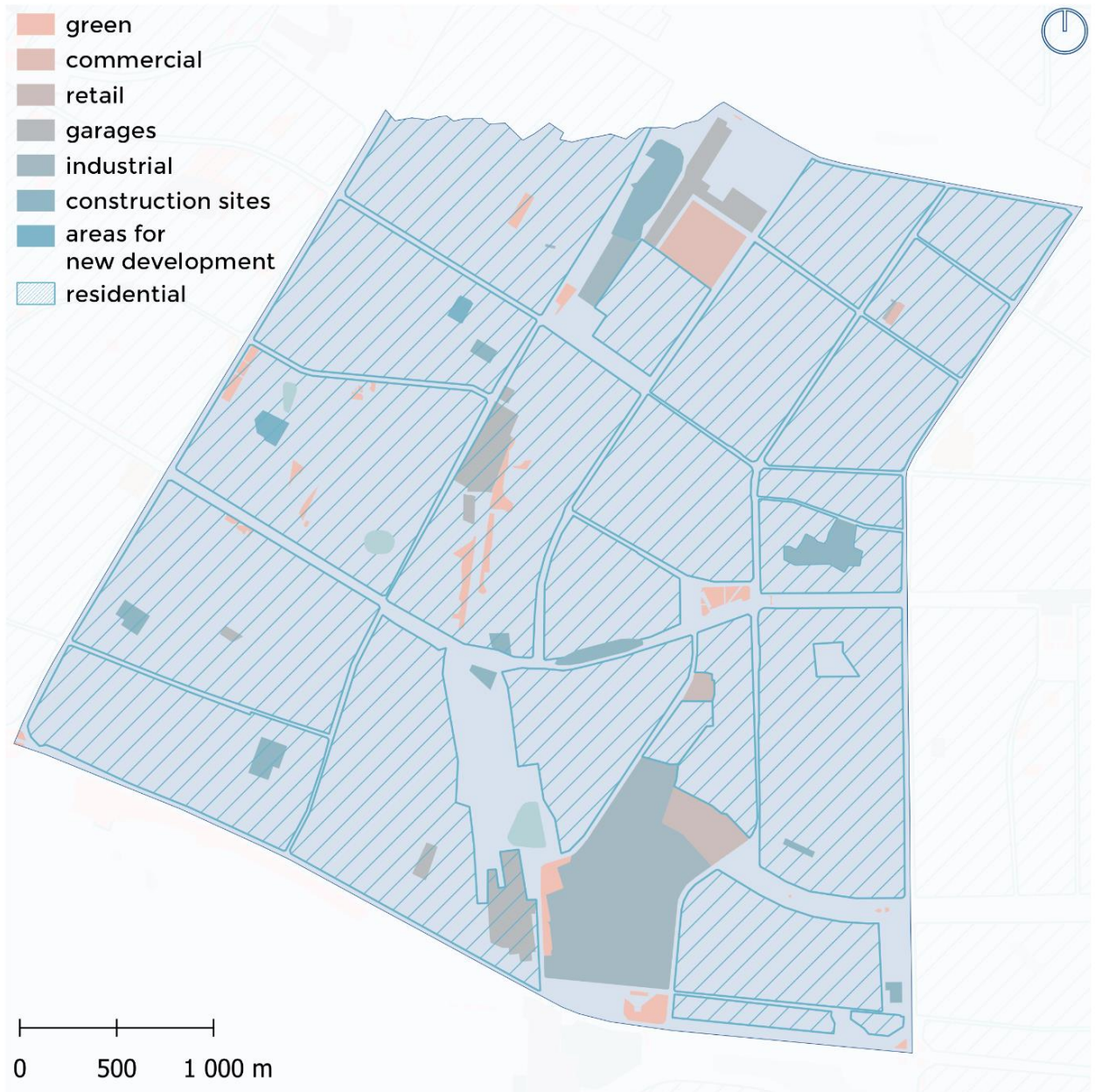


Figure 6. Land use. Source: author's elaboration

Various types of buildings are visually represented, including residential complexes, educational institutions, as well as healthcare facilities. It's worth noting that as of the beginning of 2022, Zyuzino has a significant number of schools and kindergartens. However, upon closer examination during the analysis of the renovation program, we will identify that some of these facilities undergo changes due to ongoing construction work.

Figure 7 also displays areas designated for garages and parking lots, indicating the presence of old Soviet-era construction. Some of these areas may have already been demolished, but part of them still exists. It is noticeable that there might be a shortage of polyclinics, as only three of them are counted. Nevertheless, it's essential to consider that the district also has two hospitals, complementing the healthcare system in Zyuzino.



Figure 7. Type of buildings. Source: author's elaboration

The logical continuation of the previous map, Figure 8 provides a detailed overview of all the amenities within the district and their surrounding areas. In addition to residential and commercial facilities, this map includes points of interest such as gas stations, memorial sites, banks, various administrative services, colleges, university campuses, and more. The map offers a comprehensive understanding of the diverse services and establishments available in Zyuzino, enhancing our exploration of the neighborhood's infrastructure and communal spaces.



Figure 8. Amenity. Source: author's elaboration

Figure 9. Satellite image of Zyuzino. Source: yandexmaps

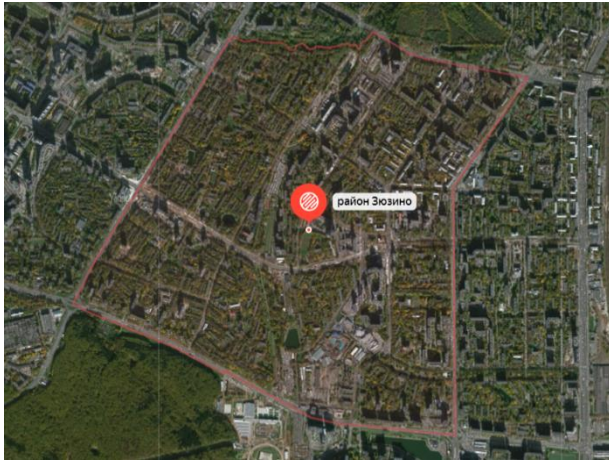


Figure 10 showcases the primary green spaces within Zyuzino, including parks and recreational areas for children and sports activities. The district appears even greener in reality, as the map does not depict the numerous trees in courtyards and along streets. For a more detailed view of the abundant greenery, one can refer to satellite image [Figure 9.]. Notably, Zyuzino is well-equipped with football and hockey fields, contributing to the residents' recreational options. The accessibility of parks is evident from all sides of the district. Additionally, it's worth noting that a park begins at the southern border, extending beyond the district limits but remaining within reach for residents.

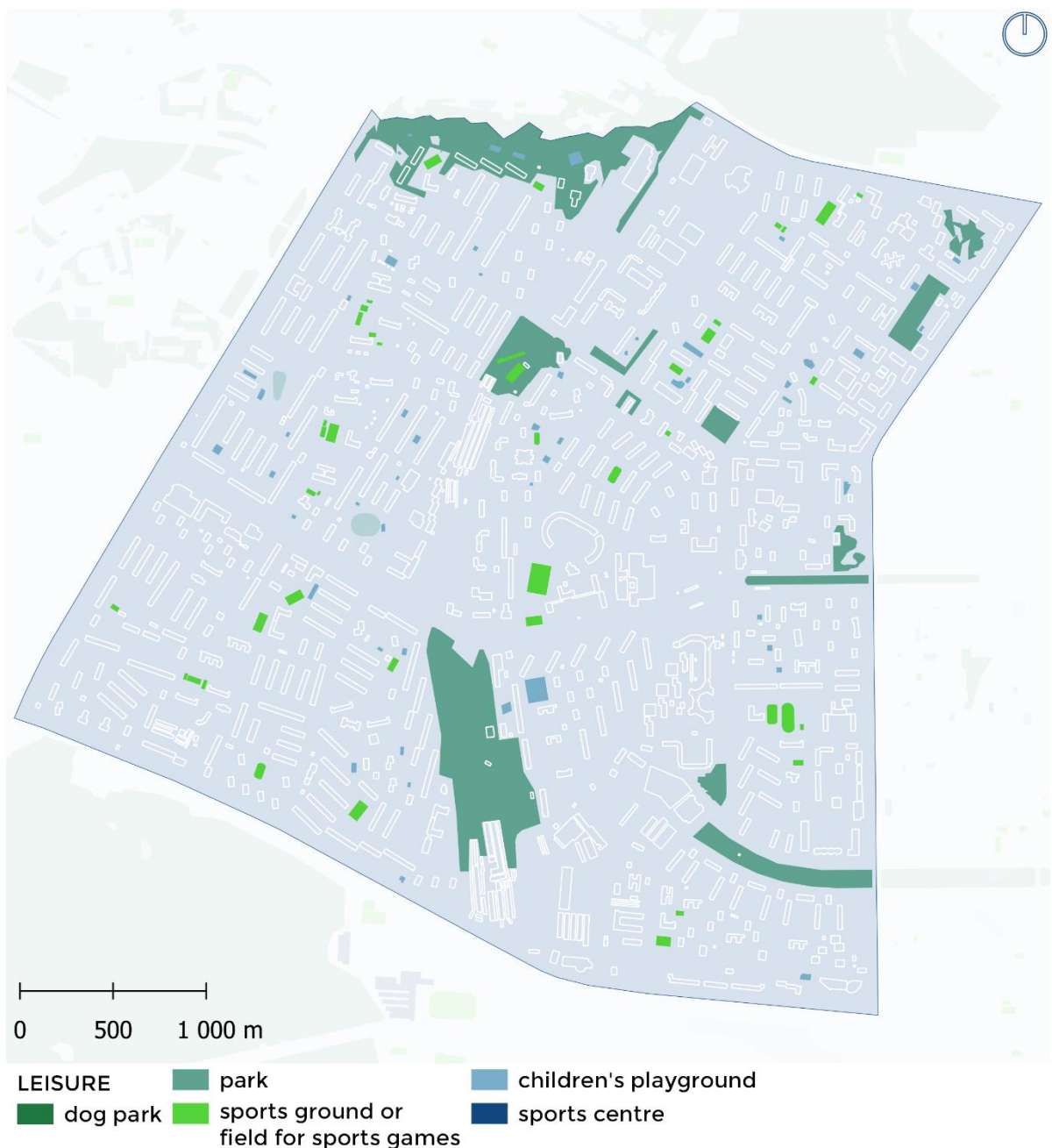


Figure 10. Leisure. Source: author's elaboration

Analyzing Figure 11, we observe that the majority of the district is occupied by 5-story residential buildings. These buildings, characteristic of the old Soviet construction, are included in the renovation program. Buildings with 12 or more floors are present in the northeast and eastern parts of the district. It is reasonable to assume that the district will undergo significant vertical expansion due to planned construction under the Renovation program. While in the southwest, we already see sporadic construction of new houses and later 9-story buildings from the late Soviet era.



Figure 11. Levels. Source: author's elaboration

Moving on from Figure 11, we smoothly transition to Figure 12, indicating the years of construction of residential buildings. It is evident that a significant portion of the district was developed during the period 1955-1968. It is logical to assume that the Renovation program started its action for valid reasons. Many of these buildings might be in a deteriorating condition, considering they are over 55 years old. Newer buildings were constructed in the central part of the district, as well as in the southeast. It will be intriguing to observe how the new buildings under the Renovation program integrate and transform the district in the future.



Figure 12. Years of construction. Source: author's elaboration

Let's analyze the aspect of the transportation infrastructure, which has progressed thanks to the My District program and overall development of Moscow's transport.

Transportation for residents is provided by both the metro and surface public transportation. The district is well-served by bus routes. On Figure 13, we can observe the availability of bus stops in the area. It is evident that they cover almost the entire territory of the district. In the Zyuzino district, 26 routes have been identified, of which 16 are bus routes. Bus routes connect to metro stations such as "Lomonosovsky Prospekt," "Profsoyuznaya," "Kakhovskaya," "Universitet," "Akademicheskaya," and "Belyaev," as well as railway stations like Kolomenskoye, Nagatinskaya, Chertanovo, and Verkhnie Kotly.

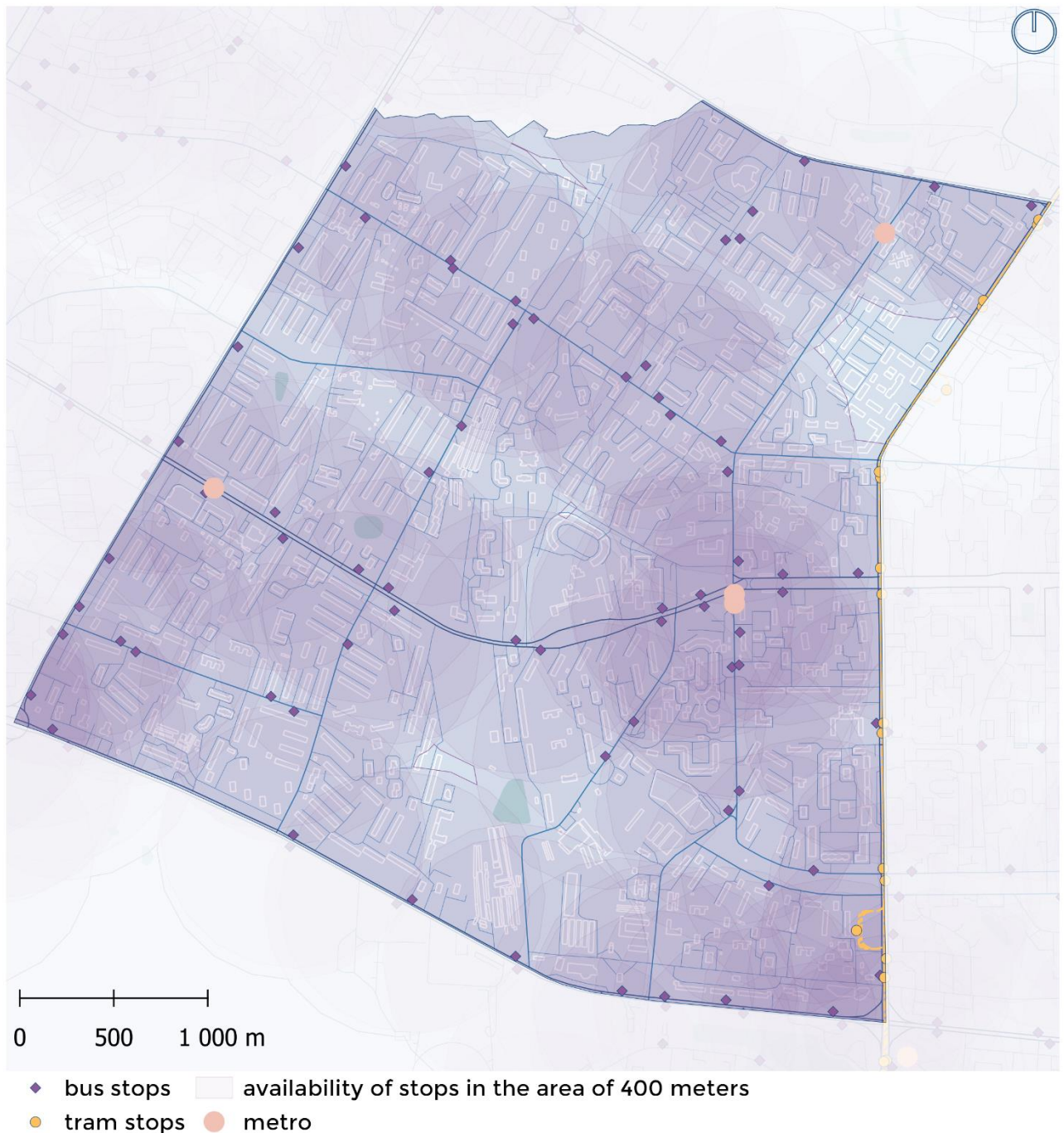


Figure 13. Transport accessibility. Buses. Source: author's elaboration

Zyuzino has four metro stations, as shown on Figure 14: "Nakhimovsky Prospekt," "Kakhovskaya"/"Sevastopolskaya," "Chertanovskaya," and the "Zyuzino" station, which opened on December 7, 2021. Intermediate stations have made the metro accessible in densely populated areas, where people previously had to use public transport to reach the nearest radial lines. Now, they can walk to the metro and choose the direction that is more convenient for them to travel further. One such station is the "Zyuzino" metro station, strategically located at the intersection of Kahovka Street and Sevastopolsky Prospekt, serving sizable areas of Zyuzino and Cheryomushki. Consequently, the passenger flow here was substantial from the very first day.

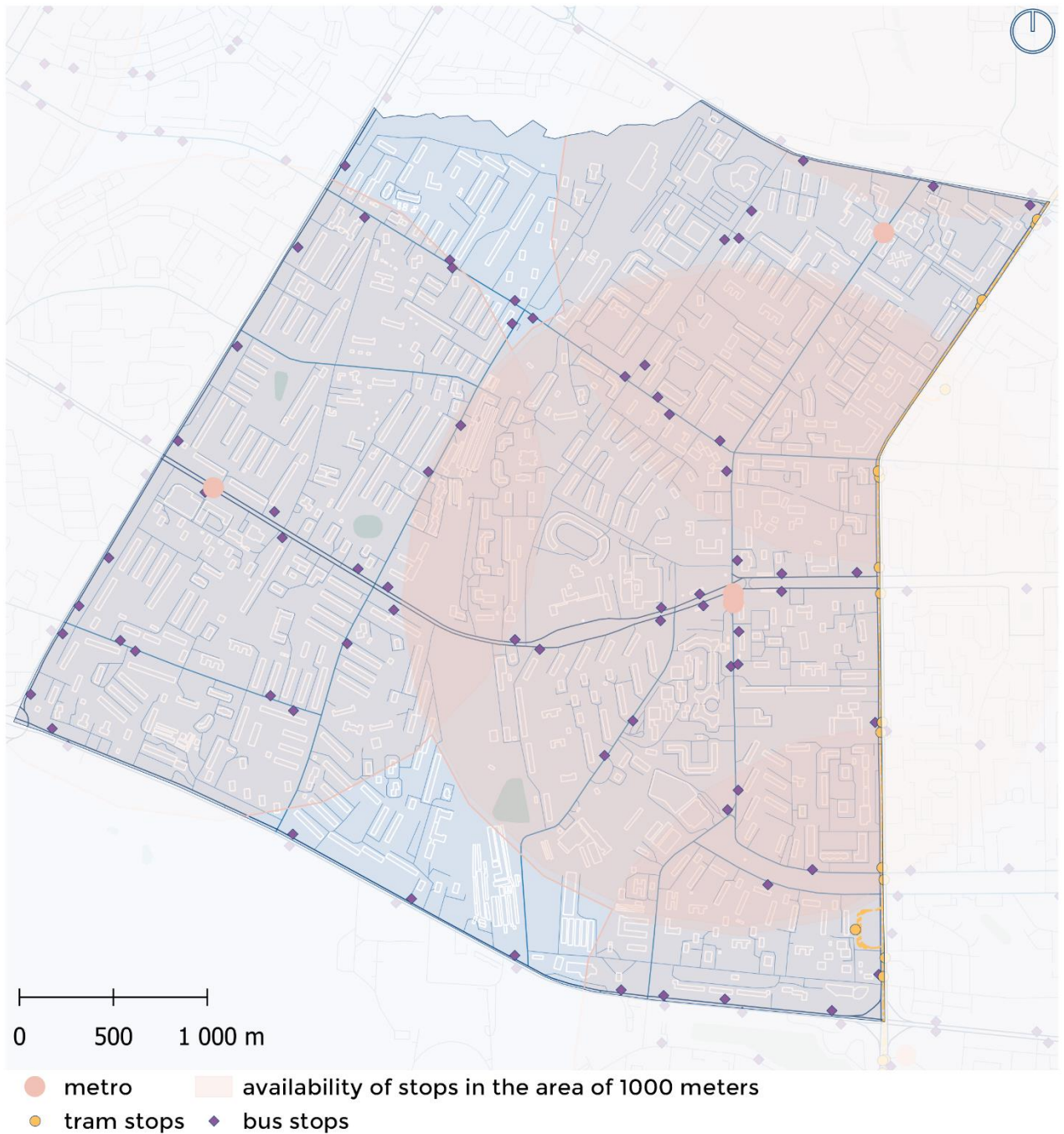


Figure 14. Transport accessibility. Metro. Source: author's elaboration

Additionally, along the eastern border of the district, three tram routes run [Figure 15], connecting the district with Chertanovo, Donskoy, Nagorny to the south of the city, and Paveletsky Railway Station in the city center.



Figure 15. Transport accessibility. Trams. Source: author's elaboration

In conclusion, the urban planning analysis of Zyuzino district underscores its ongoing transformation facilitated by the renovation programs. The infusion of new residential complexes, coupled with the preservation of green spaces and the improvement of amenities, reflects a balanced approach to urban development. The evolving architectural landscape, demographic shifts, and enhanced transportation further position Zyuzino as a dynamic and adaptable urban space within Moscow.

5. Programs Analysis in Zyuzino District

5.1. My District program in Zyuzino

Building upon the success of the "My Street" initiative, the "My District" program represents a comprehensive approach to urban development in Moscow. Across each of the city's 146 districts and settlements, this program not only focuses on urban beautification but also ensures the holistic advancement of local infrastructure. In doing so, it meticulously preserves iconic landmarks that render each district distinctive and recognizable.

Prior to the implementation of innovations, specialists conducted thorough analyses of each district, formulating individualized development plans that consider the needs and aspirations of the residents. Playing a significant role in these urban enhancement programs is the Department of Natural Resource Management and Environmental Protection (Департамент природопользования и охраны окружающей среды or ДПиООС). The department's responsibilities encompass advising and coordinating activities related to urban improvement, taking into account the history, landscape, and unique development characteristics of each district. Moreover, it continues its enlightening efforts to enhance the environmental awareness of Moscow's residents.

A comfortable life is an amalgamation of various elements: home, courtyard, store, kindergarten, school, clinic, park, street, transportation, workplaces, culture, sports, and nature. Rarely do all these components align in proximity to one's residence. Often, something is amiss. Hence, the "My District" program goes beyond mere urban beautification; it delves into the comprehensive development of Moscow's residential areas.

To comprehend precisely what is lacking for the comfort of Moscow's residents, a thorough analysis of each district was conducted. The outcome is the initial version of the "My District" program, encompassing the most crucial and urgent measures.

However, not everything is visible from a bird's-eye view. Only the residents themselves can articulate what they need for a comfortable life. Therefore, the "My District" program will continually evolve and expand based on the requests and feedback from Moscow's residents.

Delving into the essence of the "My District" program reveals its integral connection to the overarching Renovation Program, as previously discussed. Unlike the Renovation Program, "My District" lacks a singular foundational law or unified document. Instead, it operates as a dynamic initiative shaped by ongoing dialogues with Moscow's residents during the refinement of urban spaces. This engagement with the city's inhabitants stands as a cornerstone value of the "My District" program. Opinions and directives from Moscow's citizens are gathered through online platforms and face-to-face meetings, fostering a continuous process of updates and additions to the program based on the requests of the residents.

The primary information about the program is readily accessible on the Mayor of Moscow's official website. A dedicated section on the mayor's site is devoted to this program, offering detailed insights into each district of Moscow. Furthermore, the Mos.Ru website features an interactive online map where residents can stay informed about the latest developments related to the "My District" program, including initiatives for Repair and Reconstruction, Greening, and Urban Improvement.

The absence of a singular legislative document or central law for the "My District" program reflects its adaptive nature, allowing for flexibility and responsiveness to the evolving needs and preferences of Moscow's diverse population. The engagement of citizens through both digital and in-person channels exemplifies the program's commitment to participatory urban development, making it a dynamic and citizen-centric initiative within the broader framework of Moscow's transformative urban projects.

5.2. Renovation program in Zyuzino

The renovation program in Zyuzino represents a significant step in the development and modernization of this Moscow district. The ongoing transformation of buildings and territories aims to achieve strategic goals and address the pressing issues faced by the area's residents.

Before delving into a detailed analysis of the Renovation program specifically within the Zyuzino district, it is essential to examine the overarching guarantees provided by the program as a whole. In Section 1/4, "Previous Research on the Renovation, My Street, and My District Programs in Moscow," under point c/ "Moscow Renovation Program," we have already explored the essence of the Renovation program in Moscow. We explored the fundamentals of the Renovation program in Moscow, delving into the key legislative provisions that form its foundation. Additionally, we conducted a review of scholarly research analyzing the program and classified the buildings included in the initiative.

Now, let's provide a brief overview of the 24 guarantees outlined in the program, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the commitments made by the city administration to its residents. These guarantees encompass various aspects, from housing quality to residents' well-being, and play a crucial role in shaping the transformative impact of the Renovation program across Moscow.

Guarantees of the Renovation Program [Program's official webpage]:

- **Voluntariness:** The decision to include a specific building in the renovation program was made solely by the residents through voting or general meetings of owners and tenants.
- **Closed List of Program Participants:** The list of buildings participating in the renovation program is already established. Currently, there are no plans to expand the program by including new buildings. This ensures stability and preserves the familiar living environment for those who choose not to participate in the program.
- **Right to Withdraw from the Program:** At any stage but before the signing of the first agreement for a new apartment or an agreement providing equivalent compensation, residents have the right to exclude their building from the renovation program. A general meeting of owners and tenants is required, and the decision to withdraw from the program must receive more than one-third of the total votes.
- **Equivalent Apartment:** Participants in the renovation program are guaranteed an equivalent apartment that meets specific criteria, including living space, room count, overall area, adherence to Moscow's legislative standards for finishing, and location in a new building within the same administrative district.
- **New Apartment - Free and Ownership:** Residents of five-story buildings receive equivalent apartments under the renovation program for free and in ownership. Tenants can choose to retain social leasing, or, with a written request, transfer the new apartment into ownership.
- **Resettlement - Within the Same Area:** The law guarantees participants in the renovation program resettlement within their residential area (in the same administrative district for ZelaO and TiNAO). Typically, residents move to new buildings located in the same neighborhoods and within walking distance of the old five-story buildings.
- **Enhanced Finishing:** Moscow residents whose buildings are included in the renovation program do not need to worry about repairs when moving to new housing. Apartments are provided with pre-existing enhanced finishing according to a unified standard approved by the Moscow Government.
- **Improved Housing Conditions for Queue Members:** Queue members are granted new apartments outside the queue with simultaneous improvement in housing conditions, ensuring a living space of at least 18 square meters per person, depending on the family composition.
- **Exemption from Contributions to Major Repairs:** Since August 1, 2017, the day the renovation program was approved, apartment owners participating in the program are

- entirely exempt from major repair contributions. Funds collected for major repairs before inclusion in the renovation program will be directed to the construction of new buildings.
- **Assistance in Moving:** Any resident whose building is included in the Renovation Program can receive free assistance when moving to a new apartment. To do this, an online application can be submitted on the mos.ru portal (section "Housing, Housing and Public Utilities, Yard"). More details are available on the Official Portal of the Mayor and the Government of Moscow.
 - **Apartment or Monetary Compensation:** If a resident of a building included in the renovation program does not plan to move to an equivalent apartment, they have the right to receive either an equivalent apartment or monetary (equivalent) compensation. An equivalent apartment is one whose market value is not less than the market value of the old apartment.
 - **Comfortable Urban Environment:** The renovation program aims to create a qualitatively new, comfortable urban environment. Convenient streets and parking, wide sidewalks and green areas, well-maintained courtyards, modern children's and sports grounds, and social facilities within walking distance characterize the renovated quarters.
 - **Quality Housing:** Participants in the renovation program receive high-quality housing, including monolithic buildings constructed according to individual projects or modern panel buildings. Spacious and well-lit apartments with glazed balconies, freight and passenger elevators ensure comfortable living conditions. The design of the buildings includes minimal stairs and convenient entrances, creating an accessible environment for parents with strollers, seniors, and people with disabilities.
 - **Resolution of Mortgage Issues:** Within the renovation program, when residents move from a mortgaged apartment, the bank accepts the new apartment as collateral. The terms of the loan agreement and the size of mortgage payments remain unchanged.
 - **Resettlement of Communal Apartments:** In place of vacated rooms in communal apartments in buildings included in the renovation program, separate apartments are provided.
 - **Guarantee Against Eviction:** The termination of ownership rights to the old apartment occurs simultaneously with the registration of ownership rights to the new one. The decommissioning of five-story buildings only occurs after the resettlement of all residents or the payment of monetary compensation.
 - **Property Registration – Free and Hassle-Free:** Employees of the Moscow City Property Department independently submit the documents for the registration of the transfer of ownership rights and cover associated expenses. Renovation program participants only need to sign contracts and receive documents for the new apartment.
 - **Right to Increase Living Space:** Within the program, Moscow residents have the opportunity to purchase, for an additional fee, a larger apartment and/or one with more rooms compared to the free housing provided. Additional residential space can be purchased, provided there are apartments owned by the Renovation Fund. Payment can be made with personal or credit funds, as well as using maternity capital and other legally permissible sources.
 - **Resolution of Heirs' Issues:** In the event of the death of the apartment owner in a building included in the renovation program, before the conclusion of the agreement for a new apartment or receipt of monetary compensation, the agreement will be concluded by a trustee acting in the interests of the deceased's heirs.
 - **Right to Retain Lease Agreements:** Representatives of small and medium-sized businesses that rented non-residential premises from the city of Moscow in buildings included in the renovation program have the right, under the same conditions, to conclude a new lease agreement for an equivalent non-residential space. The preferential right to acquire the leased non-residential space is also retained.

- **Full Compensation for Non-Residential Owners:** Owners of non-residential premises in buildings participating in the renovation program are guaranteed preliminary and equivalent compensation for their premises.
- **Right to Legal Protection:** Moscow residents have the right to challenge in court the decision to include their building in the renovation program, the equivalency of the provided new apartment, equivalent compensation, and other issues related to the program's implementation.
- **Public Discussion:** The planning projects for the renovated quarters are discussed with residents during public hearings. All interested citizens can review the materials and provide their comments and suggestions on the considered projects.
- **Tax Benefits:** When exchanging an old apartment for a new one within the renovation program, owners of apartments in five-story buildings are exempt from paying state fees for the registration of rights to new housing and personal income tax (PIT). When calculating PIT for the sale of an equivalent apartment obtained through the renovation program, the periods of owning the new apartment and the residential premises in the demolished building will be summed. For precise tax consultation, it is necessary to contact the territorial Tax Inspection at your address.

Based on the guarantees and the description of the program, the **main goals can be identified:**

1. **Housing Stock Renewal:** The central objective of the renovation program in Zyuzino is the renewal of the residential housing stock. This involves demolishing outdated and dilapidated buildings and constructing new, modern, and comfortable residential complexes.
2. **Improvement of the Living Environment:** The program strives to create a favorable living environment for Zyuzino residents. This includes greening of territories, the development of public spaces, and the establishment of new infrastructure to enhance overall quality of life.
3. **Creation of Modern Infrastructure Facilities:** The program contemplates the development of new infrastructure facilities, such as schools, kindergartens, medical institutions, and stores, aiming to ensure the effective functioning of the district.
4. **Maintenance of Social Stability:** The program emphasizes the importance of social stability throughout the renovation process, implementing measures to support and adapt residents while preserving the socio-cultural and historical fabric of the area.

Main methods and tools:

1. **Sanitation and Demolition of Outdated Buildings:** The program includes stages of sanitation and demolition of old and emergency buildings slated for renovation. This frees up space for subsequent construction of new facilities.
2. **Construction of New Residential Complexes:** A key method of the program is the construction of modern residential complexes that adhere to contemporary standards of comfort and safety.
3. **Resident Involvement in Decision-Making:** The program actively involves Zyuzino residents in the decision-making process regarding renovation and the future development of the district, ensuring their participation in shaping the area's future.
4. **Creation of Green Areas and Public Spaces:** The program places emphasis on the establishment of green areas and public spaces aimed at strengthening social integration and public engagement.

Buildings and areas subject to renovation:

1. Panel and Low-Rise Buildings: The program covers the renovation of panel and low-rise buildings, intending to improve their living conditions and overall safety.
2. Old and Emergency Buildings: Buildings subject to physical wear and posing a threat to residents are slated for demolition and subsequent renovation.
3. Non-Reproducible Infrastructure Objects: The program also encompasses the renovation of outdated infrastructure objects, such as schools, kindergartens, and hospitals, to create more modern and functional spaces.

Before delving into the analysis and exploration of the Renovation program in the Zyuzino district, it is pertinent to note that Zyuzino is comprised of 20 blocks [see Figure 16], with the projects categorized into four main segments. The construction of each segment involves the transformation of 3-4 blocks.



Figure 16. Blocks of the Zyuzino district. Source: author's elaboration

Moving on to Figure 17, we can observe how the blocks are grouped within the program: the first group includes 7, 10, 14; the second group comprises 25, 26, 31, 35, 36A; the third group involves 36, 37, 38, and the fourth group encompasses 40, 41, 42. Each group had a dedicated project along with distinct technical and legal documentation. A detailed examination of these documents will be undertaken subsequently.

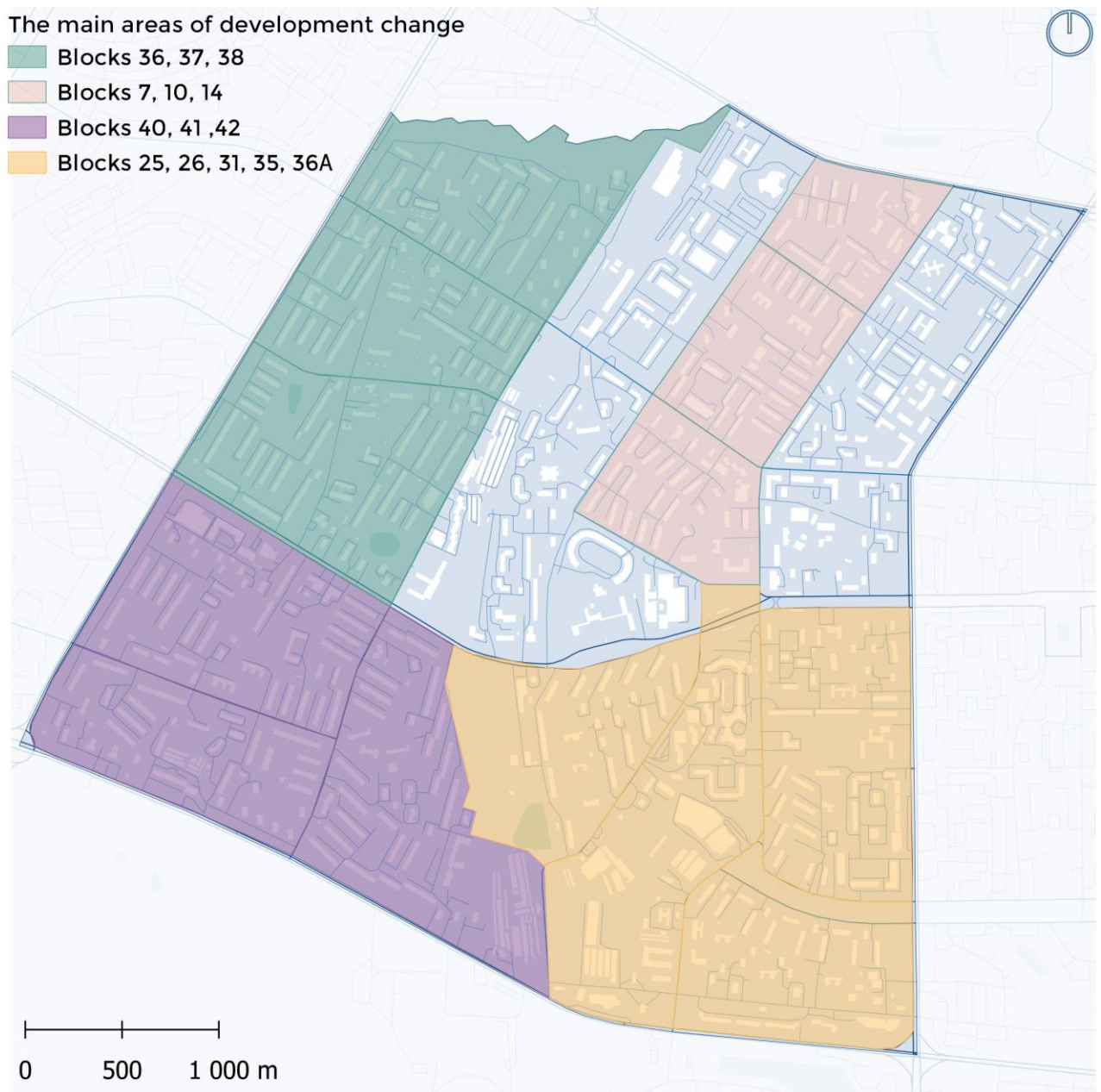


Figure 17. The main groups of blocks of the Zyuzino district. Source: author's elaboration

Returning to the urban planning analysis, the subsequent Figure 18 provides an overview of all buildings encompassed by the renovation program in Zyuzino. A notable observation is that the majority of residents in these buildings voted "in favor" of renovation. According to data from the Moscow Mayor's website and the official Renovation portal, only three buildings remain outside the program.



Figure 18. Houses included in the renovation program in the Zyuzino area. Source: author's elaboration

Upon revisiting the earlier section on urban planning analysis, especially with a closer look at the Figure 18 depicting building heights and construction years, a striking correlation becomes evident. Essentially, the renovation program encompasses almost all low-rise panel buildings constructed before 1968 and earlier, aligning seamlessly with the urban planning characteristics highlighted in the previous section.

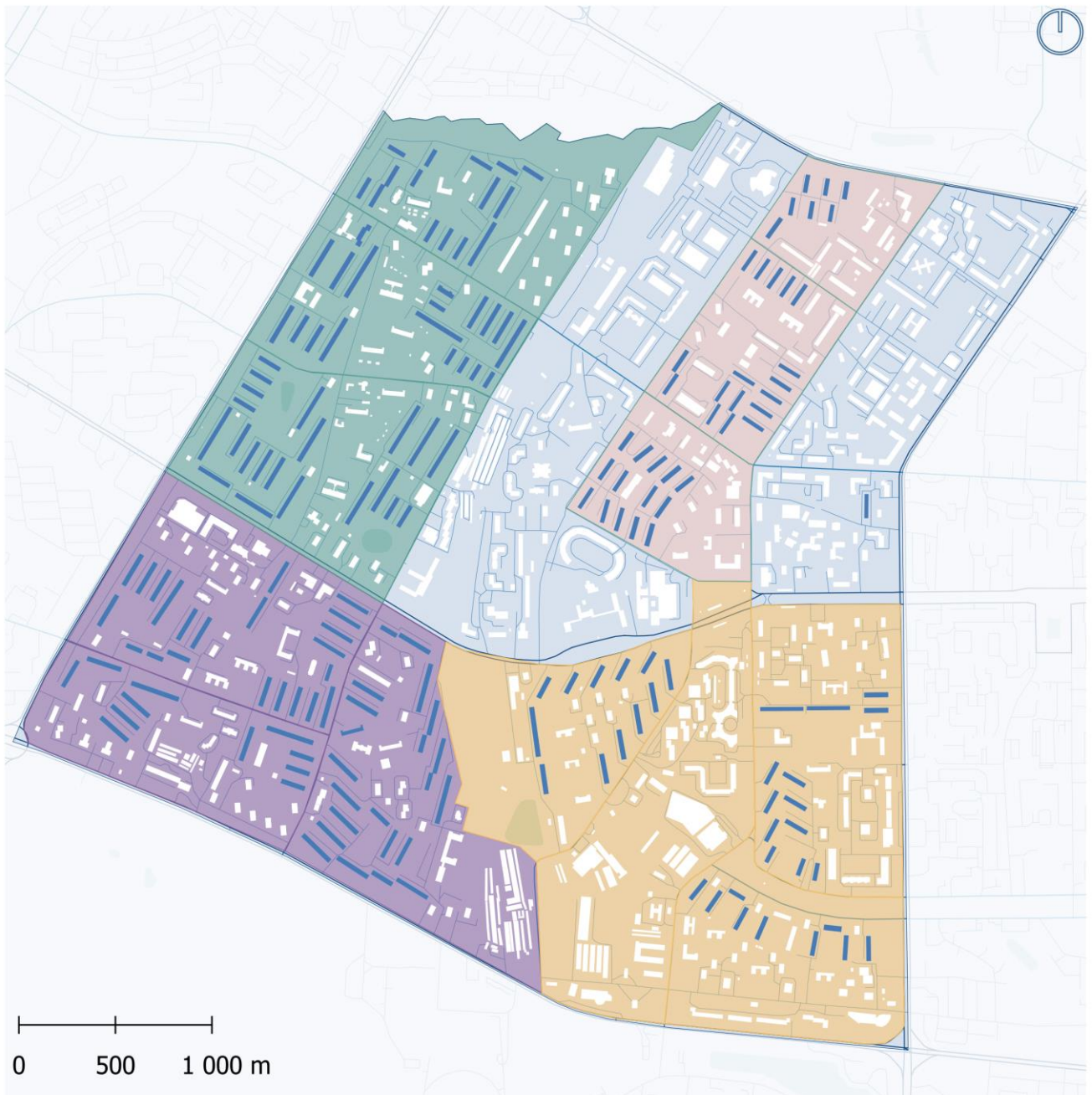
Incorporating 182 buildings, the Renovation program in Zyuzino is set to undergo demolition. To enhance resident accessibility and provide detailed insights into the program's implementation, an official Renovation program website offers an interactive map. This Renovation map intricately illustrates the current progress of the renovation initiative in Moscow, offering specific details for each district or renovation area. Users can easily locate pertinent information by selecting categories such as buildings included in the renovation program, starting points for construction, or areas where resettlement has commenced.

For Figure 19, I extracted up-to-date information from the website, focusing on the Zyuzino district, to depict the number of completed buildings, ongoing construction sites, and the overall stage of the renovation process.



Figure 19. A map duplicating relevant information about the renovation program. Source: author's elaboration

As of spring, according to information from the Renovation program's website, residents of four buildings in the Zyuzino district have already relocated to new constructions through the renovation initiative, while an additional eight buildings are currently in the process of resettlement. Zyuzino has emerged as a frontrunner in the South-Western Administrative District in terms of the number of buildings being resettled. More than two thousand residents have either received new apartments or completed the necessary documentation. In total, 182 buildings in the Zyuzino district are part of the renovation program, benefiting a total of 47.6 thousand residents, as reported on the official website of the Mayor of Moscow. Last year, 696 families in the Zyuzino district had already received new apartments through the renovation program.



■ Houses included in the Renovation Program

The main areas of development change

■ Blocks 36, 37, 38

■ Blocks 7, 10, 14

■ Blocks 40, 41, 42

■ Blocks 25, 26, 31, 35, 36A

Figure 20. The location of the participating houses by block. Source: author's elaboration

Next, let's revisit the division of neighborhoods into groups and examine the locations of the buildings included in the renovation program [Figure 20]. Following this, we will delve into the design solutions and key provisions outlined in the documentation for each neighborhood project.

5.2.1. Renovation projects by district blocks

In the previous section, we analyzed information about the buildings included in the Renovation program, the current situation (which buildings are already constructed, where construction is underway, etc.), and outlined how the district is divided into blocks while examining the program's key provisions and guarantees. In this section, we will delve into the specific renovation projects in the Zyuzino district, providing a detailed examination of each project from textual document aspects to graphic materials.



Figure 21. Sketch of the development of the renovation project in Zyuzino, sources: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino

Analyzing the entire district posed a challenge due to the absence of a unified project with a comprehensive map of the renovated areas. Instead, we have separate maps for each block group. To comprehend the entire picture, I opted to consolidate these parts into a single map, preserving and translating the legend from Russian to English.

On the previous page, you can observe Figure 21, depicting the Renovation Project for the district. The map illustrates the planned residential, social, and communal development, indicating existing buildings and those slated for demolition during the program's implementation. It is noteworthy that the program not only encompasses the construction of buildings and infrastructure but also ensures the development of sports and playgrounds, as well as the overall improvement of the area.

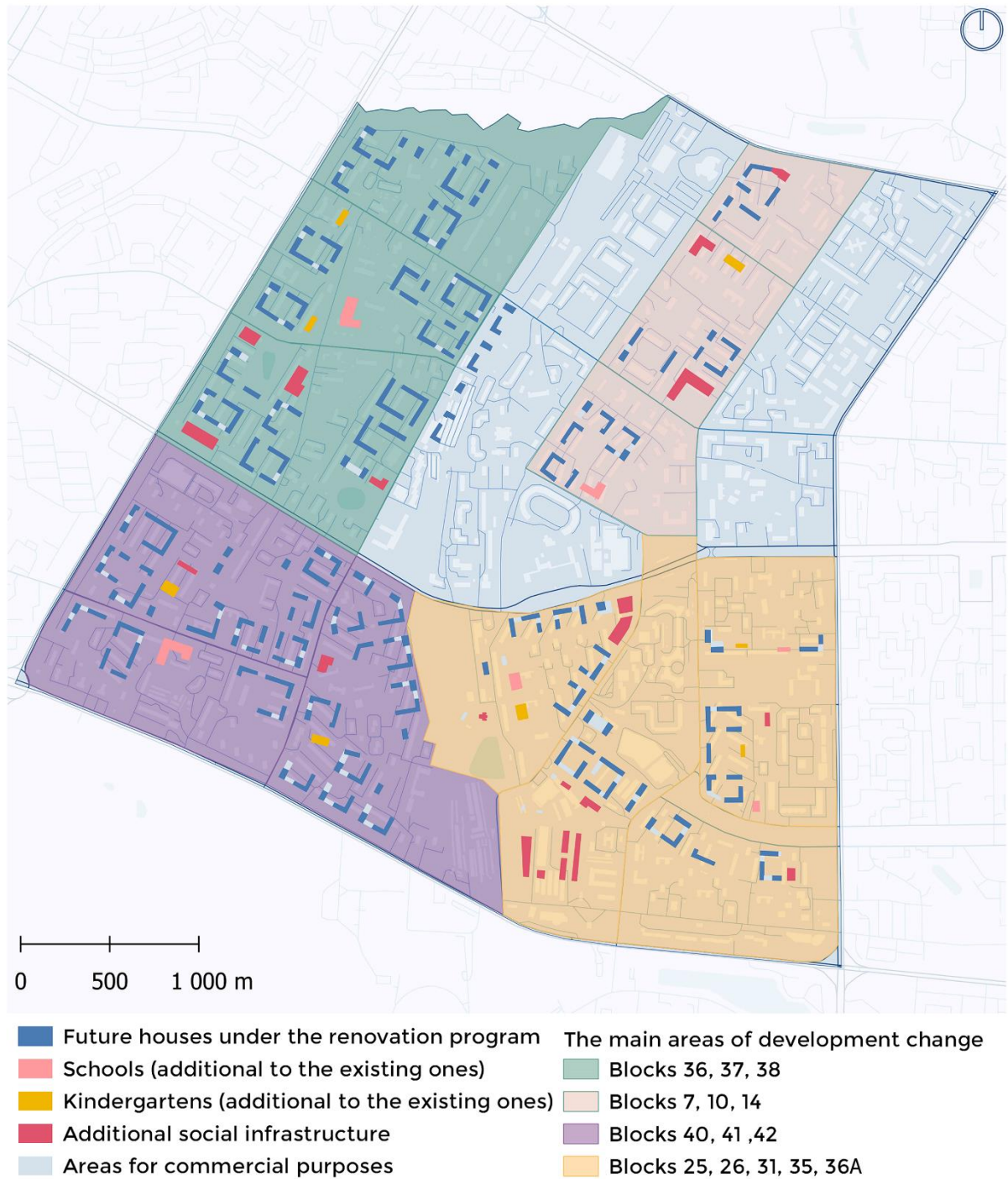


Figure 22. Renovation Overview - New Buildings, Blocks, and Social Infrastructure. Source: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino

In an effort to streamline the information essential for our investigation, I have crafted a simplified map, presented as Figure 22. Drawing from the key details found on Figure 21, this representation encapsulates the new buildings and blocks, while also highlighting the emerging social infrastructure in addition to the existing one. A cursory glance reveals a profound transformation within the block. For a more illustrative comparison, we can juxtapose this with Figure 23, depicting the prior layout and locations of the buildings slated for renovation.

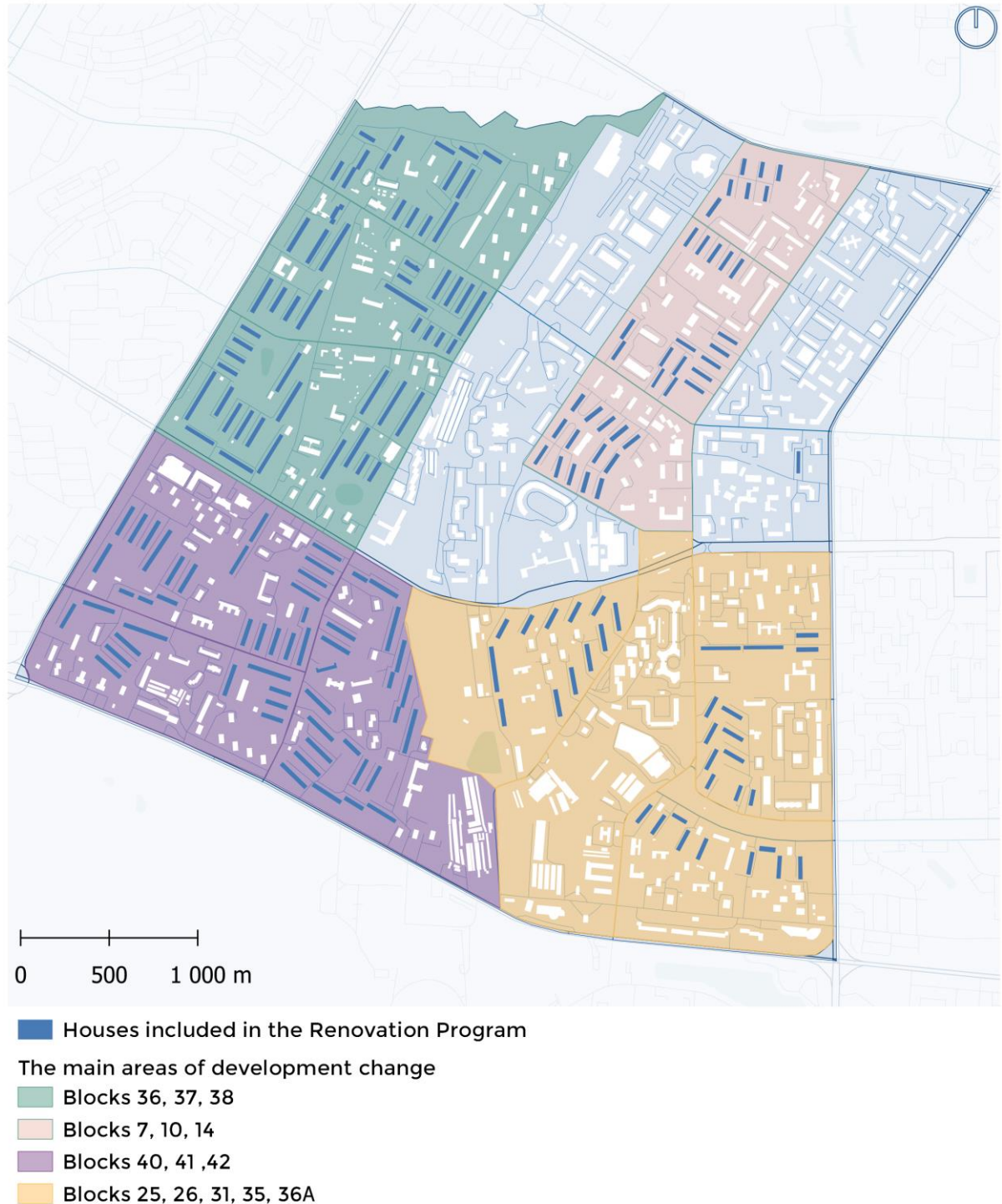


Figure 23. Previous Building Layout - Buildings Included in Renovation. Source: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zyuzino

This strategic visual analysis allows for a comprehensive understanding of the imminent changes to the district's landscape. The juxtaposition of the new and the existing structures facilitates a clearer comprehension of the scope and scale of the renovation initiatives. As we delve further

into the specific projects within each block, this visual aid will serve as a valuable reference point to contextualize the forthcoming discussion.

In the pursuit of enhanced clarity regarding the renovation program, I present a more visually intuitive map outlining the height specifications of the new developments. Addressing one of the central concerns of the renovation initiative, this map delineates building heights ranging from 8 to 9 stories, extending upwards to 24 and occasionally 30 stories. While the comprehensive Figure 21 provides a wealth of information, discerning the vertical dimension of the construction proves challenging, given that floor counts are detailed on individual buildings. Thus, I have crafted a specialized map [Figure 24] where the floor levels are visually apparent, offering a more tangible representation of the evolving architectural landscape.

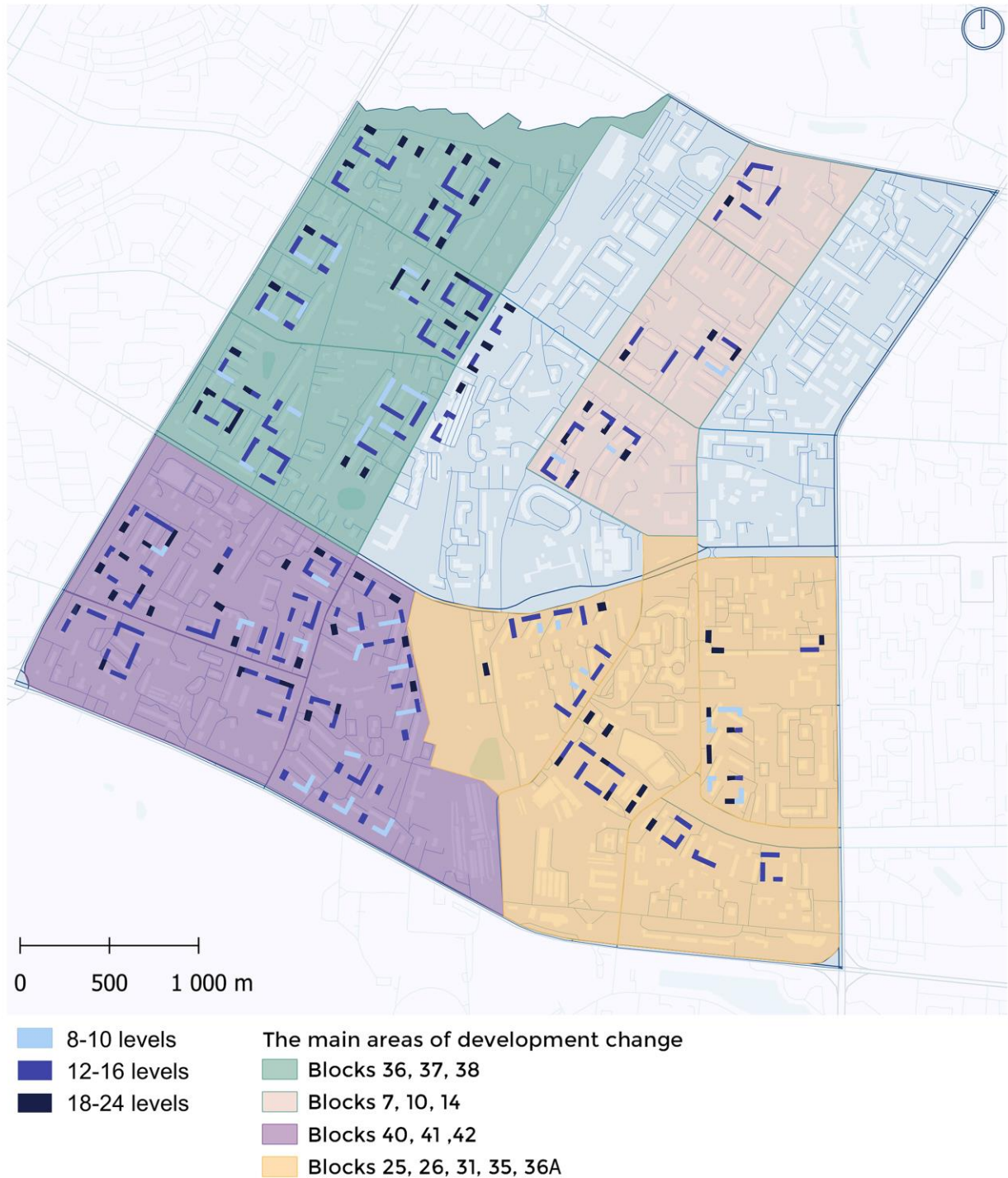


Figure 24. Building Heights in Renovation Area. Source: author's elaboration on official renovation project maps in Zuzino

This specialized visual aid serves as a valuable tool for tracking the vertical aspects of the redevelopment, enabling a more immediate understanding of the variance in building heights. As we progress into a detailed examination of each block's renovation projects, this dedicated map will be instrumental in comprehending the spatial dynamics and height distribution within the district.

Let us delve into a comparative analysis between the current state of affairs and the renovation project, highlighting key distinctions. The juxtaposition encompasses the characteristics of Soviet-era residential construction from the 1960s, particularly in the realm of suburban districts, and the contrasting principles underlying the Renovation initiative, emphasizing the shift towards a quarter-based development approach.

Characteristics of Soviet-Era Residential Construction (1960s):

During the 1960s, the Soviet Union witnessed a surge in residential construction, marked by the creation of sprawling suburban districts to accommodate a growing urban population. The key features of this era's architectural landscape include:

- Panel Construction: The predominant method employed in this period was panel construction, involving the use of pre-fabricated concrete panels for building structures quickly and cost-effectively.
- Low-Rise Buildings: The architecture predominantly featured low-rise buildings, often limited to five stories, reflecting an emphasis on horizontal expansion.
- Uniformity and Repetition: Soviet-era residential districts were characterized by a certain uniformity, with identical or similar building designs repeated throughout. This approach aimed at optimizing construction processes and resources.
- Limited Amenities: Basic amenities and social infrastructure were typically incorporated into the residential complexes, with a focus on meeting essential needs rather than providing a diverse range of services.
- Planning Approach: The planning approach of Soviet-era construction was centralized, with a top-down decision-making process dictating the layout and design of residential areas. This resulted in a lack of flexibility and adaptability to changing urban needs.

Renovation Initiative's Quarter-Based Development Approach:

In contrast to the Soviet-era construction principles, the Renovation initiative introduces a quarter-based development approach, emphasizing the following characteristics:

- Vertical Expansion: The renovation projects bring a shift towards increased verticality, with new constructions reaching heights of up to 30 stories. This departure from the low-rise paradigm is designed to optimize land use in the face of urbanization pressures.
- Diverse Architectural Solutions: Unlike the uniformity of the past, the Renovation initiative promotes diverse architectural solutions, with each quarter having its unique plan and design. This approach contributes to the creation of visually appealing and functionally varied urban spaces.
- Mixed-Use Spaces: The renovation projects introduce a blend of residential, commercial, and social spaces within the quarters. This mixed-use concept aims to create vibrant, self-sufficient communities where residents have easy access to various services and amenities.
- Consideration for Green Spaces: The initiative places a premium on green spaces within the quarters, fostering a balance between urban development and environmental sustainability. Parks, playgrounds, and recreational areas are integral components of the new design.
- Decentralized Planning: Unlike the centralized planning of the Soviet era, the Renovation initiative embraces a more decentralized and participatory planning approach. It involves

local communities in decision-making processes, fostering a sense of ownership and responsiveness to residents' needs.

I would like to refine the point on "Decentralized Planning" to better align with the specifics of the Renovation program in Zyuzino, where residents may not actively participate in the decision-making process regarding the layout of new buildings.

While the term "decentralized planning" traditionally implies community involvement in decision-making processes, it's essential to note that the Renovation initiatives in Zyuzino may not fully adhere to this participatory approach concerning the architectural layout of new buildings. Unlike traditional decentralization where residents actively contribute to the planning process, the Renovation program may prioritize expert-driven decisions, possibly due to the complexity of urban development and the need for specialized knowledge.

In the context of Zyuzino's Renovation, "decentralized planning" refers more to the diversification of architectural styles and functions within individual quarters, allowing for a varied urban landscape. The decision-making process, however, might be predominantly led by urban planners, architects, and experts who consider factors such as optimal land use, infrastructure requirements, and broader urban design principles. While residents might not be directly involved in designing specific buildings, the decentralization aspect manifests in the creation of distinct quarters with unique characteristics, promoting diversity and functionality.

This nuanced understanding of decentralized planning in the context of the Renovation program acknowledges the role of experts in shaping the architectural landscape, ensuring that decisions align with broader urban development goals, even if direct resident participation in building-level planning may be limited.

In the previous section, we delved into a comprehensive graphic analysis, juxtaposing the current architectural landscape with the envisioned future of Zyuzino under the Renovation program. This analytical approach provided valuable insights into the overall transformation of the district. Now, let's shift our focus to a more detailed examination by exploring each group of blocks individually. This nuanced review aims to unravel the intricate planning strategies, architectural nuances, and socio-functional considerations embedded in the Renovation projects within Zyuzino.

a/ Group 1 - Blocks 7, 10, 14

Commencing with the northernmost section of Zyuzino, this group encapsulates the redevelopment of Blocks 7, 10, and 14. Positioned within the northeastern part of the district, the project envisages a residential reconfiguration marked by the replacement of aging structures. Noteworthy is the intent to establish a network of intra-block passages, effectively segregating streets and public spaces from the inner courtyards. The demolition of 38 outdated buildings is slated, clearing the canvas for contemporary residential edifices.

Strikingly, the ground levels of the new residential buildings in this sector will be allocated for commercial use – a deliberate integration fostering improved amenities and additional employment opportunities for local residents. Furthermore, provisions for both surface and underground parking underscore the commitment to creating a "car-free" internal quarter, prioritizing green spaces, child-friendly zones, and recreational areas.

The architectural footprint unfolds across 394.94 thousand square meters, accommodating diverse community needs. The landscaping blueprint emphasizes a total area of 27.8 hectares, ensuring the restoration and enhancement of green zones post-construction. This initiative empowers residents to actively participate in selecting tree species and shrubs for the revitalization of communal spaces.

The graphical representation of this block is vividly displayed on Figure 20, illustrating the proposed and existing structures in the district.

In addition to the liberation of space and the construction of residential buildings, several key facets further illuminate the intricate planning and execution of the Renovation projects within Blocks 7, 10, and 14 in Zyuzino.

Community Facilities and Educational Infrastructure:

Beyond reclaiming territory and erecting residential structures, the comprehensive plan incorporates the construction of multi-story residential buildings with integrated non-residential premises and underground garages. This strategic amalgamation aims to optimize space and convenience, addressing both residential and vehicular needs. Notably, the plan includes the establishment of an educational hub featuring a 550-seat general education institution, a 250-seat preschool educational organization, and a 600-seat music school. These institutions not only serve as centers of learning but also contribute to the cultural vibrancy of the community.

Moreover, the design envisions a multifunctional complex with a sports and health center (FOK) and a high-rise urban development complex (VGK). These additions underscore a holistic approach, fostering a balanced blend of residential, educational, and recreational elements within the urban fabric.

- Transportation and Infrastructure Development:

The Renovation initiative transcends mere architectural transformations by actively addressing transportation and infrastructure development. This includes the reconstruction of arterial roads, construction of local roads, installation of sidewalks, creation of bus stops with entry pockets, and the establishment of parking spaces within the street-road network. The incorporation of intra-block passages and pedestrian crossings enhances accessibility, promoting a pedestrian-friendly environment. The synergy with the "My District" initiative, focused on urban improvement, is evident in these meticulous planning details.

- Engineering Infrastructure Advancements:

To support the envisioned development, the plan outlines extensive measures for enhancing engineering infrastructure. This encompasses the creation and adaptation of engineering systems and communications to accommodate the proposed construction. The reconstruction of the central heating substation (CTS) forms a critical component of this strategy, ensuring the efficient distribution of utilities.

- Civil Defense and Environmental Protection:

Safety considerations are paramount in the Renovation projects. The inclusion of a regional alert siren on the roof of a planned residential building, coupled with the adaptation of an underground garage for civil defense purposes (ZSGO), exemplifies a proactive approach to safeguarding the population during emergencies. Furthermore, environmental protection measures are seamlessly woven into the construction process, emphasizing noise-reducing elements, vibrational safeguards, and the installation of noise-shielding screens over a 508-meter stretch.

- Territory Beautification and Environmental Initiatives:

The Renovation plan extends beyond the built environment to encompass holistic territory beautification and environmental initiatives. Green spaces for communal use, enhancement of intra-block territories, and street network beautification align with the "My District" program's objectives. The meticulous planning includes provisions for recreational spaces, children's play areas, sports facilities, and environmentally conscious design elements.

In essence, these multifaceted components of the Renovation projects in Blocks 7, 10, and 14 reflect a nuanced and comprehensive approach, integrating diverse elements for the betterment of the community and the environment.

b/ Group 2 - Blocks 25, 26, 31, 35, 36A

The urban planning initiative encompasses a 119.2-hectare area in Moscow's Zyuzino district, strategically devised to implement the City of Moscow's Housing Renovation Program. Bounded by Chongarsky Boulevard, Kahovka Street to the north, Simferopolsky Boulevard to the east, Balaklavsky Avenue to the south, and Bolshaya Yushunskaya Street to the west, the territory is serviced by Kahovka Street, Chernomorsky Boulevard, Azovskaya Street, Bolshaya Yushunskaya Street, and Starobalaklavskaya Street.

Within the project boundaries, diverse structures coexist, including residential buildings, educational institutions, administrative facilities, commercial spaces, healthcare facilities, communal warehouses, and nature-recreation zones. The project aims to redefine the limits of Moscow's natural complexes, rejuvenate the living environment, foster citizen well-being, prevent housing emergencies, and enhance residential areas with a novel urban layout for improved living, working, and recreational conditions.

The urban redevelopment initiative in Zyuzino, Moscow, encapsulates a meticulous plan for Blocks 25, 26, 31, 35, and 36A. This multifaceted project not only envisions the demolition and construction of structures but also integrates measures to enhance transportation, engineering, civil defense, environmental protection, and cultural heritage preservation.

- Demolition and Construction:

Demolition: The plan mandates the lawful dismantling of 34 multi-story residential buildings and standalone non-residential structures. The cumulative floor area of these structures reaches 154.92 thousand sq.m. for residential buildings and 24.01 thousand sq.m. for non-residential ones.

Construction: The proposal outlines the construction of multi-story residential buildings with integrated non-residential spaces and underground garages, totaling a floor area of 579.91 thousand sq.m. for residential buildings and 153.99 thousand sq.m. for non-residential structures.

Reconstruction: The plan includes the reconstruction of an existing structure, increasing its floor area from 2.28 thousand sq.m. to 4.20 thousand sq.m.

- Transportation Infrastructure Development:

The transportation infrastructure initiative encompasses extensive developments to enhance connectivity and accessibility. This involves the reconstruction and construction of local roads, notably major arteries such as Bolshaya Yushunskaya Street, Azovskaya Street, and Simferopolsky Boulevard. Furthermore, the plan integrates dedicated cycling lanes along Azovskaya Street and Chernomorsky Boulevard, promoting sustainable urban mobility.

To optimize public transportation, the proposal includes the construction of a bus turning and parking area tailored for urban passenger transport, featuring a purpose-built terminal station building. Additionally, the project involves the reconstruction of the tram turning circle on Simferopolsky Boulevard, complete with supplementary tram tracks, contributing to the overall efficiency and modernization of the transportation network.

- Engineering Infrastructure Advancements:

The proposed engineering interventions encompass a multifaceted enhancement strategy. This includes the modernization of water supply networks, the introduction of a gravity-based sewage system, and the construction and refurbishment of stormwater drainage networks. Additionally,

the plan involves the relocation and construction of heat and gas supply networks, the establishment of 22 transformer substations with two distribution points, and the installation of electrical supply networks. Moreover, the initiative integrates a state-of-the-art "Smart Standard" communication infrastructure and envisions the reconstruction and deployment of telephone networks. This comprehensive approach to engineering infrastructure aims to establish a resilient and technologically advanced foundation for the renovated urban landscape.

- Civil Defense and Protection Measures:

Installation of an electric siren for audible warnings on the roof of the proposed residential building and adaptation of underground garages for civil defense purposes, providing shelter for 7400 people.

- Territory Beautification:

The comprehensive program extends its impact to the aesthetic transformation of the territory, aligning seamlessly with the "My District" initiative. This involves the meticulous creation of green spaces, meticulously designed to meet regulatory standards, contributing to the overall environmental appeal.

The beautification efforts encompass diverse public spaces, ranging from pedestrian zones to recreational areas and parking lots. Notably, there is a dedicated focus on elevating the ambiance of residential courtyards, ensuring a harmonious blend of functionality and aesthetics within these community spaces.

Furthermore, the initiative directs attention towards enhancing public and social infrastructure areas, fostering an environment that prioritizes the well-being of the residents. As part of this endeavor, there is a deliberate effort to restore and revitalize the surroundings of educational institutions, reinforcing the commitment to creating vibrant and conducive learning environments.

- Environmental Protection:

In a conscientious approach to environmental preservation, the program incorporates strategic measures. This includes the implementation of noise-resistant glazing for residential structures, ensuring a tranquil living environment amidst urban dynamics.

Simultaneously, the initiative demonstrates a commitment to environmental welfare by meticulously developing sanitary protection zones. This encompasses both the safeguarding of existing structures and the thoughtful planning of future constructions, adhering to stringent standards for the well-being of the community.

- Cultural Heritage Preservation:

Implementation of earthworks, construction, and other activities while adhering to the requirements outlined in Federal Law No. 73-FZ of June 25, 2002, regarding cultural heritage sites.

c/ Group 3 - Blocks 36, 37, 38

The 111.1-hectare planning project in Moscow's Zyuzino district aims to revitalize the living environment. Bounded by the Kotlovka River, Sevastopolsky Avenue, Kahovka Street, and Kerchenskaya Street, the area accommodates residential buildings, educational institutions, and commercial facilities. In a consolidated protection zone, it includes cultural heritage sites like the Church of Boris and Gleb. The initiative seeks to enhance living conditions, curb housing emergencies, and establish a modern urban structure for residents' comfort.

The program for the revitalization of Zyuzino district unfolds through a multifaceted approach, strategically addressing various aspects:

- Demolition and Construction:

Demolition, adhering to legal guidelines, includes fifty-four multi-story residential buildings, garage structures, and one preschool educational institution, totaling a cumulative floor area of 332.55 thousand sq. m for the demolished multi-story buildings and 17.20 thousand sq. m for standalone non-residential structures.

Erection of multi-story residential buildings with integrated non-residential spaces, underground garages for permanent car storage, and the development of educational institutions and multifunctional complexes.

- Transportation Infrastructure Development (In alignment with "My District" Program):

Reconstruction of main roads, construction of local roads, cycling lanes, bus stops, and tram turnaround points.

- Engineering Infrastructure Advancements:

Upgrade of water supply networks, installation of a gravity sewage system, construction and relocation of stormwater drainage networks, heat and gas supply networks, establishment of substations, installation of electrical supply networks, and implementation of "Smart Standard" communication infrastructure.

- Civil Defense and Protection Measures:

Installation of regional alert sirens and adaptation of underground garages for civil defense purposes with a capacity of 17,550 people.

- Territory Beautification (In correlation with the "My District" Program):

Creation of green spaces, enhancement of public areas, improvement of residential courtyards, revitalization of public and social infrastructure areas, and restoration of surroundings for educational institutions.

- Environmental Protection:

Installation of noise-resistant glazing and development of sanitary protection zones.

- Protection of Cultural Heritage:

Formulation of land usage regimes and urban development regulations, respecting the protected cultural heritage zones.

d/ Group 4 - Blocks 40, 41, 42

The urban planning proposal for the 108.0-hectare territory within Moscow's Zyuzino district is meticulously crafted to align with the objectives of the City of Moscow's Housing Renovation Program. Delimited by Kahovka Street to the northeast, the border of Zyuzino Park and Bolshaya Yushunskaya Street to the east, Balaklavsky Avenue to the southwest, and Sevastopolsky Avenue to the northwest, this project envisions a comprehensive transformation.

Within the project's boundaries, one finds an array of structures, including multi-story residential buildings, preschool educational institutions, general educational facilities, commercial establishments, and communal residential structures. The transportation network serving the planned territory is efficiently designed, integrating Sevastopolsky Avenue, Kahovka Street, Kerchenskaya Street, Khersonskaya Street, Balaklavsky Avenue, and Bolshaya Yushunskaya Street.

Strategically positioned within the layout are vital amenities such as a petrol station, automotive service center, shopping complex, and standalone commercial structures. Adjacent areas feature communal developments, contributing to the overall urban fabric.

Crucially, the territory under consideration encompasses natural complexes, denoted as Natural Complex Objects (NCO).

- Demolition and Construction:

In adherence to legal regulations, the designated area of 108.0 hectares within Moscow's Zyuzino district is set for a transformative process involving the demolition of 55 multi-story residential buildings, garage structures, three educational institutions (preschool education), one educational institution (general education), communal buildings, and a trade pavilion. The aggregate floor area of the above-ground parts of the demolished residential buildings measures 326.89 thousand sq. m, while standalone non-residential structures encompass 9.77 thousand sq. m.

The proposed project encompasses the construction of multi-story residential buildings with integrated non-residential spaces and underground garages for permanent car storage. Additionally, educational facilities for preschool education (200 seats), a combined educational institution with a pool (250 seats), a general education institution (850 seats), and an arts school (300 seats) are part of the plan. The infrastructure also includes a polyclinic, communal structures like a central heating point, distribution points, and transformer substations.

- Transportation Infrastructure Development (In alignment with "My District" Program):

The optimization of the area's transportation framework encompasses strategic initiatives such as the reconstruction of pivotal regional roads, construction of local thoroughfares, installation of sidewalks, establishment of accessible public transport stops, integration of parking facilities into the road network, creation of intra-block driveways, provision of parking spaces within these driveways, installation of pedestrian crossings, and the implementation of designated bicycle lanes.

- Engineering Infrastructure Advancements:

The project emphasizes activities to advance the engineering infrastructure, including the installation and modification of systems and communications to support the planned development. This encompasses the preservation, with operational reliability assurance, reconstruction of existing engineering communications within the construction zone, or the restructuring of such communications.

- Civil Defense and Protection Measures:

The proposed multi-story residential building includes provisions for regional warning siren placement on the roof. Additionally, the underground garages of the residential development are adapted to serve as Civil Defense protective structures, accommodating up to 17,800 people.

- Territory Beautification (In correlation with the "My District" Program):

The project outlines several initiatives for enhancing the living environment, including the landscaping and greening of courtyards, the creation of recreational spaces for children and adults, and the development of communal areas. Preservation and development of natural and green areas in the Southwest Administrative District are integral components of the plan.

- Environmental Protection:

To mitigate noise levels in existing and planned residential and public areas, the project includes the installation of noise-reducing windows and barriers. Further, projects aimed at reducing sanitary protection zones are planned, along with the establishment of container sites for solid waste collection.

- Protection of Cultural Heritage:

The design and execution of earthworks, construction, improvement, economic, and other activities within the project boundaries will be carried out based on the results of a state historical and cultural expertise of the land plots. This will involve archaeological exploration, with a scientific report documenting the conducted archaeological work in the surveyed area.

5.2.2. Concluding Reflection on Zyuzino Renovation Program

In conclusion, the Renovation projects in Zyuzino epitomize a holistic strategy that harmonizes urban development, infrastructure optimization, environmental sustainability, and the preservation of cultural heritage. The synergy of these multifaceted components underscores a forward-thinking and integrated approach to urban revitalization.

The delineation of district blocks into four distinct categories, as previously expounded, underscores the nuanced planning tailored to the unique characteristics and needs of each sector. This meticulous categorization allows for a targeted and efficient execution of renovation initiatives, fostering a symbiotic relationship between urban expansion and heritage conservation.

By strategically addressing the intricacies of each quadrant, the program not only aims to enhance the quality of living for residents but also envisages the creation of vibrant, interconnected communities. The envisaged transport infrastructure development, coupled with meticulous attention to environmental preservation and cultural heritage, signifies a commitment to fostering sustainable urban ecosystems.

Moreover, the meticulous planning for the integration of educational and healthcare facilities, commercial spaces, and communal areas reflects a commitment to crafting not just living spaces but thriving neighborhoods. The program's emphasis on transportation, green spaces, and community facilities aligns with contemporary urban development paradigms, ensuring a balance between modernization and the preservation of the area's unique identity.

Ultimately, the Renovation projects in Zyuzino stand as a testament to the city's commitment to creating a dynamic urban landscape that seamlessly blends modernity with tradition, functionality with aesthetics. It is a journey toward an urban future where residents can enjoy the benefits of a well-planned, sustainable, and culturally rich living environment. The integration of various facets within the renovation plan serves as a model for future urban development initiatives, showcasing the potential for harmonious coexistence of progress and heritage.

6. Perspectives from different actors

6.1. Administrative Interviews Analysis

As we delve into the heart of Moscow's urban transformation, a crucial facet of our examination lies in the perspectives and insights of the city's administrative authorities. The Renovation program, alongside the My Street and My District improvement initiatives, represents a multifaceted approach to redefining Moscow's urban landscape. To comprehensively assess the impact and efficacy of these programs, we turn our attention to the voices shaping urban policies, strategies, and implementations.

This section delves into interviews conducted with key administrative figures involved in the planning, execution, and evaluation of Moscow's urban renewal initiatives. Through their vantage point, we aim to unravel the strategic considerations, challenges, and triumphs that have shaped the trajectory of these transformative projects. The administrative interviews provide a unique lens through which we can glean insights into the decision-making processes, policy dynamics, and the overarching vision that propels Moscow towards becoming a city at the forefront of contemporary urban development.

From considerations of social infrastructure to the complexities of architectural innovations, the administrative perspective encapsulates the intricate interplay between policy objectives and the practicalities of implementation. These interviews serve as a critical bridge between the conceptualization of urban renewal strategies and their tangible manifestation on the streets and in the neighborhoods of Moscow.

As we embark on this exploration of administrative viewpoints, the goal is to unravel the narratives that underpin the urban metamorphosis of Moscow. Through sincere conversations with key decision-makers, designers and executives, we try to get a detailed idea of the complex interweaving of challenges, triumphs and lessons that we have achieved to change the future of the city.

In my focused exploration of the urban dynamics within the Renovation program, I deliberately selected the Zyuzino district for an in-depth study. This strategic choice allowed me to engage specifically with the local administration of Zyuzino, providing a comprehensive understanding of diverse perspectives, pre-existing conditions in the district, and the intricacies of the renovation plan.

In my efforts to gather information, I primarily liaised with the administration of Zyuzino. While I briefly communicated with some deputies, like Deputy #1 who is also hold the position of Deputy Director at the Zuzino District School. While attempting to schedule official meetings, the primary source of information came from Deputy #2. It is crucial to note that Deputy #2, who directly interacts with residents involved in the renovation, serves as a direct liaison for the administration in the context of the Renovation program.

Therefore, my analysis in the following paragraphs of this chapter will be from the point of view of the second deputy, who provided the main and detailed point of view of the district administration office. The interview with Deputy #2 shed light on the multifaceted role they play. Deputy #2's active engagement in the youth council of Zyuzino, their role as a public advisor, and their participation in the Moscow City Duma illustrate a dynamic connection with civic life.

Deputy #2 stressed the significance of inclusive decision-making within the framework of the Renovation program. Their involvement in a working group dedicated to safeguarding the rights and interests of residents during the implementation of the program demonstrates a commitment to representing diverse perspectives.

In exploring the goals and objectives of district authorities participating in the Renovation and improvement programs, a common thread emerges across Moscow—a commitment to creating a comfortable urban environment aligned with the vision of the "15-minute city." This overarching

objective underscores the citywide endeavor to enhance the quality of life for residents by fostering active leisure spaces and advancing infrastructure development.

Over the years, the transformative impact of programs like "My Street" became evident in the city center, contributing to a more pedestrian-friendly and aesthetically pleasing environment. The interviewee's reflections underscore the gradual improvement in the city's infrastructure, mirroring a positive shift in the perception of Moscow as a welcoming space for both residents and visitors.

The interviewee, drawing from their experience in the youth council during the nascent stages of the "My District" program, highlighted the multifaceted approach taken by district activists. Their efforts centered on raising awareness, especially among the younger population, utilizing social networks to disseminate information about various urban programs. The "My District" initiative, alongside others like "My Parking," aimed to transform urban spaces comprehensively. The interviewee recounted meticulous inspections of clinics, assessing everything from nursing posts to the availability of basic amenities like toilet paper and soap. The focus on these details underscored a commitment to improving the overall urban experience, even down to the smallest practicalities.

In considering the "My District" program, a linkage to the Renovation program becomes apparent, particularly in the context of Zyuzino—one of the largest districts undergoing extensive renovation. With a substantial stock of five-story buildings, Zyuzino ranks prominently in the Renovation program, showcasing a significant residential transformation. The interviewee's early visits to the first Renovation house on Pyataya Parkovaya Street highlight the district's evolution under these initiatives. The intersection between the two programs becomes evident as older structures are redesigned to meet Renovation standards, contributing to the district's overall urban rejuvenation.

6.1.1. Impact of the Renovation Program in Zyuzino District

The Zyuzino district stands as a prominent participant in the Renovation program. Residents' sentiments toward the impending changes are not uniform, reflecting a diverse range of expectations and perceptions within the community. Conversations with those who have already experienced the transition, having moved into new, modern residences, indicate a generally positive reception. Satisfaction among this group suggests that the tangible benefits of upgraded living spaces and improved infrastructure outweigh the initial disruptions caused by the relocation process.

An interesting dynamic emerges in the community's understanding of resettlement. Some residents express expectations of moving directly to a neighboring house, emphasizing proximity to familiar surroundings. However, official documents often dictate relocations within the same district rather than to an adjacent structure, leading to a recalibration of expectations.

The inseparable connection between the district and the Renovation program becomes evident in this context. The interviewee emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between Zyuzino and the broader renovation efforts, positioning them as an integrated tandem. This perspective aligns with the multifaceted nature of the program, where structural changes go hand in hand with community dynamics and expectations.

In response to the effects of "My Street" and "My District" programs on public spaces, clinics, and recreational areas, a comprehensive transformation is evident in the district. The renovation of Clinic 33 and the ongoing modernization of the children's clinic on Kahovka Street exemplify the commitment to enhancing healthcare facilities. Additionally, sports and cultural venues have undergone updates, creating vibrant and welcoming spaces. The restoration work extends to streets with historical significance, connecting the district to its heritage. Notable features include large children's zones, fountains, ships, and relaxation spots, fostering a diverse and inclusive

environment. Transportation accessibility has significantly improved, with new metro stations contributing to the overall convenience of residents.

The interviewee's experiences extend beyond Zyuzino, offering insights gained from visits to other districts, such as the southwest and Butovo. The reference to the resettlement of residents from three-story wooden houses underscores the program's far-reaching impact across diverse housing types and locations within Moscow. Collaborative efforts, including discussions with representatives from departments and the Renovation Fund, highlight the ongoing dialogue between authorities and residents. The role of figures like Alexander Kozlov, now a deputy of the Moscow City Duma, in facilitating communication and addressing resident concerns underscores the commitment to transparent governance and resident-centric urban renewal.

The implementation journey of the Renovation and "My Street/My District" programs has not been without challenges. Vocal opposition to the renovation, concerns about tree felling, and apprehensions about potential population influx from nine-story building residents present obstacles. The multifaceted nature of concerns, ranging from environmental to social considerations, underscores the need for nuanced approaches. Notably, the obligation for developers to compensate for removed trees or engage in transplantation reflects a commitment to balancing urban renewal with environmental consciousness.

6.1.2. Community Engagement and Social Changes

In the multifaceted landscape of urban renewal programs, community engagement stands as a cornerstone for the successful planning and implementation of initiatives such as the Renovation program. Insights gathered from this administrative interview shed light on the diverse measures taken to actively involve residents and consider their opinions throughout the process.

The Mayor's Portal emerged as a central platform for community interaction, offering residents a space to voice opinions and contribute suggestions. However, the interviewee guaranteed that initial surveys were conducted with each house on the meetings to gauge resident interest in joining the Renovation program. The overwhelming participation from residents in the Zuzino district underscored a collective readiness for change, with only a couple of houses opting out initially. Notably, some residents who initially refrained from participating have since expressed regret, highlighting the transformative impact of the program.

Opting out of the Renovation program remains a viable option, contingent upon the agreement of one-third of the residents. This mechanism allows dissenting voices to be heard, offering an avenue for residents to express concerns or reservations about the program. The delicate balance between addressing immediate concerns and recognizing the inevitability of aging infrastructures, particularly in the context of five-story buildings, adds complexity to the decision-making process. The interviewee, a resident of such a building, empathizes with the eagerness for resettlement, emphasizing the limitations of piecemeal repairs in comparison to comprehensive urban renewal.

Community engagement efforts encompass public meetings, public hearings, and proactive communication by district deputies. Notably, the interviewee faced challenges when opposition groups attempted to shift public opinion, emphasizing the importance of transparent communication and factual information dissemination.

The evolution of information-sharing dynamics is also noted, with changes in the speed and transparency of communication from the Renovation Fund. While initial stages saw a faster flow of information, current practices focus on providing comprehensive details closer to the resettlement phase. The interviewee actively engages with residents through various channels, including Telegram groups, acknowledging the prevalence of rumors and gossip in these spaces.

The collaborative nature of urban renewal projects, particularly within the Renovation program, involves intricate interactions with various stakeholders, including developers and city authorities.

The interviewee, actively involved in interactions with developers, shared experiences from group sessions led by Petr Olegovich Tolstoy. These sessions brought together representatives from the Department of Urban Planning and Construction, the Renovation Fund, Moscow Architecture, and diverse designers.

However, the practicality of accessing detailed project information during the construction phase was acknowledged. While documents and tenders provide a glimpse, comprehensive insights into ongoing projects remain limited, echoing the sentiment that substantial engagement with developers intensifies post-resettlement. This shift in focus aligns with the experiential nature of urban renewal, evolving not just for residents but also for those responsible for execution and service provision, including management companies.

The warranty period, a critical phase in post-construction, was highlighted, acknowledging occasional glitches even in elite housing. Direct communication with developers during this period became paramount, with the interviewee emphasizing the importance of swift resolution, particularly for emerging issues.

In the post-resettlement phase, residents gained access to the Center for Information (ЦИИ), a local hub facilitating communication between residents, developers, and various stakeholders. This centralized resource, combined with the accessibility of representatives from the management company, architecture, and the Renovation Fund, played a pivotal role in ensuring ongoing communication channels. The availability of support from the Public Chamber, equipped with legal expertise and a history of involvement since the program's inception, further strengthened the support framework for residents.

The post-implementation landscape of Moscow's districts, shaped by the Renovation, "My Street," and "My District" programs, unfolds a narrative of positive social changes, as illuminated by the interviewee's insights.

A notable observation centers on the heightened satisfaction among residents regarding transportation accessibility. The improved connectivity not only elevates the district's appeal for existing residents but also makes it more attractive for visitors. This development aligns with the broader goals of the programs, emphasizing the creation of a well-connected and accessible urban environment.

Within the intricate fabric of social interactions, a fascinating dynamic emerges. The establishment of the "Kind Neighbors" chat serves as a digital agora where residents engage in discussions about various aspects of communal living. This platform becomes particularly instrumental in addressing issues related to organizational matters with management companies, fostering a sense of collective responsibility. The adaptability of residents in forming new chats when moving underscores a proactive approach to navigating the challenges and opportunities associated with resettlement.

The continuity of social ties from the old building to the new residences signifies a remarkable aspect of community cohesion. Even as the entire building community relocates together, exceptions exist, adding a layer of complexity to the process. Rare instances, such as people from one building resettling into different ones, require compromises. However, the interviewee emphasizes the presence of a structured framework that accommodates individual preferences and needs. The provision of three options, coupled with negotiations facilitated by neighbors, underscores the flexibility embedded in the resettlement process.

The exchange mechanism further enhances this flexibility, allowing residents to express preferences for proximity to new apartments, even opting for a different building. The negotiation process considers a range of factors, including health considerations and floor-level preferences, reinforcing the commitment to ensuring the well-being and satisfaction of the community members.

The interviewee sheds light on the ongoing and planned research initiatives within the district to assess program outcomes. Regular inspections provide opportunities for engagement with residents, offering insights into their experiences, concerns, and evolving perspectives. The diversity of reactions, from initial anxiety to subsequent relief and appreciation, underscores the importance of considering individual, familial, and personal preferences in the assessment process. The dynamic nature of these perspectives necessitates a nuanced approach to understand the multifaceted outcomes of the urban renewal programs.

In summary, the social changes witnessed in the district post-implementation extend beyond the physical transformation of the urban landscape. The enhanced accessibility and the thriving digital forums for communal dialogue contribute to a dynamic social tapestry. The preservation of social ties amidst resettlement showcases the resilience of community bonds, demonstrating that, even in the face of urban renewal, the human dimension remains a vital and enduring aspect of the district's identity.

6.1.3. Renovation's Impact on Urban Aesthetics and Architectural Heritage

The impact of the Renovation program on the architectural heritage of Moscow's districts prompts a nuanced reflection on the evolving urban aesthetics. The interviewee's insights offer a multifaceted perspective, acknowledging both the regrettable aspects and the imperative need for modernization.

Expressing a certain regret about the proliferation of tall high-rises, the interviewee reflects a sentiment shared by some residents who may prefer fewer towering structures. This sentiment is rooted in a desire to preserve the district's character, perhaps marked by the iconic Khrushchyovka buildings. However, a pragmatic acknowledgment emerges, emphasizing Moscow's status as a capital and a modern city that must evolve to meet contemporary demands.

The dichotomy between regret and acceptance is most palpable in the first wave of relocation. On the positive side, residents benefit from a swift transition, escaping deteriorating living conditions. Yet, challenges arise concerning the limited availability of additional square meters for purchase within the warranty period. While the opportunity exists, the scarcity of newly constructed buildings in the initial wave minimizes this option. Residents are left to navigate within existing spaces or rely on exchanges facilitated by the 10% discount on purchases.

The interviewee's hope, rooted in the insights gained from the Active Citizen app, centers on mitigating the potential intimidation caused by the district's evolving layout. Assurance is provided that green spaces, such as parks, remain untouched or are even enhanced with added alleys. The promise of new educational and healthcare facilities, including a music school and clinics, aligns with the overarching goal of creating a comprehensive and well-equipped urban environment. Importantly, the preservation of historical values underscores the commitment to maintaining the cultural tapestry of the district.

6.1.4. Concluding Reflection on Administrative Interviews Analysis

The comprehensive insights gained through the administrative interviews present a rich tapestry of perspectives on the urban renewal initiatives in Moscow, specifically through the Renovation program and the "My Street/My District" improvement programs. As we reflect on the multifaceted dimensions explored in the interviews, several key themes emerge, providing a nuanced understanding of the transformative processes and challenges inherent in reshaping the urban landscape.

- Collaborative Urban Vision: Mass Projects and Practicality

A recurring theme in the interviews revolves around the preference for mass projects characterized by practicality and uniformity. The emphasis on conditions being roughly the same across diverse districts underscores the practical challenges associated with individualized initiatives. While the desire for collaboration and innovative projects is evident, the need for a pragmatic approach to urban planning emerges as a guiding principle. Lessons learned from these experiences highlight the importance of aligning urban visions with the practical realities of implementation, ensuring that the benefits of renewal are accessible and equitable.

- Transformative Impact on Public Spaces and Services

The impact of the "My Street" and "My District" programs on public spaces, healthcare facilities, and recreational areas is palpable. The district's evolution is marked by the modernization of clinics, revitalization of cultural and sports venues, and the creation of vibrant public spaces. The integration of historical and cultural elements into the urban fabric reflects a commitment to preserving identity amid transformation. Improved transportation accessibility further enhances the overall quality of life for residents. These initiatives stand as tangible examples of how urban renewal can contribute to the holistic development of a community, fostering a sense of pride and belonging.

- Navigating Challenges: Opposition and Environmental Considerations

The interviews shed light on the challenges encountered during the implementation of urban renewal programs. Vocal opposition, concerns about tree felling, and anxieties related to population influx underscore the need for nuanced and transparent communication. The commitment to compensating for environmental impacts, such as tree removal, demonstrates a conscious effort to balance development with environmental sustainability. Navigating these challenges requires a delicate interplay of community engagement, environmental stewardship, and adaptive governance strategies.

In essence, the administrative interviews analysis provides a holistic view of Moscow's urban renewal journey—a journey marked by challenges, triumphs, and the continuous pursuit of creating vibrant, sustainable, and inclusive urban spaces. As cities worldwide grapple with the complexities of urbanization, these insights offer valuable lessons for shaping the future of urban living.

6.2. Expert Insights - Unveiling Perspectives

Having scrutinized the contrasting features of the official renovation program and the alternative proposal for Zyuzino, the discourse now pivots towards the invaluable insights provided by experts in the field. This section, titled "Expert Insights - Unveiling Perspectives," endeavors to illuminate the multifaceted considerations, critiques, and recommendations articulated by seasoned professionals. By engaging in a comprehensive analysis of these expert interviews, we aim to enrich our understanding of the complexities surrounding urban renewal in Zyuzino. The ensuing exploration promises to shed light on the nuanced perspectives that contribute to the tapestry of discussions surrounding the transformative initiatives in this dynamic urban landscape.

I consider it necessary to remind you which of the interviewees is who. Read more about this in the methodology chapter [Table 2].

- Expert 1: A Visionary Urban Planner
- Expert 2: The Sociologist's Perspective
- Expert 3: Societal Dynamics and Conflict Resolution
- Expert 4: Practitioner in Public Spaces
- Expert 5: The Journalistic Lens

In the upcoming chapters, we will dissect these perspectives, uncovering thematic threads that intertwine with the official renovation program and alternative visions for Moscow's urban future. Through this exploration, we aim to provide a nuanced understanding of the diverse viewpoints shaping the city's trajectory.

6.2.1. Initial Impressions and Impact Assessment

In this part, we delve into the diverse perspectives of our panel of experts regarding the Renovation and improvement programs. In the course of our expert interviews, it is pertinent to note that our inquiry primarily centered around the "My Street" program, with a deliberate decision not to extensively delve into the "My District" program. This intentional focus emanates from a strategic perspective, considering the evolution of these initiatives over time. Expert's nuanced opinions, shaped by years of experience and diverse professional backgrounds, offer valuable insights into the impact of these transformative initiatives on Moscow's urban environment and social dynamics.

a/ Initial Impressions

A Multifaceted Evaluation: Expert 1, with over a decade of experience in urban planning, provides a multifaceted evaluation of both programs. Their initial observation raises questions about the unexpected pairing of "My Street" and the "Renovation" programs due to their distinct focuses and implementations.

The sequencing of our exploration, beginning with "My Street" and potentially extending to "My District," aligns with the chronological development of these programs. "My Street" emerged prior to "My District," with the former being instrumental in setting standards for the enhancement of public spaces. The chronological order allowed us to lay a foundation by understanding the tangible impacts of "My Street" before exploring the broader scope encompassed by "My District."

Additionally, the "My District" program, in essence, can be perceived as an integral part of the overarching Renovation program. It encompasses spatial infrastructure development within residential areas, extending the transformative vision of the Renovation program to communal spaces and the environs of residential buildings. This interconnectedness led us to prioritize a focused analysis of "My Street" as a distinct entity, facilitating a nuanced examination of its singular contributions to Moscow's urban fabric.

The decision to foreground "My Street" as a standalone subject stems from its unique identity and the substantial impact it has had on shaping the visual and functional aspects of Moscow's streets.

While "My District" certainly holds significance within the broader context of urban renewal, the concentrated exploration of "My Street" allows for a more granular examination of its individual dynamics and the expert perspectives that have emerged in response to its implementation.

As we proceed with our analysis, this strategic choice enables us to unravel the multifaceted layers of "My Street," providing a comprehensive understanding of its implications on urban development and social dynamics in Moscow.

Expert 1 brings a thoughtful reflection on the juxtaposition of the "My Street" and Renovation programs. While praising "My Street" for revitalizing Moscow's center and creating inviting public spaces, Expert 1 expresses a more ambivalent stance toward the Renovation program. They highlight the lack of a unified mass approach, making the assessment of its impact less unequivocal. The expert emphasizes the noticeable and inconspicuous nature of "My Street" in residents' lives, underscoring the adaptability that occurred over time. The need for renovation in a burgeoning metropolis like Moscow is acknowledged, with nuances in the execution of large-scale projects.

The positive reception of "My Street" is detailed, emphasizing its role in transforming Moscow's center into a more accessible and aesthetically pleasing urban space. Expert 1 underscores the tangible changes such as wider sidewalks, improved accessibility, and the removal of advertisements. Importantly, they note the program's successful integration into the urban environment over time.

In scrutinizing the Renovation program, Expert 1 introduces complexities tied to construction quality and varied outcomes. The absence of a standardized approach poses challenges in unequivocally categorizing the program as wholly positive or negative. The multifaceted nature of the renovation process is acknowledged, including both well-constructed modern buildings and instances where negative experiences surface.

Expert 1 emphasizes the adaptability of Moscow residents to changes brought about by "My Street" and suggests that this adaptability could serve as a valuable metric for assessing the program's impact on social dynamics. However, the social dynamics influenced by the Renovation program are deemed more intricate, given the diversity of experiences within the renovated areas.

A Critical Reflection: Expert 2, with a background in urban research, offers a critical perspective, particularly on the Renovation program. Expressing negative emotions and a sense of alienation, the expert questions the legal framework governing urban development. They argue that urban development thrives within a lawful system, and the Renovation program represents a destructive departure from this principle. In contrast, "My Street" receives a more positive evaluation, with research indicating shifts in street dynamics and increased democratic accessibility.

Expert 2 delves into the legal underpinnings, suggesting that the Renovation program's impact extends beyond physical changes to the urban fabric. The critique centers on the potential erosion of urbanists' ability to act within a framework of legality. This raises fundamental questions about the program's alignment with established legal norms and the implications for urban development professionals.

The positive evaluation of "My Street" is grounded in research on economic effects, emphasizing a democratization of street spaces. The expert's positive view extends to the program's contribution to a more diverse and accessible urban environment. The nuanced analysis of different class levels and the observed positive shifts underscore the program's impact on the socio-economic dynamics of transformed streets.

Embracing Transformation: Expert 3 provides a comprehensive examination, offering insights from both municipal and research perspectives. The "My Street" program is commended for introducing modern urban trends and innovative architectural forms. The Renovation program's impact is scrutinized, with a focus on the challenges of relocation and concerns about changes in the fabric of life. The expert notes the standard-setting role of "My Street" but questions the extent of its impact on various facets of city life, emphasizing the need for community involvement.

Expert 3 highlights the transformative impact of "My Street," going beyond physical changes to conceptual shifts. The program is recognized for not only revitalizing physical spaces but also for introducing global urban trends, collaborations with foreign partners, and innovative spatial forms. The mention of architectural innovation underlines the program's influence on Moscow's urban aesthetics.

The challenges of the Renovation program are illuminated through the lens of a municipal deputy, emphasizing the importance of community involvement in shaping urban transformations. The expert raises crucial questions about the impact of relocation on residents' lives, echoing concerns about changes in the fabric of life within the renovated areas.

While acknowledging the positive aspects of "My Street," Expert 3 critically questions the universal application of its standard. The standardization is noted as a double-edged sword, providing aesthetic improvements but potentially excluding residents who voice dissatisfaction. The expert emphasizes the importance of recognizing residents' voices in urban development initiatives.

A Practitioner's Observations: Expert 4, with a more observational role, recognizes the top-down nature of both programs, particularly the Renovation initiative. Streets, often underestimated public spaces, receive support for renewal efforts. The "My Street" program faces challenges related to community involvement, highlighting the importance of active engagement in street development. The expert emphasizes the need for a nuanced approach in community participation.

Expert 4's observational stance provides insights into the hierarchical nature of both the Renovation and "My Street" programs. The top-down development model is acknowledged, signaling potential implications for community engagement and the reception of these initiatives by city residents.

The expert's advocacy for street renewal stems from a recognition of the underestimated role streets play in urban life. The challenges associated with developing streets, compared to parks, are underlined. Streets are positioned as primary public infrastructure, underscoring their significance for daily urban interactions.

Expert 4 points out challenges faced by "My Street," particularly in garnering community interest in street renovations. The expert calls attention to the need for a strategic approach to involve not just immediate residents but the broader community in shaping and supporting street development initiatives.

Skepticism and Conceptual Evaluation: Expert 5 provides critical reflections on the Renovation program, expressing concerns about the decision-making process and potential disruptions in community relationships. While acknowledging the conceptual appeal of beautifying streets through "My Street," the expert underscores execution-related questions and broader issues within Moscow's urban development.

Expert 5 introduces a critical perspective on the Renovation program, particularly in relation to the decision-making process. The concern about neighbors influencing each other's living

arrangements through voting raises ethical questions about community dynamics and the potential for disruptions in relationships.

The expert raises conceptual questions about the "My Street" program, highlighting the importance of execution beyond the initial appeal. The emphasis on the execution level draws attention to the need for a comprehensive assessment of the program's impact beyond quantitative metrics.

Expert 5 provides a macroscopic evaluation, critiquing the prevalent focus on quantitative measurements in evaluating urban changes. The expert advocates for a shift in perspective, urging a focus on how changes affect the city's life rather than merely relying on numerical indicators.

Upon scrutinizing the perspectives of our esteemed experts concerning the "My Street" and Renovation programs, several recurrent themes and divergent viewpoints have surfaced, offering a nuanced panorama of Moscow's urban metamorphosis.

- My Street Program:

Positive Transformations: The "My Street" program is widely acknowledged for its positive contributions to Moscow's urban milieu. Experts laud its role in revitalizing central streets, making them more user-friendly, aesthetically pleasing, and inclusive for both residents and visitors.

Challenges and Adaptation: Initial inconveniences caused by ongoing renovations gradually integrated into the daily lives of Moscow residents. Adaptation occurred as streets underwent enhancements, fostering a sense of communal comfort.

- Renovation Program:

Complex Evaluation: The "Renovation" program, marked by its scale and longevity, prompts more intricate evaluations. While some experts express ambivalence, noting both positive and negative outcomes, others harbor strong reservations.

Housing Needs and Development: The program's imperative to address housing demands in a sprawling metropolis like Moscow is acknowledged. Renovation is seen as a response to the evolving needs of the city, albeit with inevitable nuances in execution.

- Common Threads:

Community Engagement: Both programs underscore the significance of community involvement. "My Street" necessitates active participation to ensure its effectiveness, while the Renovation program involves residents in determining their living spaces.

Legal Framework and Governance: Concerns are raised regarding the legal framework governing urban initiatives. The need for a lawful system is emphasized, especially in the context of the Renovation program, where questions about legality and urbanist agency arise.

In essence, while "My Street" is celebrated for its immediate and tangible impact on urban spaces, the "Renovation" program prompts a more intricate evaluation, with a focus on the evolving cityscape and the challenges and opportunities it brings to Moscow's residents and urban developers.

b/ Overall urban environment and quality of life

In evaluating the overall impact of the "My Street" program on Moscow's urban environment and quality of life, the insights from Expert 1 and Expert 5 provide a multifaceted perspective.

Positive Transformations: Expert 1 underscores the program's success in transforming Moscow's urban streets, citing the notable example of Tverskaya Street. The restoration efforts have turned

previously congested and uncomfortable thoroughfares into beautiful pedestrian-friendly zones. Tverskaya Street, once plagued by heavy traffic and narrow sidewalks, now stands as a picturesque promenade, fostering a more pleasant atmosphere for both residents and tourists. This positive transformation aligns with the key objectives of the "My Street" program, enhancing the overall aesthetic appeal of central areas.

Expert 5 contributes additional positive dimensions, emphasizing the proliferation of well-designed parks across the city and improvements to pedestrian areas. The diversification of retail spaces from shopping centers to street-level establishments has contributed to a vibrant urban landscape. Positive changes extend to addressing issues such as sidewalk parking in the city center, with designated parking areas enhancing the quality of pedestrian environments. The introduction of pedestrian crossings in previously overlooked locations, exemplified near the Bolshoi Theatre, further reflects the program's positive impact on the city's walkability and accessibility.

Concerns and Disparities: However, Expert 5 highlights a paradoxical sentiment among residents. Despite the evident improvements and increased comfort, there is a notable dissatisfaction expressed by some, who perceive these changes as diverging from the "real" Moscow. This intriguing phenomenon warrants deeper investigation into the disconnect between enhanced amenities and public satisfaction. The discrepancy between the city government's emphasis on prioritizing pedestrians and public transport and the budget's continued focus on road construction for automobiles introduces a layer of complexity. Positive changes are observed to be concentrated in central districts or areas receiving concerted efforts and resources, potentially leaving out peripheral regions.

In conclusion, while the "My Street" program has undeniably achieved positive outcomes, enhancing urban aesthetics and pedestrian-friendly spaces, it also raises questions about the broader satisfaction of residents and the equitable distribution of improvements across Moscow. The coexistence of positive transformations and lingering concerns underscores the nuanced nature of urban renewal initiatives and the importance of addressing diverse perspectives in future development strategies.

[c/ Differences in the development and implementation](#)

Examining the development and implementation of the Renovation and "My Street" programs across different areas of Moscow, the insights from Expert 1, Expert 2, Expert 3, and Expert 5 shed light on varying perspectives and challenges associated with these initiatives.

[Renovation Program: Diverse Execution and Resident Attitudes:](#)

Expert 1 emphasizes a critical point—the diversity in executing the Renovation program due to involvement from different institutions and varying developers. This heterogeneity introduces complexities, particularly regarding project quality and implementation. The multifaceted nature of the program, with different stakeholders influencing its execution, poses a central challenge in ensuring uniform standards and outcomes across renovated districts.

Expert 2 delves into the nuanced attitudes of residents in brick and panel five-story buildings towards the Renovation program. The distinction in the willingness to participate between residents of panel and brick houses adds another layer of complexity. While panel house residents exhibit more inclination, those in brick houses tend to resist the program. The expert expresses concerns about unregulated development, where developers face no restrictions and execute projects without constraints. The program's execution aligns with its original intent but raises concerns about the quality and adherence to best practices.

Expert 3 provides limited but optimistic observations from the initial site in Troitsk. Despite initial expectations of dismal results, the implemented project in this established micro-district appears to meet residents' needs without significant complaints. The expert also highlights an alternative approach considered during urban projects in Zyuzino, emphasizing the potential for different

paths within the Renovation program. The absence of a restrictive framework during the development stage allows for alternative solutions that resonate with local identity and preserve symbolic places.

"My Street" Program: Symbolic Beautification and Quality Concerns:

Expert 5 provides a critical perspective on the "My Street" program, characterizing it as a symbol of the race for beautification, particularly during events like City Day. Funding priorities are questioned, with a focus on quantitative achievements rather than the original goals of the program. The expert notes the initial significant work but expresses concerns about the current emphasis on superficial changes, such as tile usage on sidewalks. The shift towards simplification in project aspects and the disregard for inconvenient elements by builders raises concerns about the long-term quality and effectiveness of these beautification efforts.

In conclusion, the diverse experiences and observations of experts underscore the complexity and challenges inherent in the execution of urban renewal programs across different areas of Moscow. The need for standardized quality, resident engagement, and the exploration of alternative paths within the Renovation program emerges as critical considerations for future urban development strategies. Similarly, the "My Street" program faces scrutiny for its evolving priorities and potential compromises in project quality. The overarching theme is the importance of a nuanced, context-aware approach to ensure the success and sustainability of Moscow's urban transformation initiatives.

6.2.2. Community Involvement and Public Participation

In assessing the level of community involvement and public participation in Moscow's urban renewal initiatives, insights from various experts reveal a multifaceted perspective. The "My Street" program, aimed at revitalizing urban streetscapes, garnered mixed opinions regarding community engagement. While one expert noted limited direct involvement, citing it as more of a background initiative, another acknowledged positive aspects such

s community interaction through interviews.

On the other hand, the Renovation Program, which involves the demolition and reconstruction of residential buildings, demonstrated a distinctive approach to community participation. Residents were given the right to decide whether their building would be included in the program, introducing an opt-out mechanism. However, concerns were raised about the lack of consideration for the opinions of residents in neighboring buildings, adding complexity to the community engagement dynamics.

a/ Community involvement

Experts voiced skepticism about the authenticity of community involvement in both programs, with one highlighting the Renovation Program's systemic neglect of local experts and the absence of recognized stakeholder groups. There was a common call for innovative methods, advocating for a reevaluation of involvement practices beyond traditional formats. The need for a systemic approach in programs, ensuring resource efficiency and a comprehensive urban development strategy, was underscored.

Ethical concerns were prominent, especially in the Renovation Program, where residents played a role in deciding the fate of their neighbors' housing. Limited trust in authorities and skepticism about voting processes were recurrent themes, emphasizing the importance of transparent, human-centered information systems.

Across these perspectives, several cross-cutting themes emerge. There are shared concerns about the authenticity of community involvement, potential injustices, and the need for innovative approaches beyond traditional participation formats. Experts emphasize the importance of

understanding daily needs and behaviors for effective urban development and call for accessible information and human-centered communication in program implementation.

In conclusion, the diverse experiences and perspectives of experts highlight the challenges and opportunities in fostering community involvement in Moscow's urban renewal initiatives. The call for innovative approaches, genuine participation, and ethical considerations underscores the intricate balance required for successful and inclusive urban development.

b/ Impact on local communities

Examining the impact of urban renewal programs on local communities and their social structure unveils a rich tapestry of community involvement and public participation. Insights from Expert 2 and Expert 3 shed light on the diverse ways in which residents respond to and shape the transformation of their neighborhoods.

Resistance as Collective Achievement (Expert 2): Expert 2 provides a compelling narrative of community resilience in the face of the Renovation program. In many neighborhoods, residents united to resist the program actively. They engaged in discussions, held meetings, and collaborated to secure the necessary 70% of votes for decision-making. This collective effort went beyond mere opposition to the renovation; it evolved into a genuine community achievement. The formation of homeowner associations, the selection of property management companies, and the organization of neighborhood events exemplify the multifaceted impact of collective action. Notably, the activities led by organizers like Yulia Galyamina became focal points not only for protest but also for the creation of vibrant neighborhood communities. Festivals, children's competitions, and music events emerged as expressions of communal collaboration, showcasing the transformative potential of united efforts.

Fragmentation and Solidarity (Expert 3): Expert 3 offers a nuanced perspective on community dynamics, acknowledging periods of protest actions and the formation of homeowners' associations (HOAs) in response to urban renewal. However, the expert notes that Moscow's society, already decentralized, appears to remain fragmented. The mobility of residents, moving from one district to another, contributes to a potential loss of local identity and weakened connections with neighbors and familiar surroundings. Despite this, the expert highlights a noteworthy example in the Bogorodsky District, where Deputy Ivan Khalezov describes a significant sense of solidarity among residents. The active participation in public life, including the creation of neighborhood newspapers, reflects a commitment to community unity, even in the face of electoral outcomes.

In summary, the impact of urban renewal programs on local communities is multifaceted, encompassing both resistance and solidarity. The case studies presented by the experts illustrate the resilience of communities in organizing against the Renovation program, transforming opposition into collaborative achievements. Simultaneously, challenges of fragmentation and identity loss are acknowledged, emphasizing the need for holistic approaches that foster community engagement and preserve local connections amid urban transformation.

c/ Navigating Gentrification in Moscow's Urban Landscape

The discourse on gentrification in Moscow reveals complex dynamics that experts grapple with as they assess the efficacy of urban renewal programs. Insights from Expert 1, Expert 2, and Expert 3 highlight nuanced perspectives on the presence and impact of gentrification in Moscow.

Multifaceted Gentrification Patterns (Expert 1): Expert 1 emphasizes the existence of gentrification in Moscow but underscores the complexity of its patterns. The expert notes that projects targeting affluent segments are concentrated within the central districts, while the outskirts witness a more natural generational shift. In assessing the impact of renovation and "My Street" programs, Expert 1 suggests a lack of clear correlation with gentrification. The wealth gap in Moscow, characterized by diverse classes living across the city, contributes to a more intricate

social landscape. The expert argues that the renovation program's influence on social diversity and class mixing remains unsubstantiated based on personal observations.

Alternative Use of Space and Minimal Impact (Expert 2): In contrast, Expert 2 challenges the notion of gentrification in Moscow, asserting that projects like art clusters represent alternative uses of space rather than genuine gentrification processes. Research findings on art clusters' impact on the local economy and the absence of economic and social interactions between cluster residents and locals challenge conventional gentrification narratives. Regarding the renovation program, Expert 2 contends that it does not drive gentrification, as the goal is to replace inexpensive buildings with new structures of similar affordability, minimizing the impact on social and economic dynamics.

Gentrification as an Inevitable Process (Expert 3): Expert 3 views gentrification in Moscow as an inevitable process linked to suburban development and comprehensive area development (KRT) projects. While acknowledging its existence, the expert sees it as a reshuffling within districts rather than a transformative introduction of foreign elements. Gentrification, in this view, offers economic opportunities and incentives for growth. However, the renovation program is critiqued for not providing high-class infrastructure that could act as an attraction point for stimulating economic and social growth.

In conclusion, the experts' perspectives on gentrification in Moscow reflect a diversity of viewpoints. While some discern patterns and complexities, others challenge the conventional narrative, highlighting the need for nuanced analyses that consider Moscow's unique social and economic landscape. The impact of urban renewal programs on gentrification remains a multifaceted and evolving aspect of Moscow's urban transformation.

6.2.3. Unforeseen Consequences and Long-Term Impacts

a/ Unexpected consequences

In analyzing the unexpected or unintended consequences of Moscow's urban renewal programs, particularly the Renovation program, insights from experts shed light on critical issues and outcomes that have significantly impacted the urban landscape. The responses from Expert 1 underscore a discrepancy between promises made by the city administration and the actual implementation of the program. The assurance of replacing old five-story buildings with nine-story structures turned into a stark contrast as new buildings soared to 27 stories, surpassing initial commitments. This unmet expectation became a substantial concern, revealing a disconnect between official declarations and the realized outcomes.

Moreover, Expert 1 highlights a professional perspective concerning the social infrastructure accompanying the Renovation program. The mismatch between the scale of new high-rise constructions and the inadequacy of social facilities, such as schools designed for smaller populations, emerges as an unaddressed challenge. The consequences of overlooking the need for corresponding social infrastructure pose potential difficulties for residents adapting to the transformed urban environment.

Expert 2 provides additional insights into unintended consequences, emphasizing the unintended aesthetic impact of the Renovation program. The initial objective of providing developers with more freedom resulted in the construction of high-rise buildings that significantly altered the established urban environment.

Shifting focus to "My Street," Expert 3 discusses unexpected effects and the transformative role of this program. The case of "the pit" evolving from a city amphitheater concept to a public space reflects the dynamic nature of public spaces and their evolving significance in society. The unexpected consequence of creating a standard for public spaces, stimulating a demand for similar initiatives, illustrates the program's broader impact on the urban fabric. This unintended

outcome has contributed to the emergence of a genuine street culture, reshaping the city's social dynamics.

However, challenges associated with the Renovation program are voiced by Expert 3, particularly concerning social networks. Examples of issues faced by residents, such as the displacement of elderly individuals from familiar surroundings and essential services, highlight unanticipated difficulties. The impact on the quality of life, as seen in instances where people are relocated to areas with increased commuting times, raises concerns about the program's holistic consideration of residents' well-being.

Expert 5 introduces a critical perspective on the architectural aspects of Moscow's urban renewal. The discrepancy between the promised aesthetic quality of buildings, presented as works of minimalism or constructivism, and their realized appearance as simplistic structures with square panel facades raises questions about the durability and architectural integrity of the constructions. Additionally, concerns about the program's goal, potentially extending beyond housing updates to freeing up land for additional development, evoke doubts about the approach and its consequences for both budget allocation and community cohesion.

In summary, the analysis of unexpected consequences in Moscow's urban renewal initiatives reveals multifaceted challenges, including discrepancies between promises and outcomes, aesthetic transformations, and social infrastructure inadequacies. These unintended outcomes underscore the importance of comprehensive planning and consideration of diverse factors in urban development programs.

The responses from the experts regarding unexpected or unintended consequences of Moscow's urban renewal programs highlight several cross-cutting themes that provide a comprehensive view of the challenges associated with these initiatives:

- Discrepancy Between Promises and Outcomes
- Social Infrastructure Inadequacy
- Unintended Aesthetic Impact
- Evolution of Public Spaces
- Quality of Life and Well-being Concerns
- Architectural Integrity and Community Cohesion
- Need for Comprehensive Planning

These interconnected themes underscore the complexity of urban renewal initiatives and emphasize the crucial need for comprehensive planning to address diverse challenges and ensure positive outcomes for the community.

b/ Long-term consequences

Transitioning to the exploration of the long-term consequences of Moscow's urban renewal programs, particularly the Renovation program and "My Street" initiative, a diverse range of expert opinions unveils nuanced insights into the anticipated impacts on the city's identity, quality of life, and overall urban development.

In exploring the long-term consequences of Moscow's urban renewal programs—specifically the Renovation program and "My Street" initiative—a range of expert opinions provides nuanced insights into the anticipated impacts on the city's identity, quality of life, and overall urban development.

Expert 1 adopts a futuristic perspective, envisioning continued urban expansion that stimulates developers to demolish and replace even taller buildings in the coming decades. The concept of agglomeration takes center stage, emphasizing the evolving complexity and diversity of Moscow.

In contrast, Expert 2 delves into the intricate nature of Moscow's identity, noting the city's multi-ethnic and multifaceted composition. While expressing difficulty in distorting Moscow's identity,

the expert highlights the unique district identities within the city, underscoring the challenges faced by certain areas due to renovation. Concerns are raised about the potential overload of engineering networks, leading to a need for proactive management of this legacy.

Expert 3 scrutinizes the "My Street" program, noting its design flaws in considering the full life cycle. The absence of clearly defined attraction points and a uniform, budget-oriented approach pose challenges to the long-term attractiveness and sustainability of beautification efforts. Regarding the Renovation program, the expert sees it as a localized change within microdistricts, emphasizing the influence of developers on Moscow's urban landscape and expressing concerns about its implications.

Expert 4 reflects on the concept of city identity in megacities, asserting that residents may not feel a personal connection to specific areas. The expert discusses the city as a controlled entity and emphasizes the role of infrastructure as consumer-oriented. The question of whether urban development programs contribute to growth or align with a capitalist approach is raised, hinting at potential tensions between development goals and alternative strategies.

In contrast, Expert 5 abstains from making long-term assessments due to the absence of available statistics, highlighting the challenges in gauging the enduring consequences of urban renewal initiatives.

These diverse perspectives showcase the complexities inherent in predicting the long-term impacts of urban renewal in Moscow. While some envision continued growth and evolution, others express concerns about identity, infrastructure control, and the potential tension between development goals and alternative strategies.

6.2.4. Residential Complexes and Housing Impact

Analyzing expert perspectives on the impact of Moscow's urban renewal programs, particularly the creation of new residential complexes, reveals multifaceted insights into affordability, architectural heritage, and urban aesthetics.

a/ Affordability and Availability

Expert 1 highlights the complexity of the affordability issue in Moscow despite the Renovation program's increased housing supply. While it offers more options, the overall impact on reducing housing costs is limited. The program provides modern, high-quality housing across various Moscow areas, yet a substantial decrease in housing prices remains elusive.

Expert 2 presents a contrasting view, expressing puzzlement over the lack of affordability despite an increase in available housing. The market, according to the expert, is saturated with low-quality yet expensive housing, which hasn't translated into increased affordability for citizens.

Expert 3 introduces the notion that housing obtained through the Renovation program is considered a distinct category in the real estate market, with high demand and increased market value. However, these developments do not fall under preferential mortgage programs, potentially limiting accessibility for certain demographics.

b/ Architectural Heritage and Urban Aesthetics

Regarding the impact on architectural heritage and urban aesthetics, Expert 1 and Expert 2 stress the importance of developer responsibility. Some developers, as noted by Expert 1, make concerted efforts to integrate new complexes harmoniously into the city's architectural fabric. However, Expert 2 expresses concern over the negative consequences of the renovation process, emphasizing the destruction of unique urban environments and the inadequacy of building regulations.

Expert 3 raises concerns about the negative impact of the new residential complexes, asserting that these projects lack innovation and fail to offer exceptional features. The focus on market

mechanisms, according to the expert, undermines the potential for genuinely comfortable housing.

Expert 5 contributes a perspective on the city's visual aesthetics, expressing dissatisfaction with the increasing number of monotonous buildings lacking a clear architectural concept. The expert criticizes the indiscriminate addition of new buildings and floors, emphasizing the detrimental effect on Moscow's overall appearance.

In summary, these expert opinions underscore the challenges in achieving housing affordability despite increased supply. Additionally, concerns about the impact on architectural heritage and urban aesthetics highlight the need for more conscientious and innovative approaches in the development and implementation of urban renewal programs in Moscow.

From the responses of the experts, several cross-cutting themes emerge:

- Affordability Challenges:
- Impact on Urban Aesthetics and Architectural Harmony:
- Destruction of Urban Environment:
- Lack of Innovation and Exceptionality:
- Absence of Clear Concept in Urban Development:
- Impact on Existing Green Spaces:

These cross-cutting themes collectively highlight the multifaceted challenges and implications of Moscow's urban renewal initiatives, emphasizing the need for a more balanced, thoughtful, and community-centric approach in future urban development strategies.

6.2.5. Recommendations and Future Research

a/ Recommendations to legislators and city authorities

As experts shed light on their observations and concerns regarding Moscow's urban transformation, their recommendations offer valuable insights for legislators and city authorities.

- Prioritizing Social Infrastructure (Expert 1):

Expert 1 underscores the significance of social infrastructure in shaping urban development. The expert recommends a focused effort on monitoring developers' compliance with obligations related to schools, kindergartens, and clinics. The observation that buyers are increasingly discerning and rejecting properties without adequate social infrastructure highlights a positive trend that should be encouraged. To address the challenges of clinics, the expert suggests exploring future solutions while emphasizing the need for close scrutiny of developers' commitments. Additionally, the expert hints at the potential impact of reduced mortgage interest rates on mitigating gentrification, acknowledging the complexities that such economic interventions may entail.

- Microdevelopment and Territorial Development (Expert 2):

Expert 2, in a candid tone, suggests the cancellation of the renovation program, emphasizing a preference for a more nuanced approach. The expert envisions the emergence of microdevelopment companies that collaborate with residents of older buildings, facilitating major repairs and potential expansions. Drawing attention to the work of architect Reykhan, who transformed five-story buildings into modern and comfortable spaces, the expert advocates for more energy-efficient and quality-driven transformations. Furthermore, the expert contrasts the renovation program with more humane comprehensive territorial development programs in regions, signaling the need for diverse and context-specific urban strategies.

- Empowering Urban Residents and Enhancing Communication (Expert 3):

Expert 3 emphasizes the pivotal role of informed urban residents in the development process. Recommending the active involvement of knowledgeable experts and activists from the outset, the expert calls for collaboration not only within neighborhood communities but also with broader urban residents possessing professional knowledge. The example of Kommunarka highlights the potential benefits of improved communication between developers and local authorities, showcasing how resident input can enhance the efficiency of residential complex design and improve residents' lives. This underscores the importance of fostering open communication channels and involving residents as valued contributors to the urban development dialogue.

- Leveraging Local Experience and Conducting Qualitative Analysis (Expert 4):

Expert 4 takes a reflective stance, acknowledging Moscow's pioneering role in urban development. The expert advocates for a deeper qualitative analysis of Moscow's experience, emphasizing the need to rely on local insights rather than foreign examples. By leveraging the existing experience, the expert suggests that Moscow can serve as a valuable case study for future proposals and actions. This forward-looking approach encourages a strategic understanding of Moscow's unique urban challenges and successes, fostering continuous learning and improvement.

In conclusion, these recommendations collectively advocate for a holistic and inclusive approach to urban development, emphasizing the importance of social infrastructure, nuanced strategies, community engagement, and local expertise. Implementing these recommendations can contribute to shaping a more balanced and people-centric urban landscape in Moscow.

b/ Learning from Diverse Urban Experiences

As experts draw comparisons between Moscow's urban renewal initiatives and similar projects worldwide, their insights provide valuable considerations for future research and policy development.

- Budget Disparities and Regional Implementation (Expert 1):

Expert 1 highlights Moscow's influence on regional renovation programs, emphasizing the role of budgetary capabilities. The expert underscores the challenge of regional budget limitations and suggests that Moscow's model, confined to a single district, differs from other cities, such as St. Petersburg. The variation in approaches prompts questions about the adaptability of Moscow's model to diverse regional contexts. Future research should explore how budgetary constraints impact the efficacy of urban renewal programs in different regions and how adaptations can address local needs.

- International Comparisons and Social Capital (Expert 2):

Expert 2 delves into Poland's Urban Regeneration Act, emphasizing the focus on Soviet heritage and the introduction of concepts like social and natural capital. This international comparison suggests that Moscow could benefit from incorporating elements that prioritize social cohesion, self-organization, and mutually beneficial partnerships between residents and developers. The positive example of "Siblider" in Krasnoyarsk, where social capital was fostered, calls for further examination of how such approaches can be ethically integrated into Moscow's urban development strategies. Additionally, the expert raises concerns about the city's readiness to manage vibrant public spaces, signaling the need for research on effective community organization technologies.

- Contextual Challenges and Small-Scale Considerations (Expert 3):

Expert 3 emphasizes the challenge of applying experiences from different contexts to Moscow, particularly Western countries. The expert underscores the city's efficiency in handling large projects but identifies a struggle in addressing small-scale details important to residents. Research could focus on developing tools and skills within the city administration to effectively

engage with citizens on minor yet significant matters. The expert also expresses interest in ongoing assessments of the "My Street" program, highlighting the need for long-term studies to understand the program's impact over time.

- Comprehensive vs. Individual Solutions (Expert 4):

Expert 4 provides a nuanced perspective on Moscow's comprehensive approach, noting both advantages and disadvantages. The expert suggests a potential fear of individual solutions in Russia and advocates for considering each territory and case individually. This raises questions about the adaptability of standardized infrastructure, particularly in the context of "My Street." Research could explore the balance between standardized approaches and the need for tailored solutions. The expert emphasizes the importance of drawing lessons from Moscow's unique experience rather than seeking foreign analogs, highlighting the necessity of context-specific analyses.

In conclusion, these insights underscore the complexity of urban renewal initiatives, urging a nuanced approach that considers regional disparities, incorporates social capital, addresses small-scale challenges, and strikes a balance between comprehensive and individual solutions. Future research should delve into these aspects to refine Moscow's urban development strategies and contribute valuable lessons to the broader urban planning discourse.

6.3. Resident Surveys and Opinions

In the exploration of Moscow's urban transformation, the voices of its residents serve as a crucial narrative thread. By delving into the results of surveys and capturing the sentiments of inhabitants in Zyuzino and potentially other districts, we gain a nuanced understanding of how these urban renewal programs, specifically the Renovation program and My Street initiative, are perceived and embraced by those directly impacted. The resident perspective offers invaluable insights into the lived experiences, expectations, and reactions to the unfolding changes in Moscow's urban landscape.

This section examines the diverse tapestry of opinions, concerns, and aspirations expressed by residents, shedding light on the multifaceted nature of urban renewal initiatives. Through the lens of resident surveys, we navigate the intricate dynamics between policy implementation and the grassroots responses that shape the socio-cultural fabric of Moscow's neighborhoods. As we traverse the rich tapestry of resident narratives, the aim is to unravel the intricate interplay between city planning strategies and the lived realities of those who call Moscow home.

Before delving into the analysis of interviews and surveys conducted among Zyuzino residents, it is imperative to enrich our understanding with insights from an alternative project titled "Renovation of a Healthy Person," portraying Zyuzino through the eyes of its inhabitants.

Zyuzino stands as a distinctive residential district, its charm emanating from the lush embrace of five-story buildings, creating an unparalleled ambiance of comfort and tranquility. Nestled away from industrial hubs and untouched by major thoroughfares, Zyuzino boasts seamless connections to the Third Transport Ring (TTK) and the city center. Crafted for a measured existence, it beckons residents with avenues for leisurely strolls and post-work repose. Abundant squares, well-groomed parks, and serene ponds form the cherished retreats for Zyuzino's denizens, far removed from the clamor of entertainment complexes and sports arenas. In the heart of Zyuzino, one can scarcely believe they are still within the bounds of a metropolis — a testament to its uniqueness and allure.

- Green Oasis:

In a plethora of positive reviews on Domofond.ru, Zyuzino claims its reputation as a green haven, with 45% of users lauding the district's verdant landscapes. Residents express delight in the well-maintained greenery, associating Zyuzino with Moscow's greenest locales. The historic presence of linden trees, although seemingly less frequent in recent plantings, adds a touch of nostalgia and olfactory delight to the surroundings.

- Cozy Five-Story Charm:

Zyuzino's allure extends beyond its greenery to its architecture, predominantly characterized by cozy, five-story buildings. Residents evoke sentiments of comfort, noting the neighborhood's tranquility, the pleasant sight of construction within a small and snug quarter, and the immersive experience of wandering amidst the shade of age-old trees during the summer.

- Family-Friendly Atmosphere:

Zyuzino emerges as a haven for families, where an increasing number of mothers and children find their place. Residents praise the abundance of well-designed children's playgrounds, filling a void that was keenly felt. The district offers ample spaces for family outings, bicycle rides, and leisurely strolls, creating an environment conducive to both adult relaxation and children's play.

- Accessibility and Tranquility:

Residents appreciate Zyuzino's dual identity — a quiet and tranquil locale coupled with excellent transport accessibility. Its peaceful ambiance coexists harmoniously with well-connected transport nodes, making it a sought-after residential area. The proximity to Varshavskoye Shosse and efficient transport linkages resonates positively among inhabitants.

- Serene and Homely:

Zyuzino is painted as a district that embodies tranquility. The peaceful streets, the unhurried pace of life, and the overall atmosphere of calmness define the locality. Residents endorse the district's unhurried demeanor, highlighting the absence of the hustle and bustle often associated with urban life.

- Soulful Character:

Beyond its physical attributes, Zyuzino is characterized by its soulfulness. Residents draw parallels to the warmth and community spirit reminiscent of suburban areas in regions like Udmurtia. The unique and open-hearted nature of Zyuzino's residents is emphasized, creating an atmosphere distinct from the more rigid environments found elsewhere in Moscow.

As we proceed to analyze resident interviews and surveys, this rich portrayal of Zyuzino lays the groundwork for understanding the deeply ingrained perceptions and affections of those who call this district home. The subsequent exploration aims to capture the essence of Zyuzino through the lens of its diverse and engaged community.

6.3.1. Resident Interviews Analysis

Urban renewal programs play a pivotal role in shaping the dynamics of modern cities, with Moscow being no exception. The "Transformation of Moscow: assessment of urban renewal through the Renovation program and My Street and My District improvement programs" delves into the multifaceted impact of these initiatives on the daily lives and perceptions of city residents. As a crucial component of this comprehensive analysis, 10 in-depth interviews were conducted, providing a nuanced understanding of residents' experiences and perspectives. Among these interviews, two involved residents from other districts of Moscow, offering a comparative lens, while the remaining eight focused specifically on residents of Zyuzino.

This diverse selection of participants reflects various stages of engagement with the urban renewal programs. Some interviewees have already transitioned to their new homes, providing insights into the post-relocation phase. Others are neighbors witnessing the transformation but yet to experience the shift themselves, contributing valuable anticipatory perspectives. This strategic mix of participants aims to capture a comprehensive spectrum of sentiments, from those who have navigated the process to those on the brink of change.

By examining the narratives of residents from both Zyuzino and other Moscow districts, this analysis seeks to uncover commonalities, distinctions, and overarching themes in their experiences. It aspires to provide a textured portrayal of how urban renewal initiatives have influenced the daily lives, perceptions, and expectations of Moscow's diverse population. Through these interviews, we aim to not only scrutinize the practical implications of the Renovation program and My Street/My District improvements but also to discern the nuanced emotions and community dynamics that accompany such transformative urban endeavors.

The interviews conducted with residents of Zyuzino reveal a nuanced and multifaceted perspective on the impact of the renovation and beautification programs in their district. Through a thematic analysis, several key topics emerged, shedding light on the residents' experiences, concerns, and aspirations.

Main Themes:

1. Duration of Residence and Changes:

Residents varied in the duration of their stay, with responses ranging from childhood to several years. A common theme was the significant impact of the renovation on the physical landscape,

exemplified by the emergence of modern buildings. One respondent stated, "I've been a resident of Zyuzino for over 20 years, from my childhood. The changes are palpable, and it's bittersweet."

2. District Description Before Renovation:

The district's pre-renovation state was characterized by charm but plagued by issues like aging infrastructure and housing problems. A resident described Zyuzino as a "cozy, green shelter," while another highlighted challenges: "Zyuzino faced persistent problems, notably in housing."

3. Impact on Daily Life and Living Conditions:

Residents' daily lives were significantly influenced by the ongoing construction. Adaptation to noise and altered views became routine. A resident reflected, "Witnessing the construction from my window became a daily routine. It's a mixed bag of challenges and adaptations." However, positive transformations were noted, such as more spacious and comfortable living spaces.

4. Changes in Community and Social Interactions:

Responses regarding changes in the sense of community varied. While some observed a rallying effect due to discussions, others were uncertain about noticeable changes. One resident mentioned, "Now I just know who else were homeowners. Many are concerned." Or here is one more, "I'm not sure there's been a noticeable change in the sense of community. Yes, we rallied a little more because of all these discussions."

5. Involvement in Planning and Decision-Making:

A recurring theme was the perceived lack of resident involvement in decision-making. Voting and information dissemination were acknowledged, but residents expressed a sense of decisions being imposed. They express the feeling of decisions being imposed rather than collaborative, with voting as the primary mode of participation. "No consultations or participation in the decision-making process were conducted. You either agree or not," noted one respondent.

6. Financial Impact and Property Prices:

Residents were uncertain about the financial implications of the programs. One resident expressed uncertainty about property prices, stating, "I don't really know actually. I've always wanted to live in this neighborhood."

7. Negative Consequences and Unexpected Effects:

Common concerns included the reduction of greenery, the impact on the microclimate, and the replacement of beloved structures. One resident lamented, "New constructions replaced a large, beloved playground for many."

8. Sense of Identity and Belonging:

The evolving landscape prompted reflections on identity and belonging. A resident shared, "There's a fascinating shift happening in the essence of our community. As we navigate through the alterations, there's an underlying feeling of our identity subtly fading."

Alignment with Program Goals:

The residents' responses present a nuanced narrative that intersects with and deviates from the official goals of the urban renovation and beautification programs. While positive transformations are acknowledged, challenges such as the reduction in greenery, the impact on community identity, and concerns about property price increases underscore the complexity of urban renewal. The lack of active involvement in decision-making processes emerges as a consistent theme, suggesting a potential gap between official aims and residents' expectations for collaborative planning. The call for systematic planning, transparency, and community

engagement aligns with the need for a balanced and inclusive approach to future urban development initiatives.

Conclusion:

The resident interviews offer a rich tapestry of perspectives, emphasizing the need for a holistic understanding of the diverse experiences within the Zyuzino community. Residents' responses indicate a complex interplay of positive and negative sentiments towards the renovation and beautification programs. While improvements in living conditions and infrastructure were acknowledged, concerns about resident involvement, loss of green spaces, and shifts in community dynamics were prominent. These findings suggest a need for more inclusive decision-making processes and a balanced approach that preserves the unique identity of the community. Aligning these insights with the official goals of the renovation program emphasizes the importance of community-centric development, where residents' voices are integral to shaping the future of their neighborhood. The findings underscore the importance of continuous dialogue, transparent communication, and community involvement to ensure that urban renewal initiatives not only meet official objectives but also resonate with and benefit the residents directly impacted by these transformations.

6.3.2. Resident Surveys Analysis

Urban renewal initiatives play a pivotal role in shaping the identity and functionality of metropolitan areas, and Moscow's Renovation program, along with the My Street and My District improvement programs, stands as a testament to the city's commitment to transformation. As part of the comprehensive assessment of these initiatives, resident interviews were conducted to delve into the nuanced experiences of individuals directly impacted by the changes in Zyuzino District.

Recognizing the need for a broader perspective, surveys were strategically employed to extend the scope beyond Zyuzino, encompassing diverse neighborhoods such as Danilovsky, Izmailovo, Lyublino, Gol'yanovo, Bogorodskoye, Vostochnoye Izmailovo, Ryazansky, Sokolinaya Gora, Aeroport, Tverskoy, Metrogorodok, Akademichesky, and Zyuzino itself. The intention was not only to corroborate or challenge the insights gleaned from interviews but also to explore whether the issues and aspirations expressed resonate across various districts.

Approximately 50 responses were gathered, providing a mosaic of perspectives not only from Zyuzino residents but also from those in the aforementioned districts. This diverse dataset offers a unique opportunity to identify commonalities, disparities, and overarching themes that transcend the boundaries of individual neighborhoods.

Scope and Methodology:

The survey sought to capture a panoramic view of residents' sentiments, allowing for a comparative analysis of concerns, desires, and assessments of urban renewal programs. By including respondents from a spectrum of districts, the aim was to discern patterns that might unveil universal challenges or aspirations within Moscow's dynamic urban landscape.

Anticipated Outcomes:

The forthcoming analysis will elucidate converging themes arising from the resident surveys, presenting a comprehensive picture of shared concerns and desires across Moscow's diverse districts. This broader perspective will not only enrich the understanding of urban renewal but also contribute valuable insights for future city planning initiatives, emphasizing the need for tailored approaches that resonate with the varied fabric of residents' experiences. The study focuses on understanding the common themes, prevalent issues, positive aspects, and residents' perspectives on urban transformations.

Cross-Neighborhood Themes:

- Renovation Participation:

A consistent theme emerges regarding residents' participation in renovation programs. Many respondents across neighborhoods express anticipation or ongoing preparations for resettlement, indicating a widespread impact of renovation initiatives.

- Duration of Residence:

Residents across the diverse districts share a common characteristic of long-term residence, with the majority having lived in their respective neighborhoods for more than five years. This temporal connection suggests a deep familiarity with the local context.

- Pre-Renovation Issues:

A recurring theme is the spectrum of issues reported by residents before the commencement of renovation programs. Responses encompass a range from housing challenges to deficiencies in local infrastructure, emphasizing the multifaceted nature of urban problems.

- Involvement in Decision-Making:

A notable observation is the limited involvement of residents in decision-making processes related to renovation. This raises questions about the effectiveness of current community engagement strategies and calls for a more participatory approach to urban governance.

- Financial Impact:

Increased expenses post-renovation emerge as a common concern among residents, signaling a need for policymakers to carefully evaluate and communicate the potential economic implications of urban transformations. This includes considerations of affordability and financial sustainability for residents.

- Social Dynamics:

Divergent perceptions emerge regarding changes in social dynamics post-renovation. While some residents report increased communal bonds, others note no significant alterations. This nuanced response emphasizes the need for context-specific approaches to community-building initiatives.

- Beautification Programs:

Residents observe varied impacts of beautification programs, including positive changes in public spaces. However, the extent of these changes differs across neighborhoods, with some reporting substantial improvements and others noting only minimal effects. This variation underscores the importance of tailoring beautification initiatives to local needs.

Comparative Analysis with In-Depth Interviews (Zyuzino vs. Other Districts):

- Common Ground:

Similarities exist in the acknowledgment of improved infrastructure and shared concerns about increased expenses post-renovation. This common ground suggests that certain issues cut across diverse neighborhoods and should be addressed universally.

- Divergent Perspectives:

Unique to Zyuzino is the residents' expressed concern about diminishing green spaces, a sentiment not as pronounced in some other neighborhoods. This emphasizes the importance of understanding and addressing neighborhood-specific challenges in the planning and execution of renovation projects.

- Identity and Community:

Zyuzino residents reported a reduction in neighborhood identity post-renovation, a sentiment not as explicitly echoed in responses from other districts. The divergence in perspectives underscores the complex and context-dependent nature of community identity formation.

Conclusion:

The analysis underscores the complex nature of urban transformations, revealing both shared concerns and unique neighborhood-specific nuances. The limited involvement of residents in decision-making processes emerges as a recurring theme, suggesting the necessity for more inclusive urban governance practices. The financial impact of renovation and the need for tailored community-building initiatives are critical considerations for policymakers.

Recommendations for Future Research:

Future research should delve into the socio-economic implications of urban renewal, emphasizing a participatory approach to decision-making. Comparative studies across diverse neighborhoods can provide insights into the generalizability of findings and inform targeted policy interventions.

This comprehensive analysis contributes to the broader discourse on urban transformations, providing a nuanced understanding of residents' experiences and perceptions across Moscow neighborhoods.

6.4. Navigating Urban Visions: Comparative Analysis of Official Renovation Program and Alternative Perspectives in Zyuzino

The urban renewal initiatives within the Zyuzino district of Moscow have spurred significant discourse, presenting an intriguing juxtaposition between the official Renovation Program and an alternative proposal known as "Renovation for a Healthy Community." I would consider this alternative project as another very interesting form of reaction to what is happening in Moscow, especially in the Zyuzino area. As the city grapples with the imperative of revitalizing urban spaces to accommodate the evolving needs of its residents, these divergent approaches to renovation in Zyuzino offer a compelling subject for investigation.

The Zyuzino case study presents a unique opportunity for in-depth analysis, as it involves the examination of both the official Renovation program and an alternative proposal, "Renovation for a Healthy Community," in response to the Moscow initiative. This comparative study aims to unravel the intricacies of these urban renewal projects, evaluating their successes, challenges, and implications for residents.

All further analysis and graphic materials regarding the renovation program, alternative projects, and the real urban situation as of 2020 were sourced from the official website of the alternative project and its presentations by the Shtab Bureau, which are publicly available.

The alternative vision for the reconstruction of Zyuzino, implemented from November 2020 to January 2021, stands as a compelling response to the official renovation program. It represents the initiative of specific individuals, showcasing a different approach within a single district. Despite the alternative project not gaining traction or altering decisions on the real renovation program, considering it as a reaction and studying what it proposes is deemed essential in analyzing how the program currently influences and will impact future changes in the area.

The significance of this case study extends beyond the local context, providing insights into the broader discourse on urban transformation strategies. By juxtaposing the official Renovation program with an alternative vision, this research seeks to contribute valuable perspectives to the ongoing dialogue on effective, inclusive, and sustainable urban development.

The alternative vision for the renovation of Zyuzino emerged from the creative minds at the Architectural Bureau - Urban Projects Center "Shtab." This dynamic team comprises seasoned researchers, architects, and transportation experts, boasting a wealth of experience in implementing urban mobility development projects. Their mission is rooted in the transformation of cities into safer, more accessible, and more appealing environments.

At the core of their expertise lies a profound practical background in conducting urban studies and designing urban spaces. The Urban Projects Center "Shtab" is renowned for its strategic approach to city development, involvement in beautification projects, and groundbreaking concepts for transportation development. Their portfolio spans a spectrum of initiatives aimed at enhancing the overall urban experience, reinforcing their commitment to crafting cities that seamlessly blend safety, accessibility, and attractiveness.

In the context of Zyuzino, the Architectural Bureau - Urban Projects Center "Shtab" proposed an alternative renovation project that not only addresses the physical transformation of the area but also incorporates a strategic vision for urban mobility. The team's extensive experience in urban studies positions them uniquely to offer innovative solutions that go beyond aesthetic improvements, delving into the intricacies of transportation planning and urban development.

In light of the municipality's intention to demolish nearly 45% of residential buildings, including 181 five-story buildings in Zyuzino, concerns have arisen regarding the proposed planning and land demarcation projects. The skepticism primarily revolves around the preservation of the neighborhood's identity and the perceived disproportionality of the human-scale development.

Recognizing the significance of reimagining and updating typical residential buildings hastily constructed in the second half of the 20th century, the alternative project addresses challenges faced by many countries. Instead of merely increasing the diversity of housing, the proposed solution encompasses a comprehensive approach. It not only redefines the architectural landscape but also introduces new social and commercial facilities, qualitatively transforms public spaces, and reshapes streets. The overarching goal is to enhance the safety and attractiveness of the area while simultaneously mitigating social issues such as crime and unemployment.

In response to the municipality's proposals, which have raised concerns about the potential loss of neighborhood identity, the alternative project endeavors to match the same quantity of new square meters of housing within the existing Zyuzino space. The proposed buildings are strategically positioned on the same footprint as the municipal plan, maintaining consistency in population growth projections. More importantly, the alternative vision is grounded in a deep sense of respect and care for the community, aiming to convey these values through the proposed redevelopment.

To substantiate these claims and provide a basis for comparison, an in-depth study of the Zyuzino area was conducted. The findings served as the foundation for crafting an alternative renovation concept. Through this comparative analysis, we aim to highlight the nuanced differences between the municipal proposal and the alternative vision, emphasizing not only the physical aspects of development but also the underlying principles of community respect and well-being.

The alternative vision for Zyuzino's renovation is guided by principles that aim to redefine urban renewal through a thoughtful and inclusive lens.

- Enhancing Existing Structures Instead of Demolition:

The alternative approach advocates for the improvement of existing buildings rather than their demolition and the construction of new ones. This strategy preserves established social connections and acknowledges the historical significance of the area. Reconstruction of residential buildings often proves to be more cost-effective for property owners compared to demolition and reconstruction. Examples from Moscow, such as the transformation of a Series I-515 house on Khimki Boulevard, showcase successful reconstruction, including additional floors, comprehensive renovations, and increased apartment space. Notably, the Moscow renovation program primarily focused on demolition rather than considering reconstruction.

- Residents as Initiators and Active Participants:

The alternative project emphasizes the role of residents as initiators and active participants in the renovation process. Involving residents in the design phase ensures the consideration of a broad spectrum of user interests and helps preemptively address potential conflicts in space usage. The coordinated programs and initiatives to engage residents contribute to the comprehensive and effective implementation of the reconstruction process. Drawing inspiration from initiatives in Berlin, where residents were actively involved in the enhancement of public spaces, a variety of communication and collaboration forms were utilized. These included community gatherings, educational projects, workshops on courtyard space improvement, joint sports events, discussion meetings, and arts festivals. Specialized institutions, such as neighborhood management and bureaus coordinating activities with residents, played a pivotal role in facilitating collaboration between housing cooperatives, investors, the city's planning department, and the municipal administration. Some of these institutions also assumed responsibility for continuous environmental monitoring. In contrast, in Moscow, residents voted for their buildings to be included in the renovation program, yet this voting process lacked sufficient information, and residents do not participate in the design phase.

- Consideration of Local Socio-Cultural Context and Identity:

Recognizing and enhancing the identity of the neighborhood stands as a pivotal component of pre-project investigations in the renovation program. The accentuation of existing identity or, in the absence of a distinctive identity, the creation of one becomes imperative. An illustrative example is the reconstruction of buildings in the center of Kaliningrad, where, instead of demolition, reconstruction efforts included the replacement of facades with historically rich and unique designs, accentuating the city's European history. In contrast, Moscow's renovation projects not only fail to fortify the identity of neighborhoods but often result in the loss of existing identity.

- Improving the Quality of Urban Environment:

The alternative vision asserts that the new environment post-renovation should significantly surpass the quality of the pre-existing one. The urban environment should evolve to be more accessible, safer, more comfortable, and aesthetically pleasing. A noteworthy case is the extensive renovation in the Bijlmermeer district in southeast Amsterdam, designed to address social issues through the transformation of the urban environment. The renovation replaced many high-rise buildings with densely packed low-rise structures offering diverse functionalities.

The original modernist development of Bijlmermeer involved the separation of automobile and pedestrian infrastructure into two levels. All sidewalks, trade objects, and social services were placed underground, resulting in dim and deserted spaces conducive to crime. The renovation reinstated streets with mixed traffic and formed traditional profiles with facades facing the sidewalk along the roadway. Consequently, streets and public spaces became vibrant, crime rates significantly decreased, and unemployment levels dropped across the entire district.

To elevate the quality of the urban environment, a comprehensive approach to neighborhood construction or reconstruction is essential. The renovation program, however, focuses solely on parts of the district where demolitions are feasible, overlooking the broader context required for a holistic improvement in urban living conditions.

- Enhancing Diversity: Functions, Architectural Forms, Environmental Types:

In the early 21st century, architects from Stefan Forster Architekten reconstructed several residential buildings in Laufelfingen, Germany. Throughout the process, aspects such as floors, colors, sizes, and shapes of the buildings were altered, and additional floors were added. As a result, the neighborhood gained several unique examples of a new type of development. Notably, diversifying the environment is a costly endeavor. Therefore, within the renovation program, one should anticipate the construction of areas with new standardized projects from various key developers.

- Holistic Problem-Solving Approach: Addressing Not Only Residential but also Infrastructure Challenges:

Renovation serves as a tool for addressing multifaceted issues, such as improving the quality of life for urban dwellers, reducing social tension, and generating new job opportunities in specific city districts. An exemplary case is the suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois near Paris, which had one of the highest crime and unemployment rates in France. Through the renovation program, old high-rise buildings are partially demolished, making way for diverse residential constructions, new social and commercial facilities, and public spaces. As part of the extensive "territorial equality" program, a high-speed tramway line of the RER system is being constructed, connecting Clichy with Paris and other suburbs, addressing the issue of transportation disconnectivity in the community.

Unlike the social problems that drive renovations in some contexts, Moscow's renovation program is not initiated by such issues. Even existing problems, such as a shortage of spaces in social institutions, remain unaddressed within the project framework. Moreover, the strain on

infrastructure increases due to the growing population without a concurrent improvement in facilities.

6.4.1. Foundation of the alternative project

In examining an alternative program, several key aspects come to the forefront, each contributing to a nuanced understanding of the potential urban landscape. The foundation of this alternative project rests on a series of principles designed to address the unique challenges and opportunities presented by Zyuzino's current urban fabric.

- Green River - Connectivity:

Creating a cohesive system by linking the green public spaces within the district. This approach enhances the overall connectivity of the area.

- Historical Traces - Permeability and Continuity:

Preserving the remnants of the old five-story construction and its imprints on the ground in new blocks. This not only safeguards historical memory but also maintains a comfortable façade continuity, avoiding the effect of an endless impermeable wall.

- Dense Medium-Rise Construction - Development and Scale:

Integrating new construction into the existing environment through densification and modest height increments. Suitable building units are selected for each environment, with taller buildings positioned deeper within the blocks.

- Topography and Multilevel Development:

Preserving the existing topography in the district, considering it, and incorporating it into the formation of new construction. Proposing terraced houses and creating terraces from homes - emphasizing elevation changes and establishing viewpoints.

- 15-Minute Neighborhood - Diversity and Accessibility:

Placing essential facilities within a walking distance from homes. Ensuring an adequate number of social infrastructure objects, including on the ground floors of residential buildings. Reducing the reliance on personal transportation within the district.

- Comprehensive Approach:

While Moscow's renovation plan involves the demolition of residential buildings in entire blocks, the current approach involves selective demolitions. It is advisable to adopt a comprehensive approach to demolition and construction. Priority should be given to developing areas freed from non-residential structures such as garages and industrial facilities.

The following is an analysis of the programs from the point of view of the Shtab Bureau and their proposed project:

Current Scenario 2020: Setting the Stage for Renovation

At present, Zyuzino encompasses a residential area totaling 2,422,557 square meters. The ongoing dynamics reveal that 780,825 square meters are slated for demolition, predominantly comprising five-story residential structures. The existing housing framework reflects a prevailing pattern of low-rise development, contributing to the distinct character of the district. Educational infrastructure appears relatively well-equipped, with a provision of 11,943 places (93.82%) against the normative requirement of 12,730 places.

Renovation Economics (Real Program): Balancing Space and Demand

The envisioned outcome of the renovation program is a projected residential area of 4,606,324 square meters, signifying a considerable increase compared to the existing landscape. To meet the demands of developers, a minimum of 2,964,592 square meters of new housing is stipulated. This economic calculation underlines the imperative to augment the housing volume in the district by at least 1.9 times to align with developer expectations.

The envisaged new developments showcase a shift in architectural scale, with an average building height of 12 floors and a maximum height reaching 30 floors. Educational infrastructure and childcare facilities, however, present a potential challenge, as the estimated provision of 13,993 places (71.08%) falls short of the normative requirement of 19,685 places.

Project Proposal (Alternative Program): A Balanced Approach

Proposing an alternative vision, the project suggests a residential area of 4,586,590 square meters, with 2,944,858 square meters dedicated to new housing—a growth rate of 1.89 times. This approach emphasizes a more balanced distribution of building heights, with over 50% of residential structures ranging from 6 to 10 floors. While ensuring a 100% provision for educational facilities with 19,193 places, this proposition diverges from the normative requirement of 19,163 places. Additionally, parking infrastructure is addressed, with 7,491 parking spaces for permanent use, although falling short of the normative requirement of 29,479 spaces. This alternative perspective strives to harmonize urban development with the existing fabric and anticipated needs of Zyuzino's evolving community.

To showcase the diverse range of construction possibilities within a given land plot, they present four variations of building placement on a 125*125 m site, each aiming to accommodate 30,000 square meters of residential space. This exercise underscores the flexibility in design approaches, from a singular towering structure to a densely populated quarter featuring low to mid-rise buildings [Figure 25].

1. Single Tower Concept (Official Plan): The first scenario mirrors the principle adopted by the local administration in Zyuzino's layout project. Embracing verticality, this design envisions a solitary high-rise tower as the focal point for the allocated residential volume.
2. Integrated Low-Rise and Mid-Rise Blocks (Alternative Proposal): Contrasting with the official plan, their team's proposal explores the potential of distributing the residential volume across a series of low-rise and mid-rise structures. This approach aims to create a harmonious blend of architectural elements, emphasizing a community-oriented and accessible living environment.
3. Clustered Low-Rise Arrangement (Alternative Proposal): In this variation, the residential volume is strategically distributed among clustered low-rise buildings, fostering a sense of intimacy and community. The design prioritizes horizontal expansion over vertical height, offering a different spatial experience for the residents.
4. Varied Heights in a Compact Setting (Alternative Proposal): This proposal introduces a mix of building heights within a compact setting, combining both low-rise and mid-rise structures. The intention is to balance the benefits of density with a diverse and visually engaging skyline, contributing to a dynamic urban landscape.

By juxtaposing these scenarios, the aim is to highlight the manifold possibilities for urban development within Zyuzino, offering a comparative analysis of the official renovation program's vertical emphasis against alternative perspectives that emphasize a more varied and community-centric architectural approach.

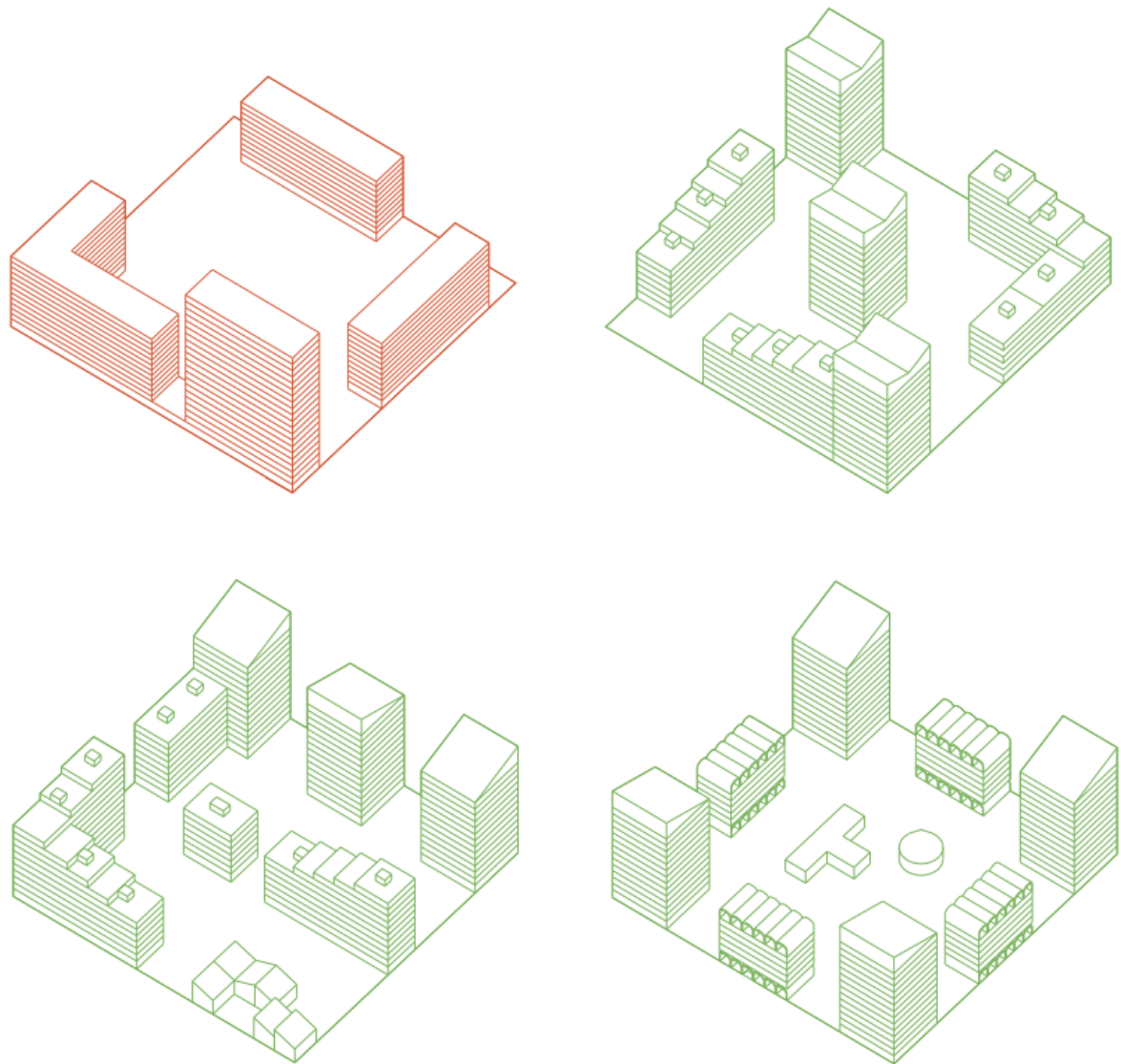


Figure 25. Diverse Architectural Scenarios by the Shtab Bureau

6.4.2. Alternative project proposal

As we delve into the examination of alternative perspectives in the context of Zyuzino's urban renovation, this section introduces an alternative project proposal that seeks to challenge and expand upon the conventional principles embedded in the official renovation program. While the official plan predominantly lean towards vertical development, the alternative vision aims to present a nuanced and multifaceted approach to urban transformation [Figure 26, 27]. Through innovative design and community-centric principles, the alternative proposal endeavors to address the complex needs and aspirations of Zyuzino's residents, steering the discourse toward a more inclusive and sustainable urban future. This section unfolds the layers of alternative vision,

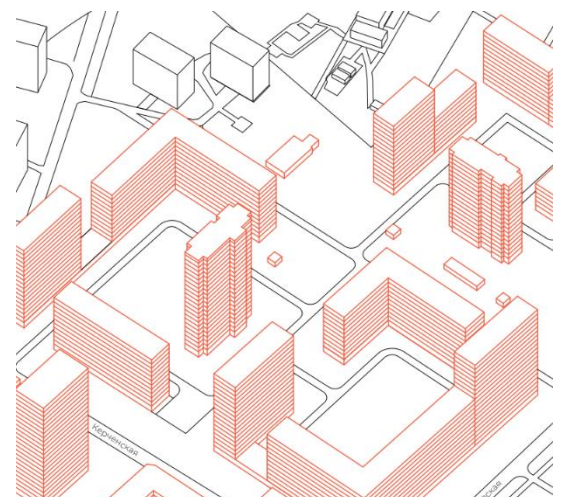
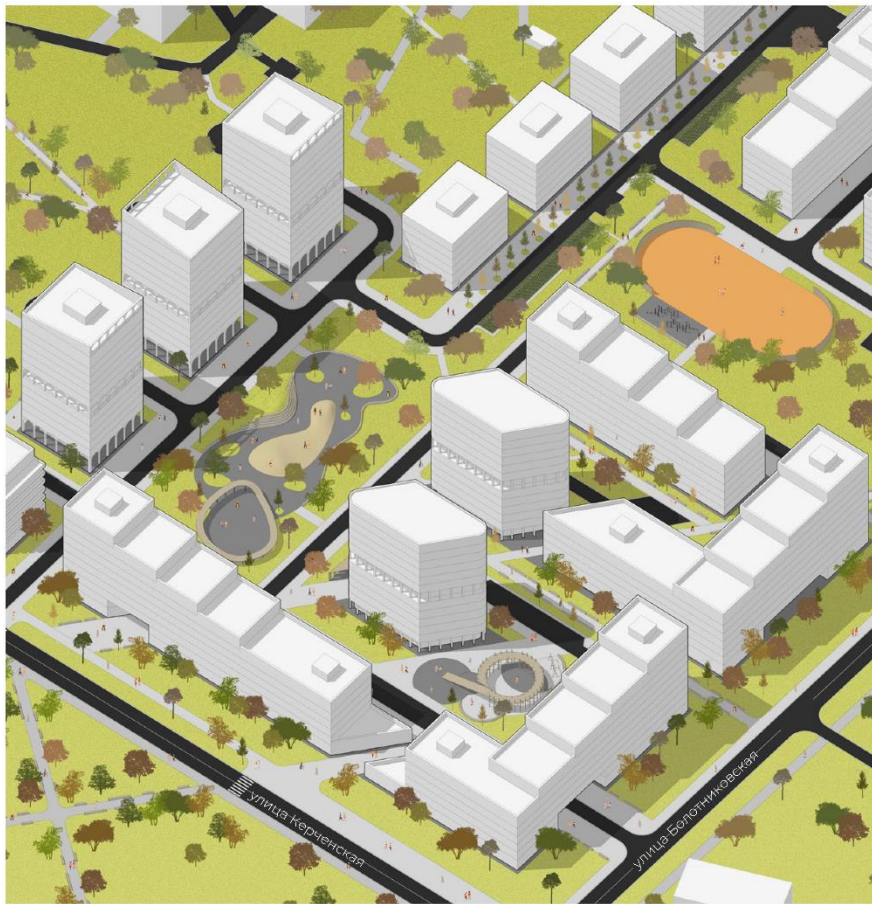
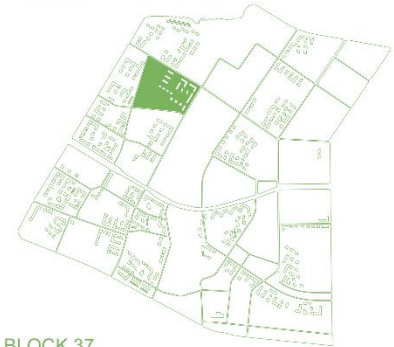


Figure 26. Fragment of the renovation project, Block 37, by the Shtab Bureau

inviting a comparative analysis [Figure 28] that explores the potential benefits and drawbacks of divergent approaches to urban renewal in Zyuzino.



FRAGMENT VISUALIZATION
PROJECT PROPOSAL



BLOCK 37

5. ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ

ЗЮЗИНО. РЕНОВАЦИЯ ЗДОРОВОГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА

ШТАБ

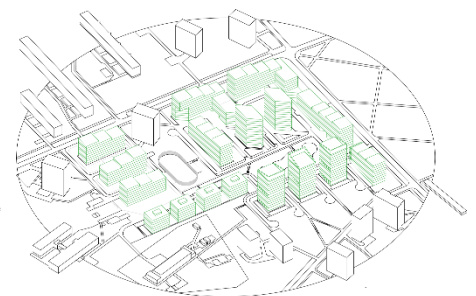
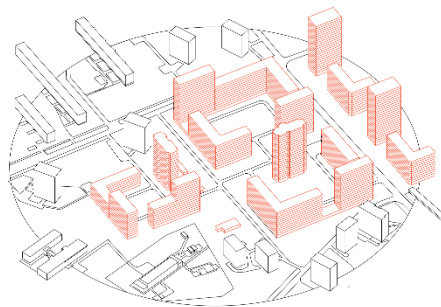
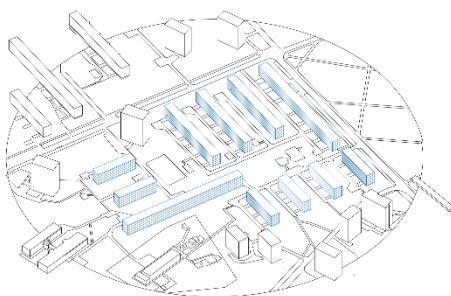
Figure 27. Visualization of a fragment of a project proposal by the Shtab Bureau

СРАВНЕНИЕ ЗАСТРОЙКИ 37 КВАРТАЛА
COMPARISON OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE 37TH QUARTER

СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕЕ ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ
THE CURRENT SITUATION

РЕНОВАЦИЯ
RENOVATION

ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ
PROJECT PROPOSAL



All buildings on the site: 5 floors

Все здания на участке: 5 этажей

Average height of buildings: 14 floors
Predominant sections: 12, 18, 24 floors
Maximum height: 24 floors

Средняя высота зданий: 14 этажей
Преобладающие секции: 12, 18, 24 этажа
Максимальная высота: 24 этажа

Average height of buildings: 8 floors
Predominant sections: 6-8 floors
Maximum height: 13 floors

Средняя высота зданий: 8 этажей
Преобладающие секции: 6-8 этажей
Максимальная высота: 13 этажей

Figure 28. Comparison of the development, Block 37, by the Shtab Bureau

- Existing Scenario:

The existing buildings on the site stand at a modest 5 stories, with a total area of 42,579 square meters. The residential space encompasses 41,157 square meters, representing the current fabric of the community.

- Renovation Plan:

The official renovation plan introduces a transformative vision that involves the development of "Two Bears Park." Envisaged structures boast an average height of 14 stories, with predominant sections ranging from 12 to 24 stories. The maximum height is set at 24 stories, resulting in a total area of 159,832 square meters and a residential space of 97,125 square meters. This plan proposes a substantial 2.36-fold increase in residential space.

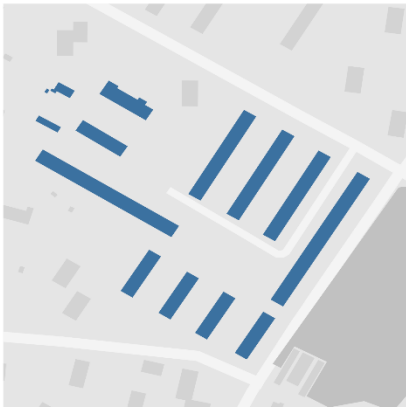
- Alternative Proposal:

The alternative project adopts a more balanced and community-oriented approach according to studio. The proposed buildings maintain an average height of 8 stories, with predominant sections ranging from 6 to 8 stories. The maximum height is capped at 13 stories. This alternative envisions a total area of 158,028 square meters, with a residential space of 96,029 square meters. Notably, this proposal advocates for a 2.33-fold increase in residential space, providing a more nuanced response to the community's needs while preserving the harmonious low-rise aesthetic that characterizes Zyuzino.

СРАВНЕНИЕ ТЭП 37 КВАРТАЛА

COMPARISON OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF THE 37TH QUARTER

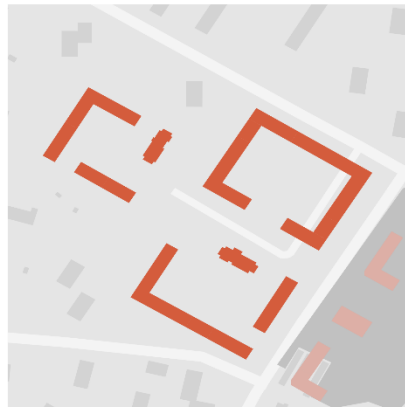
СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕЕ ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ
THE CURRENT SITUATION



42579 м² — площадь общая
41157 м² — площадь жилая

42579 m² — total area
41157 m² — living area

РЕНОВАЦИЯ
RENOVATION



159832 м² — площадь общая
97125 м² — площадь жилая

INCREASE IN LIVING SPACE BY 2.36 TIMES
УВЕЛИЧЕНИЕ ЖИЛОЙ ПЛОЩАДИ В 2,36 РАЗ

159832 m² — total area
97125 m² — living area

ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ
PROJECT PROPOSAL



158028 м² — площадь общая
96029 м² — площадь жилая

INCREASE IN LIVING SPACE BY 2.33 TIMES
УВЕЛИЧЕНИЕ ЖИЛОЙ ПЛОЩАДИ В 2,33 РАЗ

158028 m² — total area
96029 m² — living area

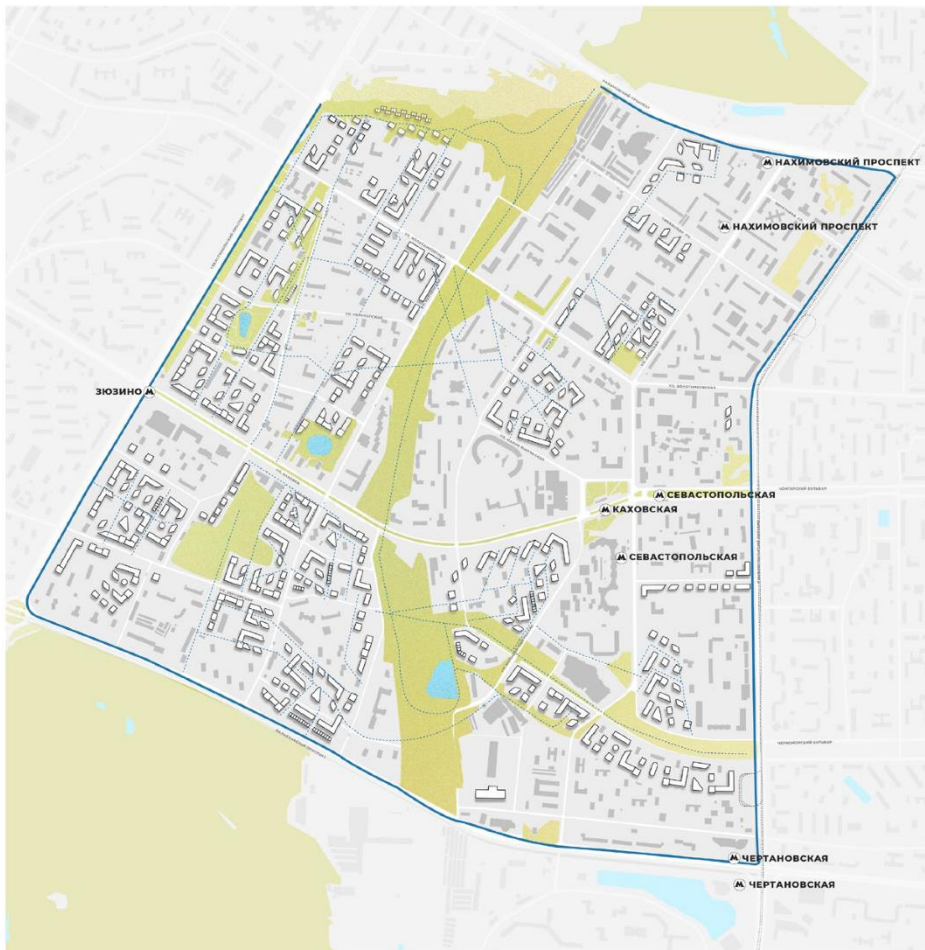
5. ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ

ЗЮЗИНО. РЕНОВАЦИЯ ЗДОРОВОГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА

ШТАБ

Figure 29. Comparison of technical and economic indicators, Block 37, by the Shtab Bureau

This alternative project strives to strike a delicate balance between urban development and the preservation of the neighborhood's unique identity, fostering a sustainable and livable environment for the residents of Zyuzino. The following sections will delve into a comparative analysis, evaluating the implications and potential advantages of these divergent approaches to urban renewal.



ПЛАН ЗАСТРОЙКИ РАЙОНА
В РАМКАХ ПРОЕКТА «РЕНОВАЦИЯ
ЗДОРОВОГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА»

- новая застройка
- существующая застройка
- озеленённые общественные пространства
- проницаемые пешеходные связи
- Ⓜ станция метро
- границы района

THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF THE DISTRICT
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROJECT
"RENOVATION OF A HEALTHY PERSON"

- new development
- existing buildings
- landscaped public spaces
- permeable pedestrian connections
- Ⓜ metro
- station district boundaries

5. ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ

ЗЮЗИНО. РЕНОВАЦИЯ ЗДОРОВОГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА

ШТАБ

Figure 30. The development plan, Alternative Proposal, by the Shtab Bureau

Alternative Project Proposal: Creating a Human-Centric Urban Environment

The alternative project envisions a human-scale environment [Figure 30], tailored to the needs and preferences of the residents. In stark contrast to the towering heights proposed in the official Moscow renovation program, the project advocates for structures with reduced height and elongated facades. By constructing new buildings "in the footsteps of the old," it aims not only to maintain the comfortable facade length but also to preserve the existing trees in the area.

Key Features:

- Preserving the Human Scale:

The project prioritizes a humane environment, opting for lower building heights and extended facades compared to the ambitious designs proposed in the Moscow renovation program. This approach allows for the preservation of a comfortable urban scale and protects the growing trees in the neighborhood.

- Diversity in Urban Fabric:

Achieving a diverse urban environment is paramount, and the project achieves this through various combinations of architectural elements. The existing relief in the area is not only preserved but also accentuated, contributing to the unique character of Zyuzino.

- Permeable Development:

The proposal emphasizes permeability, rejecting the concept of enclosed quarters and bans on pedestrian passage. The result is a design that fosters connectivity and encourages a more open and accessible urban environment.

- Green Spaces and Connectivity:

Unlike the proposed renovation program, the project refrains from excessive construction on green zones, introducing new green spaces instead. Public green areas are seamlessly integrated into a unified system, enhancing the overall connectivity of the neighborhood.

- Ecological Initiatives:

With the completion of the BCL (Big Circle Metro Line) construction in the central part of Kakhovka Street, a green zone emerges, acting as a continuation of Nagatinsky Boulevard. Simultaneously, the neighborhood witnesses the development of a comprehensive bicycle infrastructure system, promoting sustainable and eco-friendly modes of transportation.



Figure 31. Parking Policy, by the Shtab Bureau

Alternative Project Proposal: Sustainable Transportation and Parking Solutions

Enhancing Mobility, Reducing Reliance on Personal Vehicles [Figure 31]

Zyuzino stands out for its exceptional public transportation services, marked by the recent launch of the southern segment of the Big Circle Line. This development will introduce five metro stations across two lines, along with numerous tram stops connecting the district to the city center. The majority of residential buildings will fall within the 10-minute pedestrian reach of these major rail transit stations. This strategic layout diminishes the necessity of daily car usage, presenting private vehicles as an optional amenity for residents seeking additional convenience.

- Sustainable Transportation Infrastructure:

The creation of personal vehicle infrastructure in the district adheres to the principles of sustainable development. Calculations for the required number of parking spaces consider resident needs, impacts on the district and city's transportation systems, as well as the influence of parking availability on housing accessibility and the economic viability of development projects.

The primary portion of parking spaces will be situated in underground parking lots with a single underground level. Additionally, parking spaces will be integrated into separate levels of public buildings, forming multi-level parking structures with communal functionalities. These parking spaces will be available for sale or lease, ensuring that the construction costs are borne predominantly or entirely by the immediate users of the infrastructure, rather than being a burden on all residents of multi-story buildings.

- Guest Parking Solutions:

Guest parking will be strategically placed within the street network, organized into designated pockets. On streets of district significance, parallel parking spaces will be arranged. Streets of local importance will feature parallel, perpendicular, and angled parking, adapting to specific conditions and requirements.

This approach not only promotes sustainable and accessible transportation within the district but also aligns with the broader goal of reducing the overall reliance on personal vehicles. The subsequent sections will delve into the potential societal and environmental implications of these transportation and parking strategies, presenting a comparative analysis against the official Moscow renovation program.

УЛИЧНО-ДОРОЖНАЯ СЕТЬ
STREET AND ROAD NETWORK

THE CURRENT SITUATION
СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕЕ ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ



— магистральные улицы — районные улицы — местные улицы
--- внутриквартальный проезд с признаками улицы

— main streets
— district streets
— local streets
--- intra-block passage with street signs

RENOVATION
РЕНОВАЦИЯ



— районные улицы — местные улицы

— district streets
— local streets

PROJECT PROPOSAL
ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ



— районные улицы — местные улицы

— district streets
— local streets

Figure 32. Street and road network, by the Shtab Bureau

Alternative Project Proposal: Enhancing Urban Connectivity

Optimizing Road Networks for Improved Circulation [Figure 32]

The current state of the road network in Zyuzino is characterized by insufficient connectivity. The planning units' dimensions reach up to 900 meters, leading to a high level of non-linearity. This,

in turn, results in increased pedestrian, cycling, and vehicular routes, causing congestion on streets of district significance that connect various blocks within the district.

- Renovation Program

The Moscow renovation project addresses this issue by proposing a densification of the road network through the introduction of additional streets of local importance in areas with significant new construction.

- Alternative Project Proposal

However, the proposed alternative project goes beyond, offering a more effective solution to the existing connectivity challenges. Connecting Chernomorsky Boulevard to Odessa Street and Sivashskaya to Kerchenskaya elevates the status of these segments from streets of local importance to streets of district significance. This solution aims to increase the linearity of routes and alleviate congestion on other streets of district significance by optimizing traffic distribution more efficiently.

This strategic enhancement not only tackles the current non-linearity issues but also anticipates future traffic patterns resulting from new constructions. The subsequent sections will delve deeper into the potential benefits of this road network optimization, offering a comparative analysis against the official Moscow renovation program.

ФУНКЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ ЗОНИРОВАНИЕ
FUNCTIONAL ZONING

THE CURRENT SITUATION
СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕЕ ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ

RENOVATION
РЕНОВАЦИЯ

PROJECT PROPOSAL
ПРОЕКТНОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ



функции: ● жилая застройка ● социальные объекты ● торговля ● промышленные объекты ● здания со смешанной функцией

- residential buildings
- social facilities
- trade
- industrial facilities
- buildings with mixed function

Figure 33. Functional zoning, by the Shtab Bureau

Alternative Project Proposal: Integrating Social and Commercial Spaces

Revitalizing Zyuzino's Urban Fabric [Figure 33]

- Existing Scenario

The predominant land use in the Zyuzino district comprises residential buildings, with an industrial zone situated to the south.

- Renovation Program

The proposed renovation program introduces mixed-use development for the ground floors of new residential buildings. Additionally, a portion of these structures is designated for commercial and business functions within residential quarters. Despite a significant increase in population density, the expansion of social infrastructure remains limited.

- Alternative Project Proposal

In an alternative project, a holistic approach is taken to create a vibrant and inclusive urban environment. The ground floors of the new residential developments are dedicated to a mix of commercial, business, and social facilities. This intentional integration of various functions aims to foster a sense of community and address the diverse needs of residents.

- **Commercial Spaces:** The ground levels of residential complexes will host a variety of commercial establishments, ranging from cafes and shops to service-oriented businesses. This strategy aims to create a lively atmosphere and enhance the convenience of daily life for the residents.
- **Business Facilities:** Dedicated spaces for business activities within residential blocks provide opportunities for local entrepreneurs and contribute to the economic vitality of the district. This model encourages a live-work dynamic and reduces the need for extensive commutes.
- **Social Infrastructure:** Unlike the official renovation program, an alternative proposal extends the social infrastructure beyond the confines of residential buildings. Purpose-built structures will house community centers, healthcare facilities, and educational institutions. This decentralized approach ensures that social services are easily accessible and adequately distributed throughout the district.

By strategically blending commercial, business, and social functions, the alternative project not only enriches the urban experience for residents but also addresses the shortcomings of the official renovation program in terms of social infrastructure expansion. The following sections will delve deeper into the comparative advantages of this approach in navigating the evolving urban visions of Zyuzino.



Figure 34. Height of the buildings, by the Shtab Bureau

Alternative Project Proposal: Rethinking Vertical Development

Transforming Zyuzino's Skyline [Figure 34]

- Current Landscape

The predominant residential architecture in Zyuzino consists of five-story buildings. Notably, all structures slated for demolition share a common characteristic—they are five-story buildings.

- Renovation Program

The renovation program introduces a departure from the existing landscape by incorporating predominantly taller residential blocks. The proposed redevelopment includes residential blocks with 12, 18, and 24 floors, with the maximum height reaching 30 floors.

- Alternative Project Proposal

In contrast to the official renovation program, the alternative proposal aims to maintain a harmonious blend with the existing urban fabric. The emphasis is on moderate vertical development, with the prevalent residential blocks ranging from 6 to 10 floors. The proposed maximum height for new constructions is capped at 16 floors.

- **Preserving Human Scale:** The decision to limit the height of new residential structures is grounded in the intention to preserve the human scale of the neighborhood. Taller buildings can often create an imposing environment, overshadowing the existing character of the district. By adhering to a more modest height profile, the alternative project seeks to ensure a comfortable and visually appealing living environment.
- **Architectural Continuity:** The design philosophy of the alternative proposal aligns with the existing five-story structures. This approach not only respects the historical context but also mitigates the potential disruption caused by introducing significantly taller buildings.
- **Enhancing Aesthetics:** The alternative vision for Zyuzino prioritizes architectural aesthetics that complement the current skyline. By avoiding excessive height, the proposal aims to create a visually cohesive and pleasing atmosphere for residents.

In summary, the alternative project proposal challenges the emphasis on towering structures in the official renovation program. By prioritizing architectural continuity and human-scale development, this approach seeks to enhance the overall urban experience for Zyuzino's residents. The subsequent sections will delve into a comparative analysis, shedding light on the potential advantages and disadvantages of both perspectives in navigating the evolving urban visions of Zyuzino.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1. Discussion of the results and limitations of the research

Urban renewal initiatives, such as the Renovation Program and the My Street and My District improvement programs, represent significant efforts by Moscow authorities to reshape the city's landscape. This section evaluates the outcomes and impacts of these programs, with a focus on the Zyuzino district. Drawing on resident surveys and in-depth interviews conducted across various Moscow neighborhoods, including Zyuzino and others, the evaluation of results aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how these urban renewal initiatives have influenced social, economic, and spatial dynamics in the selected areas.

In evaluating the Renovation Program in Zyuzino, the social dynamics appear multifaceted. While some residents report strengthened community bonds, others express concerns regarding a potential erosion of neighborhood identity. The limited participatory element in decision-making processes raises questions about inclusivity and its implications for social cohesion. Importantly, this underscores the need for a more comprehensive and inclusive approach to community engagement in future urban renewal initiatives.

Economic implications emerge as a notable concern post-renovation, with residents across neighborhoods expressing increased financial burdens. This shared sentiment underscores the necessity for a thorough economic evaluation of urban transformation initiatives. The spatial changes in Zyuzino, affecting infrastructure, green spaces, and overall aesthetics, elicit both positive and negative responses. This highlights the importance of context-specific planning to address residents' varying perceptions and needs in urban renewal projects.

This assessment provides a multifaceted view of the urban renewal initiatives in Moscow, emphasizing the importance of considering the social, economic, and spatial dimensions of transformation. The limited public involvement and diverse perceptions underscore the complexity of urban governance, urging policymakers to adopt more participatory and context-sensitive approaches in future urban development projects.

The comparative analysis across neighborhoods reveals shared concerns, emphasizing the universality of challenges such as increased expenses and limited public involvement in decision-making. However, it also highlights context-specific challenges, like the concern about diminishing green spaces in Zyuzino, emphasizing the importance of tailored strategies for diverse districts. This comparative perspective underscores the need for a nuanced, adaptable approach in urban planning and governance to address both common challenges and district-specific nuances effectively.

A recurring theme in public participation is the limited involvement of the public in decision-making processes. This finding raises critical questions about the effectiveness of current engagement strategies, suggesting a need for more inclusive practices to ensure diverse resident needs are considered. Understanding the diverse perceptions of changes brought about by urban renewal programs is crucial for policymakers. It allows for the design of interventions that resonate with the various demographic and socio-economic groups within the community, contributing to a more inclusive and sustainable urban transformation.

The research brings to light a significant challenge in the lack of public involvement in decision-making processes, a concern voiced both by residents and echoed by experts. Skepticism prevails among experts regarding the authenticity of community participation in both the Renovation and urban improvement programs. One expert highlights the systemic neglect of local experts by the Renovation Program, emphasizing the absence of recognized stakeholder groups. Ethical dilemmas surface prominently in the Renovation Program, where residents play a role in deciding the fate of their neighbors' homes through voting. However, this process limits participation to residents of the buildings subject to renovation, excluding neighboring residents whose interests are also impacted.

To delve deeper into the discussion of this evident issue, attention is directed to Daria Volkova's article titled "Resources, Consumers, Non-citizens: Representation of the Citizens in the Discourse of the New Residential Areas in Moscow." This article explores the direct relationship and perception of city residents by authoritative structures. Volkova introduces the concept of the "human-meter," where citizens are reduced to statistical units devoid of agency, seen merely as resources for urban authorities and developers. The idealized middle-class citizen serves as an illustrative model, contributing to the image of a "comfortable urban environment." The third category, the consumer-citizen, operates solely within economic logic, lacking agency for individual or collective actions in transforming their living spaces or making political demands. The fourth category, the "wrong" citizens (renters, low-income individuals, migrants), are portrayed as lacking the right to the city, viewed negatively for their potential impact on the urban environment.

Volkova's analysis reveals the construction of citizens within a discourse that limits their agency, particularly those belonging to excluded categories. The discourse positions power solely in the hands of authorities and developers, denying residents real political agency and depicting their actions as threats rather than meaningful contributions. The media coverage tends to emphasize issues in new districts, framing positive actions as achievements of the authorities and attributing negatives to market dynamics. Real political consequences of resident actions, such as environmental movements or activism against nearby factories, are often downplayed or dismissed in the dominant discourse. By denying residents political agency, discourse producers fail to acknowledge their influence on neighborhood changes, granting the power to shape the destiny of territories and their inhabitants solely to major actors — representatives of authority and capital.

Transitioning from Daria Volkova's article, we delve into the evaluation of public participation, a crucial aspect highlighted in our literature review. As previously discussed, assessing public participation involves analyzing results, the level of engagement, and participant satisfaction. Challenges may encompass heterogeneous involvement, unbalanced group representation, difficulties in engaging minorities, and issues related to information transmission and comprehension. Overcoming these challenges necessitates the development of inclusive and transparent participation mechanisms that consider diverse opinions and the needs of different population groups.

A persistent theme throughout our research reveals a significant gap in involving communities in decision-making processes related to urban development. Initial attempts to engage experts and local communities faltered, revealing that the mechanisms in place were controlled primarily by authorities and developers. Perhaps the magnitude of the project intimidated the authorities, leading them to fear that listening to everyone would hinder progress.

As one expert expressed during an interview, Moscow struggles with handling different scales. The city excels at managing large projects but lacks the tools and skills to efficiently address minor details. For instance, residents may deem it essential to preserve a particular tree or adjust the orientation of a building, but the city administration lacks the means to address such issues. If these tools were available, the situation might have improved.

In our literature review, we explored Participatory Planning Theory, emphasizing the involvement of multiple stakeholders in planning processes to facilitate democratic decision-making and ensure the representation of various opinions. Public Participation (PP) is integral to the success of urban renewal programs, providing a platform for citizens and local communities to actively engage in decision-making processes. Analyzing Moscow's Renovation, My Street, and My District programs through the lens of Participatory Planning Theory allows us to evaluate the extent of public involvement and assess its effectiveness in addressing community concerns.

By adopting participatory planning approaches, the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs can benefit from the diverse knowledge, experiences, and perspectives of the local

communities. Residents and stakeholders can contribute their insights and aspirations, helping to shape the design and implementation of renovations, public space improvements, and new residential complexes. This participatory approach can lead to more context-sensitive and socially inclusive outcomes that better address the needs and desires of the community.

Sherry R. Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" offers a comprehensive framework to evaluate societal involvement levels in decision-making processes. The ladder delineates eight rungs, each representing different degrees of citizen influence. Examining how these rungs align with public participation dynamics in Moscow's urban renewal initiatives provides valuable insights.

In our assessment, we find that Moscow's programs exhibit various levels of citizen participation:

- Renovation Program: Citizens express awareness but have concerns about their influence in decision-making, with decisions seemingly made elsewhere.
- My District Improvement Programs: Mixed responses reveal varying degrees of partnership, suggesting attempts to involve residents, but it feels selective.

Challenges include ensuring genuine partnership and avoiding tokenism. Recommendations encompass enhancing communication channels, fostering collaborative decision-making, and establishing mechanisms for meaningful citizen control.

However, it is important to recognize the challenges and limitations associated with participatory planning. Engaging diverse stakeholders and ensuring their meaningful participation requires dedicated resources, effective communication channels, and mechanisms for addressing power imbalances. Furthermore, the interests and preferences of different groups within the community may vary, requiring careful facilitation and negotiation to reach consensus.

Shifting our focus to another aspect of community involvement, it is imperative to address the role of the local residents' community in shaping the city's development plan. Currently, the target audience for the urban territorial projects consists of a narrowly specialized professional community, making the document accessible primarily to experts of a specific profile. To enhance community engagement, the creation of the document should involve conveying information in simple and understandable language, framing the project's goals and objectives in terms of social well-being, and actively encouraging the participation of a diverse array of interested individuals and organizations beyond the professional community.

A critical consideration lies in the realm of public hearings. Despite the legal provision for their conduct in Article 131 (as amended on December 27, 2019) "On the General Principles of Local Self-Government in the Russian Federation," the execution of public hearings remains largely at the discretion of municipalities. The initiative to hold public hearings, if not undertaken by the municipality, may come from the residents themselves.

Moving forward, it becomes evident that the inadequacy of the public hearing system is influenced by several factors. The specific nature of material presentation in documents, comprehensible only to experts, contributes to the system's shortcomings. Additionally, the lack of specialized education and a comprehensive understanding of the issues among citizens, coupled with the absence of an elected representative expressing residents' opinions, possessing relevant expertise (urban planning or architectural education), and independent funding, further hampers the effectiveness of the system.

Examining the Renovation Program and its documentation, the lack of clarity in the sequence of implemented changes becomes apparent. From demolition to the construction of new buildings, the order of infrastructure implementation, and the moments of clearing territories with demolished buildings remain ambiguous. Our research reveals that vacated buildings persist for some time without demolition, adding another layer of complexity to the urban renewal process.

In addressing these challenges, it is imperative to bridge the communication gap between experts and the general public. Simplifying language in urban development documents and promoting a

more inclusive approach to public hearings can enhance citizen participation. Furthermore, establishing transparent timelines for changes within programs like Renovation and ensuring the prompt demolition of vacated buildings will contribute to a more effective and accountable urban renewal process. By fostering an environment where citizens are not just informed but actively engaged, Moscow can redefine its approach to urban development, laying the foundation for a more inclusive and sustainable future.

Throughout the course of my research, my initial hypothesis regarding the influence and connection of gentrification with urban improvement and renovation programs did not align with expectations. Contrary to my initial belief that these programs often entail significant investments in infrastructure, public spaces, and housing improvements, attracting higher-income residents and property developers to previously neglected areas, the actual impact on property values and the displacement of low-income long-term residents is less pronounced.

In my opinion the creation and enhancement of public spaces through these programs may contribute to the gentrification process. Improving public spaces, such as parks, squares, and pedestrian zones, can enhance the attractiveness of neighborhoods, attracting more affluent residents and businesses. This transformation may lead to the reconfiguration of public spaces according to the needs and preferences of incoming populations, potentially resulting in the exclusion or marginalization of existing communities.

Contrary to these observations, experts hold a different perspective. Gentrification exists in Moscow, but it may not have a direct correlation with the projects under discussion. Moscow exhibits a certain pattern associated with the division of the city into various housing categories and classes. Projects targeting wealthier population segments are primarily implemented within the Garden Ring, in more central districts. As one moves to more distant districts, housing typically becomes more affordable and modest.

Regarding the impact of gentrification on renovation and "My Street" programs, there may not be a clear correlation. It is essential to note that these programs cover the entire territory of Moscow, not limited to central districts. Different areas may be involved to varying extents, but they collectively impact numerous districts in the city.

While gentrification is acknowledged as an important process creating additional opportunities and stimuli for the economy, the Renovation Program does not seem to provide a distinctive, high-class infrastructure, such as entertainment centers, to attract people. The program lacks the creation of an additional stimulating environment in the city.

However, it's crucial to consider certain factors from the literature review:

1. The program is still in progress and will continue for approximately another decade, leading to transformations in various districts, increased population density, and demographic shifts.
2. Gentrification is not solely associated with the renovation of old buildings but also encompasses the gentrification of "new buildings," where areas are demolished, and new buildings are constructed from scratch. scratch [Jonas A., McCann E., Thomas M., 2015, p. 32]. In the context of neoliberalism, urban authorities and real estate developers often portray gentrification as a joint venture bringing private profit, increasing the tax base, and yielding positive effects, such as urban redevelopment, enhanced safety, cleanliness, social mixing, and improved opportunities.

In looking ahead, as the project's density and height increase, there may be a prevalence of new residents (from other districts, suburbs, or cities) if they can afford it. This shift raises the possibility that it is not merely a reconfiguration of the area without any alien elements. We may not have reached that point yet, but it is an aspect worth considering in the future.

Now, let's explore the "Housing Location Theory," which, while distinct in focus, maintains symbiotic relations with gentrification dynamics. This theory provides an additional perspective on why people prefer specific areas and how this choice influences housing structures and social

group distribution. It helps analyze whether the urban renewal programs exacerbate or address housing affordability issues for various income groups.

However, more research is crucial for precise conclusions. It appears that at least another five years of observation is needed. Survey results indicate that financial changes are not universally felt, and those perceiving a rising cost of living may attribute it to various external factors.

Similarly, housing affordability, identified as a component of the new urban crisis, is complex [Florida, R., 2018]. The cost of renovated housing under the Renovation Program may be higher, limiting accessibility. Drawing premature conclusions is unwise. Continued observation and further investigation are needed to understand the long-term implications of these urban renewal programs on housing dynamics, affordability, and social inclusion, recognizing the multifaceted nature of urban transformations and their interconnectedness with economic and social dynamics.

Continuing our discussion on spatial dynamics, particularly focusing on the methods employed in the Renovation Program, it is evident that sentiments toward this program are not universally positive. Experts, influenced by renowned urban designers such as Jane Jacobs, Robert Moses, and instances like Levittown in New York, criticize the approach of demolishing and rebuilding. Jacobs, for instance, argued against the wholesale clearance of deteriorating areas, advocating for techniques like "selective clearance" or "planned conservation."

Building on examples and housing types discussed earlier, we delved into the concept of improving the urban environment, exploring its trends and varied interpretations by researchers. One expert expressed a notably negative view, highlighting the adverse impact of low-quality construction and design. The renovation process, according to this perspective, leads to the destruction of unique urban environments, particularly in five-story districts with their natural beauty.

Moreover, the expert pointed out that the lack of specific building height regulations in the Renovation Program allows developers to construct excessively tall buildings, altering the character of the area. The removal of mature trees and the disappearance of picturesque courtyards further exacerbate the situation, as the program does not mandate the preservation of greenery.

The consideration of foreign examples was raised, but practical challenges underscored the need to adapt concepts to local conditions. Moscow's unique governance, financing, and resettlement systems make finding an ideal foreign analog challenging. Analyzing implemented projects and extracting lessons becomes more crucial than simply seeking foreign parallels, given that foreign experience, without context, might prove detrimental.

Another notable issue pertains to the quality of work, which is suboptimal. While projects may appear aesthetically pleasing in the summer, concerns arise during winter, and the simplification of processes, with builders discarding challenging aspects, further compounds the problem.

In summary, the spatial dynamics of urban renewal programs like Renovation reflect a complex interplay of methods, design considerations, and the need for contextualized approaches. The multifaceted challenges and criticisms emphasize the necessity for continual evaluation and adaptive strategies in Moscow's transformation journey.

7.2. Discussion of the implications of the findings

The extensive analysis of the Renovation Program and My Street and My District improvement programs across diverse Moscow neighborhoods, with a particular focus on Zyuzino, reveals nuanced dynamics in the social, economic, and spatial aspects of urban renewal. This section draws conclusions based on the findings and formulates recommendations for further research in this domain.

It is crucial to acknowledge the unprecedented nature of Moscow's Renovation program and improvement programs initiative. These programs represent the first instances globally where such extensive areas are undergoing simultaneous and comprehensive redevelopment. The sheer scale and simultaneous development of these initiatives signify a pioneering venture that will inevitably reshape the face of a considerable portion of Moscow in the near future.

In this groundbreaking endeavor, errors and challenges are inherent, given the magnitude and complexity of these initiatives. Moscow's urban landscape is poised for a transformative change, and the lessons learned from the implementation of these programs will be instrumental in refining future urban renewal projects. The absence of a precedent for managing such vast areas emphasizes the inevitability of encountering challenges and making adjustments along the way.

As we embark on the task of drawing conclusions from the current urban renaissance in Moscow, it is essential to keep in mind the experimental nature of these initiatives. The evolving urban fabric of Moscow will carry the imprints of these pioneering efforts. Therefore, our conclusions and recommendations aim not only to assess the current state of affairs but also to contribute valuable insights for refining and improving future urban renewal strategies.

- [What is the role of public participation in these programs, and how effective has it been in addressing the concerns of local communities?](#)

In essence, I have already addressed the question of the role of public participation in the previous Discussion section. However, building on the assessment of research results and impacts, it is worth contemplating what could further engage communities in the planning and implementation of large-scale programs such as renovation and urban improvement initiatives. Based on the entire research, I want to emphasize some principles of involvement relevant to cities:

Simplicity of Participation, Information Accessibility: Ensuring information accessibility regarding timelines, stages, goals, tasks, opportunities, and constraints is a fundamental condition for successful involvement. Clearly outlining the potential degree of influence and participation at the early stages is crucial. Information should be conveyed in a simple and understandable manner to provide equal opportunities for understanding the material for both specialists and private individuals, regardless of their experience with such agendas.

Equal Opportunities and Conditions for Participation: Participation and decision-making rights should extend not only to the administration and urban public organizations but also to local residents, communities, and entrepreneurs. Otherwise, instead of a representative sample of participants, there is a risk of forming a "narrow group perceived by citizens as an elitist minority," leading to a decline in the effectiveness of involvement.

Involvement at the Earliest Stages: Engaging residents and other participants at the earliest, pre-project stages allows them to feel the significance of their opinions when determining priorities, goals, and tasks of the strategic document. In contrast, involving them only at the stage of approving an already developed document may create a sense of formal necessity and elicit negative reactions even to legitimate decisions proposed by specialists.

Moreover, since many groups of residents and discussion participants typically have not had the opportunity to express their position earlier, early-stage dialogues may initially lack constructive character. However, with effective moderation, the process soon transitions into a constructive flow. It is crucial to involve residents and representatives of various interest groups in the discussion process from the very beginning. Their proposals and perspectives can shape key strategic decisions and relieve architects and other document contributors from the need to defend already finalized project solutions.

Visible Outcomes of Participation: Recognizing that each participant invests their time, effort, knowledge, and competencies, it is essential to not only consider the motivation of each participant but also ensure a transparent decision-making procedure. Every participant should

see whether their proposals were incorporated into the final project decisions. If not, they should be informed of the reasons for choosing an alternative approach. This transparency is vital for maintaining participants' interest and sustaining effective involvement throughout the process.

- [What are the experiences and perspectives of long-time residents, newcomers, and policymakers regarding the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow?](#)

The experiences and perspectives of long-time residents, newcomers, and policymakers regarding the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs in Moscow reflect a diverse range of opinions, concerns, and expectations. Through interviews, analyses, and expert insights, we can elucidate the nuanced responses from these distinct groups.

Long-time Residents:

Positive Aspects: Long-time residents often express a deep connection to their neighborhoods and appreciate the potential improvements promised by the programs. However, concerns emerge about the impact on the familiar urban fabric. A resident notes, "Change is good, but we want our identity preserved."

Challenges: Disruptions caused by construction and changes in the neighborhood evoke mixed sentiments. A long-time resident expresses concern, saying, "We fear the loss of community spirit amidst the transformations."

Newcomers:

Positive Aspects: Newcomers, drawn by the prospect of enhanced urban amenities, generally welcome the initiatives. A newcomer remarks, "I chose this area because of the planned improvements. It's an exciting time to be here."

Challenges: Some newcomers, however, find themselves navigating the evolving urban landscape and adapting to ongoing changes. A newcomer shares, "It's a bit overwhelming to settle in a place that's undergoing such rapid transformation."

Policymakers:

Positive Aspects: Policymakers emphasize the necessity of urban renewal to address housing demands and create modern, sustainable living environments. A policymaker highlights, "Our goal is to improve living conditions for all residents and ensure Moscow's global competitiveness."

Challenges: Policymakers acknowledge the need for better communication and community engagement. One policymaker reflects, "We need to bridge the gap between our vision and residents' expectations for more effective implementation."

Common Themes and Divergent Views:

Community Identity: Both long-time residents and newcomers share a concern for preserving the unique identity of their neighborhoods. Balancing modernization with the retention of cultural and historical aspects emerges as a shared priority.

Communication Gaps: Residents, both long-standing and recent, express the need for clearer communication from policymakers. There is a consensus that transparent, inclusive communication can foster a greater understanding of the programs' goals and alleviate concerns.

Adaptation Challenges: While newcomers may see urban renewal as an opportunity, they face challenges adapting to ongoing changes. Long-time residents, attached to established norms, experience disruptions that impact their daily lives.

Recommendations:

Enhanced Communication: Policymakers should prioritize clear, consistent communication to bridge the gap between aspirations and community expectations. Public forums, digital platforms, and community meetings can serve as effective channels.

Preservation Efforts: Acknowledging the importance of preserving community identity, policymakers should explore strategies to integrate modernization with the preservation of historical and cultural elements.

Community Engagement: Policymakers should actively involve residents in decision-making processes. This involves incorporating their feedback, addressing concerns, and ensuring that the programs align with the diverse needs of the community.

Understanding the experiences and perspectives of long-time residents, newcomers, and policymakers provides valuable insights for refining and optimizing Moscow's urban renewal programs. By fostering inclusive dialogue, addressing community concerns, and adapting strategies based on diverse perspectives, these initiatives can pave the way for a more harmonious and sustainable urban future.

- [How do these programs affect the social, economic, and spatial dynamics of the city?](#)

The primary research question regarding the impact of these programs on the social, economic, and spatial dynamics of the city is answered through a detailed examination of Zyuzino and other neighborhoods. The findings highlight the multifaceted nature of urban renewal initiatives and their diverse effects on different aspects of city life.

The Renovation program, encapsulated by the housing renewal initiative, endeavors to ameliorate residents' living conditions fundamentally. This ambitious undertaking not only entails relocating individuals to more spacious dwellings but also envisions an entire reimagining of the living environment. The creation of car-free courtyards, children's playgrounds, sports facilities, and improved parking facilities constitutes an integral part of this envisioned transformation [GBU "Main Architectural and Planning Department of Moscow Architecture", 2018, p.8]. The program aspires to instigate a sense of communal comfort by fostering organic connections with existing developments, maintaining an architectural harmony that complements the existing urban fabric.

While the Renovation program strives to enhance living conditions and foster a sense of communal comfort, critiques arise concerning the design and utilization of public spaces. The ambitious restructuring, though aiming for car-free courtyards and recreational areas, faces scrutiny for its effectiveness in creating vibrant, socially engaging spaces. Successful public spaces extend beyond functionality and aesthetics, requiring a diversity of uses to cater to various age groups and social strata, as advocated by Jane Jacobs [1961]. Evaluating Moscow's renovated areas against these principles becomes imperative to gauge the program's social impact accurately.

Economic concerns, such as increased expenses, emerge as shared sentiments across neighborhoods. This underlines the necessity for a comprehensive evaluation of the economic implications of urban renewal initiatives to ensure the well-being of residents. It is essential to note that the data obtained may also be interconnected with the current economic situation in the country, marked by rising prices and inflation. Therefore, for more precise conclusions, a detailed economic analysis would be imperative to discern the specific impact of urban renewal initiatives on residents' financial stability.

The economic implications of the Renovation program, encompassing increased expenses for residents, raise questions about the program's guarantees and the reality of its execution. Scrutiny into whether all promised conditions are met becomes crucial. The critical lens cast upon the execution of the new urban layouts outlined in the official Renovation project is essential. Experts weigh in on the feasibility and desirability of these new spatial configurations, assessing their alignment with the diverse needs of the population.

The spatial transformation propelled by the Renovation program adheres to several key principles, reflecting a holistic approach to reshaping Moscow's residential quarters. Delicate integration into existing environments, unified architectural images, optimization of land use, creation of quality open spaces, well-considered greening strategies, and convenient placement of social and transportation infrastructure collectively contribute to the spatial metamorphosis. The program aspires to craft a diversified urban environment that addresses housing needs while preserving the identity of each area.

In tandem, the My District program augments Moscow's urban dynamics by revitalizing streets, rendering them more user-friendly and aesthetically pleasing. Positive transformations are noted, contributing to a sense of communal comfort. Challenges arising from ongoing renovations gradually integrate into daily life, showcasing the program's adaptive impact.

The alternative Renovation project for Zyuzino stands out by prioritizing in-depth research, acknowledging the importance of local identity, and actively involving residents in the planning process. Unlike the official project, the alternative approach emphasizes creating a unique identity based on the sociocultural context of the area.

Additionally, the alternative project highlights the need to address existing problems without creating new ones, focusing on the quality and diversity of the urban environment. The emphasis on solving existing issues aligns with the concerns raised by residents in response to the official Renovation Program.

Moreover, the alternative project underscores the significance of thoughtful implementation sequencing to minimize disruptions to residents' lives during the construction phase. This aligns with the community's concerns about the potential long-term impact on their daily lives.

The overarching theme of housing affordability is integral to understanding the social and economic repercussions of these programs. Examining factors influencing housing costs and accessibility, alongside a theoretical exploration of housing affordability, helps illuminate how these programs may exacerbate or alleviate challenges associated with affordable housing. The complex interplay between the Renovation, My Street, and My District programs and their potential impact on housing affordability underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of Moscow's socio-economic landscape.

Gentrification, a phenomenon often associated with urban renewal, prompts inquiry into its presence or absence in Moscow. While experts provide diverse perspectives, the absence of traditional gentrification markers does not necessarily negate the need for further exploration. The nuanced socio-economic context of Moscow may give rise to a unique manifestation of gentrification or an alternative form that necessitates examination within the Renovation program's framework. Understanding these dynamics is essential for comprehending the broader socio-economic implications of urban renewal in Moscow.

As the programs continue their phased implementation, it is paramount to recognize that we are still in the early stages of this transformative journey. Drawing definitive conclusions about the long-term consequences for Moscow's urban fabric requires patience and ongoing observation. While the visible impacts on specific areas are noteworthy, the full spectrum of outcomes is yet to unfold as subsequent phases of the programs take shape.

Presently, the pulse of Moscow's evolving urban landscape can be discerned through the sentiments of its residents, the experiences of municipal deputies involved in program implementation, and the insights provided by experts. The early stages have witnessed a range of perspectives – from optimism about the positive changes to reservations about certain aspects of the programs. This diverse array of viewpoints underscores the complexity of urban renewal and the multifaceted nature of its impact on various stakeholders.

The ongoing execution of the initiatives demands sustained scrutiny and continuous monitoring. The city's evolution is an iterative process, and the lessons learned from these early stages will inform subsequent actions. As more phases unfold, it becomes imperative to adapt strategies based on real-time feedback, ensuring that the programs align with the evolving needs and aspirations of Moscow's residents.

While it is premature to make conclusive judgments about the programs' ultimate effects, the initial phases offer valuable lessons and insights. The residents' experiences, the challenges faced by deputies in executing the programs, and the analyses conducted provide a foundation for formulating recommendations. These recommendations extend beyond the immediate context, aiming to guide future urban renewal initiatives in Moscow and potentially serve as a reference for global urban development projects.

7.3. Recommendations

Key Areas for Further Observation

- Resident Sentiments and Adaptation: Ongoing monitoring of residents' sentiments is crucial to gauge how communities adapt to the evolving urban environment. This includes assessing the impact on daily lives, community interactions, and the overall well-being of residents.
- Program Implementation Challenges: Continual examination of the challenges faced by municipal deputies in implementing the programs will uncover insights into governance, legal frameworks, and administrative aspects. Identifying and addressing these challenges is pivotal for the programs' success.
- Public Spaces and Social Dynamics: The dynamic nature of public spaces requires ongoing scrutiny to ensure they fulfill their intended social and cultural functions. Adjustments may be necessary based on observed usage patterns and community needs.
- Gentrification and Social Equity: As Moscow undergoes urban renewal, keeping a vigilant eye on signs of gentrification and evaluating its impact on social equity is essential. This includes understanding any shifts in demographics, socio-economic disparities, and neighborhood character.

Formulating Recommendations for Future Programs

- Early insights from resident surveys, expert analyses, and project comparisons provide the basis for formulating recommendations for future urban renewal programs in Moscow. These recommendations encompass:
- Enhanced Community Engagement: Strengthening mechanisms for community involvement and ensuring transparent communication channels between residents, authorities, and planners.
- Flexibility in Implementation: Recognizing the dynamic nature of urban development and incorporating flexibility into program implementation to address unforeseen challenges.
- Balancing Aesthetics and Functionality: Striking a balance between the aesthetic aspirations of urban renewal and the functional needs of residents to create holistic, livable environments.
- Robust Legal Framework: Ensuring a robust legal framework that addresses the intricacies of urban renewal, safeguarding the rights and interests of both residents and developers.
- Continuous Evaluation: Instituting a framework for ongoing evaluation of programs, including regular assessments, feedback mechanisms, and adaptability to changing urban dynamics.

In conclusion, while the Renovation program and My Street initiative are in the nascent stages of their implementation, the early lessons learned lay the groundwork for informed decision-making.

The ongoing monitoring and analysis of these initiatives will contribute to a comprehensive understanding of their impact on Moscow's urban fabric. As we navigate this transformative process, the commitment to refining strategies, learning from experiences, and prioritizing the well-being of Moscow's residents remains central to the success of these pioneering urban renewal programs.

7.4. Future research perspectives

Recommendations for Future Research:

- Long-Term Impact Analysis:

Conduct a comprehensive study on the long-term impacts of both official and alternative Renovation projects to understand sustained effects on social cohesion, economic well-being, and community identity.

- Comparative Urban Renewal Studies:

Undertake comparative research across diverse cities to draw universal principles and context-specific strategies for successful urban transformations.

- Effective Public Participation Strategies:

Investigate and develop more effective strategies for public participation, ensuring that diverse resident needs are addressed, and a sense of ownership is fostered.

- Policy Interventions for Economic Well-Being:

Explore policy interventions to mitigate economic burdens on residents during urban renewal initiatives, ensuring a positive contribution to the overall well-being of communities.

In conclusion, the analysis emphasizes the need for a holistic approach to urban renewal that considers the intricate interplay of social, economic, and spatial dynamics. The alternative project for Zyuzino provides valuable insights into a more community-centric and inclusive approach. The recommendations for future research aim to contribute to ongoing discussions on inclusive and sustainable urban development in Moscow and beyond.

8. References

- About My District program. (n.d.). Mayor of Moscow, Sergei Sobyanin. Retrieved from <https://www.sobyanin.ru/districts>
- André, P., Enserink, B., Connor, D., & Croal, P. (2006). Public Participation International Best Practice Principles.
- Arnstein, S. A. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), 216-224.
- Article 7.1. Identification and consideration of the opinion of the owners of premises and tenants of residential premises in the formation and implementation of the renovation program. Informing on the implementation of renovation (introduced by Federal Law No. 141-FZ of 01.07.2017). Retrieved from https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_3356/5b4f96457a843e751c6ff6d9ff0016fd73c64d93/
- Babenko, G. V., & Lukin, M. V. (2017). Analysis of world tendencies and foreign experience of economic providing solution of tasks of renovation of buildings of city agglomerations. *ECONOMIC SCIENCES (08.00.00), FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH*, 4, 314-319. Retrieved from <https://s.fundamental-research.ru/pdf/2017/4-2/41480.pdf>
- Bieri, D. (2012). Housing Affordability. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256033580_Housing_Affordability
- Brocco, B. (2012). Densification- Strategies for renovation of housing stock. In *HOUSE&HOME – From a theoretical perspective. ARCHTEO '12 theory of Architecture conference* (pp. 164-177). DAKAM publishing, Istanbul.
- Chigbu, U. E. (2012). Village renewal as an instrument of rural development: evidence from Weyarn Germany. *Commun Dev*, 43(2), 209–224.
- Committee on Architecture and Urban Planning of the City of Moscow, GBU "Main Architectural and Planning Department of Moscow Architecture" (2018). Landscaping in renovation. Approaches and problems. Moscow: Publishing house "A-Print".
- Desjardins, X. (2018). Greater Paris and its lessons for metropolitan strategic planning. Retrieved from <https://www.acadie-cooperative.org/publications/txt473.pdf>
- Federal Law No. 141-FZ of July 1, 2017 "On Amendments to the Law of the Russian Federation "On the Status of the Capital of the Russian Federation" and Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation regarding the Establishment of the Specifics of Regulating Certain Legal Relations for the Renovation of Housing Stock in the Subject of the Russian Federation — the Federal City of Moscow". Retrieved from https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_219023/
- Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat). (n.d.). Statistical Data on Moscow. Retrieved from <https://77.rosstat.gov.ru/folder/64634>
- Florida, R. (2005). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Routledge.
- Florida, R. (2017). *The new urban crisis - How our cities are increasing inequality, deepening segregation, and failing the middle class-and what we can do about it*. Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2018). *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Cost, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do About It*. (Translated from English). Moscow: Publishing Group "Tochka".
- Flusty, S. (2001). The banality of interdiction- Surveillance, control and the displacement of diversity. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25(3), 658-664.

- Foundation for Renovation website. (n.d.). About the Program. Retrieved from <https://fr.mos.ru/o-programme/>
- Gebhardt, D. (September 2014). Building Inclusive Cities: Challenges in the Multilevel Governance of Immigrant Integration in Europe. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicyinstitute-europe.com/sites/default/files/publications/TCM_Cities_Gebhardt-FINAL.pdf
- Gehl, J. (1971). *Life Between Buildings*. Publisher: Island Press.
- Gehl, J. (2010). *Cities for People*. Publisher: Island Press.
- Gunko, M., Bogacheva, P., Medvedev, A., & Kashnitsky, I. (2018). Path-Dependent Development of Mass Housing in Moscow, Russia. In D. Baldwin Hess & T. Tammaru & M. Ham (Eds.), *Housing Estates in Europe* (pp. 289-313). Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
- Hackworth, J., & Smith, N. (2001). The changing state of gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 92(4), 464-477.
- Hamnett, C. (1984). Gentrification and residential location theory: a review and assessment. In D. Herbert and R. Johnston (Eds), *Geography and the Urban Environment: Progress in Research and Applications*, 4, 282-319. Chichester: Wiley.
- Hamnett, C. (1991). The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification. *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers*, 173-189.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review*, 53, 23-40.
- Harvey, D. (2019). *The Right to the City* [Translated from English by M. A. Kotlyarov]. Yekaterinburg.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.
- Jonas, A., McCann, E., & Thomas, M. (2015). *Urban Geography: A Critical Introduction*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Klemek, C. (2011). *The transatlantic collapse of urban renewal: Postwar urbanism from New York to Berlin*. University of Chicago Press.
- Krijnen, M. (2018). Gentrification and the creation and formation of rent gaps: Opening up gentrification theory to global forces of urban change. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327459429_Gentrification_and_the_creation_and_formation_of_rent_gaps_Opening_up_gentrification_theory_to_global_forces_of_urban_change
- Kulikov, A. (2015). Is affordable housing available in Russia? Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/dostupno-li-v-rossii-dostupnoe-zhilie>
- Lawless, P., & Pearson, S. (2012). Outcomes from Community Engagement in Urban Regeneration: Evidence from England's New Deal for Communities Programme. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 13(4), 509-527.
- Lees, L. (2003). Super-gentrification- The case of Brooklyn heights, New York city. *Urban studies*, 40(12), 2487-2509.
- Lees, L. (2008). *Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?*
- Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. U of Minnesota Press.
- Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). *The production of space*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Lefebvre, H. (2015). *The production of space* [Translated from French]. Moscow: Strelka Press.

- Ley, D. (1993). *Gentrification and the Politics of the New Middle Class*.
- Lum, S. (n.d.). *Gardens by the Bay: A showcase of sustainable practices in Singapore*. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening*.
- MACLEOD, G. (2002). From urban entrepreneurialism to a 'Revanchist city'? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow's renaissance. *Antipode*, 34(3), 602-624.
- Madanipour, A. (2019). *Rethinking public space: between rhetoric and reality*. *Urban Design International*.
- Madanipour, A. (2021). *Beyond Placing and Distancing: Public Spaces for Inclusive Cities*. *Harvard Design Magazine*.
- Marcuse, P. (1985). *Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement- Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City*. *Wash. UJ Urb. & Contemp. L.*, 28, 195.
- Mela, A., & Toldo, A. (2019). *Socio-Spatial Inequalities in Contemporary Cities*. *SpringerBriefs in Geography*.
- Metzger, J., & Olsson, A. R. (2013). *Sustainable Stockholm. exploring urban sustainability in Europe's greenest city*. *Routledge Taylor Francis Group*.
- Montgomery, C. (2013). *Happy City: Transforming Our Lives Through Urban Design*. *Farrar, Straus and Giroux*.
- Moscow City Government. (n.d.). *My District: Zyuzino*. Retrieved from <https://www.mos.ru/moi-raion/zyuzino/>
- MOSLENTA. (n.d.). *My Street: pros and cons*. Retrieved from <https://moslenta.ru/city/aboutmystreet.htm>
- MOSLENTA. (n.d.). *Study of indignation*. Retrieved from <https://moslenta.ru/govoryat/izuchenie-vozmusheniya.htm>
- Murawski, M. (2018). 'My Street: Moscow is getting a makeover, and the rest of Russia is next' by, *The Calvert Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.new-east-archive.org/features/show/10054/beyond-the-game-my-street-moscow-regeneration-urbanism>
- Notman, O. V. (2021). *Urban environment as an interdisciplinary concept*. *Society: Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogics*, 12, 104-107. doi:10.24158/spp.2021.12.13
- Novak, M. (2021, October 29). *Singapore's Gardens by the Bay: Sustainable Building Meets Greenery*. *City Changers*. Retrieved from <https://citychangers.org/singapore-gardens-by-the-bay/>
- Novostroy. *Improvement program "My Street": Moscow for pedestrians*. Retrieved from <https://www.novostroy.ru/articles/large-projects/programma-blagoustroystva-moya-ulitsa-moskva-dlya-peshekhodov/>
- Part 1. *Renovation of the housing stock. Foreign experience*. Retrieved from <http://www.berlogos.ru/article/chast-1-renovaciya-zhilogo-fonda-zarubezhnyj-opyt/>
- Perera, U., & Lee, P. (2021). *A relational lens to understand housing affordability in the 21st Century*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354396297_A_relational_lens_to_understand_housing_affordability_in_the_21st_Century
- Planning Tank. (2019, April 18). *Urban Renewal | Meaning, Process, Pros, Cons & Examples*. Retrieved from <https://planningtank.com/urbanisation/urban->

- [renewal#:~:text=Urban%20renewal%20is%20the%20strategic,lack%20streets%20and%20utiliti es%20altogether](#)
- Popov, A. A. (2014). Spatiotemporal analysis of key factors for residential real estate estimates in moscow. Retrieved from <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=22629413>
- Prokhorova, E. A. (2019). On the implementation of the renovation program in Moscow. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/o-realizatsii-programmy-renovatsii-v-gorode-moskve>
- Prokhorova, E. A. (2019). Implementation of residential renovation projects in foreign countries. *Международный журнал прикладных наук и технологий «Integral»*, 3, 45-56. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/zarubezhnyy-opyt-realizatsii-proektov-renovatsii-zhiloy-zastroyki>
- RBC Realty. (n.d.). Moscow Renovation Program: Current State and Perspectives. Retrieved from <https://realty.rbc.ru/news/598c73ed9a79472d7eedfdb>
- Resolution The Government of Moscow dated 01.08.2017 No. 497-PP "On the Program of renovation of housing stock in the city of Moscow". Retrieved from <https://www.consultant.ru/law/hotdocs/50537.html>
- Rowe, G., & Frewer, L. J. (July 2013). *Public Participation Methods: A Framework for Evaluation*.
- Russell, P. (August 14, 2015). A Summary of Book: Townsend, A. M. (2013). *Smart Cities: Big Data, Civic Hackers, and the Quest for a New Utopia*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/city-smarts/a-summary-of-townsend-s-book-smart-cities-6ab0e9fb35bf>
- Samoilov, E. K. (2021). Ecological and economic aspects of renovation of industrial heritage sites [Master's thesis]. Retrieved from https://elar.urfu.ru/bitstream/10995/100813/1/m_th_e.k.samoilov_2021.pdf
- Satoh, S. (2020). *Japanese Machizukuri and Community Engagement: History, Method and Practice*. 1st Edition. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429201851>
- Sergazy, D., & Samoilov, K. (2020). Principles of organization of public spaces in large cities. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/principles-of-organization-of-public-spaces-in-large-cities>
- Slater, T. (2006). *The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research*.
- Smith, N. (1987). *Gentrification and the rent gap*.
- Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, 34, 427–450.
- Speck, J. (2012). *Walkable City: How Downtown Can Save America, One Step at a Time*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Strelka Magazine. (2016, April 12). *How it works: The new standard of street design in Moscow*.
- Suptelo, N. P. (2018). The main stages of modern urban development of Moscow. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/osnovnye-etapy-sovremennogo-gradostroitel'nogo-razvitiya-goroda-moskvy>
- Tartari, M. (2021). Urban 'beautification' and its discontents: the erosion of urban commons in Milan. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/355393958_Urban_'beautification'_and_its_discontents_the_erosion_of_urban_commons_in_Milan

The Law of Moscow dated 17.05.2017 N 14 "On additional guarantees of housing and property rights of individuals and legal entities during the renovation of housing stock in the city of Moscow". Retrieved from <https://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc&base=MLAW&n=178172&dst=100000001#Y5KXBaTOWiq0xoPs1>

The Law of Moscow of September 9, 1998 No. 21-73 "On guarantees of the City of Moscow to persons vacating residential premises". Retrieved from <https://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?from=13518-0&req=doc&rnd=rCQflw&base=MLAW&n=59553#o3NjXhTuyAIGkkHG4>

The Law of the Russian Federation "On the status of the capital of the Russian Federation" dated 15.04.1993 N 4802-1 (latest edition). Retrieved from https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_3356/

Transformation of the urban environment: new business cards of Moscow districts. Retrieved from <https://ecomoscow.rbc.ru/article-11.html>

Urban Renewal and Redevelopment. (n.d.). In iResearchNet. Retrieved from <https://sociology.iresearchnet.com/urban-sociology/urban-renewal-and-redevelopment/>

Varlamov, I. (2019, April 15). Renovation in a European way: it turns out that it is not necessary to demolish everything. Retrieved from <https://varlamov.ru/3395616.html>

Varlamov. What's wrong with the well-maintained streets of Moscow. Retrieved from <https://varlamov.ru/2529647.html>

Vershinina, Inna A. (2018). Anri Lefevr: From 'The Right to the City' to the 'Urbanist Revolution' [Ph.D. diss., Faculty of Sociology, Lomonosov Moscow State University]. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/anri-lefevr-ot-prava-na-gorod-k-urbanisticheskoy-revoljutsii>

Volkova, D. (2021). Resources, Consumers, Non-citizens: Representation of the Citizens in the Discourse of the New Residential Areas in Moscow. *RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, 20(3).

World renovation. Retrieved from <https://moslenta.ru/urbanistika/mirovaya-renovaciya.htm>

Young, C., Diep, M., & Drabble, S. (2006). Living with difference? The 'cosmopolitan city' and urban reimagining in Manchester, UK. *Urban Studies*, 43(10), 1687-1714.

Zhuji World. (n.d.). Zyuzino District: Insights and Details. Retrieved from <https://ru.zhujiworld.com/ru/215343-zyuzino/#details>

Zukin, S. (1987). Gentrification- culture and capital in the urban core. *Annual review of sociology*, 13(1), 129-147.

Zukin, S. (2016). Gentrification in three paradoxes. *City & Community*, 15(3), 202-207.

Zyuzino District Official Website. (n.d.). "Brief Overview of the Zyuzino District." Retrieved from <https://zuzino.mos.ru/o-rayone/kratkaya-kharakteristika-rayona/>

9. Appendices

9.1. Methodology Appendix

Questions for experts and researchers:

1. Please introduce yourself and briefly describe your experience and research background in the field of urban development and renovation.
2. Your opinion as an expert/researcher in the field of urban development and architecture: What are your initial impressions of the Renovation and "My Street" programs in Moscow? How do you perceive their impact on the urban environment and social dynamics?
3. How do you assess the level of community involvement and public participation in these program initiatives? Are there any best practices or areas that can be improved in this regard?
4. Have you encountered any unexpected or unintended consequences of these programs, and how were they addressed or mitigated?
5. The "My Street" program focuses on improving public spaces and their beautification. Based on your research, what significant changes and effects have impacted the overall urban environment and quality of life?
6. In the course of your research/observations, have you found significant differences in the development and implementation of the Renovation and "My Street" programs in different areas of Moscow?
7. Creating new residential complexes is a significant aspect of these programs. In your opinion, how has this affected the affordability and availability of housing in Moscow?
8. From your perspective, how do new residential complexes introduced as part of the renovation program impact the city's architectural heritage and overall urban aesthetics?
9. Gentrification is a pre-existing issue associated with urban renewal projects. How do you perceive the impact of these programs on local communities and their social structure?
10. In your opinion, how effective have these programs been in addressing the issue of gentrification, if such an issue exists in Moscow?
11. Based on your research and observations, what are the key factors contributing to gentrification in areas undergoing renovation, and how can they be mitigated to preserve social diversity?
12. As an expert, what recommendations would you offer to legislators and city authorities to ensure more balanced and inclusive urban development in Moscow?
13. How do these programs compare to similar urban renewal initiatives in other cities or countries, and what unique aspects do they bring to the development of Moscow's urban environment?
14. How have data and research contributed to the formulation of these programs and the assessment of their results? In which areas may additional research and data analysis be needed?
15. From your perspective, what are the long-term consequences expected from renovation programs for the city's identity, quality of life, and urban development?
16. Are there any inspiring examples of successful renovation projects in other cities that could serve as valuable lessons for urban planners in Moscow?
17. Finally, is there anything else you would like to share or any specific aspects of the Renovation and My Street programs that, in your opinion, should be highlighted for further study?

Questions for Residents in Renovated Areas

1. How long have you been living in your district, and what changes have occurred in it since the start of the renovation?
2. Can you describe the district as it was before the start of the renovation and beautification programs (My Street, My District)? What were the main issues in the district, and were they adequately addressed in the process?

3. How has the renovation affected your daily life and living conditions? Were there any specific improvements or challenges you experienced?
4. Have you noticed any changes in the sense of community or social interactions among residents after the renovation? If so, how would you describe these changes?
5. Were you consulted or involved in the planning and decision-making process for the renovation? Do you feel that residents' opinions were taken into account?
6. Have your living expenses or housing costs changed for you after the renovation? If so, how has this affected your financial situation?
7. Has your sense of identity or belonging to the neighborhood changed after the initial and subsequent changes in the area?
8. How has the presence and accessibility of public spaces, parks, and recreational areas improved or changed after the beautification programs? What were they like before, how did you use them, and what would you like them to become?
9. Do you believe these programs have led to an increase in property prices in the area? How has this affected you and your neighbors?
10. Have you observed or experienced any negative consequences or unexpected effects of these programs?
11. Is there anything you believe could be done differently or improved in the implementation of the Renovation or beautification programs?
12. How do you assess the overall impact of these programs on the well-being of our community and quality of life?
13. Based on your experiences and observations, what recommendations or suggestions would you offer for improving future projects of these programs in other districts?

Questions for Representatives from the Local Government

1. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview. Could you please introduce yourself and briefly describe your role and responsibilities in the local administration?
2. The Renovation, "My Street", and "My District" programs have been significant initiatives. I'd be interested to better understand how do you perceive the impact of these programs on the city's urban development and overall livability?
3. What were the main changes made in your district as part of the Renovation program, and how did local residents react to these changes?
4. What measures were taken to engage the community and consider residents' opinions in the planning and implementation of these programs?
5. How has the experience been in terms of interacting with developers and other stakeholders in the implementation of renovation projects?
6. How does renovation impact the architectural heritage of the district and the overall urban aesthetics?
7. What measures are being taken to preserve historical and cultural values in the district during the renovation?
8. What are your observations regarding social changes in the district after the implementation of the Renovation program?
9. How has the "My Street" and "My District" program affected public spaces, parks, and recreational areas in your district? What specific improvements have been made?
10. Do you consider these programs successful in terms of improving the quality of life and the well-being of district residents?
11. What lessons and experiences could be used by other Moscow districts or cities when implementing similar urban renewal programs?
12. What challenges and obstacles did you encounter in the implementation of the Renovation, "My Street", and "My District" programs, and how were they overcome?
13. Are there any ongoing or planned research and data analysis initiatives in your district to assess the outcomes of these programs?

14. What recommendations and advice would you offer to other district administrations that are also considering participation in similar urban renewal programs?
15. Can you share information about the future plans and initiatives of your district related to urban development and improving the urban environment?

Survey form with questions evaluating residents' opinions:

1. In which district of Moscow do you reside?
2. Do you live in a house that falls/fell under the renovation program?
Answer options: Yes, awaiting relocation/No, live nearby/Yes, already moved to a new house
3. How long have you been living in your district?
Answer options: Less than a year/1-3 years/3-5 years/More than 5 years
4. What changes have you noticed in the district since the start of the renovation program and improvement programs in your area?
5. Were there any problems in the district before the start of the renovation? Can you describe the district as it was before the program began?
6. What were the main problems in the district before the start of the renovation?
Answer options: Lack of public spaces/Infrastructure problems/Housing issues/Safety concerns/No problems/Other
7. Describe your version of the problem in your district:
8. Were these problems adequately addressed during the renovation process?
Answer options: Yes/No/Undecided
9. How did the renovation affect your daily life and living conditions? Were there any specific improvements or challenges?
10. Have you noticed any changes in the sense of community or social interactions among residents after the renovation?
Answer options: Yes, a greater sense of community/Yes, but the sense of community decreased/No, did not notice any changes
11. Were you consulted or involved in the planning and decision-making process of the renovation?
Answer options: Yes/No/Undecided
12. Have living or housing expenses changed for you after the renovation? If yes, how has it affected your financial situation?
Answer options: Expenses increased/Expenses decreased/Expenses remained roughly the same
13. Has the sense of identity or belonging to the area changed after the initial and subsequent changes in the district?
Answer options: Yes, more sense of identity/Yes, but the sense of identity decreased/No, did not notice any changes
14. How do you assess the overall impact of the renovation on the well-being of our community and quality of life?
Answer options: Very positive impact/Positive impact/Neutral impact/Negative impact/Very negative impact
15. How do you assess the overall impact of the "My Street" and "My District" improvement programs on the well-being of our community and quality of life?
Answer options: Very positive impact/Positive impact/Neutral impact/Negative impact/Very negative impact
16. Is there anything, in your opinion, that could have been done differently or improved in the implementation of the programs?