

Conference Paper

Memorial Representations of Working Class Quarters: Experiences of USSR and China

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Abstract

Research provides a comparative analysis of the collective memories formed around ordinary residential complexes in socialist cities. Comparison is done between elements that are manifested in the collective memory of the working class quarters built previously in two socialist countries - USSR and People's Republic of China (PRC). Two workers' districts - the Khavsko-Shabolovsky (Moscow) and the Iron and Steel Corporation (Wuhan) housing estates - serve as research cases.

Memorial representations of selected residential complexes are different from the standard set by Eastern European cities with majority of socialist legacies either completely excluded from the collective memory, or reduced to the function of the communist era amusement park. While the Chinese case demonstrates the diversification of symbols and types of memory, memory structure of Moscow quarter is more unified: leading symbol is the avant-garde architecture, which is valued so high that it functions as a barrier to proper development of social memory of the place. The identity of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate is built on the cultural memory basis, demanded by certain group of consumers, mostly non-residents of the district. The analysis makes it possible to contribute to post-socialist ethnography, fixing some common and particular features in memorial presentations of two functionally similar objects of the urban environment created during an intensive social transformation while establishing socialist ideology at the national level.

Keywords: postsocialism, working class quarter, memory

1. Introduction

Since the 1980s sphere of cultural heritage and exhibiting artifacts of the past has been developing actively. A number of European scholars are turning to criticism of the tourist-oriented "heritage industry". The growth of the heritage industry is seen as an opportunity for consumers to pick the identity from presented assortment [10].

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It is important to note the turn in understanding of the cultural heritage from a scope of specific objects to a set of values [6, 11]. In this vein, it is productive to analyze the value sets behind historical objects. The process of "heritageization" - the transformation of an object into a formally or informally recognized heritage of certain groups, subject to a special attitude, - can be decomposed into two elements: first, the state of the physical object and, second, set of representations, bounded to actual ideological agenda.

A wave of critical research related to postcommunist memory in the urban space appears in the 2000s [1, 5]. In this type of critical analysis objects targeted most often are monumental accents of the city -e.g. the Berlin Wall, the Memento park in Budapest, socialist palaces of congresses etc., or, sometimes, replicable objects - brands, signage, urban infrastructure designation, such as Ampelmännchen -East German traffic light [4]. At the same time, ordinary urban areas associated with the socialist everyday routine, such as dwellings for workers or students, are unusual to become main research focus, unless they have acquired a significant status for the entertainment industry or are considered as disputed heritage.

This article is devoted to the analysis of two variants of workers' dwellings in different countries from the point of view of the memory of these places, presented in public discourses. Research focus is set on the elements of the past being brought into the public space today, and which of these elements are common to both cases.

1.1. Data and methods

The study compares public representations of buildings, which appeared in the post-revolutionary communist USSR and the PRC. Both dwellings were created to accommodate workers- special class of tenants, ideologically promoted at that time.

The following cases are considered:

1. The Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate, Moscow, built in 1927-1929.
2. Iron and Steel Corporation quarter housing estate, Wuhan, built in 1950-55.

The architectural styles of the selected buildings differ significantly. Moscow case is created by avant-garde masters; Chinese case represents the standard for the 1950s model of rational housing construction transferred from the USSR. The basis for comparing architecturally heterogeneous cases is the commonality of the political and social environment in which they both emerged: the arise of a new state after socialist revolutions, significant changes in politics and changes in social and housing policies,

attempts to radically change urban structure and order in general. Both objects were designed to symbolize and frame a new type of working class everyday routine. Both were novel for the city in the architectural sense and performed as one of the first samples of new construction industry programs and practices.

This study aims to determine and compare collective memory features within two cases mentioned above, i.e. events and elements that form nowadays identity of the buildings created for everyday use in socialist cities decades ago.

One of the important tasks of the research is to trace the position of the avant-garde topic within representations of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate, to clarify the significance of this topic in comparison with other options for constructing the identity of socialist housing. Using cases that are sufficiently homogeneous in terms of the situation of appearance and use, but which differ markedly in architecture, we attempt to distinguish the particular features of the avant-garde theme from a common set of topics related to socialist housing.

Empirical research is based on interviews with residents and experts (19 informants in Wuhan, 12 in Moscow, conducted in 2014), professional reports (published in 2012-2015), messages in mass media, blogs, real estate advertisements (published in 2009-2015), as well as overt observation. Critical discourse analysis is applied to this data.

1.2. Theoretical framework

Socialist objects in the post-socialist world are often analyzed using retrospective concepts such as memory and nostalgia. Intentional usage of cultural heritage as collective memory objects is described by significant number of authors in social sciences for the last few decades ([3, 8–10]; Samuel 2009). European landscapes are filled with memory management products - monuments, memorial sites, museums, memorial plaques, art installations, etc., designed to remind of ideological "origins" and certain historical moments. More and more people live in, work for or simply visit places of memory; an increasing number of people are searching for the purpose of saving or restoring "fading" or "almost forgotten" past. Cultural heritage is understood as contradicting to the present, taken from everyday environment into a special sphere and used in the interests of particular beneficiary groups. Stuart Hall defines cultural heritage as a discursive practice, a tool for the nation to construct collective memory, weaving selected achievements into general line of national history. The power of the voluntary choice of the "historical" context is stressed in this definition [7].

Residential quarters built during the socialist period naturally represent a conglomerate of perceptions about the past of different levels: on such objects mundane and political history are linked up, personal memories are supplemented by judgments about the socialist past of the country as a whole. Residential quarters, considered as cases of this study, are not central in their cities. Public messages about these residential quarters and their past - the history of creation, memorable elements, way of life, etc. - appear mainly in social media, advertisements and professional reports, which allows studying "micro-" scale of collective memory rather than national "macro-" scale.

For the analysis, we chose the concept of memory set out by Aleida Assmann in the *The Long Shadow of the Past: Memorial Culture and Politics of History*. In this concept, the "standard" division into individual and collective memory is detailed up to four formations: individual, social, cultural and collective, or political.

Individual memory serves, first of all, to study individual experience; however, Assmann does not deny the "social foundation" of individual memory. In this study we would be focusing on the other three types of memory, which could be observed through public practices, found in public narratives.

Social memory is mediated through communication and is understood as a set of views inherent to several, three or four, subsequent generations. Metaphorical definition of social memory is "a shadow, running next to the present", referring to the inseparability from the recent past, constantly supported by communicative acts with the participation of direct witnesses and members of their families - generations largely sharing the understanding of reality. The media for social memory is social group itself and its messages. Social memory is objectified in communicative memories - transmitted in stories (conversational remembering) and memories of biological carriers.

For cultural memory, "*transmitted and reproduced cultural objectifications in the form of symbols, artifacts, mediators, practices*" [2] serve as media; certain individuals do not play a significant role here as they are subject to death or relocation. Cultural memory exists on account of any agents using and reinterpreting the symbols of some experience from the past without going through it on their own - thus, it is "broader" than social memory by the composition of participants and has a great potential for attracting new members-memory carriers.

Pattern of political, or collective, memory is the most unified compared to other types, sanctioned by political institutions and agenda and acting "from above." Such memory is manifested in more distinctive forms than other types: it "*turns mental images into icons, and narratives become myths*" [2].

This conceptual framework is applied to narratives about the past of two selected cases of residential areas for working class. Below, we first briefly describe the history and the current state of the cases, and then proceed to comparison of the representations of the past - the elements of collective memory that are manifested in each case.

2. Cases' Description and Results

2.1. Wuhan iron and steel corporation quarter housing estate

Housing estate was built in 1954-1956 as a part of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation. At the time, the site was considered remote and undeveloped as an urban area - housing estate was situated within small rural buildings on the outskirts of the city. The construction was carried out in accordance with the Treaty on Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance developed within the framework of the assistance received by the PRC from the USSR (in Chinese sources the treaty activities are better known as "156 projects"). The quarter consists of several enclosed courtyards, formed by three-storey red brick buildings standing along the perimeter.

As soon as construction works were finished, plant employees settled in the quarter, occupying buildings according to plant sections division. At the moment, basic composition of the tenants has not changed - current residents are retired employees of the plant. Residential density, however, decreased due to the resettlement of initially communal, shared apartments. The site is included in the master plan of the city of 2012 as a historical zone; recommended by the *Wuhan* Land Resources and Planning Bureau to be included in the city's list of industrial heritage. Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation is currently successfully operating in the Chinese and world markets. It owns the land of the residential complex and has a vote over its future. The plant provides some benefits to residents within special programs for retired employees. There is a leisure center for pensioners, which organizes leisure and holidays for local elderly. Corporate museum of the Wuhan Iron and Steel operates not far from the neighborhood. A small part of its exposition is dedicated to the housing estate itself.

In urban blogs and the media the starting point of the quarter is described by narratives, related to socio-economic historiography: the first five-year plan, the industrial upswing, and the supervision of the plant by Mao Zedong. Such representations can be classified as political memory manifestation: these narratives are laconic customary formulations that do not contradict the current agenda.

Another manifestation of political collective memory is mediated through portraits of Mao Zedong, greeted by photographers in the tenants' apartments and frescoes above some porch entrances. These images in blogs and the media are not commented verbally, but, apparently, they constitute nostalgic feelings of the viewer without additional textual explanations.

Cultural memory narrative is clearly manifested in the representations of the quarter. The nostalgic nature of the district descriptions is often based on specific elements of everyday life. For example, photos introduce alleys and courtyards of the quarter, traditional board games of Chinese elderly – mahjong, cards. Texts contain vintage expressions such as *knock of a blacksmith* and *old cough, dormant shopkeeper* etc. Thus, external agents - readers, spectators - deal with the quarter life formed by symbols of experience, through which they (the observers) do not pass independently.

Cultural organizations of the quarter exhibit the artifacts related to steelmaking: in the corporate museum, the viewer observes photographs and maquettes; pensioners' crafts in the leisure center also illustrate the process of casting steel, sometimes made in peculiar combination with handicrafts, such as papercutting or watercolor drawing.

As a physical artifact, an important visual element of the quarter, architectural expert suggests distinctive red brick:

The study of these buildings gives an idea of the economy and society development. The brick itself is interesting from the point of view of technology, and from the point of view of comparison with other brick blocks in China. (Online city newspaper article, 2013)

The choice in favor of red brick as a symbol of the quarter is done quite often: many photosets of bloggers and media photographers focus their attention on this material, "red houses" serve as a widespread name of the neighborhood.

Representations of the current state of the neighborhood intend to show a safe environment for vulnerable groups (children and the elderly presented on the photographs), modest old-fashioned place, what is stressed by sepia colors as well as textual additions such as:

There are less noise and bustle of the city, less dazzling neon lights... In the evening, every family can be seen in the windows in the dim light of a lamp... (Blog message, 2014)

In general, textual and visual messages quite often focus on the daily life of current inhabitants of the neighborhood—their rest in the yard, gambling, caring for flowers,

their grandchildren's activities, etc. It emphasizes the peculiarity of the environment, its contrast with the surrounding "new" city. Neighborhood residents are widely represented on the photos, the media, if possible, publishes excerpts from interviews with the encountered inhabitants of the yards.



Figure 1: Online city newspaper, 2012, illustrations.

In addition to socialist and "peaceful village" symbolism, Chinese national symbol is often indicated in the planning structure of the block: its plan is reminiscent of the character "囍" (xi), traditionally used in wedding decorations. This "happy planning" in the form of a hieroglyph is a well-known characteristic, repeated in almost all interviews with residents. The district received additional publicity in the media due to the victory of a short amateur movie, which uses this place as the main stage, in the wedding film competition: the newlyweds-creators chose the Iron and Steel residential quarter for two reasons - personal history, as they met in that neighborhood, and the hieroglyphic symbolism.

This spectacular symbol is used along with other, equally strong messages. In online publications the fact that neighborhood layout coincides with the hieroglyph is presented together with the characteristics of the quarter from other sets. For example, article at the entertainment city portal presents several representational messages in one paragraph at once: hieroglyph information, decision of the authorities to include the quarter in the historical districts of the city, impression of the workers culture "sanctuary".

The quarter is not included in the tourist routes, but it regularly becomes an object of representations in the blogs of urban photographers-city flâneurs. Apartments in the houses are not attractive for an ordinary tenant due to their small footage and poor quality of housing in comparison with modern supply; also the demand is not high due to notable distance from the city center. The quarter as a whole, at the same time, is potentially attractive for investors: according to the project of the *Wuhan Land*

Resources and Planning Bureau, a cultural and entertainment cluster with exhibitions and catering enterprises can be successfully located in the legendary red houses.

2.2. The Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate

The neighborhood was built in 1927-1929, commissioned by the city Construction department, designed by the Association of New Architects (ASNOVA) and situated in one of the industrial districts. Apartments, similar to Chinese case, were mainly inhabited communally, room by room, with rare flats owned by one family exclusively. The first residents of Khavsko-Shabolovsky were a motley mass of not only workers (for example, a bristle, planer, smith), but also included higher positions such as a deputy director or a cashier-collector. During the field work it appeared that the first inhabitants' descendants are mostly missing: military evacuation, reconstruction with resettlement, absence of exclusive sole employer enterprise, rather high level of liquidity of apartments all contributed to the increased level of mobility.

The quarter is formed by several 5-7 storey houses (the number of storeys increased compared to original project during the reconstruction in 1980-s), formed into a system with a main alley and courtyards. Neighborhood holds the status of architectural monument of regional importance.

Two cultural organizations are located at the neighborhood in the former public building (now mainly residential, except part of the first floor)– these are the Avant-Garde Centre and "Na Shabolovke" gallery. An important milestone in the formation of these organizations and their relationship with locals and Muscovites as a whole was threat to the nearby Shukhov Tower. Outbreak happened in 2014: with the help of activists, a pool of people and organizations was formed around the gallery and Centre to collect signatures and hold other protective measures to prevent relocation of the tower. One of the main arguments was the concept of the "Shabolovsky Cultural Cluster" - a conglomerate of the avant-garde architecture of the district, which included the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate itself. The estate is also subject to events organized in the gallery: groups of students are invited to experiment with new concepts of the neighborhood in terms of design, architecture and urban planning; exhibitions are formed from their final works.

The Avant-Garde Centre shares its space with the local library. Library is also used by the Veterans (pensioners) Club for monthly meetings. The activities of retirees are not related to the history or architectural features of the quarter, the materials of the Avant-garde Center are not used by veterans (except, probably, for the private interest

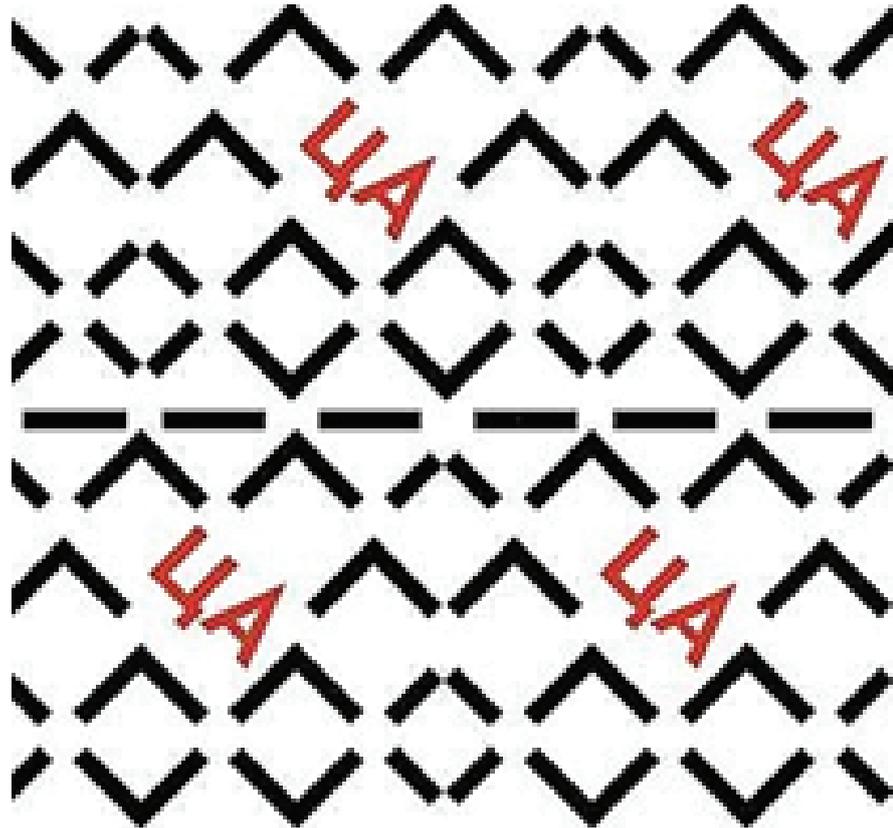


Figure 2: The Avant-Garde Centre logo, replicating Khavsko-Shabolovsky planning structure (design by Irina Goryacheva).

of some members of the club), and the library space is sometimes redecorated during thematic meetings according to the Club interests:

We had very interesting exhibitions - for example, old hats or shoes of our time. One [club member] brought French knickers, with laces, which are visible from under the skirt. When we were younger, people brought zucchinis, pumpkins, jars with cucumbers and tomatoesto exhibit and admire. (Interview with the inhabitant of the quarter)

The data presented online about the Khasko-Shabolovsky housing estate is concentrated on the architectural features of the quarter, the original planning and design and subsequent loss of these elements:

Unfortunately, in the 1970s and 1980s most of the houses in the Khasko-Shabolovskydistrict were added up in height, aligning their silhouette, and turned into primitive building-boxes. During the reconstruction, technical floors and elevators appeared, wooden slabs were replaced with reinforced concrete... (DOCOMOMO Internet portal)

Excursions covering the neighborhood until 2014 included, mainly, architectural history material and extended information on other projects of the ASNOVA group members. Publications in the media until 2014 relate, in the first place, to the period and situation of the quarter appearance in the post-revolutionary USSR; the complex is mentioned as a valuable heritage:

The most correct thing today is to preserve the status of cultural heritage sites for this kind of residential complexes. To those that already hold this status, I would add the Khavsko-Shabolovsky village... (comment by A. Kudryavtsev, President of the Russian Academy of Architecture, city newspaper, 2009)

Since 2014, the image of the district at the exhibitions and events of the Avant-Garde Centre and "Na Shabolovke" gallery is also supplemented with materials collected from the local residents - photographs from personal archives, verbal history. Some materials are provided by old-timers of Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate, however, they are sharing exhibition space with more significant buildings in the area from the point of view of history and uniqueness (such as a communal house), which artifact and memory collections are richer and attract more attention.

Residents of the estate participate in events provided by local cultural institutions, which allows organizers and dwellers to notice each other and establish communication channels:

Among the 200 visitors (we did not count on such a large number!) clearly were some locals from Shabolovsky district. And, of course, we were told off by somebody from the window due to the loudspeaker usage at 11 pm—that was just in the Havsko-Shabolovsky (Interview with event organizer)

Interviews with the Khavsko-Shabolovsky inhabitants show a noticeable bias towards the earliest pages of the quarter's history: informants attempt to present their knowledge of that time as accurately as possible, even though they obviously lack the lived experience, but know it from exhibitions, excursions, publications. Inner courtyard life - a potential basis for social memory - is described, mainly, in utility household terms rather than social categories:

...And these are our houses, they plant here from time to time—recently they planted small pebbles. Few years ago, quite recently. Bushes are planted, but this year they planted two or three twigs, and the rest did not go, because they planted dry sticks (Interview with the inhabitant of the quarter)

... I do not see any changes, except that there are a lot of cars. And the car places are made in a very clever manner - there was no initial plan, they observed car owners practices and designed accordingly. Also us grandmothers use fencing for sitting with pleasure. (Interview with the inhabitant of the quarter)

In terms used by A. Lefebvre, representations of space, i.e. space conceptualized by external experts, prevail in public understanding of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky quarter. These representations focus on rather narrow list of topics. This lacuna is also described by one of the young informants, who moved to the quarter recently:

I want to know what happened here in the late Soviet years. We know that nearby was a commune in the 30s, etc., and then it subsides. I want to know what happened next. Assemble different phases. It turns out that each district has some initial point of history, [praised by] regional ethnography, into which falls all the interest, and what happens next - is unclear. So here in 1920-30-ies everything is clear, and then -it disappears. (Interview with the inhabitant of the quarter)

The quarter is presented in blog messages of urbanflâneurs. Narrative of these posts is concentrated on the architectural features of the quarter, focusing, similar to experts, on the original design and layout of the estate.

The idea was that in the quarter there are diagonally angular corps, elevated corner portions of which are viewed from the longitudinal streets through the gaps in the building perimeter, and on the front side of the block there are some kind of propylaea that lead to the inner passage. (Urbanflâneur blog)

Photographs which illustrate texts are possibly freed from human presence: pictures present facades, architectural elements of the houses, the general perspective of the estate. People on illustrations are either absent (even in the inner courtyard) or do not play significant role.

On the real estate market, apartments in Khavsko-Shabolovsky are attractive because of the location, quality of construction and apartment planning. Real estate advertisement contain various arguments confirming the quality and reliability of investment:

...[apartment] in a quiet area with developed infrastructure. Fancy planning.

Stalinist building

...built in 1928, included in the "Cultural Heritage" list. Will never be subject to demolition! (Real estate advertisements)



Figure 3: Private blog, 2011, illustrations.

3. Discussion: Representations of the Past and Collective Memory Representations

In this section, some features of memorial representations of the two cases are compared. We analyze which types of memory appear to a higher extent in each case.

Often narratives contain references to specific periods and events. The variability of the periods is not great. For both cases, obviously, the moment of construction is mentioned - it is a legitimate discourse, the first one to be presented even in personal interviews with residents, and in texts describing the quarters. For the Moscow case this period is characterized through cultural memory - as the heyday of avant-garde. For the Chinese case initial period is mediated through political memory, i.e. unified concepts legitimized by the authorities: the first five-year plan, active work time of Mao Zedong, the Sino-Soviet friendship. Architectural context, nonetheless architecture is noticeable for the city, is not mentioned. For the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate, unlike the housing estate of the Iron and Steel Corporation, the niche of political memory remains free.

Also, for the Khavsko-Shabolovsky attention is brought to the moment of cultural artifact loss: the capital repair in 1980-s, when a reconstruction marked by the architectural community in a negative light was carried out. In the case of Wuhan, important moments are related to the time of active work of the current inhabitants, when life of the quarter corresponded fully to the production schedule. In both cases, these periods are brought to light by the residents during interviews, as well as by mass media and bloggers.

In the interviews with Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation housing estate residents emerged a topic related to the country's large-scale political events - that is, memories of changes in the life of the area associated with the Cultural Revolution, related to

the loss, trauma, the sudden destruction of neighbor relations. These recollections can be attributed to the level of social memory: it is not manifested in public discourse - reports of experts, the media, expositions of cultural organizations, - but its carriers are ready to share memories in communication with other generations. The existence of these memories and bringing them into communication, according to Assmann, is important for the community's processing of the experienced trauma.

No traumatic experience is mentioned by residents of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate. Potentially, most tragic historical episodes - Stalinist purges - happened in 1930-s. Material objects which could present data related to these political repressions are absent, and almost complete change in the family composition of tenants since 1930-s makes it impossible to search for personal testimony. Purges did not pass neither to the level of social nor cultural memory: thus, nobody applied for the "Last Address" memorial signs (civic initiative of victims commemoration) installation in the quarter, even though information on 19 victims is available online. Similar to Wuhan, the experience of the district during repressions and other political events is not discussed in public - the media or exhibitions.

It can be assumed that in the Chinese case, since recollections of victims and witnesses remain at the level of social memory, traumatic experience has the chance to be "recycled" into cultural memory - i.e. be transferred to symbols and be separated from immediate participants of the events. The emergence of an additional narrative of trauma in the form of cultural or political memory can enrich the grounds set for protecting quarters, promoting information about them within new audiences interested more in historical events than architectural history. Khavsko-Shabolovsky case also has resources to turn the trauma into memory-related narrative (using the "Last Address" data, for example); however, unlike the PRC, in Russian case this plot is absent at the level of social memory, so additional efforts might be demanded to bring it to memorial narrative.

Interviews with contemporary inhabitants of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky contain spontaneous references to the history and artistic value of buildings. Several informants, even those who had lived in the quarter for several decades, devalue their knowledge because they moved to the neighborhood "too late" and "did not meet with the most noteworthy pages of the history" of the quarter. It illustrates the fact that topics, which are central to cultural organizations, are transferred to the narratives of the inhabitants and appear to them more valuable than their own experience of living in the quarter.

Theoretically, memories could also be mediated through local celebrations and festivals. Some non-traumatic and politically indifferent local tradition has high chance to be discussed in media or blogs due to its nostalgic potential, compared to ambiguous experiences of Cultural Revolution or Stalinist purges. However, residents of both Moscow and Wuhanese quarters are not organizing events related to any local memories. At the same time, the joint celebrations of both personal and state dates in the inner yards are remembered by respondents in both neighborhoods. For some residents of Khavsko-Shabolovsky, a significant childhood memory is not only celebration itself, but also festive leisure infrastructure which appeared in the residential complex:

We, for example, had such a thing: they poured a skating rink, provided electricity, and we were ice skating. In summer, all this was removed, stage was set, and actors and singers performed there for free, and then we danced on it.
(Interview with a resident)

This experience of domestic leisure at the Khavsko-Shabolovsky quarter was given a new meaning by the local gallery: during the "Museum Night" in 2014 a jazz concert was held in one of the yards in memory of the mentioned above courtyard stage.

Within the same "Museum Night" an excursion "Shabolovka: X-ray" was organized, where, inter alia, materials received from local residents were used:

During the night walk around the area the story of the 1910s-1930s buildings, hidden in the afternoon, will become visible on their walls: the faces of architects, sketches and drawings, archival photographs and portraits of residents, photos from family archives (Description of the excursion in the announcement)

Such actions obviously transfer the artifacts of social memory to the cultural memory: events based on real past experiences in this place are now being arranged by external agents from cultural organization, targeted for a wide range of participants, mostly unfamiliar with the local history of the housing estate, but who are accustomed to it through an organized festival.

In the Chinese case, local celebrations are also organized by external agents - leisure center for pensioners, which employees do not live in the quarter themselves. The set of dates and ways to celebrate them are of a standard national character; memories of the quarter life do not appear in any form. Also, by contrast with Khavsko-Shabolovsky, there is no task of attracting external audience by these celebrations, as they only play the role of private festivals for the local community.

The transition of social memory to cultural can be also indicated by an assortment of different names used to signify neighborhoods and their transition to both vernacular and official discourses. For example, to mark the Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation quarter, in addition to its formal name, the "Steel City" and "Red Houses" are often used; which is reflected both in conversational speech and in official toponymical practice, - the name of a nearby bus stop. For the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate, there is no alternative name, despite the richness and distinctness of the architectural form of the quarter.

Both cases are considered rather outstanding in their cities due to unusual architecture. For the Khavsko-Shabolovskycase, the information on construction, found in blogs and on specialized architectural history portals, is quite detailed: group of architects and other specialists who influenced the project, such as the Bauhaus school member Hinnerk Scheper, are often mentioned and described in the texts. The value of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate for general public coincides with the grounds for the architectural monument protection. For the Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation quarter there is no detailed information on the architects and planners of the quarter, although it is known that the project was created by specialists from the USSR. Architectural details of the quarter - elements, decorations, materials - are highlighted in illustrations, professional reports, and in the urban walks descriptions. It can not be concluded, however, that the professional architectural discourse in Wuhan is the leading one in public representations: it manifests itself on an equal basis with rather publicist description of the contemporary everyday life, mixed with nostalgia for the "real" socialist area.

4. Conclusion

Expert representations of both objects are prepared by specialists in the history of art and architecture. However, while the Wuhanese case is also described using alternative discourses, such as socialist past or national hieroglyphic symbolism, all Khavsko-Shabolovsky representations are unified and lie only within architectural and historical discourse. Information on the avant-garde character of the quarter, activated by experts and cultural organizations, is used by non-professionals, including residents, without "translating" it into everyday language or adding it up with some other meanings. As a means of building identity avant-garde topic is powerful and effective; however, it targets a certain group of consumers, mostly non-residents (although this situation is changing with gentrification of the area).

Social memory, "the long shadow of the past", which accompanies Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation quarter, is formed both by negative and positive memories. Factors, which allow such complex composition of the shadow, include not only permanent residence throughout several decades, but also putting value on personal, non-professional memories and experiences of local tenants from any period. The official historiographical agenda, according to Assmann, could influence the content of social memory, moving certain recollections forward in communication or, on the contrary, leaving something behind. Socialist nostalgia is a legitimate topic both within the framework of official state ideology and on the entertainment market in China, therefore memories of the ordinary worker's way of life arise easily in different narratives.

The Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate, on the contrary, remains almost without a "shadow". Social memory in this case is very weak: residents, potential carriers of social memory, are following experts in representing the place, and as the most valuable historical period consider the time that none of them could actually live in, devaluing their own experience of using the quarter, also not demanded by public.

The potential of the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate lies within the active work of cultural organizations engaged in collecting and exhibiting local artifacts. According to Assmann, the accumulative cultural memory, while preserving the non-mainstream representations, is capable of becoming a resource for "other" or "renewed" memory in the future. In the past few years, there has been a tendency to diversify the values and artifacts associated with the Khavsko-Shabolovsky housing estate: the Avant-garde Centre and the gallery include bonding with residents into their strategic activities, museum of the district was open within the gallery.

Threat factor for the overall successful in terms of memorial sustainability Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation quarter is the proximity of its social memory to the political one, so that images of the lived experience can become tangled with myths, which effect of is stronger, but less personal. Such processes in the postsocialist spaces, transiting to economy of emotions, may serve as a condition for space commercialization, development of the "red tourism" industry in some form, the alienation of the quarter from its residents.

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