Ivanova I.S. (Kaluga state university named after K.E. Tsiolkovsky). A City (2024).

SOCIAL NOVELTIES
AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES:
A View from Moscow

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS
OF URBAN ENVIRONMENT CHANGE

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Contents

Introducing the issue

This Issue is composed of translations of articles that were published in two issues of the Russian-language journal "Sotsial'nye novatsii i sotsial'nye nauki" for 2024–2025 under the common theme of urban environment transformation. The selected materials offer an in-depth examination of the dialectics of renewal and homeostasis in urban socio-cultural ensembles.

On the one hand, modern urbanism favors a futuristic approach to the development of cities with ever-increasing intellectual and technical component in life support systems, social interactions and communication platforms. On the other hand, the dynamism of the urban environment – migration and population rotation, growth and sprawl, transformations of the architectural and planning appearance, functional inequality of different city parts and other processes – require careful and thoughtful approach to mechanisms that ensure a city's self-regulation and reproduction of the identity of its residents. The authors presented in the Journal attempt to see in the present both the echoes of bygone eras and the sprouts of innovative solutions that determine the current trends of urban life, which are focused on two popular models of urban development: the "smart city" and the "creative city".

The first section of the issue, "**The space of discourse**", opens with a review by *M.A. Polozhikhina*, which discusses four main tools for shaping the urban intellectual environment: the creation of technology parks and university campuses, the formation of creative spaces, and the introduction of "smart city" technologies. M.A. Polozhikhina analyses the existing approaches, identifies constraints and contradictions following practical implementation.

In the article by *P.M. Shulgin* and *O.E. Shtele*, the historical and cultural heritage is considered as a special sphere of urban life and an indicator of its quality, as well as one of the most important sources of a city's development. The authors describe the method of mapping cultural and natural attractions, and provide samples of specific "encyclopedic" cartographic solutions, which serve as an important tool for preserving and using historical and cultural potential, especially in small and medium-sized cities.

The third article, also methodological in its nature, presents the results of testing an innovative method of automated ("cybermetric") assessment of the social well-being of the population based on digital traces. The co-authors. – *I. Dymova* and *A.Yu. Dombrovskaia* – odify the scale of sufficiency of social benefits, applying it to the text array of documents spontaneously arising as a result of the communicative activity of Internet communities.

The authors of the "**Point of View**" section focus on the development and use of the urban creative potential. Focusing on the attractiveness of Kazan's creative spaces for students, *F.F. Ishkineeva* and *K.G. Gorskaia* note the fragmentary nature of the existing practices of involving young people in the socio-cultural life of the city and the lack of social elevators. At the same time, the authors praise the high role of the urban creative environment as a factor in retaining young people in the region and improving city's competitiveness in the context of labor shortages.

Utilizing the potential of territories on the material about the Nizhny Novgorod region is discussed in the article by *Yu.L. Kruze* on the capitalization of symbolic resources. Purposeful and planned activities may turn symbolic capital into the prime factor for building business chains. The author shows the process of forming a "heritage economy" based on the historical and cultural potential of a territory. An important conclusion is that the beneficial nature of this process affects not only urban but also rural municipalities. In the latter, creative industries grow out of the traditions of folk crafts. On the one hand, this helps to revive economic activity and reduce unemployment in rural areas. On the other hand, changes occur smoothly and "ecologically", without excessive modernization load on the way of life and the rhythm of rural life.

Articles in the "**Human Factor**" section, based on the results of empirical sociological research, demonstrate the different roles of city residents in terms of their involvement in the processes of urban environment transformation and reactions to the introduction of innovative practices, depending on current socio-economic factors.

E.A. Ryzhkova verifies the hypothesis of clustering of a city territory as a result of the gradual concentration of people with similar properties in some areas, allowing them to carry out the activity they need, and, thus, to assimilate to each other. Based on qualitative interviews with residents of the historical center of Samara, the author identifies in the narratives those signs of self-descriptions that form the basis of their identity and, accordingly, the essence of the perception of the unifying territory.

A.V. Prokofieva and *A.A. Lyadova*'s qualitative study of a narrow socio-professional expert group (directors of motor transport museums in the Urals) demonstrates the ability to contribute to enhancing the city's intellectual potential not only for those traditionally considered representatives of the meritocracy and creative class, but also for people from other social strata. Success is predicated on their high level of engagement in the process, loyalty to the city/city-forming enterprise (which played a significant role in their life history), and the dominance of professional identity in the structure of their self-image.

How to combine tradition and innovation in urban planning solutions, supporting the positive identity of both young people striving for a high-tech future and older people who require the preservation of historical and cultural traditions and the integrity of important places of memory, as well as ensuring the comfort and security of the indigenous population and satisfying the reasonable need for an influx of migrants–these questions remain unresolved. The Journal's series of thematic issues dedicated to urban

transformations can be expanded with collective analysis and discussion of successful practices and urban policies aimed at harmonizing contradictions between various groups of citizens with conflicting interests.

A.Yu. Kazakova

THE SPACE OF DISCOURSE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLIGENT URBAN ENVIRONMENT: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

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Abstract. *In the history of human civilization, cities have played and continue to play the role of centers of innovation and drivers of socio-economic progress. However, growth of cities sometimes takes diverse trajectories, from heyday to complete oblivion. The opening up of the potential of cities and the possibilities of conducting innovative activities in them are largely determined by the state of the urban environment, primarily intellectual. In turn, city environment is strongly influenced by side effects of efforts that are being made to solve problems that are not directly related to its development. The review examines how the intellectual environment of cities is affected by such modern trends as the creation of technoparks and university campuses, the formation of creative spaces and the introduction of smart city technologies. The author believes that their effectiveness in terms of using the innovative potential of cities could be higher if government policy focused not on individual components, but on interconnections, and considered the communication component of the urban intellectual environment.*

Keywords: *urban environment; technopark; creative space; university campus; smart city technologies.*

Introduction

Prototypes of modern cities appeared at the dawn of human civilization – 10–12 thousand years BC – and for a very long time remained «islands of another life» among the prevailing rural settlements. The sharp acceleration of urbanization in the 20th century made city dwellers the majority. But as in the distant past, so now, the state of cities and the processes taking place in them determine the speed and direction of social progress. Emphasizing the «paradoxical and contradictory nature of a city, its defeat ... by all sorts of social ills, uncontrollable growth, and unruly behavior», the Russian geographer-urbanist G.M. Lappo noted that it is in cities that new ideas and practices arise, which ensure the progressive development of society [Lappo, 1997, pp. 3, 11, 14, 17].

By attracting resources and stimulating socio-economic and technological development [Semyachkov, 2021, p. 475], cities ensure a high territorial concentration and heterogeneity of innovative activity: «what is bought and used all over the world is created in a very limited number of locations. ... Less than 3% of the world's population lives in the top ten [leading innovative] cities, and 40% of all patent applications in the world are filed there[1]...; almost 40% of the 2,500 companies with the highest R&D costs are located in these ten cities; the same pattern is characteristic of 60% of all unicorn companies and 35% of highly cited scientists. In the creative industries, the unevenness is even higher: the top ten cities house more than 55% of the world's recognized fashion brands, 65% of the companies producing high-rated films, and 70% of the artists leading auction sales» [Kutsenko, 2022]. A side effect is the aggravation of various environmental, urban planning, managerial, economic and social contradictions.

The complex aspects of the functioning of cities and their social significance determine the high public and scientific interest in these issues. Another incentive is the practical need to regulate and manage the life of cities in order to ensure their sustainable socio-economic development. Moreover, not all cities demonstrate a successful trajectory and the ability to level out negative phenomena.

G.M. Lappo reflected on the dependence between the effectiveness of cities as engines of development and scientifically based municipal policy [Lappo, 2019, p. 3]. However, it is very difficult to formulate such an inter-dependence due to the diversity of cities, the combination of typical and unique features in each. On the one hand, this expands the range of managerial decisions when choosing the path of urban development, on the other hand, it limits the possibility of copying specific successful practices. In addition, the recognition of the latter is usually delayed. Therefore, the developed strategies (programs, pro-

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[1] Patent applications filed under the PCT procedure (Patent Cooperation Treaty, signed in Washington on June 19, 1970. The latest amendments were made to it in 2001) are taken into account.

jects and plans) for the development of cities are often socio-economic experiments, not always fully understood, and the results often turn out to be other than expected.

All this creates the appearance of spontaneity in the development of cities. Although the real reason is the lack of knowledge about the combined impact of various mechanisms, factors and conditions on the state of cities and their dynamics. In addition, new circumstances arise on a regular basis, which should be assessed and taken into account. Therefore, despite the huge accumulated volume of information about cities, it is necessary to continue to study the possibilities and directions of their development.

This is especially important for Russia in the current complex geopolitical conditions. The solution to main national problems – the intensification of innovation, overcoming interregional imbalances and depression in individual territories – is associated with the development of cities. In practical terms, it is transformed into the task of effective use of their innovative potential.

In turn, the utilization of the innovative potential of cities and the possibility of conducting innovative activities in them are largely determined by the state of the urban environment, primarily the intellectual one. The purpose of this work is to systematize approaches to its development. The discussion of constructive basic principles that meet modern challenges, as well as the peculiarities of their application in specific conditions, is very relevant and has scientific and practical significance.

Theoretical foundations of systematization

The interdisciplinarity of urban studies and the boom of urban studies [Turgel', 2014, p. 74] in the 20th century formed a huge flow of scientific literature and a variety of approaches from different scientific and practical disciplines. The sociology and economics of the city, urban planning and architecture are often based on diametrically opposed theoretical foundations, accompanied by inaccuracy and multiplicity of definitions.

The confusion is compounded by the discrepancy between the domestic and foreign terminology used, the temporary «layering» of concepts and the «fashion» for some of them. In this regard, it seems necessary to outline the general conceptual positions that are most productive, from the author's point of view, for subsequent scientific and practical discussion.

For example, it is proposed to divide the entire variety of approaches into an optimistic paradigm dating back to Charles Louis de Montesquieu and a pessimistic anti-urbanism dating back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau [Agashirinova, 2019, p. 178]. Within the positive paradigm, the authoritative position of D. Jacobs (1969) on a city as a source of economic growth is supported by empirically identified positive correlations between the rate of economic growth and the share of the urban population, labor productivity and city size [Minaeva, 2010, p. 5]. It is noted that «with a doubling of a city size, the increase in labor productivity in developed countries is from 3 to 8%». In countries with a lower level of economic development, the return on urbanization in the form of increased productivity of production factors can be even greater [Kolomak, 2015, p. 60].

As a reaction to the growing socio-environmental problems accompanying urbanization (including the alienation of man in the city, the impersonality of low-cost mass housing, environmental degradation, etc.), the so-called «environmental approach» was formed in the community of architects and urban planners in the 1960s – 1980s. Within its framework, a city is viewed as a large and complex organism. By analogy with the concept of «natural environment», the idea of the «urban environment» arose [Creating a comfortable urban environment, 2022, p. 6–7]. Later, the term became widespread in scientific discourse, despite its vagueness and its different understanding by representatives of different disciplines and directions.

Currently, the urban environment is interpreted as a set of material, socio-cultural and economic conditions of life of the urban population. The innovation of a city, according to A.S. Akhiezer[1], is predetermined by the diversity of cultural contacts taking place in it, which makes cities capable of accumulating creative potential and introducing the individual to it (cited from: [Lappo, 1997, p. 127]).

Formed by the efforts of many subjects (city residents, architects and urban planners, representatives of government and administration bodies, etc.), the urban environment itself directly affects them. «Numerous studies of human behavior in public spaces of cities confirm Jan Gehl[2] hypothesis on direct dependence of activity types, intensity, or duration on the quality of the physical urban environment. In turn, there is also a subsequent positive return effect: the activity of urban life «provoked» by spatial and architectural solutions ... has a direct impact on the subsequent perception of the environment as friendly, hospitable, comfortable to stay in» [Notman, 2021, p. 106].

It is natural that the functioning and transformation of such an artificial formation as a city has always been regulated, trying to direct its growth in the desired (from the point of view of the governing entity) direction and to neutralize the negative effects. At the same time, the development trajectories of different cities vary greatly: in addition to successful ones, there are many depressed, dying and simply abandoned cities. The desire to ensure sustainable positive dynamics of cities and ideas about the influence of the urban environment on the behavior and well-being of residents have forced us to pay more attention to the issues of its development.

Another approach is based on a theory of innovations (their emergence and dissemination) and innovation potential[3] as "the opportunity and ability to generate new ideas, create technologies, innovative products, and solutions" that emerged in the late 19th century and has received universal recognition since the 1970s [Semyachkov, 2021, p. 475]. Innovations are currently considered the main driving force

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[1] Russian social philosopher and cultural scientist, Doctor of Philosophy (1929–2007, Moscow). In the last years of his life, he was a leading research fellow at the Institute of Economic Forecasting of the Russian Academy of Sciences (since 1991, he worked at the Center for Demography and Human Ecology).

[2] Danish architect, urbanist and urban design specialist (born 1936, Copenhagen).

[3] «The concept of innovation potential was first used by Christopher Freeman, an English economist and one of the most famous researchers of economic cycles. In his work "The Economic Theory of Industrial Innovation" (1974), Freeman defined innovation potential as all possible resources of an enterprise that can be used for innovation processes» [Belyaeva, Serebryakova, Adrakhovskaia, 2021, p. 277].

of economic and social progress. Accordingly, the formation, use and expansion of the innovative potential of cities is considered as a priority direction of their development, which is ensured in two ways. The first is the concentration of resources, including human capital. The second is the creation of favorable conditions for life and creative self-realization of people. The sources of its formation are determined as «modernization of the operating environment of economic objects; financing of innovative projects and programs; development of special mechanisms for the implementation of innovative projects and programs that are based on partnership between the state, business and society» [Sokolova, Varakina, 2016, p. 2].

Thus, objectively, the intelligent urban environment is focused on intellectual and innovative activities. This postulate, widespread among urbanists, is little taken into account by representatives of other scientific and practical areas. Although the state of the urban environment is greatly influenced by side effects from the efforts that are made to solve problems not directly related to its development. Thus, an increase in the level of intelligence of the urban environment (intellectualization) is largely determined by measures to stimulate innovative activities, improve the education system, etc. However, misunderstanding or underestimation of existing relationships largely reduces the effectiveness of management decisions and their effectiveness. This is evidenced by examples of modern impact (mainly indirect) on the intelligent environment of cities, an attempt to systematize which is presented below.

Trends in the development of intelligent urban environment

First of all, it should be noted that the administrative hierarchy of Russian cities significantly affects the financial capabilities of municipal, regional or federal government institutions. In addition, there is a problem of coordinating decisions made by sectoral and territorial governing bodies. Nevertheless, there are several broad and fairly universal initiatives available to cities of any size and administrative subordination. These include the following.

Establishment and support of technology parks. Experts note the lack of a single definition and classification of technology parks due to inter-country differences in terminology [Ulianychev, 2018, p. 116]. The variety of names – innovation center, scientific / university-research / research and development / research and technology park, business incubator, high-tech cluster, high-tech valley, etc. – in addition to different translations of foreign terms, is due to the applied marketing strategies and journalistic metaphors to draw attention to individual projects.

One of the recognized definitions (2002) characterizes the goals of the technology park as achieving «the well-being of the local community through the promotion of an innovative culture, as well as the competitiveness of innovative business and scientific organizations» [Ulianychev, 2018, p. 116]. A.A. Androsova identifies three models of technology parks [Androsova, 2019]:

1. The American model (USA, UK) is characterized by reliance on universities and powerful state support.

2. The Japanese model (Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea) is implemented in technopolis cities specially built for the commercial implementation of research results and financed at the regional level.

3. Mixed (France, Belgium, other European countries) is formed by the efforts of universities, banks, private firms focused on solving regional problems.

Silicon Valley in the United States is considered to be the reference technology park[1]. The «key point» in its development was the idea in 1950s to «lease land [owned by Stanford University] for long-term use as an office park». On the one hand, this «allowed Stanford graduates to find work in close proximity to their alma mater». On the other hand, «companies received highly qualified specialists» [Leonova, 2011, p. 39]. The main incentive was the stable funding of research by the state (primarily, military and space departments), and then the growing influx of private venture capital. As a result, Silicon Valley has become the largest high-tech center. Nowadays, it is home to numerous IT companies, from leading global corporations to small startups. The Silicon Valley ecosystem includes a number of well-known universities and thousands of specialists, and its name has become a household word (for more details, see [Abdulbarova, 2022]).

Other countries have tried to replicate the success of Silicon Valley. A successful example of creative borrowing of foreign experience is the high-tech district of «science and technology» Zhongguancūn in China (Beijing) and the Bangalore[2] metropolitan area in India (see more [Leonova, 2011, pp. 41–42]).

In Russia, the idea of a technology park has been repeatedly addressed. The first attempt was the creation of the science city of Zelenograd (Moscow region) in 1965 as a reaction to the success of the American Silicon Valley. However, it «did not work» for a number of reasons (for more details, see [Revzin, 2020, p. 37, 38]).

The second stage began when «in 1990, the Government of the Russian Federation adopted the "Technoparks of Russia" program developed by the Ministry of Economy, planned for five years. Its goal was to dramatically increase the return on those developments of scientific and technical universities that had accumulated during the Soviet period. The government allocated targeted funding to universities for the creation of technology parks, but it was so insignificant that it did not produce results» [Sumskaia,

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[1] Geographically, this is the Santa Clara Valley in the state of California, southeast of San Francisco (a section 1,6 km long along the coast of the bay of the same name). It owes its fame «to the production of semiconductors and electronic equipment. The valley, which was once an agricultural region (until the 1950s it was famous for its plum orchards), is now built up with cities that stretch in a chain from the San Francisco Bay to the city of San Jose. The core of growth was Stanford University in Palo Alto, where research in the field of electronics had been conducted since the 1940s. The first large computer plant was opened in 1956 by IBM in San Jose» [Leonova, 2011, p. 38]. The name «Silicon Valley» was suggested by journalist D. Hefler in 1971.

[2] The capital of Karnataka. The third most populous and second most literate city in the country, with many higher education and research institutes, it is called the «Silicon Valley of India».

2007, p. 22], with the exception of isolated cases (in Tomsk, Zelenograd, Moscow). In 1993, against the backdrop of the rapid collapse of «science towns», the concept of their transformation into technopolises was adopted, but it was not implemented in practice due to financial and managerial problems [Sumskaia, 2007, p. 22].

The third stage, started with Vladimir Putin's visit to India and Bangalore in December 2004, and elevated the scattered attempts to create Russian technoparks to the level of national policy. In 2007, the program «Creation of Technoparks in the Russian Federation in the Field of High Technologies» stimulated the development of a number of territories as a result of creating favorable conditions to house domestic and international industries.

During 2007–2011, the infrastructure of technology parks received almost 20 billion rubles of financial injections from various sources [Technoparks of Russia, 2025]. From 2010 to 2014, the number of technology parks in the Russian Federation reached 16 [Technoparks of Russia, 2025]. Later, the process accelerated. Mostly, domestic technology parks are built according to a mixed model, but there are also attempts to borrow Japanese experience. As, for instance, the Skolkovo technopolis in the Moscow region (since 2010) and the Innopolis in the Republic of Tatarstan (since 2015)[1]. The maximum number of technology parks in the country over the past period was in 2020 (183), by 2024 it decreased to 129 (in 46 regions). A third of them are concentrated in Moscow and the Moscow region – 31 (24%) and 14 (about 11%), respectively [Technoparks of Russia – 2024, 2024, p. 10–12].

An important stage was the adoption in 2015 of the GOST[2], which approved the official understanding of technoparks: «a complex of municipal, transport and technological infrastructure facilities managed by a management company, providing a full cycle of services for the placement and development of innovative companies that are residents of the technopark» [Ulianychev, 2018, p. 116]. Industrial technology parks dominate in Russia, and high-tech technology parks account for less than 20% (only 24 out of 129 in 2023) [Technoparks of Russia – 2024, 2024, p. 10–12]. However, industrial parks can also include educational complexes and units that perform applied R&D (in addition to exhibition centers and representative offices of innovative companies).

Residents of technology parks receive certain advantages due to the preferences provided (both local and federal) and the synergistic effect of the concentration of companies in one place. For example, in 2010, the main share of the revenue of all technology parks was provided by two Kazan and one Novosibirsk parks [Technoparks of Russia, 2025]. In 2014, the total revenue of residents of all technology parks exceeded 138 billion rubles, and in 2023 it reached almost 550 billion rubles [Technoparks of Russia –

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[1] The question of how justified their creation was, as well as the results obtained, remain the subject of heated debate, especially against the backdrop of the ambiguous situation in the existing science cities - Soviet-era projects with a city-forming scientific and industrial complex (for more details, see [Revzin, 2020]. After the special conditions for their functioning disappeared during the reforms of the 1990s, the problem of adapting science cities to new circumstances and effectively using their intellectual potential arose. And it has not yet been resolved.

[2] GOST – Russian state standard. The 2015 GOST standard was later amended. The latest revision dates back to 2021.

2024, 2024, p. 14]. At the same time, as of 2018–2019, it was noted that the sources of almost all income were «rent and basic services, and the level of provision of professional and special services is extremely low» [Technoparks of Russia, 2025].

The state offers various support measures for the creation and operation of technology parks: tax incentives, targeted financial subsidies, budgetary and extra-budgetary investments in construction [Technoparks of Russia, 2025]. The increase in the number of technology parks and provided preferences is primarily an instrument of support for small and medium-sized businesses, i.e. entrepreneurial activity, in Russia. Parks attract labor, create new jobs (especially highly skilled) and, thus, activate the use of innovative practices. The creation and functioning of technology parks contribute to increasing the level of innovation and intellectuality of the urban environment.

The formation of creative spaces began with moving industry to the outskirts of New York during the Great Depression and renting out empty industrial buildings that proved attractive to the bohemia. First, as lofts. Then the areas between them began to be filled with museums, exhibitions and cultural centers, reaching the peak of their popularity in the 1950s. They remain in demand among show business stars, as well as representatives of creative professions, and today, producing the most sought-after product – «new meanings» focused on an non-standard consumers [Steklova, Raguzhina, 2013].

In Russia in the 1990s, the question of using the abandoned territories of liquidated enterprises was quite acute. At the beginning of the new millennium, the country began to implement this concept of creative spaces, primarily in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Rostov-on-Don, and Samara. «Today, there is an understanding that the legacy of industry is an integral part of the national heritage and an environmental resource for social evolution. ... However, comparable and no less encouraging reserves of the province are blocked by trade» [Steklova, Raguzhina, 2013], i.e. the dominance of trading capital in domestic private business.

Currently, in many countries (including Russia), a broader approach to the development of creative spaces has become widespread. It implies a variety of support for creative activities not only in the former industrial zones. In this regard, it is more accurate to talk about the expansion of the segment of the urban socio-economic complex associated with creative industries. «In September 2021, declared by the UN as the International Year of the Creative Economy for Sustainable Development, Russia approved the "Concept for the development of creative industries and mechanisms for their state support in large and largest urban agglomerations until 2030". Despite the title of the document, the support mechanisms described in it are proposed to apply equally to megacities, other cities, and even non-urban areas» [Creative Specialization of Russian Cities, 2022].

The high assessment of creative industries in post-industrial society and the life of a modern city (including its contribution to the economy) is well deserved. At the same time, there is a fragmentation of creative activity (division into many small segments) and the emergence of cross-industries that combine

creative and production components. However, the absence of clear guidelines does not yet make it possible to distinguish between creative, production and intellectual urban environments.

The «creative» model is especially promising for developing cities as tourist centers. Successful examples include Venice in Italy, Cannes in France, Sochi and Myshkin in Russia. Obviously, in this case, «urban policy should combine into a single cultural, industrial and environmental» agenda [Yukhina, 2021, p. 240].

At the same time, innovations increase the level of creativity and intelligence of any city. Canadian researcher N. Bradford systematized their types, highlighting «innovations in management, civic innovations, economic, social, artistic and cultural innovations» [Yukhina, 2021, p. 240]. The theory about the creative potential of a place as a stimulate to human intellectual abilities has become generally accepted today.

Development of university campuses. University campuses have an American-Western European origin, and their special position and role are associated with the localization of some higher education institutions in large cities of Europe and the USA.

As experts believe, the rise of universities that emerged on the basis of cathedral schools (i.e., at cathedrals or bishop's chairs) in large European cities was facilitated by the «transition of control over their activities from church to secular power» [Turgel, Bugrov, Oikher, 2023, p. 95–96]. As city-based universities grew, «districts with a special structure were formed: faculties, dormitories, libraries, scientific laboratories, institutes, etc.» [Shatilo, 2021, p. 24], which later received the name campuses[1]. It is believed that «the campus ... was first used to describe the territory of Princeton University» (USA) in 1774. «This was accompanied by complete economic, legal and territorial independence of universities, which formed the campus as a spatial planning phenomenon. ... As an example of a practically ideal model for the embodiment of architectural and spatial organization, one can cite the campus of the University of Texas in Austin[2] and the campus of the Vienna University of Economics» [Kuleshova, 2021, p. 74, 75].

For a long time, university campuses were created and operated on the principle of «city within a city». At the same time, they became widespread in different countries and regions of the world. However, in Russia the situation developed differently due to the specifics of the national system of higher education and abrupt changes in its organization.

Firstly, in the Russian Empire, higher education institutions were created and located not in small and medium-sized cities (as was often the case in Europe and the USA), but exclusively in large cities[3]. Secondly, they had significantly less autonomy compared to European and American universities.

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[1] From the Latin «campus», i.e. «field», «camp».
[2] Capital of the state of Texas (USA), about 1,0 million residents.
[3] Therefore, no separate university cities emerged in the country. For more details, see [Turgel, Bugrov, Oikher, 2023; Shatilo, 2021].

Thirdly, instead of campuses, boarding houses emerged. For example, a bursa[1] is a dormitory at a theological educational institution, first created at the Kiev Brotherhood School (later the Kyiv Theological Academy) in the 18th century. In the 19th century, as experts write, the housing issue for students was solved by renting or living in dormitories of academic buildings. Dormitories as separate university buildings appeared at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries [Popov, 2025].

After the Great October Revolution, the higher education system in Russia was reformed and made much more egalitarian, which was facilitated by new admissions rules, the creation of workers' faculties, the abolition of tuition fees, scholarship support, the mass construction of student dormitories and the emergence of their standard designs (starting in the 1930s) [Gorlov, 2015]. On the one hand, «the entire dormitory building was a communal apartment. On the other hand, a student in a dormitory, willy-nilly, turned into an independent person» [Gorlov, 2015, p. 182].

Student dormitories in the USSR primarily solved the housing issue for out-of-town university students. At the same time, cultural and everyday services for students were provided. A striking example of a comprehensive approach to organizing the educational process is the high-rise building of Lomonosov Moscow State University on Vorobyovy Gory in Moscow (1953), from which students could never leave. In addition to educational and residential premises (dormitories for students and teachers), there is the possibility of providing a wide range of cultural and everyday services (from laundry and canteens to a movie theater, swimming pool, post office, museum, etc.).

However, such multifunctional complexes were isolated, since the construction of individual dormitories provided more room for maneuver [Gorlov, 2015, p. 180]. Although student towns were also created, «representing a concentration of dormitories in integral block developments», which had «many positive aspects: improved administrative and economic services; compact layout of residential buildings; the possibility of sequential construction; organization of cultural and household services. The problem was that ... it was not always possible to allocate significant [land] plots in the conditions of the existing urban development» [Gorlov, 2015, p. 180]. Nevertheless, such student towns were created (for example, in Moscow – for students of the modern Peoples' Friendship University of Russia named after P. Lumumba or in Dolgoprudny, Moscow Region – for students of the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology, etc.).

In the late 20th – early 21st centuries, the university mission was reformulated and Western countries began transition from an «urban university» to a «university in urban society» [Korovnikova, 2023, p. 70]. Accordingly, the role of university campuses has changed and their importance has increased. «The traditional closed university courtyard, which served as a place for communication and leisure, is

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[1] They originated in France (Latin bursa – «pocket, purse») and were a kind of boarding house, in which students were provided with a shared apartment with full maintenance (paid for mostly by patrons, and later for a fee). Moreover, the students living there were under strict supervision: they did not dare to leave without permission, had to dress according to regulations, etc.

gradually losing its role. In its place, open parks and gardens are emerging, accessible to the entire university community. Over time, such a public and communication space extends to the entire campus territory» [Popov, 2025]. Today, campuses are modeled based not only on residential, educational and scientific functions, but also on the «third mission of the university», as well as the business component [University Campuses and the City ..., 2021, p. 28].

As the idea of the third (social) mission of universities spread, the attitude towards former student towns and institute dormitories in Russia has changed (and they also began to be called campuses). The desire to increase competitiveness of domestic education in the global market and the effectiveness of using the innovative potential of universities contributed to a higher assessment of their potential: «in 2021, V. Putin instructed the government to create a network of modern world-class campuses in various regions of the country as part of the national project[1]. By 2036 ... it is planned to build a network of 40 such campuses, which will become not only educational, but also technological and cultural centers of the regions» [Popov, 2025]. «The project to create student campuses today is one of the most important for the scientific and technological development of Russia, for attracting talented young people to the regions, as well as for ensuring the technological sovereignty of the country. ...Campuses should be open not only to students and university professors, but also to residents of the communities in which they are built» [Shutov, 2024]. Such campuses include, for example, Kantiana at the Baltic Federal University in Kaliningrad, campuses at the Novosibirsk State University, the Ural Federal University (Yekaterinburg), and the Oryol State University, world-class campuses in Chelyabinsk and Samara, the interuniversity student campus of the Eurasian Scientific and Educational Center in Ufa, the new campus of the Bauman Moscow State Technical University, etc.

The current initiative to create a network of world-class campuses in Russia cannot be considered completely new or original. As already noted, student towns are not uncommon in the country. A positive aspect is the declaration of «integration of different types of campuses into the urban space, as well as requirements for cities that plan to position themselves not only in the Russian, but also in the global educational services market» [University Campuses and the City ..., 2021, p. 44]. However, this idea contains a contradiction: what should be the focus in creating campuses – urban (i.e. local) issues or the global educational services market?

The desire to improve the cultural and living conditions of students can only be assessed positively. Of course, students need it. But the overall plan for 40 new campuses and 800 renovated dormitories throughout the country by 2036 according to the national project seems less than ambitious. As of 2024, there were 3,022 dormitories in Russia, and «two-thirds of this fund were built more than 50 years ago and have become noticeably dilapidated by today, and universities do not have the funds to repair them»

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[1] Currently – «Youth and Children» Project.

[Guzairova, 2024]. If only about 30% of the existing fund of dormitories is planned to be repaired in ten years, then what will happen to the rest?

Other questions arise, too. As follows from open information, «world-class campuses» are being created based on unique projects. To what extent is this justified in modern conditions – and wouldn't it be better to develop a line of standard projects? Finally, wouldn't their creation lead to an increase in the level of concentration and, thus, to a reduction in the educational space in the country and an increase in regional disparities?

Even in theoretical terms, the national project under consideration seems quite controversial. But much depends on its implementation. Russia has also had negative experiences with creating student campuses. An example is the St. Petersburg State University dormitory complex in Peterhof (Leningrad Region), built in the 1970s and currently a depressed area. The current plan is to abandon it to build a new university campus in Pushkino [Kazakov, 2019]. Moreover, there have been attempts to «transform» the direction of the project, in particular, a proposal to create «scientific campuses based on leading scientific organizations and their technological partners»[1].

Given the current status of university campuses as socio-economic entities, it seems that the expectations from the national project «Creating a Network of World-Class Campuses» may be too high in terms of stimulating scientific, educational, and innovative activities. There are fears that, in principle, a sound idea to improve the conditions for obtaining higher education in Russia will turn into another short-term campaign. At the same time, the expansion of the participation of students and faculty members of universities in solving the problems of the cities in which they are located, certainly contributes to the improvement of the urban environment and an increase in the level of its intelligence.

Spread of «smart city» technologies. This set of digital technologies serves as an example of how the metaphor (translation into Russian of the English "smart city") has become a common concept, the definition of which has been repeatedly refined and changed since the early 2000s. «The concept of a smart city initially described ways to use IT infrastructure to create a virtual space of a real city ... At the next stage, a smart city was mainly associated with the strengthening of the role of digital technologies in improving the efficiency of urban economy. Finally, today it is increasingly common to talk about a smart sustainable city (SSC) ... , in which information and communication technologies and other tools, on the one hand, are used to improve the quality of life, the efficiency of the city and the provision of urban services, as well as to strengthen competitiveness, and on the other hand, meet the needs of present and future generations, without having a negative impact on the economic, social and environmental components of the city» [Priority areas …, 2018, p. 7].

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[1] This proposal was made at a strategic session in Chernogolovka (Moscow Region) in July 2025. On the one hand, it indicates another attempt to «fit» existing science cities into the state scientific and technical policy. On the other hand, there is no place for them in it yet.

As the specialized market of «advanced technologies to improve the efficiency of the urban ecosystem» has grown and acquired global investment attractiveness since the 2010s[1], «active institutionalization of the smart cities concept (the emergence of specialized standards, the emergence of national and international associations and ratings, the increasing spread of the term in socio-political discourse, etc.)» has begun [Priority areas..., 2018, p. 8, 23]. The need to assess the market of relevant digital technologies on a global scale has led to the rating of the world's «smart cities». One such list has been compiled since 2019 by the Swiss International Institute for Management Development (IMD Business School) in collaboration with the Singapore University of Technology and Design. The ranking published in September 2020 included 109 cities. The top ten included Singapore, Helsinki, Zurich, Auckland, Oslo, Copenhagen, Geneva, Taipei, Amsterdam, and New York. Moscow took the 56th position, St. Petersburg – 73 [Smart City…, 2024]. In 2025, this rating already included 146 cities (Russian cities were not taken into account). The leaders were Zurich, Oslo, Geneva, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, London, Copenhagen, Canberra, Singapore, and Lausanne [IMD Smart City ... , 2025].

Ratings allow not only to assess the introduction of digital technologies in a particular city, but also to identify trends and help to predict the demand for various technical solutions. According to the conclusions of a similar South Korean study in 2024, «European and Asian cities continue to lead the ratings. They stand out by prioritizing technologies that meet local needs, whether it's urban mobility, digital accessibility, or environmental friendliness» [Smart City ... , 2024]. North American cities, on the other hand, have fallen in ratings «due to infrastructure and public safety issues» [Smart City ..., 2024]. It is emphasized that «cities that are performing well are supporting initiatives aimed at improving the overall quality of life of the population. They focus on increasing green space, expanding opportunities for cultural events and social connections. In most cities, these efforts are combined with innovative strategies to attract and retain talent, selectively stimulate investment, and address issues related to geographical inequality and inclusiveness» [Smart City ... , 2024]. Recently, the housing issue, i.e. the availability and quality of housing in cities, has attracted increased attention [IMD Smart City…, 2025].

Russia, following the global trend, actively supports the implementation of the smart city concept through state measures. Since 2018, the country has been implementing the «Smart City» project, which was part of the national project «Housing and Urban Environment» of the national program «Digital Economy» (2018–2024). Commenting on the results of its implementation, the Russian Ministry of Construction noted the growth of digital maturity of Russian cities [The Ministry of Construction summed up ..., 2025]. The ministry included the following among the achievements:

- development of standards and methods for assessing the digital maturity of cities;
- establishment of the Smart City Competence Center for methodological support of municipalities;
- creation of a bank of successful digital solutions for housing and communal services, etc.

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[1] The UN report «Digital Dividends» published in 2016 gave recognition on a global scale and accelerated the process.

In 2019–2022, the Russian Ministry of Construction, together with Lomonosov Moscow State University, developed and approved a methodology for calculating the Urban Digitalization Index or «City IQ»[1] – «an integrated assessment of the effectiveness of the digital transformation of the urban economy in the Russian Federation» [Order of the Russian Ministry of Construction ... , 2023]. In 2023, the study covered 283 cities in Russia. The leaders in the digital transformation of the urban economy among the largest cities were Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kazan; among the large ones – Tiumen', Vladivostok and Sevastopol'; large ones – Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Nizhnekamsk and Reutov; administrative centers – Chernushinskii Urban District (Perm Krai), Kol'tsovo and Dubna [The results of calculating …, 2024]. «During the project's implementation, the IQ of cities increased by 1,5 times, reaching an average score of 61 out of 120 in 2023 (which is 55% more than in the base year of 2018) [The Ministry of Construction summed up ..., 2025].

Since 2025, smart city programs are included in the national project «Infrastructure for Life» and are dispersed across several areas, including «Formation of a comfortable urban environment», «Modernization of public infrastructure», «Development of infrastructure in populated areas», «New rhythm of construction», etc.

The accelerated introduction of digital technologies into various sectors of the urban economy forces residents to acquire and use new competencies. As a result, both human capital and the level of intelligence of the urban environment increase. Due to the fact that these measures affect not individual components of the urban environment or population groups, but all city residents, they seem to be the most comprehensive and universal in comparison with other actions discussed above.

Conclusion

The complexity and diversity of cities «in terms of the functions they perform, the composition of the population, and the type of their planning» [Lappo, 2019, p. 4], rightly noted by G.M. Lappo, continue to increase as cities become intellectualized. At the same time, any city is an artificial formation and the result of human activity. However, due to the multidirectional collaborative impact of various actors, its development becomes (or appears to be) spontaneous and chaotic.

The complexity of processes unfolding in cities requires thoughtful and careful adherence to some theoretical concepts and management approaches. After all, the state of the urban environment is influenced not only by direct management. Measures taken to resolve issues not directly related to the urban

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[1] The accepted methodology for calculating the City IQ Index involves dividing cities into five groups by population size, similar to calculating the Urban Environment Quality Index: largest cities (from 1 million people), large cities (from 250 thousand to million people), large cities (100-250 thousand people), medium (50-100 thousand people) and small (less than 50 thousand people). In 2023, the IQ of cities was calculated in 15 areas (state and municipal administration, development of the urban environment and housing and communal services, energy, construction, security, geoinformation technologies, healthcare, youth policy, culture, science and higher education, education, transport, sports, entrepreneurship, ecology) and contained 37 indicators [Order of the Ministry of Construction of the Russian Federation ..., 2023].

area, in one way or another, have side effects. Moreover, due to the limited financial resources of most city administrations, side effects often turn out to be much stronger than the proposed solutions.

The example of an intelligent urban environment clearly demonstrates this. Its development is influenced by existing views on human capital and the education system, the innovation process and the place of science in society, the role of creative industries and the historical heritage of territories. The choice between concentration or deconcentration of innovation activities, the elitism of higher education (reproduction of elites) or its egalitarianism and accessibility to masses (increase in the general level of education of the population) and other similar decisions determine the dynamics of individual components of the urban environment and, thus, the its intellectual level.

The mixture of different theoretical concepts and approaches and, most importantly, the rapid change of priorities in state policy in Russia (fashion is fickle) significantly complicate an adequate response to modern urban problems, while the development of cities and the urban environment is an inertial process. The results of actions taken in the present to reconstruct or transform the urban environment will fully manifest themselves in the future and will be significant for a long period of time. «Tossing» from the implementation of one project to another leaves no time for proper returns, prevents specialists to evaluate positive and negative aspects of the undertaken projects. Finally, it is necessary not only to create new components of the urban environment (including the intellectual one), but also to ensure their stable functioning and interconnections. This should not be a short-term campaign, therefore it requires a certain stability of the strategic state policy and the coordination of its various directions.

So far, various national-scale initiatives fail to take into account the effect they produce in different cities and the urban environment. A review of the areas influencing the intelligent urban environment shows that the emphasis is on its individual components (objects in the field of education, innovative production, culture), and not on their interrelations. But what fits the sectoral principle of management is not always good for the project management. In addition, the communication component within the intelligent urban environment, whose importance has increased dramatically in the era of digital technologies, is clearly underestimated.

One should also not forget about the need for creative freedom to develop the intellectual environment of cities. In this regard, the conclusion made about the success of the Novosibirsk science city (Akademgorodok) during the Soviet period is very indicative: «soviet scientists, in order to be protected from the fighters against the prostitutes of imperialism, were ready to flee to the taiga, to the barracks, to study genetics and cybernetics there» [Revzin, 2020, p. 36, 37].

Thus, the solution to modern issues of developing an intelligent urban environment needs contribution from a wide range of specialists, continued study of situations and practices in different cities (cases), as well as wide discussion among representatives of various scientific and practical areas.

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MAPPING A CITY'S HERITAGE AS A TOOL FOR PRESERVING AND USING ITS HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL POTENTIAL (METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION)[1]

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Abstract. *Cultural heritage mapping is a relatively new area of cartographic practice. Compilation of historical, cultural and natural heritage maps of urban settlements can be considered as a task of presenting encyclopedic information that summarizes the results of a comprehensive study of a city's heritage. Currently, such maps are practically non-existent, and heritage as a special sphere of urban life, its qualitative indicator and potential for city development, is not adequately reflected. The article discusses tasks for creating such cartographic works, formulates approaches to heritage mapping; offers examples of completed maps for small and medium-sized historical cities.*

Keywords: *cultural and natural heritage sites; heritage of a historical city; heritage mapping.*

Introduction

Cultural, historical, and natural heritage is a crucial component of the urban environment. It is largely the «visiting card» of any city, playing a special role in preserving the identity and uniqueness of urban settlements, attracting visitors, and forming the basis for the development of the tourism sector.

At the same time, heritage can and should be considered as a specific economic resource of a city. Properly utilized, the potential of heritage can form the basis for a new branch of specialization, transforming into a city-forming function of an urban settlement. This is especially important for small historical cities, where heritage can become a driver for economic and social development, a factor in a city's recovery from depression [Shulgin, 2019, p. 8–31].

The heritage of cities is multifaceted, but, as a rule, it is not fully identified, or properly registered in the official heritage protection bodies and, accordingly, does not receive adequate state protection. Moreover, official statistics only partially reflect the real potential of urban historical, cultural, and natural heritage. The number of landmarks, memorial buildings and sites, buildings of architectural interest, and cultural-landscape urban objects is several times greater than the number of historical and cultural monuments that have been officially listed in the Unified State Register of Cultural Heritage Sites (historical and cultural monuments) of the peoples of the Russian Federation and accepted for state protection [Shulgin, Shtele, 2022a, p. 7–32].

Approaches to heritage mapping

Soviet-era tourist maps provided a rather distorted picture of heritage. They omitted many church buildings, only showcasing monuments that aligned with the state's ideological policy at the time, and largely ignored the architecture of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, deeming it devoid of artistic value.

Modern maps are free from ideological constraints, but the information they provide is often just a set of random data. A striking negative example is the information scheme of Tobol'sk, published by the local largest oil and gas chemical company SIBUR, which was distributed in hotels, museums, and other social facilities. In this map, only about ten landmarks are marked, which completely distorts and impoverishes the idea of the real cultural potential of this oldest Siberian city.

In many cities, outstanding historical and cultural monuments are registered, but, for example, the eclectic architecture of the late 19th century, Soviet architecture of the 1920s–1950s, and the ordinary buildings of small historical towns are practically not accepted for protection. In the official lists of cultural heritage sites, we will hardly find any objects of industrial architecture, and traditional wooden buildings of small urban settlements (which have been destroyed and demolished over the past three decades) are almost absent.

Cultural and landscape objects, which form an important part of the perception of many small historical cities, are hardly taken into account anywhere. Few places preserve historical sections of roads and streets with traditional paving (cobblestones, paving stones, white stone). For a long time, objects of intangible cultural heritage, as well as the historical toponymy of streets and individual urban parts and tracts, were not considered as historical and cultural monuments.

One of the primary tasks for preserving the historical and cultural potential of cities is to create a complete list of heritage sites, which can be presented in a cartographic form, providing visibility, linking objects, and allowing for specific claims and requirements for urban planning. At the same time, the task of creating maps of the cultural and natural heritage of historical (and not only historical) cities is considered as a kind of encyclopedic cartographic work, summarizing the results of a multifaceted study of the cultural and natural heritage of a city.

Currently, there is no widespread practice of compiling such systematized and encyclopedic maps, and heritage as a sphere of urban life, its qualitative indicator and the potential for city development are not adequately reflected in available cartographic products. At the same time, over the past two decades, clear principles of heritage mapping have been formulated [A.A. Lyutyi and the mapping ..., 2003], which were applied during the preparation of cultural heritage maps for the National Atlas of Russia (Volume 4 «History. Culture») [National Atlas..., p. 217–496] and in the compilation of heritage maps for a number of historical cities and territories [El'chaninov, 2017, p. 48–66].

Examples of new heritage maps of historic cities

A good example is the small town of Ishim in the Tiumen' region. The city has a rich history and interesting architectural monuments (from Siberian Baroque monuments to Soviet constructivism monuments). However, only 26 monuments are registered in the city, this figure includes both cultural heritage sites under state protection and newly-identified ones. Research by local historians, confirmed by the conclusions of specialists, made it possible to present more than 200 significant heritage sites on the territory of Ishim [Paramonova, 2021, p. 110–124].

The heritage sites shown on the Ishim map have the following structure [Ishim, 2019]:

1. Architectural and urban planning monuments, which in turn are divided into the following categories:

– Siberian Baroque;

– Classicism;

– Historicism;

– «Brick style»;

– Art Nouveau and neoclassicism;

– Constructivism;

– Soviet neoclassicism.

2. Historical sites and memorial places, including:

– associated with historical events and names;

– with the Ishim peasant uprising;

– memorial places of military history.

3. Monumental art sites and memorial signs.

4. The name of P.P. Ershov on the city map (the famous Russian poet, author of the fairy tale «The Little Humpbacked Horse» was born in the village of Bezrukovo near Ishim).

5. Natural objects.

6. Cultural institutions – custodians of heritage.

7. Historical boundaries.

8. Historical toponymy.

Fig. 1. Map of the cultural heritage of Ishim.

The map also shows tourist and social infrastructure facilities: hotels, restaurants, cafes, major shopping centers, etc. (Fig. 1).

A special legend and symbol system was developed for the map, reflecting the structure of the selected heritage sites. Various forms of icons placed on the map and their color scheme were used, which made it possible to clearly highlight, separate and present the full set of information on the cultural and natural heritage of Ishim placed on the map. Other possibilities of cartographic representation were also used, for example: various historical borders shown in different colors; historical names highlighted in a special font; modern toponymy, also highlighted in font and color of the inscriptions.

In general, the cultural heritage map of Ishim was formed to fit one sheet, which presented: the map itself (at a scale of 1: 18,000), legend, a full list of objects shown on the map (including about 250 names), as well as a separate cartographic insert on the central part of the city [Ishim, 2019]. On the back of the map sheet there is brief information about Ishim and photographs of the most interesting sights (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. The back of the Ishim cultural heritage map.

The map is actively used by local cultural institutions and local historians for cultural and educational work and conducting educational excursions and special lessons, to inform tourists. A simplified version of the map (showing a smaller number of objects) was separately made for a preliminary acquaintance with the city, which can be distributed in hotels, travel agencies, and used for advertising purposes.

The developed legend of cartographic images can be complicated when shown on a map sheet, for example, simultaneously with heritage sites and their dating. For this purpose, a color scheme is added to the symbol system, reflecting the time of creation of a particular architectural or archaeological monument or the time of historical events (Fig. 3). However, in case of the Ishim map, such detailed dating was not required.

Fig. 3. Fragment of the legend of the cultural heritage map using symbols showing the dating of heritage sites.

A more complicated version of the cultural heritage map of a historical city can be demonstrated using the example of the map of Yelabuga, a historical city in the Republic of Tatarstan, and the map of Tobol'sk, a former provincial city and now a district center of the Tiumen' region [Yelabuga, 2021; Tobol'sk, 2022].

Yelabuga is one of the most interesting historical cities in the Kama basin. Its architectural and historical heritage is a source of pride and inspiration not only for the Republic of Tatarstan, but also for Russia as a whole. The richness and diversity of its architectural monuments, interesting historical events, personalities associated with this city (I.I. Shishkin, N.A. Durova, M.I. Tsvetaeva, etc.), the picturesque landscape – all this created unique conditions for the formation of a historical and cultural protected area here.

In 1989, a museum-reserve was created in Yelabuga (an open-air museum concept). By now, it can be said that the entire historical center of the city has been restored, turned into a museum and is actually an open-air museum. More than ten museum expositions on various topics have been formed on the basis

of the museum-reserve, and active work is underway to attract visitors; Yelabuga now receives about half a million tourists a year.

The city map (Fig. 4) shows about 450 objects, including historical and architectural monuments, memorial sites, and operating cultural institutions; tourism institutions and socially significant infrastructure facilities are shown separately. It should be noted that lost cultural heritage sites (destroyed churches and a number of civil architecture buildings) were specially marked. The map clearly shows the cultural landscape of Yelabuga – the bank of the Kama River and the floodplain territory, the gully and ravine network in the central part of the city. Two detailed inserts have been made on the central parts of the city, where the main part of the heritage sites is located. On the back of the sheet there is a map of the Yelabuga region with the sights located there.

Fig. 4. Map of attractions and tourist infrastructure of Yelabuga.

Given the diversity of objects placed on the map of Yelabuga, detailed information about them is shifted to a special index, published as a separate brochure, into which a folded map of the city is inserted (Fig. 5). The index contains reference information about the history and architecture of Yelabuga, as well as information about the objects placed on the map according to the following very detailed structure [Yelabuga, 2021]:

– objects of the Yelabuga State Historical, Cultural and Art Museum-Reserve;

– event tourism;
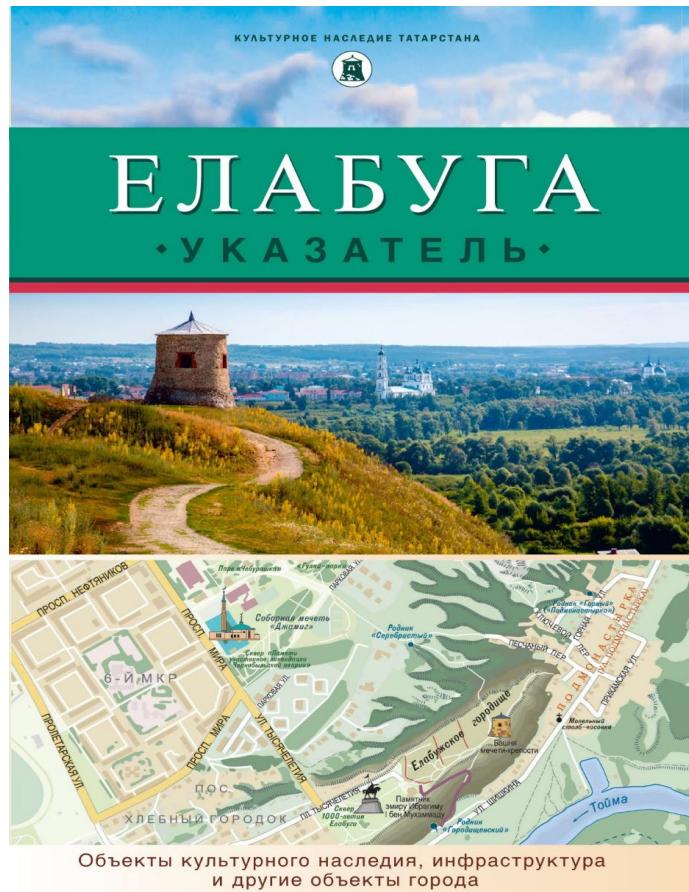
Fig. 5. Index of cultural heritage sites and tourist infrastructure to the Yelabuga heritage map.

– other museums of the city;

– architectural and urban planning monuments;

– archeological monuments;

– historical monuments;

– lost objects of cultural heritage;

– monumental art structures;

– graffiti;

– memorial plaques;

– memorial stones;

– genre sculptures and decorative objects;

– mosques and churches;

– natural and forest park objects, city parks and squares;

– springs;

– cemeteries;

– cultural, leisure and sports institutions;

– restaurants and cafes;

– hotels and hostels;

– retail facilities;

– viewpoints;

– city administration and other objects;

– historical parts of the city (names of historical city territories, settlements, etc.);

– a list of streets included in the protected area of the Yelabuga Museum-Reserve with their modern, historical names and renamings.

Even more complex and detailed is the content of the cultural heritage map of Tobol'sk. The historical city of Tobol'sk is a unique phenomenon not only in Russian, but also in world culture. Founded in 1587, Tobol'sk was the de facto capital of Siberia for almost three centuries. The only stone Kremlin in Siberia was erected here, an administration managed Siberian affairs, a customs and transit center for trade between Europe and Siberia and the countries of the East operated here, and in 1620 the largest Siberian diocese was established. In the period from the 17th to the beginning of the 20th century, Tobol'sk was the largest cultural and educational center of Siberia. Chronicles were kept here, the first school in Siberia opened, the first Siberian magazine was published, and the first theater in Siberia and one of the first Siberian museums were founded [Shulgin, Shtele, 2022b, p. 57–72].

During the 20th century, the economic and social significance of Tobol'sk declined disproportionately, and the city largely lost its administrative and social functions, becoming a district center of the Tiumen' region. However, Tobol'sk remains one of the most picturesque and spectacular cities in Siberia, making an indelible impression with its breathtaking panorama and the beauty of its architectural monuments.

The creation of the Tobol'sk cultural heritage map was intended to reflect the entire accumulated historical and cultural potential of this city (unlike the map published by SIBUR, which shows only a dozen objects), to clearly present this treasure trove of Siberia to tourists and everyone interested in the history and culture of Russia. The published Tobol'sk cultural heritage map (Fig. 6) reflects more than 400 heritage sites and tourist infrastructure objects. A more complex legend was chosen for their depiction, reflecting not only the types of objects, but also the time of their creation (17th–20th centuries). In addition to the insertion of the Red Square and Tobol'sk Kremlin ensemble, a map of the Tobol'sk environs was made and a panoramic image of Tobol'sk and its immediate surroundings from a bird's eye view was created, which conveyed the complex landscape of the city standing on the steep bank of the Irtysh-river.

Together with the Tobol'sk map, an index was also published as a separate brochure, which included not only a complete list of objects displayed on the map with their brief historical characteristics, but also historical information about Tobol'sk, fragments of historical maps, diagrams of the Abalak Monastery, the Abalak tourist complex, and the Ermakovo Pole botanical garden.

Conclusion

The work carried out to create above-mentioned cartographic works made it possible to formulate modern approaches to heritage mapping. Possible classifications of the city's heritage are considered using specific practical examples, and the experience of compiling a cartographic legend and types of cartographic signs for creating such heritage maps is tested. The cartographic approach also allows for the creation of competent material to help tourists, schoolchildren and all others interested in the history and culture of Russia.
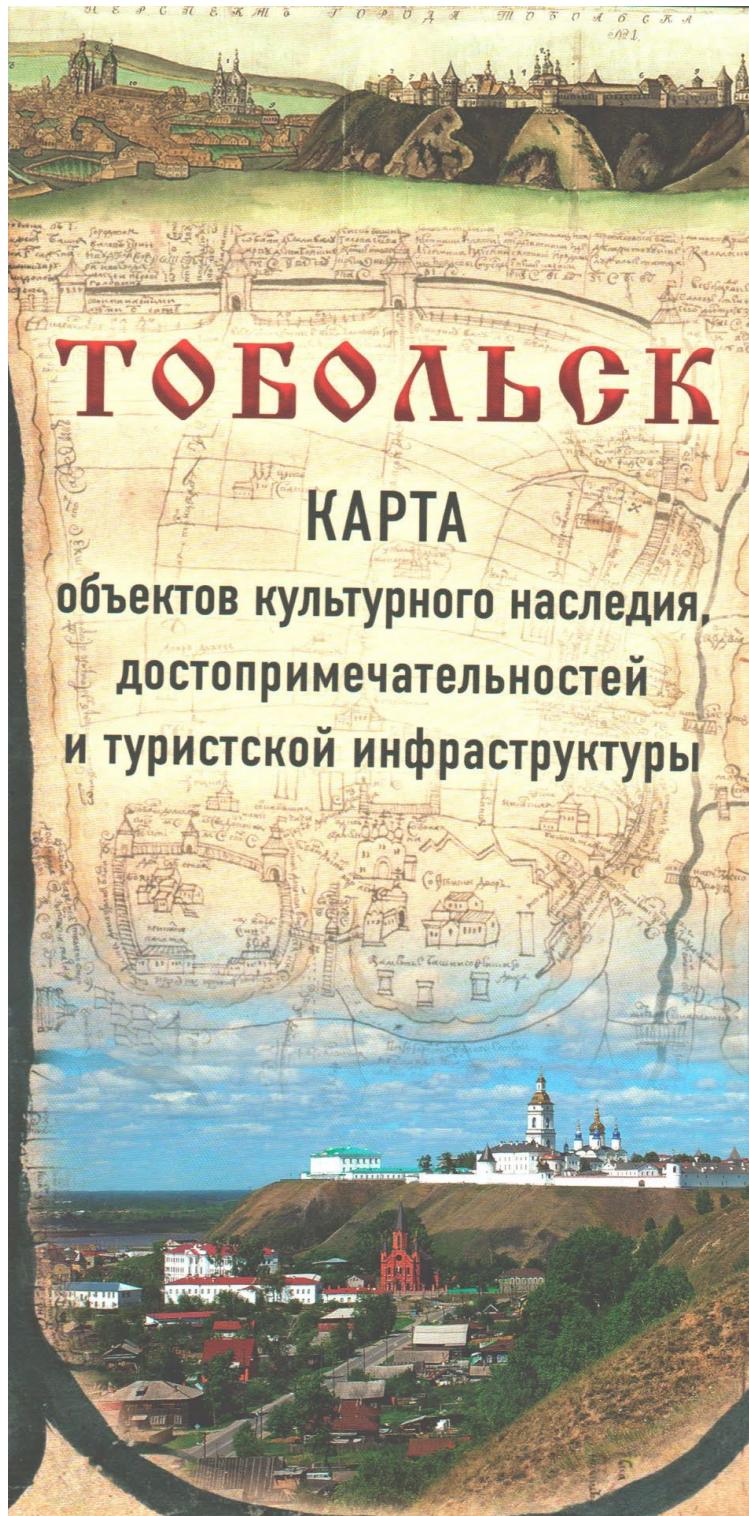
Fig. 6. Cover of the map of cultural heritage sites, attractions and tourist infrastructure in Tobol'sk.

Mapping the city's heritage as an important tool for preserving and using its historical and cultural potential. The cartographic approach allows for:

– to fully identify the heritage and record it;

– to create an almost encyclopedic collection of the city's heritage, on the basis of which a system of introductory and thematic excursions, educational classes can be built;

– to ensure visibility of the city's cultural potential;

– to create a clear territorial link between heritage sites and set specific requirements for urban development plans for the transformation of the urban environment, to resist illegal and unwanted demolitions and interventions in the fabric of historic urban areas.

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УДК 311.2

MEASURING SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF CITY DWELLERS BY DIGITAL MARKERS: TESTING THE METHODOLOGY
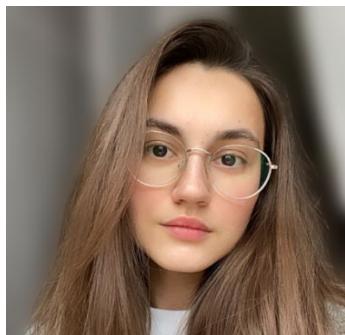
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Abstract. *The article presents a method for measuring subjective well-being using digital markers based on data from online city communities from the VKontakte social network. Publications from online groups in Tula and the Tula region for the year 2023 were used in the study. The collected data was processed using the Python 3 programming language and additional libraries (pandas, spaCy, dostoevsky). As a result, information was obtained about the categorization of textual documents into subjective well-being categories, as well as their sentiment. In conclusion, the limitations of the proposed method are discussed, along with possible ways to overcome them to improve the technique for measuring subjective well-being using cybermetric analysis methods.*

Keywords: *social well-being; city community; online community; cybermetrics; digital markers.*

Introduction

Social well-being is one of the many indicators of society's overall health, which is regularly monitored by both large public opinion centers and individual research groups. In the scientific literature, there is a large number of works devoted to study social well-being in a country or its integral part, in socio-demographic or professional groups.

An analysis of the available studies of social well-being allows to track some of the problems associated with evaluating it. First, in sociological science, there is no single definition and set of indicators for measuring social well-being. In a general sense, social well-being means an individual's subjective assessment of their own condition and position in society: how it is now and what they hope for in the future. A different set of objective and subjective indicators is used to measure well-being. Examples of objective indicators include: the level of material well-being and the state of health of an individual [Simonovich, 2003, p. 5–6], the real social status in various spheres of life [Mikhailova, 2010, p. 47] and the level of power [Dushatskii, 2004, p. 67–69]. Examples of subjective indicators are: an individual's confidence in the future [Grachev, Rusalinova, 2007, p. 9–10], satisfaction with the chosen life strategy [Petrova, 2000, p. 53], perception, assessment and attitude towards one's social status [Mikhailova, 2010, p. 47] and others.

The above indicators, both objective and subjective, certainly help to assess the social well-being of an individual in particular and a specific group as a whole, but can hardly explain the reasons for a particular assessment. A healthy and well-paid respondent may feel uncertain about the future and be dissatisfied with the way his life is going. Another, who has health problems and fewer material benefits, may assess life as quite happy and not worry about the future. It is also worth noting that most of the measured indicators, especially subjective ones, need additional operationalization and can be interpreted by each participant of the study in their own way [Rogozin, 2007, p. 111].

The second problem associated with the study of social well-being is manifested in a large number of sociological concepts that are synonymous in both form and content: social well-being and disadvantage, quality and standard of living, social mood, etc. On the one hand, this allows the researcher to discover interesting methods and approaches that can be translated into the field of studying social well-being, and on the other hand, it returns to the first, previously mentioned difficulty.

And, finally, the third problem is the research method used to assess social well-being. The most commonly used tool is a survey conducted in person or by remote interviews. The use of the survey methodology not only does not allow us to find out what stands behind the answer given by the respondent, but also does not exclude the influence of the interviewer on the answers.

The resolution of the first two indicated difficulties is not possible at the moment. However, the analysis of unprovoked statements in social networks by digital markers seems interesting and promising [Development of methodology and methods ..., 2017, p. 83–84]. The advantage of cybermetric methods for analyzing social and political processes lies not only in the abundance of data left by users of social networks, but also in the availability of ready-made tools for monitoring social media.

The study of user activity in online communities is widely praciced in public administration. In 2020, a Regional Management Center (hereinafter referred to as the RMC) was established in each constituent entity of the Russian Federation to promptly respond to urban planning problems. According to A. Kurmanov, the administrator of the Development Feedback Platform, the main function of an RMC is to anticipate the needs of citizens. Thanks to the analysis of the appeals of the online community audience, it becomes possible to conduct deep analytics by regions, create «heat maps», identify typical problems, and unify and optimize ways to solve them. Such analytical data can fully serve as a basis for decision-making by regional authorities and for the creation of regional development programs, taking into account the most important areas of urban development for citizens [Bolshakova, Klimova, 2022, p. 394].

Satisfaction with infrastructure is a significant factor in measuring the social well-being of the urban population [Tsvetkova, 2017, p. 115]. The degradation of urban infrastructure, according to the author, leads to a gradual decrease in social well-being. Long-term dissatisfaction with life and a generally negative atmosphere within a particular city or region can lead to an outflow of residents in an attempt to find a more suitable and comfortable place to live, as well as to a decline in psycho-emotional and physical health, an increase in crime, and the spread of deviant behavior.

As noted earlier, the sociological literature contains a fairly large number of concepts synonymous with social well-being. E.V. Shchekotin, M.G. Myagkov, and others used online activity data from VKontakte users to calculate an index of subjective well-being/ disadvantage in 43 constituent entities of the Russian Federation [Subjective Assessment of ..., 2020, p. 92–93].

Description of the methodology and method

In the context of the conducted study, the approach developed by the team of authors E.I. Golovakha, N.V. Panina, and A.P. Gorbachik was chosen to operationalize the concept of social well-being. This approach consists of measuring the integral indicator of social well-being based on judgments about the sufficiency of social benefits in 11 spheres of an individual's life [Golovakha, 1998, p. 49]. In the original study, a sufficient scale was used to assess the sufficiency of each component of social well-being, including the assessments «not enough», «difficult to say whether enough or not», «enough», and «not interested».

It's also worth noting that to measure the integrated index of social well-being researchers use questionnaires, either in an expanded or abbreviated format. Since the study did not involve a survey method,

it was decided to judge the adequacy of each component of social well-being based on the sentiment of the analyzed document. A positive sentiment indicates adequacy, a negative sentiment indicates a lack of social benefits, and a neutral sentiment is equivalent to the responses «difficult to say» and «not interested», which were also combined and assigned the same score in the original methodology [Golovakha, Panina, Gorbachik, 1998, p. 50–51].

The next stage in the study involved selecting online communities for document collection within the social network VKontakte. A manual selection process conducted in March 2024 resulted in a list of 28 communities in Tula and the Tula region. Two groups were then excluded because they did not fit the «urban community» criteria. Communities were identified based on the following criteria:

1. A sufficiently large number of subscribers relative to the municipality's population as of 2023.

2. Activity and the presence of recently published posts at the time of selection.

When selecting communities, we primarily focused on finding online groups of the «urban community» type. Unlike newsgroups, urban online communities contain more emotionally charged posts. Below is a table showing the distribution of communities by administrative-territorial divisions of the Tula region.

Table 1

The number of communities belonging to the administrative-territorial units within the Tula region*

Name of the administrative-territorial unit	Number of communities
Tula	10
Novomoskovsk	2
Yasnogorsk	2
Aleksin	1
Kimovsk	1
Efremov	1
Kireevsk	1
Belev	1
Uzlovaya	1
Shchekino	1
Not defined	5

* Source: compiled by the authors.

The next step was to develop software code in Python 3 to automate extraction of information about communities and their publications, as well as to normalize texts for further analysis.

Data on the selected VKontakte communities was obtained using VK API methods accessed through the «requests» module. The groups.getById method was used to retrieve characteristics such as the number of community members, ID, city, and others. The wall.get method was used to generate a list of publications for each selected community, yielding the following: publication date and time, text and attachments (photos and videos), author ID, number of views, comments, likes, and reposts, and much

more. Full details on the returned fields can be found in the documentation on the social network's official website.

The total dataset downloaded from the selected communities consisted of 472,855 publications: the latest document was dated April 14, 2024, the earliest – March 3, 2009. To calculate the social well-being index, the total number of 52,810 records from 2023 were selected.

As part of the preliminary analysis, 1,197 documents published between 2024 and 2021 were selected from the entire dataset. The objectives of the preliminary analysis were as follows:

1. Associate the text of each publication with a category of social well-being within the chosen approach.

2. Identify two categories from which publications appear most frequently.

3. Compile dictionaries of social well-being markers for a specific category and supplement them with keywords if necessary.

As a result, among the documents analyzed: 581 publications were marked as «garbage» due to containing inappropriate statements, 268 publications were news, 25 were job postings, 14 were advertising texts, 13 were missing persons postings, and four were duplicates of previously encountered posts. The remaining documents were distributed among social well-being categories as follows (Fig. 1).
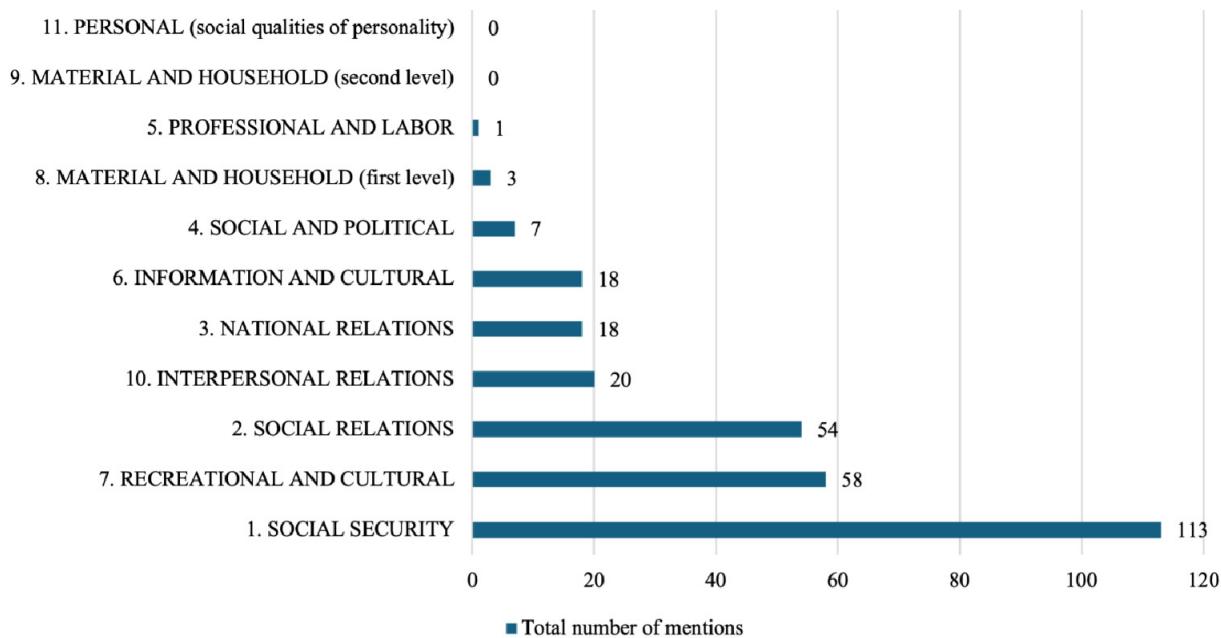
Fig. 1. Distribution of publications by categories of social well-being

* The integrated social well-being index has two material and household categories: levels 1 and 2. Level 1 includes: adequate housing, adequate clothing, ability to purchase essential food and furniture; level 2 includes: car, ability to eat according to one's tastes, fashionable and attractive clothing, and a garden plot.

Despite the fact that the recreational and cultural component of social well-being was in second place in terms of the number of publications, it was decided to conduct further analysis in the categories

of «social security» and «social relations», since the documents that fell into the category of «recreational and cultural» were neutral in nature and were more like announcements of cultural events.

To search for digital markers in the target array of documents, the text of publications was subjected to standard natural language processing procedures, which included:

1. Removing punctuation, hyphens, emojis, and any other additional symbols from the text.

2. Lowercase the text.

3. Tokenization and lemmatization.

The tokenization procedure is the division of the text into separate words and punctuation marks, if it has not been previously cleaned of them. The lemmatization procedure is the reduction of a word to its initial morphological form. Such processing simplifies the search for digital markers in text documents, since when compiling a dictionary, there is no need to use different forms of the same words, for example, declension forms of nouns, in order to take into account all possible variations of word forms.

The lemmatization procedure is often mentioned either together with or instead of the stemming procedure. Unlike lemmatization, in stemming, the basic form of a word is isolated by removing suffixes and endings. Below (Table 2) is an example illustrating the differences in stemming and lemmatization procedures on one of the selected publications.

Table 2

Comparison of the results of stemming and lemmatization procedures*

Cleaned text	Result of Stemming	Result of Lemmatization
масочный режим в учреждениях здравоохранения тульской области введен с сегодняшнего дня для посетителей и медицинского персонала	масочн реж в учрежден здравоохранен тульск област введ с сегодняшн дня для посетител и медицинск сонdownstream	масочный режим в учреждение здравоохранение тульский область ввести с сегодняшний день для посетитель и медицинский персонал

* Source: compiled by the authors.

In this work, the text of publications obtained after lemmatization appears to be the most convenient for searching for markers, and it is this text that is subsequently used to classify a document into a particular category of social well-being.

A search for markers from the dictionaries compiled for the categories «social security» and «social relations» yielded the following distribution of data (Figure 2): 20% of publications for 2023 fell into the «social security» category, 3% into the «social relations» category, 4% fell into both categories, and 73% were unclassified. Publications that did not fall into either social well-being category could be either «junk data» or those that could theoretically fall into the nine remaining categories.

The overlapping of categories within a single document may be due to the publication containing markers related to both categories of social well-being. This dataset will not be excluded from further analysis.

To determine the sentiment of messages, the dostoevsky library, designed for sentiment analysis of Russian-language texts, was used. The model used in this library was trained on the RuSentiment dataset, consisting of public posts from the social network VKontakte [RuSentiment…, 2018]. After processing the text, the model returns the probability with which the text belongs to a particular sentiment. The model's developers distinguish five sentiment categories: positive, negative, neutral, speech, and skip. The model skips posts in which the sentiment is difficult to determine, as well as jokes, meaningless statements, and texts not in Russian.

Publications in the category "social security" 20%

Publications in the category "social relations" 3%

Uncategorized publications 73%

Publications that fell into both categories 4%

■ Publications in the category "social security" ■ Publications in the category "social relations"
■ Publications that fell into both categories ■ Uncategorized publications
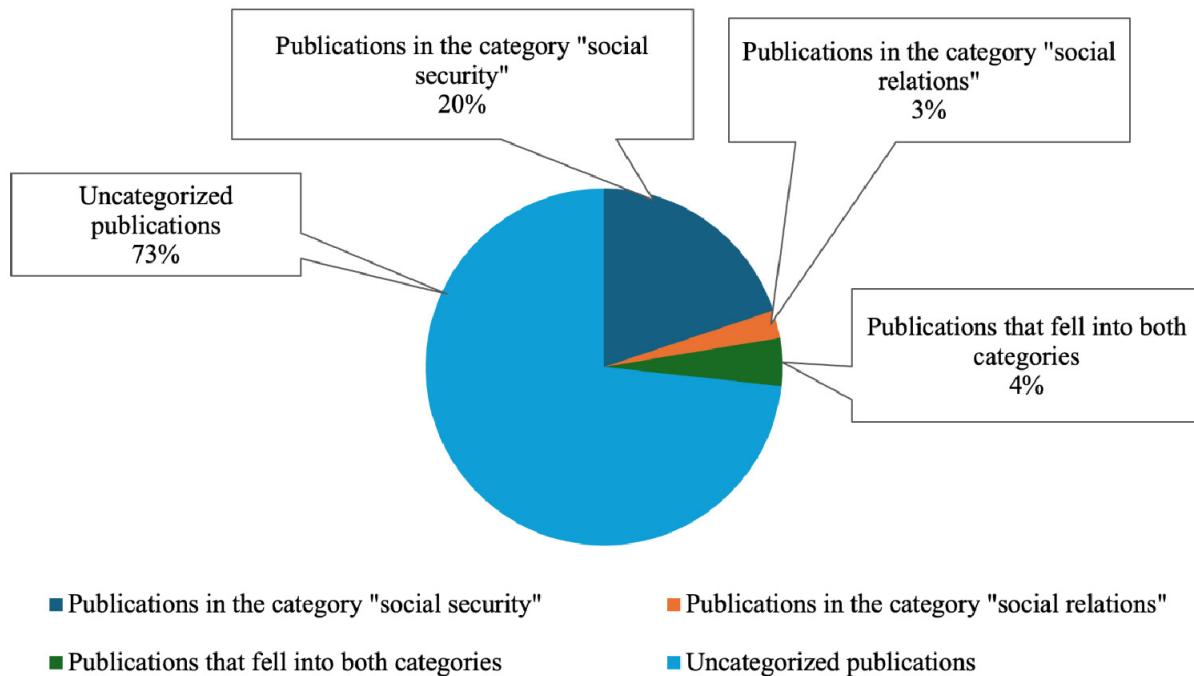
Fig. 2. Distribution of publications by categories of social well-being.

When processing text with the model, it is necessary to specify the parameter k, which takes values from 1 to 5 and shows the «confidence» of the model in the predicted sentiment. In this study, k = 1 was used to obtain one, the most probable, definition of sentiment. An increase in k in the calculations does not lead to a recalculation of the sentiment probability. When k = 2, the second most probable sentiment variant is given as a result of text processing, similarly, when k increases, the third, fourth, and fifth variants appear.

As a result of data processing, the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of publications was determined as neutral. In second place, but by a wide margin, are publications with a negative sentiment, with the exception of text documents in the «social relations» category. There, following the neutral sentiment, is a verbal statement (Fig. 3).

Next, the distributions of the number of publications and their sentiment by month in 2023 were compiled. Outbursts of activity are clearly well defined in publications with a neutral sentiment. Thus, most of the text documents in the 'social security' category fall on April and October 2023. At about the

same time, there is an increase in the number of publications in the 'social relations' category: May and November 2023. For publications in both categories, the peak of activity falls on March 2023.
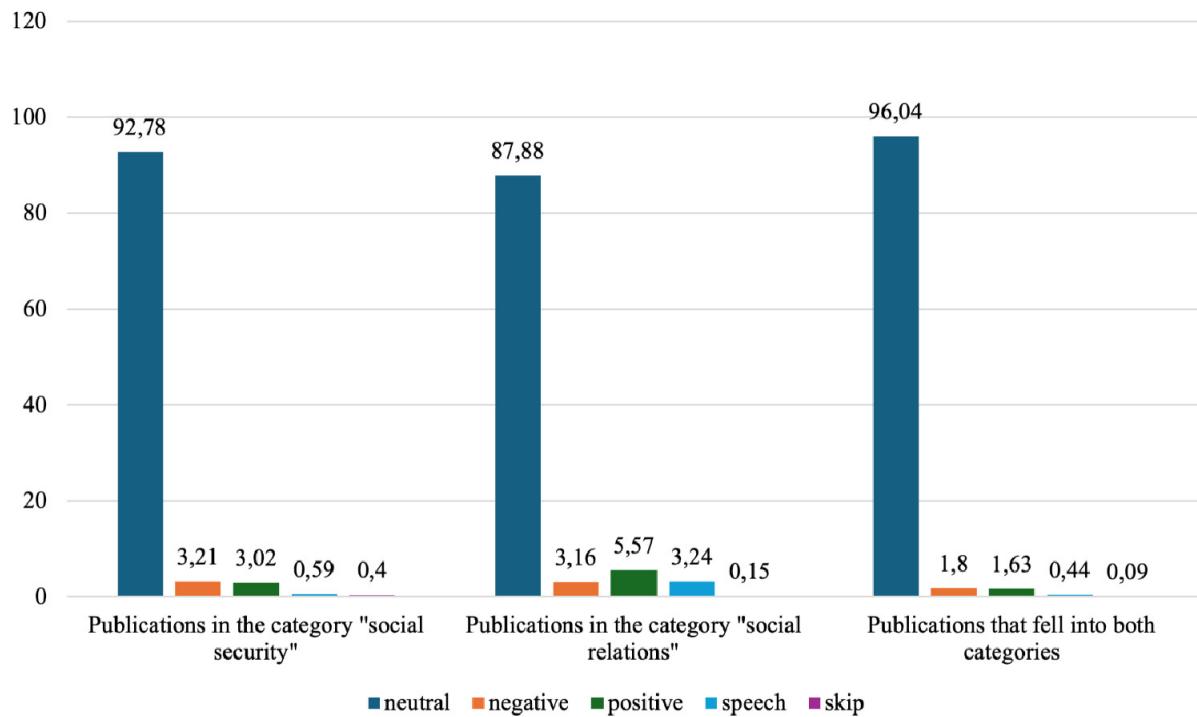
Fig. 3. Distribution of publications by sentiment within the category (relative indicators).
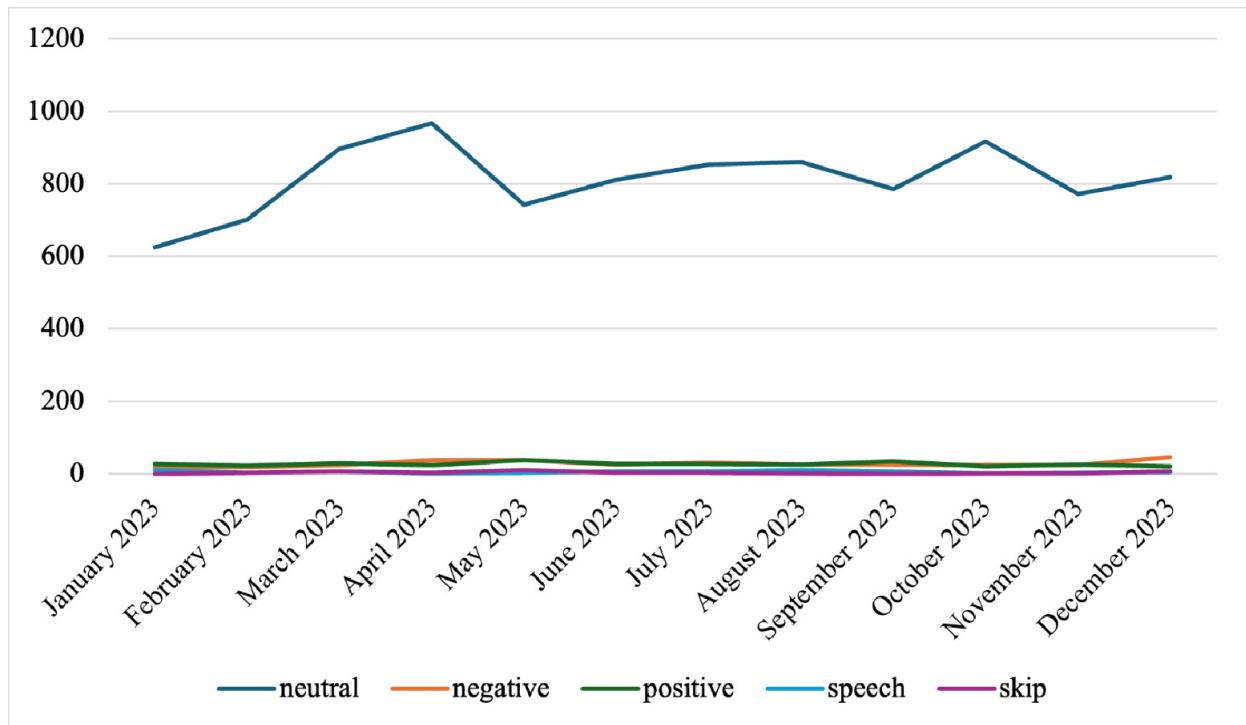
Fig. 4. Distribution of sentiment by month for publications in the «social security» category.
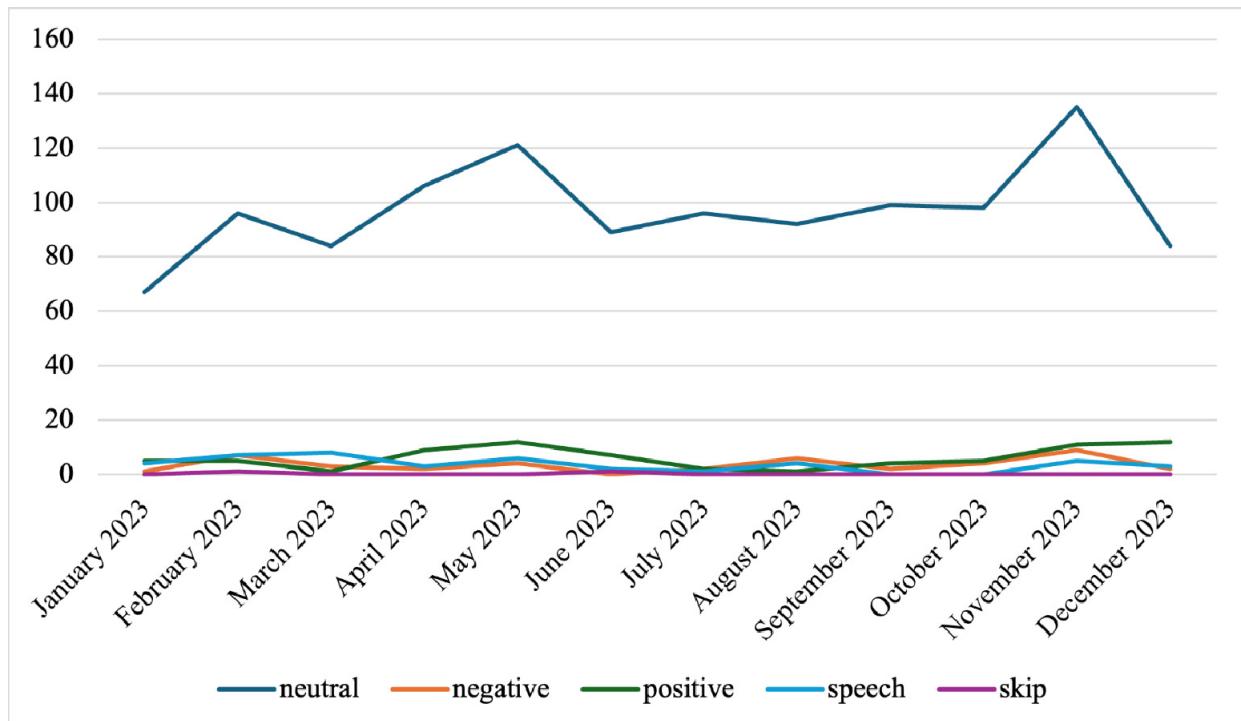
Fig. 5. Distribution of sentiment by month for publications in the «social relations» category.
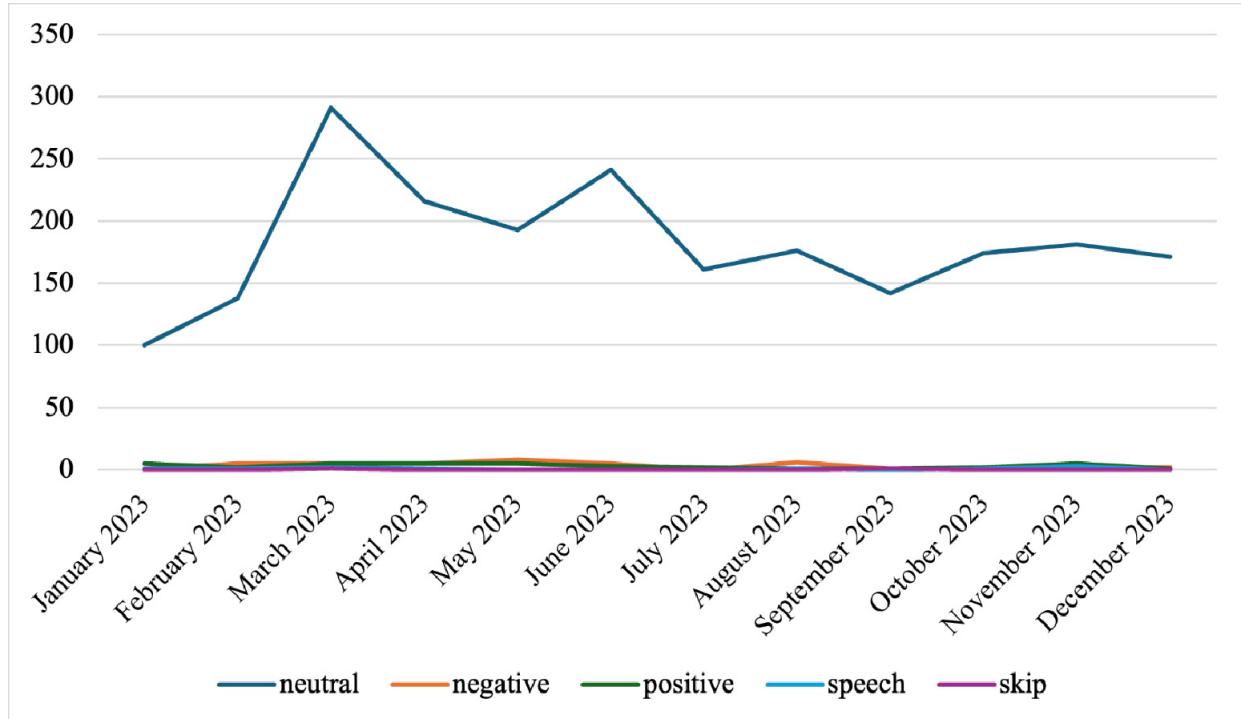
Fig. 6. Distribution of sentiment by month for publications that fell into both categories.

Results and discussion

Testing the methodology revealed several issues that require solutions to further improve cyber-metric procedures in analyzing social well-being using digital markers. The first issue concerns the ambiguous classification of a text document into a particular social well-being category. Even with non-overlapping marker dictionaries, a text document may contain keywords from several dictionaries. Perhaps the assumption that every text document can be unambiguously assigned to a specific social well-

being category is inherently flawed, and a more appropriate approach is to determine the probability of a publication belonging to each group from the existing set.

The second problem relates to sentiment determination. The overwhelming majority of documents were characterized as neutral, which makes it difficult to definitively assess social well-being within the categories studied. It was previously noted that, within the approach used, the adequacy of social benefits was determined by scale values: «sufficient», «insufficient», «difficult to say whether sufficient or not», and «not interested». It was assumed that the ratings «sufficient» and «insufficient» correspond to positive and negative sentiments, while neutrality corresponds to the remaining two. This creates a contradiction: on the one hand, the fact that a large number of publications fell into the categories of «social security» and «social relations» during the preliminary analysis suggests the importance of these topics in the daily lives of city residents; on the other hand, it is difficult to determine the explicit emotional connotations of statements contained in them. This may be a shortcoming of the model, which, despite considerable accuracy, fails to capture subtle emotional nuances in the text. One way to address this problem is by developing a custom model trained on data used to analyze social well-being and related indicators. A less radical, but still interesting, option is to consider another approach. The sentiment model used in this study, as well as models used in other studies, excludes emojis from the analysis, which are frequently used both in private messages with loved ones and in the public space of online communities. Python libraries exist that convert emojis to the word they represent. Since emojis represent various emotional reactions, explicitly referring to laughter, joy, anger, or sadness in a text can influence the sentiment of a text. Another extension of this method is the use of comments under a post, if any. Currently, they are excluded from the analysis as units of text and are considered more as an indicator of community member activity [Subjective Assessment of..., 2020, p. 92–93].

The third issue is the need for further research into the temporal distribution of publications. Even documents with a neutral sentiment exhibit peaks and troughs in activity, and, as a result, rises and falls in the number of posts in online communities. The current study did not identify the events that influenced fluctuations in publication activity. Special attention must be given to domestic and foreign policy events that impact online communities.

Another issue worth highlighting is a technical limitation related to the structure of the online community publication data obtained from the VKontakte social network. This limitation stems from the way the author of a publication is identified within the group. Most posts are published on behalf of the community, and actual authors of proposed entries may only be identified if they choose to forego anonymity. Of all the data collected for 2023, only 9,628 (18,23%) contained author information; the remaining 43,182 (81,77%) were published anonymously. This complicates the compilation of a demographic profile of authors. However, it remains possible to analyze the age and gender characteristics of community members as a whole.

Conclusion

In today's research landscape, there is a significant diversification of strategies and methods for collecting and analyzing empirical data. Practicing empiricists are increasingly using automated database accumulation and processing. Sociological research is one of the first areas of social and humanities knowledge to increasingly utilize automation, programming, and machine learning algorithms to study digital traces of social sentiment, attitudes, values, opinions, and, ultimately, social well-being. This article presents a specific empirical case that demonstrates the capabilities and limitations of software for measuring the social well-being of Tula residents based on their online network markers. Key advantages of this and other automated formats for collecting and processing data include the ability to conduct comprehensive analysis within the required timeframe and social media platform, time savings, high data accuracy, and the absence of negative human factors (fatigue, inaccuracy, and errors during data collection). Among the limitations of automated formats for analyzing social processes we find the inevitable simplification while verifying the studied characteristics, and sometimes the simplification of indicators of the measured parameters due to the need to develop an algorithm for extracting relevant information. The prospects for solving these problems lie in improving data collection and processing methods using machine learning (for example, supervised learning).

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THE POINT OF VIEW

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THE POTENTIAL OF CREATIVE CITY SPACES IN THE COMPETITION FOR TALENTED YOUTH (BASED ON SURVEY MATERIALS)

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Abstract. Modern cities develop creative spaces and industries to become more competitive in attracting talented and active youth. This article focuses on the potential and nature of creative spaces in Kazan, their relevance and popularity among young people. The real involvement of the city's youth ranges from passive consumption to active participation and strongly depends on accessibility, relevant offers and the efforts of management teams. In this regard, the development of the city's creative spaces goes hand in hand with implementing effective mechanisms for attracting young people.

Keywords: city; Kazan; student youth; creative space; creative industry; regional development.

Introduction:
the development of creative spaces and industries in modern megacities

The global socio-economic transformations observed today testify to the emergence of a fundamentally new paradigm of development. The creative potential of the population, intellectual resources and the ability to bring about innovations come to the fore, becoming the fundamental factors of economic growth and social well-being. This model is called the «knowledge economy» or «creative economy», in which the focus is shifted from traditional material factors to human capital. In a human-centered economy, ideas, innovations and the quality of the environment determine the sustainability of socio-economic dynamics. The successful development of territories increasingly depends on their ability to attract talent, stimulate creativity, create ecosystems and to generate and implement new ideas.

As a result, modern megacities are becoming centers for the formation of creative spaces and industries, and the presence of a creative cluster is an important factor in the attractiveness and competitiveness of the city. The development of the creative sector is turning into a new industrial policy, and the sector itself is becoming a catalyst that influences other areas of activity and increases their efficiency.

Young people are a special group of city residents, which to some extent can be considered as representatives of the creative class. They are most susceptible to innovations, global and local trends. The high proportion of young people in the population contributes to the transformation of the city into a center of scientific and creative education. The unique social capital created in this way is a resource for the formation and development of the socio-cultural environment. In turn, the city, as a «set of rotation points» [Zimmel', 2002, p. 112], by modernizing existing and creating new spaces, responds to the needs of various communities, integrating modern trends and technologies into urban infrastructure. At the same time, the competition of cities and regions on a global scale for human capital, especially for talented and mobile youth, is increasing.

Research and practical approaches to forming creative spaces

The competitive advantage of a city is determined by a combination of various factors. This can be a unique local identity, and economic specialization, established clusters and competencies, and key actors. Modern research and practice show how the complex and dynamic formation of creative spaces af-

fects the overall development of the city. The theories of the «creative city» by C. Landry and the «creative class» by R. Florida emphasize that the economic prosperity and attractiveness of a city in the post-industrial era are determined by its ability to accumulate and retain creative professionals – highly mobile, self-improvement-oriented and receptive to innovation [Florida, 2007, p. 100–110]. A key resource in this competition of cities is the presence of developed creative spaces, which act as a magnet for talent and a catalyst for innovation in related sectors.

In Russia, creative spaces are understood as «territories (often re-developed industrial facilities or specially created zones) intended for free creative interaction, cooperation, exchange of ideas and implementation of projects by creative industries and active citizens. They create infrastructure for generating and promoting creative products, developing human potential and forming communities» [Federal law ... , 2024]. Since January 2025, creative industries in the country have been recognized as a separate sector of the economy. Employees in this field and companies can receive financial, logistical and information support from the state [Federal law ... , 2024].

In theory, creative spaces can be considered as a kind of «third place». In the life of a city, such institutions as coffee shops, bars, clubs, fitness centers, parks, pedestrian zones and other «hangout» places are beginning to play an increasingly important role. Such institutions are centers of informal communication, recreation and self-realization of citizens, and ensure the formation of social ties between residents [Oldenburg, 2014, p. 225–75]. They provide residents with opportunities for learning and self-expression, are distinguished by freedom of access and space for the implementation of ideas, which allows them to be considered updated «third places» – unique centers of cultural interaction.

Creative spaces, according to M. Storper, can be the personification of the «genius of the place» (Genius Loci). The «genius of the place» is a person, enterprise or other entity that functions now or earlier and influences the overall appearance of a city, its recognition, image and direction of development. The «genius of the place» manifests itself in the features of economic trends, urban innovations, localization and perception of the city [Storper, 2018, p. 120–126].

Research shows that successful innovation depends on the high level of commitment and proactive stance of its purveyors [Genius loci..., 2024, p. 20–23]. Local elites and «genius loci»–authoritative leaders and influencers capable of setting the direction of development–play a special role in this regard. Innovative communities–networks of active actors who act as agents of innovation, capable of generating and implementing innovations–are also a significant factor determining a city's competitiveness. Sustainable city development and its claims to «smart» status are impossible without the active involvement of residents in shaping the environment and creating conditions for self-expression and cooperation [Ishkineeva, 2021, p. 143–157].

In turn, new ideas prove most viable when they organically transform, rather than destroy, existing local identities. Each city is unique in the combination of its local characteristics («genius loci») and the

influence of global trends («zeitgeist»). As economist L.E. Limonov notes, the «spirit of the times» generates a demand for new values and a wave of innovation [Genius loci..., 2024, p. 221], but only «where the 'genius loci' possesses the ability to mobilize. That is, where global trends can be used to unite the local community, understood not simply as a collection of residents, but as an 'imagined community' united by shared aspirations and identity» [Zhikharevich, 2024, p. 248]. As a result, a symbiosis of economy and culture emerges: sustainable innovation is ensured by the alignment of economic mechanisms and the cultural context of the territory. At the same time, the nature of the organization of creative spaces and their interaction with local communities is unique for each region.

According to A.A. Zhelnina, creative spaces are a kind of tool for the implementation and defense of the «right to the city» (a term coined by A. Lefebvre). The latter can be achieved through the use of space as a showcase for goods and services or by modifying the urban space itself. Creative spaces are divided by their origins into «initiative» spaces–a strategy pursued by enthusiasts–and «investment» spaces–business projects [Zhelnina, 2015, p. 45–59]. S.I. Prokhorov believes that creative spaces are formed for different purposes, but over time, they all function as business models for attracting resources. The researcher notes the special role of creative spaces in attracting tourists and investors to the city, as well as in shaping its positive image. Both full-fledged creative clusters and highly specialized creative spaces and event spaces are distinguished [Prokhorov, 2021, p. 107–109]. However, despite the specifics of their creation and operation, all types of creative spaces, in one way or another, become a significant resource for attracting creative youth and activating their participation in realizing the city's potential.

Creative spaces and industries in Kazan

Kazan is the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan (RT) and a major university hub, attracting thousands of young people. Here conditions are being created for the emergence and growth of creative industries, which are becoming part of the region's creative economy [The Republic of Tatarstan plans ..., 2024]. The unique local environment – its specific social structures, local interaction networks and established collective action practices, and the ability of local actors (representatives of republican and city governments, urban communities, and entrepreneurs) to effectively adapt a variety of innovations-are increasingly important in the city's development. This shapes the institutional landscape, which directly influences the quality of decision-making, as well as the region's receptivity to new ideas and its ability to implement innovations [Kazan on the rise..., 2025].

In this context, creative spaces (coworking spaces, art clusters, innovation centers, etc.) extend beyond simple cultural facilities. They are becoming a crucial tool in shaping Kazan's modern image, complementing and enlivening its traditional cultural and historical landmarks. These spaces are positioned not simply as «points on the map», but as the infrastructure of the future – places for brainstorming,

growth points for the new economy (especially creative industries and startups), platforms for developing contemporary culture and fostering social connections [Mobile and non-family ..., 2022].

Today's Kazan demonstrates a unique balance: a combination of respect for historical heritage with active creative exploration and openness to innovation. This synthesis creates a unique image of the city. The development of creative industries and targeted support for creative communities allow Kazan to establish itself not only as a custodian of centuries-old traditions but also as a dynamic center of innovation, contemporary culture, and advanced social practices, strengthening its position in the global competition for human capital and investment.

Another distinctive feature in the development of creative spaces in Kazan is the combination of proactive and investment strategies. The «initiative» strategy, formed from below, includes informal art clusters that have emerged in abandoned or unused buildings (often without initial government approval), as well as community clusters such as contemporary art galleries (Zaman, Okno), independent theater studios, literary clubs, artisan workshops, and coworking spaces for freelancers. This also includes festivals and temporary projects: initiatives such as street festivals, public art, and tactical urban projects (yard improvements by residents) can serve as a focal point for a community and attract the attention of authorities. At the same time, an «investment» strategy is being actively implemented, which includes projects initiated and supported by government bodies (national and municipal) as part of plans for regional development, tourism, and improving the city's image. Thus, the Center for the Development of Creative Industries in the Republic of Tatarstan among Youth, RE'ACTOR, plays a key role in supporting creative individuals, projects, and communities, as well as organizing educational programs and events that facilitate their promotion. At the same time, there is an active search for markers of local identity in unique, authentic forms that will be attractive for investment [Tatarstan will create..., 2025]. Business, in turn, participates in both strategies – as an investor in large-scale projects and as a partner in grassroots initiatives.

The resulting synergy allows Kazan to develop an attractive creative environment, attracting talented youth and strengthening the region's competitiveness. The city successfully positions itself as the «Third capital of Russia» and «Kazan – a city where cultures merge». These characteristics, combined with effective marketing and active infrastructure development, enhance the city's attractiveness as a destination for study, work, tourism, and investment.

Demand for creativity: results of a survey of Kazan students

Kazan students are a key consumer group and potential content creators for creative spaces. Therefore, this study focused on students as a group interacting or potentially interacting with creative spaces. The study was conducted from November 2024 to April 2025. The goal was to determine (through an online survey) the demand for creative spaces in Kazan among Kazan students (n=386). The survey in-

cluded 27 questions. The survey was distributed via Telegram, WhatsApp, and VKontakte. It focused on assessing the city's attractiveness, how often students visit creative spaces, and the reasons for choosing locations. The sample was formed using a quota method based on age (18–30), occupation (student), and place of residence prior to entering university (Kazan and out-of-town students). Respondents included students from various Kazan universities: Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University, Kazan Innovative University named after V.G. Timiryasov, and Kazan State Conservatory named after N.G. Zhiganov. Participant observation was used during the qualitative data collection stage, focusing on the most significant creative spaces for students (identified through a questionnaire).

The overwhelming majority of respondents (85%) rate Kazan positively, describing it as «comfortable», «offering a wide range of opportunities», «cozy», and «developed». Importantly, 67% of respondents plan to remain in the city after graduation.

The study identified five types of creative spaces in Kazan, based on their activities, goals, and operating format:

1. Multifunctional creative hubs adapted for a wide range of purposes (work, study, communication, creative activity). Examples of this type include the National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan, the Bashir Rameyev IT Park, and the «Baklazhan» anti-cafe.

2. Art clusters emerged as a result of the revitalization of industrial buildings. The reimagined spaces of the Smena Contemporary Art Center, the Alafuzov Factory, the Shtab Center, and the Bizon Gallery shift the focus to contemporary art, creative collaborations, and cultural projects.

3. Niche creative spaces offering specialized formats for individual interests: the Ugol Theatre Laboratory, the Uram Extreme Park, and the Minegames playground (for fans of board games and role-playing systems). This category also includes the eSports movement, represented by the «Godji Game» computer club chain and the «Artcore» cybercafe, which host tournaments and training sessions. All of these spaces are characterized by a focus on specific (unique) activities and interests.

4. Social and educational spaces: museums, universities, and lecture halls that offer master classes, lectures, and other educational events serve as creative spaces. Currently, such spaces not only facilitate the self-development of city residents but are increasingly creating conditions for community formation and networking.

5. Open-air urban spaces: parks, embankments, and squares. They become the stage for a variety of events: from city festivals (Gastrofestival, NUR, COMBOnation) and sports marathons to major international forums (Universiade, Future Games, sports championships, «New Wave»). These spaces (and the events held there) attract residents to participate in the city's cultural life, create an open urban environment, and promote the development of creative industries and investment potential.

The diversity of spaces (multifunctional, art clusters, specialized, educational, and outdoor) offers a wide range of opportunities – from recreation and networking to professional self-realization and creative

experimentation. Success cases (IT Park, Smena, Shtab, and Uram) demonstrate that creative spaces, especially those created through the revitalization of industrial zones, not only enliven the urban environment but also become powerful talent magnets. They are attractive to out-of-town students and have also become a factor in curbing the region's «brain drain» by providing diverse opportunities for young people to realize their potential.

Each type of space meets the specific needs of different youth groups. Young people's attitudes toward urban creative spaces and their actual participation are key to the success of individual locations and initiatives. However, this also lies at the core of the problem: existing spaces are still failing to deeply engage this demographic. According to a survey of student youth, the main criteria for choosing creative spaces are: the opportunity to spend time with friends (76%), an attractive interior and atmosphere (55.5%), and a convenient location (55%). Opportunities for work (24.4%) and hobbies (14%) were less important to respondents. The overwhelming majority of students (80%) come to such spaces for relaxation and entertainment. More than half (55%) seek inspiration, 35.4% value them for the opportunity to socialize and network, and only 30% of respondents are motivated by study and self-development.

The overwhelming majority of visitors to creative spaces in Kazan are passive consumers (64%), using cafes/food courts or relaxing in public areas (walking, concerts, exhibitions, lectures, festivals, and shops). Only a third of respondents (27%) are active participants: they regularly participate in interest clubs (book, language, and gaming), volunteer at events, and participate in discussions and initiatives. Among them, residents/users predominate, using the spaces for their professional or creative activities (hosting their own workshops, rehearsals, and shows), content creators, and organizers: young curators, event managers, musicians, artists, and entrepreneurs who create events and projects and bring life to the space. The potential for the development of creative industries is often associated with this group.

Despite their professed inclusivity, a significant portion of Kazan's creative spaces recreate an elitist image due to expensive formats and a narrow target audience. The high cost of participating in events, renting workspaces, or training places makes them inaccessible to young people from low-income groups. Not all creative spaces provide transparent, understandable, and effective mechanisms to facilitate the transition from mere presence to active collaboration, the implementation of individual projects, and participation in innovative activities. Sustainable, effective mechanisms for supporting youth startups in the form of funding and legal support are lacking. Furthermore, creative industries require skills that students and university graduates entering the workforce do not always possess. For a large portion of young people, this is a significant barrier to participation. Finally, young people in the creative industries often work freelance or informally without social benefits.

As a result, the declared potential of creative spaces often conflicts with the actual skills, cultural background, or access to the necessary technologies of potential participants from various social groups. In fact, the most active participants and beneficiaries of creative urban spaces are those who already pos-

sess a certain social, cultural, or economic capital, forming a kind of «closed club». Those who need support and opportunities most risk being left behind or limited to the role of passive spectators, content consumers, and participants in one-off events. Due to a lack of grant support and media visibility, some youth initiatives remain unfulfilled. The attracted audience does not transform into a sustainable community of active creators capable of generating valuable cultural and economic products.

These limitations result in fragmented exploitation of the potential of creative spaces. Insufficient collaboration with universities and continuing education programs deprives creative spaces of new recruits and hinders the transition of young people from studies to practical work. Furthermore, information about professional development opportunities, internships, grants, or residency programs within the creative ecosystem is often opaque or inaccessible to a wide range of users. Young talent, especially from the periphery or less affluent backgrounds, simply doesn't know how to take advantage of them. Additional efforts are needed to transform creative spaces into functioning social mobility platforms and to establish effective mechanisms for youth engagement in the city's socioeconomic and cultural spheres. Only then will declarations of inclusivity become tangible practices, and creative spaces become the true infrastructure of the future for all city residents.

Conclusion

In the context of the «knowledge economy», creative spaces and industries are a crucial tool for attracting and retaining talented young people, serving as a strategic resource and investment into the future. The effectiveness of this approach is confirmed by the fact that the overwhelming majority of students surveyed (85%) evaluate Kazan positively, citing its comfort and the opportunities it offers.

A key indicator of success in attracting young people is their desire to connect their future with the city. The presence of creative spaces partially curbs the «brain drain». Successful examples (IT Park, Smena, and Uram in Kazan) demonstrate their role in revitalizing the urban environment, shaping a cultural code and an attractive image.

However, the potential of creative spaces as a tool for truly integrating young people into the city's economic and cultural spheres is not fully realized. As the survey showed, the defining form of participation is passive consumption, with the main purposes of visiting being recreation and entertainment. The study identified significant barriers preventing visitors from becoming a sustainable community of content creators and limiting the social function of creative spaces: elitism and financial inaccessibility for some young people, a lack of skills and transparent support mechanisms, weak connections with educational institutions, and a lack of transparency about opportunities within the ecosystem.

The key development trend for Kazan's creative spaces is their evolution from mere attractions for passive consumption into a functioning infrastructure for genuine creativity, ensuring accessibility and support for talented young people from all social groups. Developing a creative cluster for Kazan means

creating not only infrastructure but also the conditions for its use. The success of these strategies will be determined by the integration of global trends («spirit of the times») with a unique local identity («genius loci») and the creation of an environment for generating innovation through dialogue between cultures and communities. A balance must be struck between commercial efficiency, social mission, and the authenticity of creative spaces. This will turn them into catalyst of urban transformation, improving quality of life and the region's competitiveness in the competition for human capital.

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THE SYMBOLIC CAPITAL OF INHABITED PLACES AS A RESOURCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES[1]

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Abstract. This article analyzes the results of projects aimed at developing territories and attracting the attention of communities to local symbolic resources, implemented in Nizhny Novgorod and two rural municipal districts of the Nizhny Novgorod region. The diverse formats of involvement, group interaction for the transfer of skills, mastering techniques for working with territorial symbols by local communities through interdisciplinary educational and outreach programs, research expeditions and laboratories are discussed, in which symbolic capital serves as the basis for the design of business chains based on local identity and including local symbols in the heritage economy. The patterns of forming creative startups around the manifested symbols are generalized, the most popular types of entrepreneurial activities and initiatives in the field of creative industries are identified.

Keywords: symbolic resources; local communities; interdisciplinary research.

Introduction

Intangible, symbolic resources and objects of historical and cultural heritage remain a relevant research topic due to the increased public attention to creative economy. The Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of 20.09.2021 N 2613-r approved the «Concept for the development of creative industries of the Russian Federation and mechanisms for the implementation of their state support in large and largest urban agglomerations until 2030» (hereinafter referred to as the «Concept»). In accordance with the terminology adopted in it, «the creative economy is a type of economy based on the capitalization of intellectual property in all areas of human activity – scientific, technical, cultural and, in general, creative activity», and «creative industries are areas of activity in which companies, organizations, associations and individual entrepreneurs, in the process of creative and cultural activity, disposal of intellectual property, produce goods and services that have economic value, including ensuring the formation of a harmoniously developed personality and an increase in the quality of life of Russian society» [Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation …, 2021].

Part of the creative economy is the «heritage economy», and «creative industries include, among others, industries based on the use of historical and cultural heritage (folk arts and crafts, museum activities)» [Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation …, 2021]. To implement the Concept, a draft federal law «On the development of creative industries in the Russian Federation» was prepared in the first reading [Draft law N 474016-8 ..., 2023]. However, despite the regulatory documents adopted and prepared in the country, not all concepts valid in the context of the creative economy have received an unambiguous interpretation. The latter include terms such as «symbolic capital» and «symbolic resources».

It should be remembered that ideas about symbolic capital are discussed in detail in theory and are the subject of interdisciplinary discourse in professional scientific circles. However, there are no standard procedures to transfer symbolic capital from the subject of theoretical reasoning to the practical sphere of local communities, entrepreneurial initiatives and systemic support programs from public authorities. The question remains how to involve representatives of the sacramental triangle «business-power-society» in the process of the so-called «express professionalization» of heritage conservation and management.

This paper attempts to present both theoretical approaches to the concept of symbolic capital and symbolic resources, and the possibilities of their practical use for the socio-economic development of certain territories, using the example of projects implemented in the Nizhny Novgorod region.

Theoretical ideas about symbolic capital

The concept of a symbol is associated with the concept of an «image», which is used in the scientific sense within the framework of humanitarian geography, called imaginary or figurative [Zamyatin, 2005, p. 11]. «Mythogeography» stands the closest to this direction [Mitin, 2004].

In turn, the concept of «symbolic capital» is a subject of interdisciplinary scientific knowledge and is used in domestic literature in cultural, sociocultural, philosophical, urban, geographical, economic, managerial, marketing, and investment contexts. The latter are due to the emergence of a new competence – «heritage manager» – a skill to «package» and capitalize on meanings and symbols for a brand, development strategy, attracting investments to a specific territory. For instance. G.L. Tul'chinskii wrote that «an image forms the foundation for basic consumer motives» and connects local symbols with the branding of territories [Tul'chinskii, 2013, p. 279].

N.G. Fedotova defines the symbolic capital of a place as «an accumulation of significant elements (meanings) of a territory that offers recognition, fame, prestige, and trust from various social groups» [Fedotova, 2018, p. 142]. She points at difficulties at objectively measuring the symbolic capital of a territory «due to its symbolic nature» [Fedotova, 2018, p. 142].

In this context we could also use the term and methodology for analyzing «cultural and symbolic resources of the territory» [Zamyatin, 2010, p. 129]. Later, it was supplemented by practical cases in implementing programs and projects of the Business Club «Heritage Economics» in Yaroslavl and other cities of Russia [About the club, 2024].

In this paper, we will adhere to the definition of the symbolic capital of a city refers to symbolic resources, material objects and intangible symbols, including: dates, events, famous and interesting people, «genius loci», historical landmarks, events, markets, goods, legends and tales, gastronomic «brands», animals, plants, connections, smells, historical and cultural monuments, architecture, museums, myths and legends, music, oral memory, toponymy, craft traditions and trades, artistic practices, etc. The structure of symbolic capital can be divided into two parts [Fedotova, 2018, p. 144]:

a) territory recognition – identification potential that provides recognition and fame of a territory, association of a place with certain images (characters, monuments, nature, brands, etc.);

b) positive territory assessment – the potential for prestige and trust, providing territory with positive associations, values and increased ratings, a positive reputation (for example, an environmentally friendly city).

The symbolic capital of a city is important in developing projects related to local creative sectors, and symbolic resources give rise to unique competitive advantages (UCA), unique selling proposition (USP) and unique semantic chains in the Product-Service-System (PSS) that have proven themselves in classical business. By turning to symbolic capital, the tangible and intangible heritage are connected, and

the process of «extracting» or «unpacking» modern meanings takes place, in which emotions, experiences and impressions associated with a specific place are expressed.

Despite the fact that the symbolic capital of a territory «reflects the idea of its significance, the value of its inherent properties from the point of view of the value system of a particular community» [Zamyatina, 2016, p. 116], it is not always easy to articulate this value, evaluate it, and design the corresponding business chains. Even local communities that «look after» a particular symbol of a place, including professional representatives of cultural and educational institutions, as well as various territorial development agencies, not to mention representatives of public authorities and businesses, often have vague ideas about how to work with symbolic resources, why and in what to invest, when dealing with mythical symbols.

What are the obvious problems of involving symbolic capital in practical life:

– general lack of understanding of symbolic heritage's economic value and resource in society, business and government;

– low investment attractiveness of symbolic resources due to the lack of skills in working with images;

– poor awareness of potential participants about opportunities and measures to support such projects;

– multi-level tasks due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study of symbolic capital;

– difficulty synchronizing requests and actions of the main participants (representatives of business, government, society);

– lack of a clear model for launching a business chain based on a symbol.

In this context, a «chain» is understood as «a sequence of infrastructure and service elements that reveal an idea and that are based on one main symbol» [Oinas, 2023].

We should not forget that «using symbolic resources is a significant and at the same time low-cost marketing method for attracting guests to a region. Symbolic resources promoted to potential consumers are a genuine competitive advantage for a territory that is capable of creating an attractive image of a region even with modest financial capabilities» [Shirinkin, 2016, p. 72]. Therefore, the discourse on the need to train skilled personnel to work with symbolic heritage is very pragmatic.

How Nizhny Novgorod develops symbolic capital

In Nizhny Novgorod, the first step to systemic development and preservation of symbolic and historical-cultural heritage was made in 2016 as a result of the gradual familiarization of local activists with heritage management and the methodology of D.B. Oinas[1] at the venues of the «Future of the City» fo-

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[1] Co-author of the famous Kolomna economic miracle «on marshmallow» for the capitalization of cultural heritage (for more details, see: [Kolomensky creative cluster ..., 2022]).

rum, as well as within the framework of the project session «Why do we need this Gorky?», dedicated to the role of Maxim Gorky as a symbol and local celebrity (was timed to coincide with the 150th anniversary of his birth and organized by the author on the basis of the Maxim Gorky Memorial Museum), with the participation of the interested local creative businesses, representatives of the city's Department of Culture and expert, local history communities. Each group worked with its own moderator and considered individual aspects: what exactly the symbol of Maxim Gorky can mean for the museum, for business and for the city. In particular, the following range of issues was outlined.

Tasks for the museum:

– how to turn the symbolic resource of Maxim Gorky into a relevant museum brand;

– how to turn a museum brand into an effective economic tool;

– what the industrial chain of a brand consists of;

– how to form a line of unique museum and commercial products, services, and goods for a brand;

– how to attract new categories of visitors, clients and retain old ones;

– how to build effective partnerships between commercial and non-profit sectors and jointly develop the symbolic and economic basis of a brand.

Tasks for business:

– how today it is possible to capitalize on the symbolic resource of Maxim Gorky and how on its basis to create a unique selling proposition, develop lines of modern products, services, and goods;

– how a specific business can promote these lines and how it can interact with other commercial structures in a territory so that, by supporting each other, they form sustainable business chains and increase overall capitalization;

– how on this basis to attract new categories of clients and retain old ones;

– how to increase brand (trade) recognition by using the writer's legacy with local flavor;

– how to effectively build partnerships, interact on a mutually beneficial and long-term basis with non-profit organizations and budgetary cultural institutions to use the information they store and collect for marketing and other purposes.

Tasks for the city:

– how to make Maxim Gorky's legacy a significant resource for city development today;

– which target groups may be interested in this;

– how to use the resource of Gorky's anniversary to launch permanent partnership schemes between different participants;

– how to effectively promote the city at the Russian and international levels using Gorky as the symbol;

– what actions and by whom should be taken to create the most favorable conditions for initiatives associated with Maxim Gorky.

The decisions made at the session were implemented in the Gorky Museum, as well as in the activities of travel companies, excursion bureaus, local producers of souvenirs and restaurateurs; historical menus were also designed in restaurants and some historical recipes were restored, such a project as the «Gorky Christmas Tree» began to be held annually within the city, etc.

Summing up the results of this project session, the participants noted the following components of its success:

– a successful campaign to invite participants;

– an inspiring example and «toolkit», the presented methodology by the speakers;

– professional moderation of group work;

– a mixed composition of participants;

– high motivation and maximum involvement of everyone in joint activities, the desire to adopt first-hand techniques for working with symbolic resources.

However, one project seminar cannot attract the attention of local communities and creative businesses to symbolic resources. To systematically include symbolic capital in the heritage economy at the regional level, it is necessary to consider the territory as a socio-ecological-economic system with sustainable development, which unites the economic, socio-cultural and environmental points of view through interdependent and mutually subordinate areas of a single whole. The transition to the trajectory of sustainable development requires that all participants transform their activities, including:

– involving communities of both co-authors and beneficiaries in their design;

– searching for new ways and forms of unification and cooperation;

– awareness of the expanding boundaries of the territory and its role;

– understanding the goals of development of the territory and the needs of its residents;

– formation of new environmental and social standards;

– implementation of mechanisms of social communication and trust.

In this regard, it is important to involve and train representatives of different fields trades in using social capital. For this purpose, interdisciplinary research and special events or programs, various workshops, expeditions and laboratories can be used. Moreover, this a lengthy process. Three areas seem to be the most productive: cultural heritage sites (CHS) and their symbols; «local celebrities» – local heroes and symbols; landmarks of the territory as a whole and populated areas (municipal districts).

Chronologically, in Nizhny Novgorod, the symbolic capital of the city's historic quarter was developing as follows:

– communication platforms in the city from 2016 to 2019: heritage economics trainings for volunteers and activists for the author of the «Kolomna economic miracle» D.B. Oinas; setting up an active urban heritage conservation community;

– holding the Tom Sawyer Fest (TSF) festival of historical environment restoration since 2018 (at the initiative of the developer), popularization of Maxim Gorky theme and the «Historical Quarters» territory;

– formation of an open organizing committee, a request for year-round systematic activities outside the TSF and the institutionalization of private initiative (transition from the TSF project to the autonomous non-profit organization (ANCO) «Historical Quarters»), creating regional legislation and support measures to motivate investors – 2019 [Decree of the Government ..., 2022];

– involvement of experts, preparation of the concept of the partner ANCO and its successful promotion to the Government of the Nizhny Novgorod Region – 2020;

– establishment by the Government of the Nizhny Novgorod Region and the ANCO «Historical Quarters» of a joint ANCO «Agency for the Preservation and Development of the Historical Environment of the Nizhny Novgorod Region» (ANCO «ASIRIS»), hiring staff from the volunteer asset of the TSF and transfer of cultural heritage sites to it – 2021;

– development of the «single window» principle for investors and the model of recreational and tourism activities in ANCO «ASIRIS» – 2020. The latter is based on the economic model for the development of iconic (attractors) and ordinary objects of the historical environment based on the capitalization of local heritage. The working formula for the capitalization of local heritage is as follows: cultural heritage site + product or service with history = museum product (which creates a point of attraction and forms a tourist flow) and museum service;

– formation of a creative cluster in the «Historical Quarters» and the concept of the management company – 2022;

– incorporating the case in a network educational program with the participation of universities, scaling up the concept to ten municipalities of the Nizhny Novgorod Region – 2023–2024;

– organization of the club for owners of historical real estate in the Public Organization «Business Russia» – autumn 2023;

– setting up a community of graduates of the network program «Heritage Leaders», establishment of inter-municipal horizontal connections – May 2024;

– transformation of the territory and projects of the «Historical Quarters» into the most visited tourist locations in Nizhny Novgorod (along with the Kremlin and the Nizhny Novgorod Fair).

A unifying slogan for members of the urban conservation community, volunteers of the TCF movement in the urban context was «our city rights». In Russia, residents have the right to participate in the processes of choosing and improving public spaces, in initiative budgeting. According to the author, the actual content of the «our city rights» is broader and more complex – these are different forms of self-organization and participation of residents in city development at the partner level, participation in the

development, implementation and control of such decisions on the principle «Nothing for us – without us!».

Thus, as a result of the joint activities of ANCO «ASIRIS» of entrepreneurial, local lore, expert, urban protection and other local communities in the Nizhny Novgorod region, a request is formed to «unpack» historical, natural symbols and meanings, give them new functions and involve them in economic activities through the use in creative projects and startups. In response to these requests, the legal field is developing, including the development of a regional regulatory framework to support businesses working with cultural heritage sites and the organization of public-private partnerships in this area [Decree of the Government ..., 2022].

In this process, ANCO «ASIRIS» plays the role of a management company for humanitarian reasons. With the support of universities and the Corporate University of the Government of the Nizhny Novgorod Region (CUGNN), it was possible to form a program of advanced training in the field of heritage economics in the form of a special educational intensive – the network project «Heritage Leaders». The latter was also used to scale and transfer the successful experience of the pilot project – the development of the historical quarter around the church of the «Three Saints» in Nizhny Novgorod, in ten municipal districts of the Nizhny Novgorod region (from 2023 to the present [Work status ..., 2023]). After completing the training, its graduates can keep in touch and discuss the possibility of joint actions or projects (including applying for a grant for a network project that unites several territories). It has already been noted in the literature that awareness, the need and willingness to unite are considered as a manifestation of solidarity in society [Guzhavina, 2018, p. 261]. Graduates of the Heritage Leaders program are distinguished not only by their responsibility for the local project they have undertaken, but also by their initiative, desire for innovation and readiness to unite to achieve great goals, thus demonstrating a high level of readiness for solidarity.

Methodological approaches to utilizing symbolic capital in the Nizhny Novgorod region

The growing involvement of symbolic capital involvement in the Nizhny Novgorod region's economy needed an approved approach and methodology which are described below.

The purpose of the presented interdisciplinary study is to prove that when applying interpretation methods and associative links, as well as with a certain motivation of project participants, symbolic capital can serve as a universal resource and a means of transforming the territory. Already there are successful cases of studying, teaching, and using symbolic capital in the Vachsky and Voskresensky municipal districts of the Nizhny Novgorod region.

The geography of the study is related to the author's personal participation in the following urban expeditions, educational and research projects: a) expeditions of employees and students of the Faculty of Geography of Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov in the Voskresensky district of the

Nizhny Novgorod region in February and June 2023 [Research by young geographers, 2023, p. 151]; b) the network educational program «Heritage Leaders», implemented by ANCO «ASIRIS»; c) in the formation of the creative cluster «Filigree Kingdom» in the Vachsky municipal district of the Nizhny Novgorod region in May 2023 and in the further support of this project in the field of heritage economy at present [Chesnokov, 2024].

The study focused on interdisciplinary aspects of creating teams and startups in the heritage economy and creative industries based on local symbols (identified during research expeditions, laboratories, educational projects, and awareness-raising activities in the above territories). The working hypotheses of the study assumed the following.

1. The tasks of territorial development require a high degree of participation of residents in the development and implementation of projects related to local identity and unique symbolic resources.

2. Local entrepreneurs and activists, local communities (if any) and municipal administrations usually lack the skills to capitalize on symbolic heritage and develop a creative economy on its basis.

3. Most often, local communities remain unaware of the opportunities offered by symbolic resources and additionally need not only technology for working with heritage, but also an outside view of this heritage from experts with professional training.

4. The locality-bound and «parochial» view on opportunities offered by the symbolic capital among local activists predetermine the implementation of projects, as a rule, within the boundaries of a specific settlement or municipality and rarely extending beyond them.

5. In joint project activities and research work, local representatives of business, government and the local community can get acquainted with heritage management and experts (having experience in territorial development through the implementation of creative projects, an interdisciplinary approach to symbolic capital, skills in moderation and facilitation in group work), which allows to formulate project ideas and create teams, as well as to build horizontal relationships between them within each territory and between projects and teams from different territories.

The research strategy logically derived from the interdisciplinary approach demanded to study symbolic capital and combined quantitative, qualitative and comparative analyses. The interdisciplinary logic, in turn, was directly linked to the object under study – «the epistemology of this knowledge is based on its «environmental» model: contextual research, i.e. included in the dynamic context of culture, time and circumstances... The conflict of development and preservation, production and reproduction, global and local, unifying «flow» and unique culture of a «place» are the key problems of IDR (interdisciplinary) research» [Yanitskii, 2018, p. 126]. The research may include mapping the symbolic resources of territories, extracting meanings from them and interpreting them for use in business chains (for which the so-called «Chamomile of Meanings» is applicable – the method by D.B. Oinas [Oinas, 2022]).

The information data base was collected by different ways: analysis of statistical data from open sources, media, documents and information provided by municipal administrations; work in archives; data from expert, group and individual express and in-depth interviews; included and unsystematic observation; personal participation of the author in the development of goals, technical assignments and working hypotheses of expeditions, strategic sessions, workshops; results of questionnaires of participants of training programs and open local public events. It is necessary to note the combination of research methods with various options of educational and enlightening (open public lectures, film screenings) and interactive formats (round tables, moderated discussions, strategic sessions, work in groups), as well as public events – open holidays (art festival, free market, psycho-picnic, impromptu concert, daytime disco).

Some results of the conducted research, during which the development opportunities of the Nizhny Novgorod region using symbolic resources, creative potential and local identity were elicited, are presented in earlier publications of the author [Kruze, 2023] and other participants of the listed projects. This paper presents the results of the study and use of symbolic resources in two municipal districts of the region (obtained during the expedition of the Faculty of Geography of Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov and the formation of the creative industries cluster «Filigree Kingdom»).

The objectives of the urban studies and implemented projects included the search for additional symbols that can unite an initiative community or project team around themselves, and increase the symbolic capital of the territories. In addition to the actual analysis of symbolic resources, an inventory of local communities was conducted, their commitment to symbolic resources and cultural heritage sites was studied, as well as the influence of natural objects and historical, cultural, and architectural heritage on creative entrepreneurial projects and initiatives in gastro-branding, folk art and crafts (FAC), decorative and applied arts (DAA), visual arts and new media.

The study of social resources and prospects of individual territories in the Nizhny Novgorod region

Not to over-complicate the article with the description of detailed economic and geographical position of each of the territories under study, we note the relatively low popularity of the municipal districts of the Nizhny Novgorod region as tourist locations and the presence in each of them of at least one symbol with which the district can be stably associated: Voskresensky municipal district – Lake Svetloyar, Vachsky municipal district – Kazakovskaya filigree. Below we briefly outline the results obtained.

The study of factors and prospects for creative industries in rural areas in the Voskresensky municipal district of the Nizhny Novgorod region began with a study of documents in the public domain – the website of the municipal district administration [Website of the administration…, 2024], as well as an encyclopedia about the district, published before the municipal reform of 2014 [Encyclopedia ..., 2014].

Voskresensky municipal district in the Nizhny Novgorod region. The expedition of the Department of Economic and Social Geography of Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov to Nizhny

Novgorod region planned to focus on urbanism and development of territories, education, enlightenment and civic science, social sphere and social capital of the territory, symbolic resources, cultural and historical heritage and their capitalization through creative projects and businesses. The program was flexible and capable of helping with requests from local authorities and business and public groups, was free in selecting research methods, ready to incorporate new impressions and experience of participants, various cultural and educational events.

The expedition, formed to study the socio-economic resources of the territory, was aimed at: a) searching for new non-standard directions for rural development; b) identifying the prerequisites for the formation of a more diverse labor market in the district; c) studying «growth points» capable of increasing the investment potential and attractiveness of the district, primarily Lake Svetloyar (a natural monument of federal significance located on the territory of the district), as well as other cultural, historical and natural resources; d) determining the main directions in developing the district, increasing its competitiveness, taking into account the balance between innovations and traditional way of life.

The expedition had a comprehensive nature – as an educational fieldwork, during which the participants practiced the skills of conducting focus groups, sociological surveys, conducting in-depth interviews, organizing filming in the field, etc. – and a type of intellectual leisure, during which the participants received information about the history of Povetluzhye and Zavetluzhye, immersed themselves in the atmosphere of the taiga, lakes, estates, participated in meetings, round tables, discussions, immersive excursions and performances. It should be noted that the integrative model of leisure activity is fully described by the concept of «intellectual leisure» proposed by J. Kelly (cited in: [Andreeva, 2014, p. 13]). In turn, intellectual leisure involves both the consumption and creation of cultural goods.

Volunteers from the Nizhny Novgorod Region took an active part in the expedition – members of the expert community, representatives of creative industries, self-employed craftsmen, managers and employees of local governments, cultural institutions, education, NGOs and businesses. All participants in the expedition were excited about the opportunity to find new prospects for the development of the district. This was the goal of the study – an attempt to offer the forest area non-standard development path based on its rich historical and cultural heritage, unique natural sites, symbolic resources and investment potential, and the development of creative industries. Detailed information about the methodology and results of the expedition can be found in [Research by young geographers, 2023, p. 163]. The results of the study are structured in the following sequence.

1. Brief information on the resources of the research area: economic and geographical position and natural resources; transport and engineering infrastructure; social infrastructure; tourist infrastructure.

2. The population of the area as a resource for the development of creative industries: history of settlement; settlement system; human capital and labor resources; seasonal population and downshifting.

3. Classical economy as a basis for creative economy: structure of the local budget; the impact of agriculture, forestry and tourism on the economy of the area and the development of creative industries.

4. Symbolic resources and social capital of the district: social capital and self-organization of the population; symbolic resources of the territory – historical heritage and crafts, brands and images.

5. Territorial aspect in creative industries development: formation of creative clusters; analysis of promising territories.

Regarding creative projects based on symbolic resources, the expedition participants noted the following:

– prospects for gastronomic branding, which «provides opportunities for organizing and developing creative industries in the Voskresensky District. The main problem for gastronomic branding of the territory is to find and create unique and attractive recipes that can distinguish fish and berry dishes from similar ones that are ubiquitous throughout the Non-Black Earth Region» [The influence of creative industries ..., 2023, p. 161];

– development of folk crafts related to wood. «Historically, wickerwork, wood carving, flax weaving, matting production, Shadrinsk painting on spinning wheels, pottery, cooperage, tar-making, etc. developed. The once-existing chest craft with its center in the village of Raskat was considered unique. Active development of tourism in the region gave impetus to the revival of crafts. Development of original souvenir products and cultural education may help increase the tourist flow, related branches of business in the hospitality sector can develop» [The influence of creative industries ..., 2023, p. 161].

The expedition emphasized the role of the so-called «new rural settlers» influencing social capital in rural areas. «The influence of these factors on the territory is not direct, but indirect: first, a unique resource attracts people from outside, then stimulates them to fully or partially move to the territory of the district. The rural area of the district becomes not only and not so much a place of agricultural production, but a habitat and a place of consumption of recreational resources and symbolic capital» [The influence of creative industries ..., 2023, p. 163]. A positive result of the joint actions of local activists, representatives of government bodies and the business community was the replenishment of the regulatory framework of the region with the law «On the specifics of the development of ecological tourism and tourism in rural areas in the Nizhny Novgorod Region» [Decree of the Government of the Nizhny Novgorod Region ..., 2022].

Vachsky Municipal District, the Nizhny Novgorod Region. This territory has historically specialized in artistic metalworking. Its «genius loci» is the serf peasant D.I. Kondratov, the founder of an industrial dynasty in the mid-19th century, which left a powerful industrial, cultural and symbolic legacy. An analysis conducted by specialists in the region showed that creative industries can act as sources capable of ensuring the fastest and most sustainable growth of the local economy in a relatively short period of time (2024–2030).

In this regard, the investment policy pursued in the Nizhny Novgorod region prioritized the establishment of a cluster of creative industries «Filigree Kingdom» on the territory of the Vachsky municipal district. The dominant (supporting) object of the cluster, which acts as a creative incubator, is the Zagorye creative park, a complex of modern infrastructure for prototyping products of creative industries and their further commercialization (fashion industry, industrial design, architecture, gastronomic industry, data processing, virtual and augmented reality, digital content, animation production, blogging, advertising, printing industry, etc.). The Park is planned to be located within the boundaries of the Kazakovo village, where the famous «Kazakovskoe enterprise of artistic products» is located. Its products have the recognizable brand name «Kazakovskaya filigran». Two land plots with an area of 5,2 hectares and 14,7 hectares, respectively, have been allocated for the creation of a village and a creative estate [Chesnokov, 2024].

The competitive advantage of the project is its connection with the history and traditions of the place. The project aims to implement a new model of economic growth, change the structure of the local economy and increase its turnover through sources that have a multiplier potential and unite a wide range of businessmen around one idea. This will allow the creation of new business chains and the inclusion of the backbone enterprises of Trud JSC and Kazakovskoye Predpriyatie Khudozhestvennykh Izdeliy (KPKHI) JSC, the main taxpayers to local economy. Among other problems that need to be solved is the preservation of the school of artistic metalworking. The village of Kazakovo, like the entire Vachsky district, can be confidently attributed to the territories where creative activity exists. In addition to the backbone enterprises of Trud JSC and KPHI JSC there is a significant number of individual enterprises that produce jewelry, artistic castings, souvenirs on individual orders and other artistic products. The project operator was the municipal project park for the development of the creative industries cluster «Filigree Kingdom», created in 2024 with the support from the administration of the Vachsky municipal district, entrepreneurs, heads of public associations, and local activists. A mixed team of specialists started work after completing training in 2023 as part of the «Heritage Leaders» project of the ANCO «ASIRIS» [Chesnokov, 2024].

The tasks of the project park include: managing sources of consumer demand, creating and promoting tourist products of the Vachsky district and adjacent territories, restoring cultural heritage sites, improving public spaces, and forming a favorable socio-cultural environment. The project team assists the anchor investor (the management company of the Zagorye creative park) in marketing the territory and building new business chains. The sales funnel and attention to the Zagorye Park are supposed to be carried out through promotions and public events that help attract first tourists to the Zemskaya School (a cultural and craft center in the historical building of the Zemskaya School, built by the Kondratov family in 1904), and then representatives of creative professions – participants of the art residence and creative laboratories «Filigranno» [Memory of heritage ..., 2023; Creative laboratory ..., 2024].

Conclusion

Studies conducted in the Nizhny Novgorod region confirm the high potential of symbolic resources and the possibility of creating modern successful creative projects based on them not only in the million-plus city – the regional center, but also in rural areas. Symbolic capital serves as the basis for designing business chains based on local identity and involving local symbols in the heritage economy. Analysis of creative startups around identified local symbols helps to establish the most promising types of entrepreneurial activity and initiatives in the field of creative industries.

However, the use of social capital requires certain skills and theoretical ideas, and the process of mastering them requires time and effort. The analysis of the progress and results of development projects implemented in the Nizhny Novgorod region attracted attention of communities to local symbolic resources and helped identify effective formats for involvement and group interaction for the transfer of skills in working with symbols of the territory: interdisciplinary educational and educational programs, research expeditions and laboratories. Summarizing the positive experience, the achieved results of systemic activity and the unification of efforts of various parties to include symbolic resources in the heritage economy, the following techniques and success factors can be distinguished:

- reflection and moderation in group work

- both economic and «cultural» analysis of the situation;

- multi-sensory approach in the spirit of the impression economy, as well as creative marketing;

- reliance on historical memory in restoring the lost history;

- active involvement of residents, communities and groups in these processes;

- creation of various types of partnerships between cultural organizations, business and government bodies;

- a cluster system of interaction between various organizations and communities;

- attention to natural, geographical features and symbols;

- implementation of an inventory and mapping of symbolic resources.

The experience of the Nizhny Novgorod region shows that a systemic approach to forming creative projects and clusters based on local symbols is the result of combining the resources of various organizations and lies beyond the scope of the activities of only professional museum and local history communities, legislators or entrepreneurs. The key to success lies in the joint efforts of business and government representatives, as well as scientific, expert and urban conservation communities, in searching for and developing solutions, relying on volunteer initiatives and active support from local residents.

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HUMAN FACTOR

WHY DO I LIVE HERE? THE HISTORICAL CENTER OF SAMARA THROUGH THE EYES OF A RESIDENT

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Abstract. This paper presents the results of a qualitative sociological study conducted in the Samara urban district. Samara city center possesses historical and cultural value; several years ago it was awarded the status of a historical settlement. The purpose of the study was to identify the value structure in the attitude of residents of the Samara historical center to the territory of their residence. An attempt has been made to comprehend the perception by residents of historical areas of the value of the place through the spatial triad of Henri Lefebvre. When explaining the high potential of the historical city center in relation to other areas, Robert Lucas' clustering theory was applied. The hypothesis about the clustering of people, resources and opportunities in the city core is proven based on the obtained empirical data. With reference to Richard Florida's book, the thesis that different places are suitable for different people is tentatively confirmed.

Keywords: urban sociology; historical and cultural environment; historical center of Samara; identity of space; value of space; choice of location.

Introduction

Everyone who lives in a city long has their own attitude towards it and their own understanding of it. Each person has their own city. Each person individually perceives its space, possibilities, comfort or lack thereof, rhythm, style, pace, beauty, convenience and many other parameters. Many people are currently reflecting on their attitude to the urban environment. This is dictated by the growing popularity of urban studies and theories, the development of urban sociology as a separate area of science, and the modern trend towards using an interdisciplinary approach to analyzing and planning territorial development. One of the main topics discussed today among urbanists, architects, historians, restorers and government officials is the topic of heritage preservation. It seems appropriate to analyze the problem of preserving urban heritage not only in legal or historical and cultural aspects, but also in the traditions of classical spatial theories, one of which is Henri Lefebvre's theory of the Production of Space [Lefebvre, 2015].

In his 1974 work, Lefebvre calls for a comprehensive view of space, moving away from reductionism in its analysis. He proposes a model of the «Spatial Triad», which is designed to focus attention on social relations in the context of the production and reproduction of space [Bedash, 2012, p. 220].

In this triad, Lefebvre identifies three elements.

Representations of space (or «Conceived space») are how space is perceived and interpreted by experts or professionals in various fields.

Representational space is the «Lived space» of the territory's inhabitants. This refers to everyday practices of using space that is «felt rather than thought». Due to spaces of representations, people develop spatial attachments and associations that make social life in the territory meaningful for the individual: a favorite street, a favorite neighborhood. Such a space combines the real and the imaginary.

Spatial practices are the objectification of social actions performed by a person in a given space into a material form, the formation of the so-called «spatial competence», as Lefebvre calls this phenomenon [Bedash, 2012, p. 220]. What is important is that spatial practices connect the understood and inhabited spaces and belong to the realm of the perceived. At the same time, Lefebvre claims that any space is the result of the activity of a number of objects in time or actions performed in the past. He endows space with the properties of social relations. «Being a product that is used and consumed, it is also a means of production; exchange networks, flows of raw materials and energy shape space and are determined by it» [Bedash, 2012, p. 221].

According to Lefebvre's theory, space is volumetric and multidimensional, it should not be simplified, reduced to linear models. He considers everyday life to be the starting point for the study of space.

Only by analyzing everyday life, we can structure, understand the relationships, trace in time the processes that form and reproduce the studied space.

If we go further and discuss the historical center of a city from the standpoint of the theory of place, then we should point out another important reference point: the theory of clustering (cluster effect), which was formulated by the economist Robert Lucas and which Richard Florida uses to explain how territories acquire distinctive social quality in his book «Who is your city? The Creative Economy and the Choice of Residence». As R. Florida writes, R. Lucas formulated the concept of the power of clustering «people and productivity, creativity and talent, which drives economic development» [Florida, 2014, p. 66].

The potential of a historical center is determined by clustering there of the most productive and outstanding forces in comparison with other territories, their saturation and mutual intertwining.

The economist Alfred Marshall explained clustering of economic forces by the mutual benefit of the neighborhood [Florida, 2014, p. 68]. The importance of clustering people and their most diverse competencies for the development of the economy was also emphasized by Jane Jacobs in her book «The Economy of Cities» [Jacobs, 2008]. Combining these ideas, Florida concludes that «when people, especially the gifted and creative, come together, it becomes easier to exchange ideas, and, as a result, their individual and collective abilities increase exponentially, i.e. the final result significantly exceeds the sum of its terms. This clustering makes each of us more productive, which in turn makes the place where we live even more productive, and accordingly, collective creativity and economic wealth grow» [Florida, 2014, p. 71].

Something similar happens in the historical centers of cities. Having the longest history in comparison with other parts of a city, combining and retaining a variety of functions on their territory, these historical centers have a great power of clustering. The synergistic effect of clustering determines the development and potential of a center. The American sociologist, a representative of the famous Chicago school, Robert Park, who considered the city as a social laboratory, noted that «the more diverse and eccentric an individual is, the more likely he will be able to realize himself in a large city, in its most developed core – the center, rather than in a small community» [Park, 2002, p. 12].

From the point of view of the theory of place, everyone should find their own territory that suits them. On «their» territory, it will be comfortable to live, work, walk, spend time with other people. And life in a historical center is not suitable for everyone, this choice is individual. Florida argues that different types of territories can attract different types of people, offering benefits for them.

Researchers Rentfrow and Gosling [Florida, 2014, p. 191-193] studied the relationship between residents and places and came to a paradoxical conclusion. Based on the results of their research, they noted that «sooner or later, certain places (and their inhabitants) acquire certain personality traits. The authors call this phenomenon the social «founder effect». This means that people develop personal traits that reflect their experience, lifestyle and beliefs. Places that tolerate or encourage openness to experience

will eventually attract people looking for an environment where they can safely express themselves as they please» [Florida, 2014, p. 201].

Materials and methods

This article will focus on Samara, or more precisely, its historical center.

Samara traces its history back to 1586, when, by order of Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich, the Samara fortress was built by the voivode (military commander) Prince Grigory Osipovich Zasekin. In 2025, Samara will be 439 years old. At the end of the 19th century, Samara became one of the largest centers of trade, the «bread wharf of Russia», and was a prosperous merchant city, of which there is much evidence. During the Great Patriotic War, Samara (at that time Kuibyshev) became the «spare capital» of the country. Now it is a large industrial center, the space capital of Russia. As in any city with a rich history, the concentration of historical memory, identities, and meanings falls on the historical center. The center of Samara is rich in architecture of the Art Nouveau and Constructivism era, samples of unique Samara wood carvings have been preserved, and the special design of Samara courtyards attracts the interest of researchers and tourists.

A few years ago, in order to preserve the historical center of Samara, it was granted the status of a historical settlement, which implies additional restrictions on the implementation of various activities in this territory, primarily, restrictions on development.

There are ongoing discussions among residents, experts, scientists and the media about the appropriateness of such a decision and the choice of mechanisms for the further implementation of this concept. That is why the purpose of the study was to identify the value framework in the attitude of residents of the Samara historical center to the territory of their residence: how did this happen that they chose to live in the historical center? What value system corresponds to this choice? What problems do residents encounter and what further development paths for the territory they envision? Why is housing and land more expensive in the center? Why do many people want to live and work in this territory? What is the phenomenon of central areas of cities?

These questions formulate the objectives of the study, while the answers to them appear during the analysis of the collected empirical data.

The spatial triad of Henri Lefebvre was chosen as the methodological basis for the study. If we project the proposed model of studying space onto the selected context, all three components of the triad are clearly visible.

In the context of our study, architecture, landscaped spaces, embankments, street layouts, etc. correspond to «representations of space» according to Lefebvre. «Representational space» refers to those streets and places that respondents indicated as favorite, memorable, associate with them some stories and tales, emotionally color them. «Spatial practices» are walks, visits to the beach, instances of business and

government work on the territory within the historical center and other types of activities that informants tell us about.
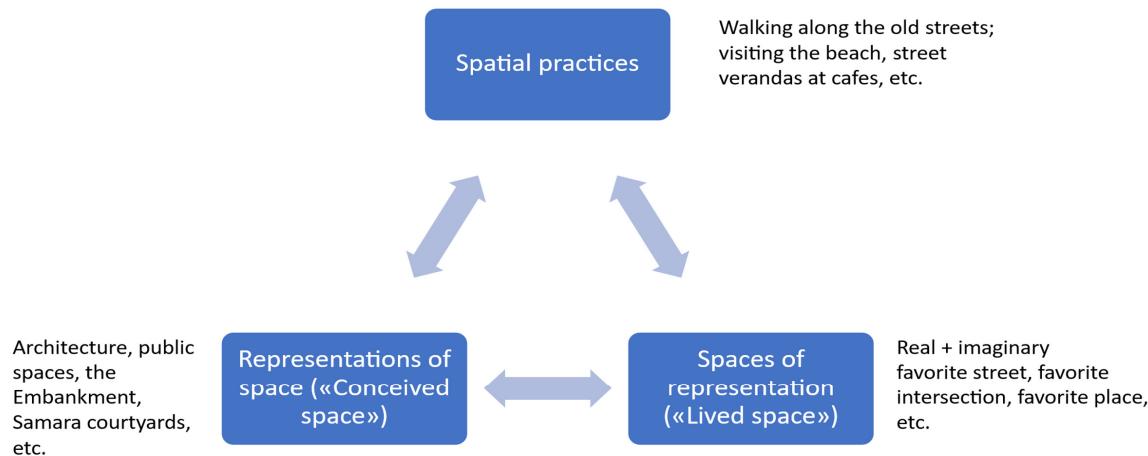
Fig. 1. Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad.

The study relied on qualitative methodology by conducting a series of in-depth interviews. The author conducted ten in-depth interviews with residents of the historical part of Samara. Informants were selected using the snowball method from different microdistricts of the historical center of the city to ensure the greatest spatial representation of the obtained empirical data in the studied area. The second selection criterion was the condition that the informants were of different gender, age and occupation.

In addition, as part of testing the toolkit, a series of interviews were also conducted with non-residents of the historical center of Samara, which showed the difference in views of residents of the central districts of the city in relation to residents of other districts.

All interviews were conducted in person or online and recorded on a dictaphone. Coding and analytical processing of interview transcripts was carried out using MAXQDA software.

Research results

After conducting the first interviews, it became clear that the attitude towards the importance of the historical center differs greatly between those who live or work there and residents of other areas of the city. The first conversations with non-residents showed that residents of outlying areas do not see much sense in preserving wooden houses in the center, visit it quite rarely, can go for years without visiting museums and theaters, know much less about the history of the city and do not appreciate architecture. Among them, there are suggestions that it would be better to demolish all this «junk» and build anew with modern objects.

Historical center residents	Residents of outlying areasare
• A conscious, well-established attitude towards the historical and cultural heritage of Samara. • Understanding the value of a territory in relation to other areas. • Willingly reflect and formulate their thoughts on the topic of identifying themselves as a resident of the historical center. • Show greater knowledge of local historical information and a desire to learn more about their city. • A sense of love and pride in residing in Samara.	• Don't see much sense in preserving wooden houses in the center. • Rarely visit the center, can go for years without museums and theaters. • Don't understand the beauty of architecture. • Suggest that it would be better to demolish this «junk» and build anew with modern buildings. • Feel disgusted by old crumbling houses, consider them untidy. • Often complain about poor landscaping and the urban environment.

Fig. 2. Differences in views of residents and non-residents on the historic center.

Residents of the historical center have a completely conscious, well-formed attitude to the historical and cultural heritage of Samara, understand the value of the territory where they live in relation to other areas of the city, with great warmth and willingness discuss the topics of identifying themselves as residents of the historical center, show greater knowledge of local history information and a desire to learn even more about their city. All my interlocutors from among the residents show a feeling of love and pride in belonging to Samara, perceiving it as «home», a sense of intergenerational connection and a special «way of life» of Samara's historical quarters. This is clearly seen in Figure 2, which shows how much the attitude to the historical center differs among residents and non-residents.

Values and identities. Almost all resident informants begin their narratives with the fact that Samara, its center, represents a unique image. They explain this by describing natural landscapes, location at the confluence of two rivers, a unique history, a combination of accessibility to nature and modern entertainment infrastructure.

In this sense, Samara has its own image, its own face, its own feeling. It is unique in that, for example, in the summer you are inside the city, you can swim in the Volga and even swim to another wild part of it and look at this metropolis from there... Here you can climb up many slopes and walk, see the sights, get into restaurants, cozy coffee shops and in the evening generally partake culture in some museum or theater. This interconnection of nature and culture of opportunities with pleasure and enjoyment, which is important for a post-industrial person, that it is not just walking among high-rise buildings or birch trees, it is important for him to enjoy what he sees around. All this is very tightly placed here in Samara in some

kind of feeling, what the locals call «Volga hedonism», well, what A.K. said, this is «life on a big rive». Indeed, it is life[1].

Residents often associate the image of the historical center with home, comfort, and a special way of life. They remember their childhood very warmly if it was spent in the «old city». From the point of view of Lefebvre's triad, a strong dominant is «Lived spaces», favorite streets, corners, squares, areas within the historical center. They are associated with warm memories, traditions, family stories, feelings that live in the soul and are pleasant to return to.

... as psychologists say, there are apartments, and there are houses ... That is, the same space, the same room in which we live, it can be perceived as an apartment, i.e. as something temporary, in which you are not immersed. Or it can be perceived as a house. And it does not matter at all what it is – 100 square meters, 200 square meters ... So on Buyanova it was a house in every sense of the word. It was a very warm, soulful and absolutely symbolic space for me, because my grandmother and great-grandfather also lived in this house. And there was such a dramatic story of their love.

Well, the thing is that I was born in the area of Samarskaya Square and have lived there all my life. And for me, the city center is not just a geographical point on the map of our city, it is literally my home. That is, I consider the concept of home more broadly than an apartment.

Thus, informants express commitment to the territory of the historical center as a home in its expanded sense.

Another image that residents associate with historical Samara is the image of a mother. The expression «Mother Volga» is often found in the narratives of Samara residents. This association is actively cultivated among residents.

Maybe, somewhere, sometime in my youth, I had thoughts and even opportunities to go to Moscow and not only to Moscow, but also abroad. But now I think how great it is that I did not actually do this. Because no matter how imperfect Samara is, right? But for me it is like a mother. You don't choose, you love and don't betray. That's the most important thing!.

The way of life is not only buildings. The way of life is people, family traditions, the yard, the community. One of the informants very clearly emphasizes this identity of the Samara historical center:

... this is a way of life, this is a unique way of life, of which little is left now. And this way of life – what is it? This is the way of life of the yard. This is its own community, these are its own rules, this is its own world. ... A few years ago I was walking along Buyanova, returning from work in the evening after my teaching classes, and i.e. here are the yards, and people are sitting in front of the yards. Women, as a rule, grandmothers, men. They communicate, talk, children run around in the yards ... That is, this is a kind of common world for people of different ages.

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[1] Here and below we provide verbatum quotes from informants that convey their live speech.

On Leningradskaya street for a long time, it was interesting to look at this. ... on the right, these grandmothers in their home clothes, and this is a house, and this yard is a house, and the street in front of the house feels like home, i.e. they are in robes, slippers, so cozy... That is, this is such a way of life.

Another important feature of the Samara center is its eclecticism along with harmony. Informants note eclecticism in architecture, in the urban environment, explaining it by the connection between times and generations. At the same time, the negative statements reflect on the contrast with modern buildings. In the negative connotation, as a rule, they mention modern architecture, emphasize the regret that old houses are being lost, and new ones do not attract with their appearance and do not contribute to the architectural heritage. If we speak in the terminology of Lefebvre's spatial triad, informants have different attitudes to the representation of space in different time periods. The «perceived space» of previous periods seems harmonious to them, while modern representations take root with greater difficulty.

…every city you visit is unique in its architecture, which is the result of people building here from the very beginning, and their city layout represents their thoughts on how life should be arranged… Times change, people's ideas on how to live, how to conduct their daily life, where to go for entertainment change, and cities change. And at the same time, the old is preserved, the new is added. And Samara definitely fits into my vision of how a city should be arranged. And the fact that it is now quite eclectic, especially the city center, and the ruins, one might say, wooden houses of the tsarist regime, and beautiful mansions from the same time, and attempts of the Soviet era to sprinkle new buildings there, and quite successful ones, in my opinion, in most cases, and, probably, not very successful modern glass high-rises. This, it seems to me, makes our city so unique that it definitely needs to be preserved.

Informants highlight the commercialization of urban relations as a factor that negatively influences the architectural appearance of the city and hinders its harmonious development.

... when I see what is being built and what ghastly architecture… I read somewhere the expression "architectural bastards". It sounds rude, but true. That's exactly how the city center is being built today. These are architectural bastards that have no aesthetic value, that do not improve the appearance of the city at all, but, on the contrary, destroy it. This is such, you know, architectural aggression – I would even call it that. Architectural aggression, the desire to squeeze out the maximum profit, and then nobody cares.

Residents are convinced that the special flavor of old Samara is connected with wooden houses. Other features of the architecture and overall construction of the historical center space are manor development, unique Samara street layout, Samara courtyards, Art Nouveau mansions. Residents advocate for the preservation of these identities, their reproduction and allow only contextual, environmental development that will not disturb the existing landscape.

... it is important to preserve the historical grid of streets, the system of courtyards... The second value is the preserved estate development in many places. Courtyards that represent simply an endless

Universe. No matter how much you walk through them, you will always find some new ones. Because they number in thousands.

The attitude towards new construction varies – from «ban it altogether» to «build according to scale». But the overwhelming majority of informants understand that preserving houses in the center without new construction is a utopia. Therefore, they are ready to support the construction of new buildings that fit into the context of the environment, provided that there are clear regulations.

At the same time, residents are convinced that developers of new buildings in the center are focused on super profit, and not on preserving the identity of the urban environment. In this regard, negative assessments of modern buildings are expressed, high-rise buildings are condemned, which leads to the loss of the atmosphere of the streets, their lighting and the general feeling of space.

Of course, I understand the inevitability of progress, development, and so on, but I always remember my childhood, when you go outside and see these little houses, and you see the sky above you. You see space, some kind of space.

In my opinion, it should not be pseudo-historical development, although many people think that it is acceptable to build in the style of the late 19th, early 20th century. No, it is bad. Because any period, any time is characterized by its own style. Building a modern building does not mean building badly. Modern architecture is generally good. On the contrary, it can serve as a very good background for historical development. Another thing is scale. Here I am a supporter of strict measures, because the scale and humanity of the historical environment itself should be a priority. If it is observed, then the architecture of new buildings can be of any style.

... in these city blocks it would be possible to integrate some small construction projects. And this would probably have a positive effect on the entire economy of these same blocks... I am not against new construction, but it is important to maintain the rhythm, the height, so that this diversity of the environment is supported in this way.

All respondents emphasize that the historical center should be residential. It should not turn into a museum or a territory covered by gentrification. The center should be accessible to people of different incomes, residents and non-residents, out-of-town tourists and foreigners. Only through the diversity of its functions and its users will the center remain a center and continue to develop.

Business is one of the main sources of energy for further life and renewal. In the center there are company offices, administrative buildings, a large number of catering establishments, services, shops. Transfer of houses for rent or ownership to business is one of the main methods used now in cities to support and renew old buildings. Residents of the Samara historical center have a positive attitude to such practice, they understand that it is impossible to restore historical buildings at the expense of the budget.

...the fashion for historical real estate has started, and now there are many people, private individuals, who have started buying historical houses and want to buy historical houses and open a business in them. And in fact, one can give more than one example, ... but quite a few. And that's good.

It is essential to attract businesses and new residents of the old city. And there are enough of them, in general. There are enough people willing to live in the city center now, but in a comfortable environment. Therefore, we need programs that could give new blood, new life to these neighborhoods through project teams that could work with entire neighborhoods, or attract investments, residents here, but all this should still be linked to general municipal programs. This concerns networks, this concerns the entire infrastructure. All this should be linked into a single system.

Thus, residents of the historical center in their narratives emotionally emphasize the importance of preserving the integrity of the historical environment, but at the same time they realize that it is unlikely that this will be fully realized, they regret this and place their hopes on investors and the authorities, while expressing a significant amount of skepticism.

A city for people. Often, informants emphasize the value of living in a historical environment by comparing it with other areas of the city or specific streets. They also note the feeling of security they experience when they are at home.

... I grew up in the Youth-city, on Zheleznaya Divizii Street, you can google it and see Soviet brutalism, it's a scary and uncomfortable place. ... I understand that when I walk along a dark street in the historical center in the evening, I'm not scared, ... I don't think about it, of course, I don't constantly reflect, but it works at the level of some pre-reflective experience. I understand that I'm more protected there, even by the fact that these little houses «hug» you when you walk. And not when you walk along Zheleznaya Divizii, you have these high-rises, from which you can expect anything.

It is really safe here. I flew to visit a friend in South Africa. This is South Africa, a developed country, once one of the most successful developing economies, and it has such a strong contrast: it is beautiful and dangerous. Because after sunset it is literally dangerous to be in public places – you can get robbed. And I want to say that this is something we can appreciate. Because we can go out at any time of the day or night and go for a walk along the Embankment.

...I don't like crowded events, but we attend all kinds of concerts and movies; we don't feel a shortage.

...I attend many events, always and a lot, so to speak. Premieres, visiting performers, and our theaters. ... As for the cultural life of the city center, it's vibrant, sometimes even excessive.

Many residents go to theaters, noting that they are within walking distance, and performances by both local and touring companies are featured. Residents of the historic center go to the Khudozhestvenny Cinema–the city's oldest cinema is still popular.

One of the main problems of the historic center is the age of the utility network. Residents understand the scale of the problem, recognize the high cost of network upgrades, and are counting on government programs to address this issue. Renewing the network would also help businesses develop in historic buildings. Residents of historic districts incur costs associated with major events in the city center, which involve street closures, and request that these processes be optimized. Residents also note a lack of small retail shops.

Why do I live here? When asked the final question, «Why do you live in the historic center?» at the end of the conversation, respondents typically give very emotional answers, indicating that residents of this area have already reflected on the topic, have a formed position, and are not eager to relocate, actively taking advantage of the amenities available to them.

Among the main advantages of living in the center, they note pedestrian accessibility and connectivity to all vital areas, combined with the aesthetic pleasure of moving around the center, its multifunctionality, good opportunities for both business and leisure, and the absence of commuting throughout the day, which can lead to wasted time. A clear advantage of living in the historic center is the proximity of the Volga, which adds to its functionality – there is a beach, walks, access to river transport, and the ability to quickly get to the recreational area on the other bank of the Volga.

Many respondents noted the pedestrian connectivity and dense environment, which provides ample space for a variety of walks.

... it's a place where you can go for a walk in any direction. One day, I went out to buy bread, and my feet carried me to the Embankment, to Strukovsky Park.

... we walk along the Embankment; we practically live there. Of course, we go to the beach, we go to Strukovsky Park; sometimes there are interesting events there, and we attend them. We walk along all the streets of the center, along Samara Street and up to the beginning of all the streets. Because these are truly atmospheric, as you put it, areas, little neighborhoods, and we like it.

Informants often identify themselves as Benjamin's flâneurs [Benjamin, 2015], who leisurely stroll the streets of the city center, observing lives of tourists, and reflecting on what they see. Such spatial practices are characteristic of the city center. They differ from practices in other areas, especially industrial ones, where people perceive a walk to the store or to a public transportation stop as an action that must be completed as quickly as possible, without any particular pleasure.

...people from different cities, places, and countries come here. There's a hotel right next to me where visitors from different countries constantly change; it's interesting to observe them and what they do in our cities. They sometimes ask questions, and from these questions I understand that they're interested in why they come here. It creates a certain impression: why does our city matter to others?.

Residents of the historic center believe it's important to preserve not only tangible but also intangible memory–the memory of their actions, their lives, and events that change the city. Material representa-

tions of space–monuments, steles, museums–partly help with this, but another part is preserved in texts, toponymy, and other symbols. And all of them are important.

Tourism is also well received by residents of the historic center. They all interact with visitors with interest when the opportunity arises and feel a sense of pride for their city. Many note that tourism in Samara hasn't yet reached its full potential, but they have noticed positive trends in recent years. They fondly recall the 2018 FIFA World Cup. This is also a spatial practice characteristic of residents of the city center.

At one point, I caught myself thinking that I was just a decoration for them. I was a decoration for a resort town, because they arrived, unloaded their suitcases, and here I was, walking around in a flowing dress, and it was all so wonderful. This is generally a pleasant experience.

I have a positive attitude toward tourism because it's a driver, a source of income, interest, and life. There are entire cities that thrive solely on tourism. But here, we are just at the beginning of the process. I'm pleased to see the recent diversity of excursion programs and domestic tourism, even just intracity tourism that is developing.

I think it (tourism) is growing naturally. That is, something has probably already begun, and we just need to let it go.

Informants note the municipality's work in recent years in terms of landscaping, positively assess the renovation of public gardens, saying that much is being done, and it's noticeable. At the same time, there are some concerns about the quality of the work, lawn maintenance, and paving, and there are comments about the lack of small public gardens and small architectural features where people can sit and rest during walks in the city center. They note the importance of place drivers and considering the territory's history and identity when developing improvement projects, as well as the use of an integrated approach.

... Aksakov Square is somehow connected to the White Cup[1] courtyard, the courtyard of the Art Nouveau Museum, because it's already forming a kind of cluster, a kind of cultural cluster. It's simply starting to behave differently socially.

... in the center, for example, if you're walking along Sadovaya Street, you simply have nowhere to sit.

The lack of organized parking spaces is causing a negative reaction. Residents are positive about the introduction of paid parking, emphasizing that this measure will help regulate the use of personal vehicles, and they express a willingness to pay reasonable parking fees in lieu of towing fines, which are several times higher.

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[1] A coffee shop in Samara on the grounds of the Museum of Modern Art, not far from Aksakov Square.

My car is towed four times a year. It's frustrating. And, of course, the overall problem is a lack of parking and regulation. I'm in favor of paid parking, so that it functions not as a punishment, but as an opportunity. It's generally unreasonable to drink coffee and worry about where your car is.

Speaking about the cultural life of the historic center, respondents note its richness and the accessibility of cultural and artistic institutions, emphasizing that they don't experience a shortage of events when choosing where to attend. However, they note that there are plenty of large-scale events, but they would like to see more smaller festivals specifically associated with Samara, which would be associated with our city and attract visitors from other regions.

One of the key aspects highlighted by respondents is the rhythm or pace of life in the historic center. It is generally characterized by a less hectic pace, a sense of time-saving, and leisurely transitions between work and play. This is achieved through the compactness of the streets, their functional richness, and the harmonious environment.

All interviewees express a love for Samara's center; their narratives reveal a sense of «specialness» or «otherness» relative to residents of other parts of the city, a sense of pride in possessing the valuable assets of the urban environment that they possess.

Conclusion

The main conclusion reached at this stage of the study is that anyone who has once experienced the beauty, uniqueness, indescribable sensations, and special opportunities offered by Samara's historic center is generally not prepared to give them up. Unless, of course, they are moving to another city for one reason or another, including the capital, and are committed to continuing to live in the Samara region.

From the perspective of Lefebvre's spatial triad, it is clear that spatial practices are the connecting element between the representations of space («conceived space») and the representational space («lived spaces»). Through lived experiences and vivid events, the real is combined with the imaginary in people's thoughts, creating sensations and associations that arise again and again in connection with a particular territory. Thus, space acquires certain intangible characteristics. As one informant noted in an interview, «because home is, above all, the soul».

The hypothesis of clustering people, resources, and opportunities in the city core is also confirmed by the study's findings. Most respondents point to the multifunctionality, richness, and density of the historic center across a variety of indicators. The desire to live and work here is a desire to achieve more, to be successful, to test one's abilities, and to realize one's initiatives. Not everyone is capable of this, but those who are have contributed to the creation of the space of the historic center, in this case, Samara, and it will «repay» them in the form of resources and opportunities that they will receive in the future.

The cool attitude of residents of other districts toward the city's places of interest and their lack of understanding of the value of the historic environment confirms Florida's assertion that different types of

places suit different types of people. Not everyone wants or enjoys living in the historic center. Many feel perfectly comfortable in Bezymyanka or Metallurga (the historically established colloquial names for certain areas of the city) and have no desire to move anywhere else.

Lefebvre believed that by changing space, one can change life. He argued that the contradictions of the social order are visible through the contradictions of space. This is evident in the research results. Samara's historic center, which residents understand, value, and want to preserve, considering it their «lived-in space», is, on the one hand, challenged by the interests of the business community, which seeks to profit from constructing ever-higher buildings on the valuable land of the historic center. On the other hand, another group of residents argues that these old buildings shouldn't be held on to, but rather demolished and redeveloped—all these points of view coexist. This is just one of the most glaring contradictions that can be identified by analyzing the empirical data obtained during interviews with respondents.

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PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY OF DIRECTORS AND FOUNDERS OF AUTO MUSEUMS AS A KEY TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE URAL INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

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Abstract. This article examines the professional identities of founders and directors of Ural automobile museums, based on in-depth interviews. The directors of auto museums are divided into three personality types based on their understanding of their museum mission. These personality types differ in their knowledge of automotive industry technologies, their biographical backgrounds, and their interest in the development of their enterprises and territories. The recognition of the need to preserve automobile heritage by these museum directors is determined by various factors (personal experience and interests, social capital, the age of the organization, the unique exhibition parameters, etc.), which influence the choice of museum strategies. The results of the study can be used in the development of state policy in the sphere of culture and the preservation of Russia's technical heritage.

Keywords: Russia; Ural region; industrial heritage; automobile museum; sociology of culture, professional identity.

Introduction

The history of the domestic automotive industry is more than 100 years old. The first cars in Russia were produced at the Russo-Balt plant (Riga) in 1909, and the Soviet automotive industry was established in the 1920s. At the same time, the first state collections of motor vehicles appeared (for more details, see [Karasev, 2023]). «The first collection of old vehicles, called the automobile museum, was established by a special decree in Petrograd in February 1918... The first Soviet car museum existed until the second half of the 1920s. And after its abolition, some exhibits moved to the first Moscow auto museum, which opened in February 1926 on Bolshaya Sadovaya Street», but it did not work for long – until 1930 (some exhibits were transferred to the Polytechnic Museum) [Auto museums of the USSR era, 2023]. In fact, museum business began to develop within the walls of the country's automobile and motorcycle factories in the 1970s. A striking example was the museum of the Automobile Plant named after Leninsky Komsomol (AZLK), housed in a specially constructed building on Volgogradsky Avenue in Moscow in 1980. However, it was closed in 1996 (due to the bankruptcy of the enterprise), and in 2022 its building, in the style of Soviet modernism, was demolished.

The interest of the modern audience in the legacy of the domestic automotive industry has increased. Since the 2000s, the number of museums of various road vehicles has been on the rise in Russia, which reflects the general trend of the growing interest of the population in the technical heritage (since 2014, the number of Russians interested in technical museums has almost doubled) [Let's go to the museum, 2024]. Of more than 80 such museums, mostly private, more than half appeared after 2010 [Lyadova, 2023, p. 111]. Although these organizations are more often only museum-type institutions[1] [Yureneva, 2024b, p. 22], nevertheless, they perform an important function in preserving and popularizing the heritage of the USSR and Russia. The preservation of the legacy of engineers, designers, and scientists who have made a significant contribution to the domestic scientific and technological development

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[1] A museum-type institution, according to T.Yu. Yureneva, is an organization that does not correspond to the definition of a museum in Russian legislation and the definition of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), but performs certain functions of a museum and practices some types of activities characteristic of museums [Yureneva, 2024b, p. 22].

was also included in the list of instructions from the President of the Russian Federation in 2025 [List of instructions ... , 2025].

The Ural Economic Region (hereinafter referred to as UER or the Urals) is one of the centers of the automotive industry in Russia. As a result of the evacuation of enterprises from the western regions of the USSR to the Urals during the Great Patriotic War, many industries appeared here, including the production of various cars (Miass, Izhevsk, Kurgan), motorcycles (Irbit) and related brands[1].

To date, a national representative office of the International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage has been established in the Urals [Zapariy, 2019, p. 44–48], and the museum complex of the Ural Mining and Metallurgical Company (UMMC) has been established in Verkhnyaya Pyshma. Fruitful activities on the preservation of industrial heritage are carried out in the Sverdlovsk region[2]. The region also has the largest (after the Central Economic Region) number of motor transport museums (MTM) [Motor transport museums of the Urals..., 2024, p. 96]. However, in most Ural cities, the preservation and popularization of industrial heritage (especially motor transport) remains a matter for enthusiasts.

Theoretical basis and research method

The basis for considering the identity of the directors of the Urals' MTM was the concept of «beruf»[3] as a reflection on the sphere of their own professional activity as a «vocation» [Weber, 1990, p. 96]. The preservation of the motor transport heritage is perceived by founders of MTM as a moral task, at first glance due, unlike the Protestants, to a secular rather than a religious motives. However, these motives are based on a belief in scientific and technological progress and technocracy, one of the central characteristics of the discourse of engineering and technical workers[4] [Lipovetskii, 2010, p. 213]. The accumulated cultural and social capital [Bourdieu, 2002, p. 60–67] of the MTM founders is a significant reason for setting up a museum. The analysis of the «theory of missed opportunities»[5] that is common among the nostalgic part of the scientific and technical intelligentsia [Abramov, 2017, p. 63] turned out to

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[1] In Izhevsk, serial production of motorcycles developed before the Great Patriotic War.

[2] Including the creation of an industrial park in Nizhny Tagil, the preservation of industrial architectural monuments, holding scientific conferences, publishing educational and methodological literature, etc.

[3] Beruf is a concept introduced by M. Weber in his work «The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism», which denotes both a calling and a profession, i.e., the recognition that worldly pursuits, in this case a profession, have the sacred significance of a divine calling (according to Protestantism, God calls a person to service, to achieve a certain goal in life).

[4] The «engineering and technical discourse» is a concept developed by M. Lipovetskii that describes a form of collective knowledge shared by engineering and technical workers that emerged, along with other discourses, in the 1960s and 1970s in the USSR. This form of knowledge is characterized by a technocracy of thought and a positivist belief in reason, science, and progress, which corresponds to the ideological project of the Enlightenment (ed.)

[5] According to R.N. Abramov, the «Theory of Missed Opportunities» is a group of ideological concepts and myths characteristic of the post-Soviet scientific and technical intelligentsia, which «experienced the trauma of the rapid contraction of its professional sectors». This theory contributes to «the creation of a multitude of narratives specific to individual professional groups and communities, which use it to describe the reasons for the failures and backwardness of a particular branch of science or industry in the USSR» [Abramov, 2017].

be significant for understanding the motivation of a number of MTM leaders. Nostalgia for the bygone era of the Soviet automotive industry's success takes the form of the museumification of its legacy.

Professional identity is shaped by such professional tools as skills, abilities, and competencies (cultural capital), as well as established social and emotional connections with other professionals (social capital). Closely related to professional identity is corporate identity–the employee's self-identification with the organization–which played a key role in shaping the motivation for MTM directors, who were not trained in the automotive industry. Territorial identity also plays a significant role, confirming the thesis about the mutual influence of tangible and intangible elements of industrial heritage on the self-identification of local communities [Novakovskaia, Val'chak, 2021, p. 103].

The study is based on the analysis of in-depth semi-structured interviews with the directors of nine Ural Auto Museums, drawing on the principles of grounded theory developed by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser. Informant data are presented in Table 1[1].

Table 1

Information about the founders and directors of ATM**

№ of Interview	Gender	Status*	Yeas of work at a museum
1	M	F and D	8
2	F	D	2
3	M	F and D	8
4	F	D	No data
5	M	F and D	2
6	M	F and D	11
7	M	F and D	8
8	M	F and D	6
9	M	F and D	21

* Status: F – founder ; D – director.
** Compiled by the authors based on interview data.

The interview questions covered five topics: biography of the MTM director; the history of MTM's emergence and development; MTM's interaction with regional and municipal authorities, government agencies, and commercial and non-profit organizations; attitudes toward MTM as part of the technical legacy; MTM problems and possible action strategies.

Types of auto museum directors

Based on the interview analysis, three types of museum directors and founders were identified. The characteristics of these types were determined based on the following criteria: reasons (motive) for creating the museum, and the cultural and social capital of the director, developed during their professional development or while working at the company (corporate identity). The motive for creating a technical museum for the first two types is linked to professional self-determination and the automotive industry as

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[1] Further in the text of the article, quotes from informants are given in italics with the interview number indicated in brackets.

a professional field, while the professional identity of the third type is more likely to influence the chosen formats of museum activities.

I. *Custodians of Automotive Heritage*. This type includes the directors of the following auto museums: the Izhevsk Kozhushkov motorcycle museum, the Irbit state motorcycle museum, the MotoEpoch museum, and the Perm automobile museum «Retro-Garage» (PAM «Retro-Garage»).

The reason for creating a museum was a childhood involvement in automobile construction and repair, as well as auto racing, which influenced my professional and life trajectory:

Cars have haunted me since childhood... there were night trips on a bread truck..., and when in college I was already involved in racing a lot.

I saw magazines in a young technician's club... they published blueprints... I started creating things from the blueprints... at the age of 9 or 10, I could help adults to repair motorcycles... that's where my passion began.

We opened the museum in memory of my father. His hobby was collecting and restoring motorcycles with his own hands... and I've had a love for motorcycle culture and technology in general since childhood.

A similar motive among Soviet-era museum directors stems from the fact that the exhibits evoke happy memories of childhood and adolescence [Morozov, Sleptsova, 2020, p. 201] and reflect the nostalgic orientation of engineering and technical workers.

Experience in the automotive industry helped to form social capital in the industry, to get involved in building professional community:

The environment was so exciting. Firstly, I was always at the races; secondly, it was connections and contacts.

I worked at the plant for over 30 years, in the chief designer's department for over six. «Motorcycle driver» is the first entry in my work record book.

The Soviet system of engaging engineering and technical workers in improving production processes contributed to the formation of this type of social capital in the Urals. In the Perm Region and the Udmurt ASSR, this was influenced by the opening of technical universities and public design bureaus, business trips/internships to related and affiliated domestic and foreign enterprises, contractual relationships between industrial enterprises and research organizations, etc. [Porozov, 2021, p. 49].

Secondly, the initiative to create an MTM was supported by a community of car enthusiasts, colleagues, or friends:

A large group of friends started riding these vehicles... and said, «You already have a whole museum, go ahead and open it». Six months later, they brought four motorcycles: «This is a gift for you to take to the museum».

In this sense, they are «people's» directors who protect the country's automotive heritage and represent the interests of the community:

The money was donated by entrepreneurs—my friends: former racers, fans, motorsport veterans, and so on. I went around with a hat in my hand: who would contribute?

Social capital is also important to consider in the context of interactions with regional and municipal governments, cultural and commercial organizations. The interactions of all MTMs with government bodies are complex. On the one hand, museums strive to show off their collections and development prospects to officials. Moreover, when planning their activities, they try to focus on regional and municipal priorities:

The authorities decided to create a branch of the Museum of the Siege of Leningrad in this building... We tried to integrate, but they didn't listen. As a result, we're working with St. Petersburg, while the regional authorities have somehow forgotten about this topic.

We want to be helpful, but so far we haven't received any proposals.

On the other hand, the regional and municipal authorities are prepared to actively participate in the work of MTMs in the event of the nationalization of motor transport heritage. This likely depends on the situation in the country. Furthermore, the authorities' plans for the development of MTM often remain unformulated or differ from the vision of the museum founders. Therefore, in many cases, interactions with government authorities leave museum directors with a rather negative impression due to the lack of proper planning of museum and cultural policy, as well as the lack of real support:

Regional authorities' plans change so drastically that we are forced to complete joint projects alone.

The authorities should use the established, ready-made museum. But they don't want to. There has been no support from the authorities.

Often, interaction is limited to support from official tourism agencies of the regional economic zones–through work with Tourism Development Centers or Tourist Information Centers (TICs):

We interacted with the government through a tourism accelerator program to test the museum model and develop the museum's economics. We received some marketing support and funding for website development… We interact with the Ministry of Tourism… and participate in the tour guide certification committee.

At the same time, building constructive relationships with commercial tourism companies is not always possible due to the museums' location outside the city's historic core, the difficulties with transportation infrastructure, and the need for specialized training for travel agencies due to the museums' unique orientation.

We held many meetings with management of tour companies. After the meeting, there might be two or three excursions. We've offered them all sorts of economic models... Nobody agreed.

The directors and founders of MTMs know each other to varying degrees; some of them actively interact, primarily at offsite events outside the district (Moscow, Kazan, St. Petersburg), and are interested in the experiences of their colleagues and neighbors:

Yandex Maps gave us the «Good Place» stickers for our front doors. ... The auto museums of St. Petersburg know about us, ... representatives of the Moscow Transport Museum came to visit. We have good connections with Yekaterinburg: all the auto rallies stop by, as do two motor vehicle museums. People often come from Tyumen... , the Izhevsk Automobile Plant Museum, the Izhevsk Kozhushkov Motorcycle Museum, and from Ufa too.

We participated in a retro festival in Kazan, and in St. Petersburg we attended a large motorcycle forum.

However, due to the unsystematic and fragmented interaction of MTM representatives, directors failed to form a professional association that could lobby their interests, and no museum network has emerged within which they could provide each other with information and expert support.

MTMs form close ties with retro clubs, auto and motorcycle clubs, modelers, and reenactors:

We primarily interact with like-minded communities. We've also learned to integrate into professional holidays: we attend Miner's Day and Metallurgist's Day.

We participated in the Irbit Biker Rally... and held a separate program.

Thus, MTM acts as a link («bridge» between A and B[1]) [Granovetter, 2009, p. 35] between organizations and communities that specialize not only in the automotive industry and its heritage, connecting organizations that likely would not have crossed paths otherwise.

Close ties are formed through the collaboration of MTM directors with specialized automotive publications[2] that cover the history of auto and motorsports, the development of the automotive industry, and the life of the museums themselves:

I was appointed because I was already well-known in the historical equipment department; I wrote for magazines about history and motorsports.

A significant portion of MTM's social capital comes from connections with local cultural and educational organizations (museums, archives, musical groups, schools, secondary schools, and universities). These connections help update the museum's heritage for today's visitors, enriching and diversifying the museum space with new formats and exhibitions, historical data about the city where MTM is located, and the results of conducted research. Including:

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[1] A bridge, according to M. Granovetter, is a weak tie that connects two groups of individuals united by strong ties, providing the groups with greater access to knowledge, experience, and other resources.
[2] Magazines «Avtomir», «Avtorynok», «Moto».

We maintain ties with secondary schools, especially those with an engineering focus... They have a specific educational process: a more in-depth study of the subject «Technology»... We provide our displays to schools, and teachers conduct classes using them.

In turn, medium-sized businesses serve auto museums primarily as information partners:

The head of the «Russia Post» department has been here more than once... because we have the only scooter for postmen[1]... . Russian Post has issued two postcards dedicated to this scooter model.

We have a restaurant... We openly recommend it if people ask about the gastronomic component. And they recommend us as a cultural entertainment venue, as a technical museum.

MTMs sometimes even provide financial assistance with repairs and organizing trips:

We have a private factory... they help us with finances, promotion, and manufacturing of parts.

This has become fashionable these days. Entrepreneurs have money to spend, and their best investment is in vintage technology.

Large businesses rarely provide assistance to MTMs. An exception is one museum's project in collaboration with Russian Railways:

No one is as deeply involved with Russian Railways as we are... Automobile enthusiasts are separate, while railway workers have their own clubs based on their interests... But we have both automobiles and a railway with a steam locomotive, a historic train, and even a provincial orchestra.

Summarizing the characteristics of the «custodians of automotive heritage» type, it should be noted that they view the preservation of auto heritage as a calling and a moral duty. Most of them are nearing or reached retirement age. Nevertheless, they actively plan for the future and formulate proposals (which don't always resonate with regional and municipal authorities), soberly assess the situation regarding resources and opportunities, decisively work to build a solid foundation for the museum's future work, and create multiple horizontal connections. They should present their ideas and projects at the federal level (participating in All-Russian forums, creating a community) to unite the efforts of like-minded individuals.

II. *Automotive technology enthusiasts*. This type is represented by the directors of the Y. Kuznetsov retro motorcycle museum, the Ets classic cars museum of classic vintage cars, and the NGO «Firefighting equipment always in service».

The motivations for creating this type of museum are as follows:

1. The vivid impressions of visiting foreign and domestic MTMs or the threat of losing an important exhibit:

There is a car and motorcycle museum in Vienna. I was very surprised to see children aged 6-9 sitting there with easels, drawing motorcycles.

I saw an old fire truck being sent for scrap and wondered why not preserve it for history.

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[1] A special series of postal scooters (mopeds) created to assist female postmen after WWII.

2. The founders' connection to their professional field, which is also a source of funding for the MTM's activities, but is not considered a source of income:

As an engineer, I am interested in all technological and design solutions... I have been involved in the automotive business for the past 25 years.

I used to restore various types of cars.

Essentially, for this type, cultural capital in its incorporated state (expertise in vehicle repair) becomes objectified–a collection. For this type, the historical and geographical specifics of the motor vehicle heritage are irrelevant, as there is no selectivity in the criteria of the country of origin of the exhibits or the time of manufacture. The exception is the «Firefighting equipment always in service» museum: *I thought of preserving old fire trucks for history.* Such collectors often position themselves not as a museum, but as a personal collection.

3. The main interest is in communication with like-minded people:

There's a retro car club... I've always been a member... Friends and acquaintances come here... a lot of bikers, to talk about our biker affairs.

We meet in seven clubs... as friends. ... We have great conversations, attend exhibitions and events.

The director of the nonprofit organization «Firefighting equipment always in service» relied on his colleagues for communication, which led to the closure of the MTM after his retirement.

The role of the automotive community in the establishment and development of museums, as noted by informants, indicates their functioning as «resources of collective mobilization, a source of group identity» [Kononenko, 2010, p. 10]. Motorist clubs perform the function of communication (in our study, within the community and with external actors, such as various authorities) and the accumulation of social capital through participation in the cultural life of citizens, encouraging participants to take collective action. The social capital of directors of this type:

– interaction (at the level of individual events, without reimbursement of participation costs) with the authorities of the constituent entities and municipalities occurs more often through associations of motorists and clubs: *representatives of our club communicate with the authorities... This is club work, not mine*;

– they perform educational functions, but this work is not systemic, so there is no long-term cooperation with other actors (educational and cultural institutions). The only museum that could not build interaction with regional and municipal authorities and various organizations and institutions was the NGO «Firefighting equipment always in service». All activities (educational classes on fire safety and restoration of equipment) were carried out using their own funds. This was also due to unwillingness to talk about the local technical heritage and fully engage in it, so the club failed to attract supporters and sponsors. This situation arose due to a lack of skill in museum and exhibition work, fundraising, and promo-

tion. The focus was only on firefighting equipment and its restoration, without taking into account the history of the local automotive industry.

The above characteristics of the directors can be explained by their work in the field of maintenance and repair of road equipment. Such obvious life passion brings them closer to the directors of the first type, but the vocation is not the preservation of the motor transport heritage, but the restoration activity. They identify themselves as collectors, a greater focus on close interaction with car enthusiast clubs and a weak interest in interacting with the authorities as an MTM, as well as in generating income from patrons and visitors.

III. «Ideological» managers. This type is represented by the directors of the Museum of the Izhevsk automobile plant and the Museum of the history of automobile manufacturers JSC AZ «URAL». The establishment of museums is not within their competence. Unlike the first two types, they lack specialized knowledge in the automotive industry or in car repairs. For people of this type, professional and corporate identity is formed by their experience of working in the museum and excursion sphere, advertising and PR: *I previously worked in other museums..., I worked in the media for 20 years.*

Professional experience determines the choice of other formats of events and promotion through the development of various cultural functions:

The museum should perform broader tasks. I want to attract all creative people to our museum. There is an idea to create a club of ambassadors, a media school, which will recruit talented writers, who will be taught by coaches and teachers ... so that small concerts, musical evenings and dance events can be held in our museum ... You can install circus equipment ... This will attract even more young people.

The orientation of museum directors to expand the formats of events with the participation of other cultural organizations corresponds to the post-industrial paradigm of museumification of industrial heritage, which involves «the creation of special types of urban spaces that attract cultural resources (industrial heritage) in order to develop the territory» [Kuzovenkova, 2015, p. 10]. In museum practice, this paradigm is implemented in the form of a bundle «museum of industrial heritage – cultural event (festivals, including scientific, exhibitions of contemporary art, theatrical performances, concerts, educational and educational projects) – lectures and design schools and creative industries» [Kuzovenkova, 2015].

Promoting the enterprise is the main task set for the directors of corporate MTMs. Therefore, they create their own forms of attracting tourists: automobile tourism and thematic events related to automotive technology (rallies, car races) – being included in the marketing strategy of auto manufacturers. In addition to brand recognition, creating a reputation and increasing sales of enterprises, museums within automotive companies bring additional profits [Michnicka, Kołodziejczyk, 2022, p. 130, 150]. In comparison with the first type of directors, who are also characterized by the desire to diversify event formats, for the third type, although this is due to their professional background, it is strictly regulated by the goal of enterprise promotion. If the MTM's parent company produces vehicles not for everyday use, the mu-

seum's purpose is to improve the company's social image and demonstrate its importance in regional development:

It's important to show people the essence of the plant; a museum is a window into the employer, the company's past, and its future. Not everyone can visit the plant today and see..., but we are building its positive image. There's a need for such museums today to promote the employer's brand, conduct career guidance, and attract talent to the plant.

Engagement in studying the plant's heritage, despite a lack of technical education, leads to immersion in the history of the automotive industry:

For the first time, I appreciated the contribution of resettled workers to the outcome of the Great Patriotic War, their heroism. Now I understand how powerfully wars influence economic development and the development of entire countries. We see this in the development of the automobile industry.

A tour around our auto museum is a tangible history lesson.

Combined with a desire to demonstrate the significance of the museum as part of the company and territory's heritage, this makes them «ideological» managers. The strong territorial and corporate identity characteristic of this type focuses on working with the intangible component of industrial heritage (memories, the social life of workers), managing the identity of the local population, and maintaining cultural continuity. Meanwhile, their cultural and social capital, associated with museum work, PR, and the organization of cultural events, facilitates the active expansion of museum formats.

Conditions for preserving the automotive heritage

Based on the axial coding method of the grounded theory [Strauss, Corbin, 2001, p. 83–89], we note that the driving idea (calling) of all MTM managers (with some differences) is the «need to preserve the automotive heritage» (phenomenon[1]). Several causes, i.e., events leading to the recognition of this need, can be identified:

A. Love and respect for the automotive enterprise as a place of work:

I worked at the plant for over a quarter of a century: in the chief designer's department, as a test driver, and eventually as the head of one of the production shops… . When I learned of the privatizers' intention to sell the motorcycle collection…, I began to resist.

I worked at the plant for 10 years, building my career here… . The plant became my home, and I conveyed my love for the company to museum guests.

B. Childhood impressions, passion for technology and design in the family or among close friends, which determined the field of activity (auto-, motorsports, auto business):

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[1] A phenomenon in Grounded theory is an object that is analyzed using coding procedures for qualitative data (in this case, interview transcripts). It denotes «the central idea, event, or instance in connection with and for the management of which a series of actions or interactions are undertaken» [Strauss, Corbin, 2001, p. 84].

My environment shaped my entire future... I was fortunate to be born on a street where almost in every house lived a driver.

Since childhood, I've been passionate about motorcycles and tinkering with things. I started driving early, and as an adult, I wanted to collect and restore things I'd seen as a child.

Parents' passion for technology had s similar effect:

My grandfather was an incredibly tech-savvy man, and my dad was too... My love for motorcycles and the philosophy of motorcycle travel has been with me since childhood... I had my own motorcycles, and I supported my dad's passion for collecting in every way.

Adult impressions are associated with visiting other MTMs, and hobbies revolve around restoration, which are reinforced by interactions with retro-vehicle enthusiast clubs and collector communities, or through regular collecting.

C. Working with cultural heritage in a related field (media and tourism):

We used to come..., covered cultural landmarks, historical sites, and natural landscapes. I saw how beautiful our region is, and I always deeply regretted that other people didn't know or see it... It's impressive: the history of technology and design developments.

Since the need to preserve heritage in all these cases took the form of museum creation, it is also important to highlight the context, i.e., conditions and strategies chosen to manage the museum. The following can be attributed to context:

1. The time of museum creation shapes the motivation. Ural MTMs emerged at different times (Fig. 1, section of the legend «Period of foundation»). Three periods can be roughly distinguished:

– the first museums (1960s–1980s) on the premises of automakers emerged thanks to the efforts of chief engineers or production veterans [Kolesnikova, 2024, p. 12]. The museum was assigned the educational role for young people through the example of older colleagues, and the function of preserving heritage was integrated into the development of work ethic and support for the creative endeavors of young people;

– in the 2000s, the creation of museums stopped the plundering of enterprise heritage (sale of collections of experimental equipment of enterprises, collections of foreign equipment in design departments);

– from the 2010s to the present – preservation of heritage taking into account local specifics in a context of economic recovery, the availability of funds and opportunities to transform passion for the automotive heritage into a museum or exhibition of the collection.

2. The industrial specialization of a city (automotive or related) in the past or in the present creates the potential for the establishment of the MTM due to the presence of material (exhibits) and intangible (traditions of professional holidays, historical archives on factory establishment, mass media coverage,

etc.) elements of the automotive heritage, specialists in this field and their network of professional contacts, specialized educational institutions (Fig. 1, legend section «City population»).
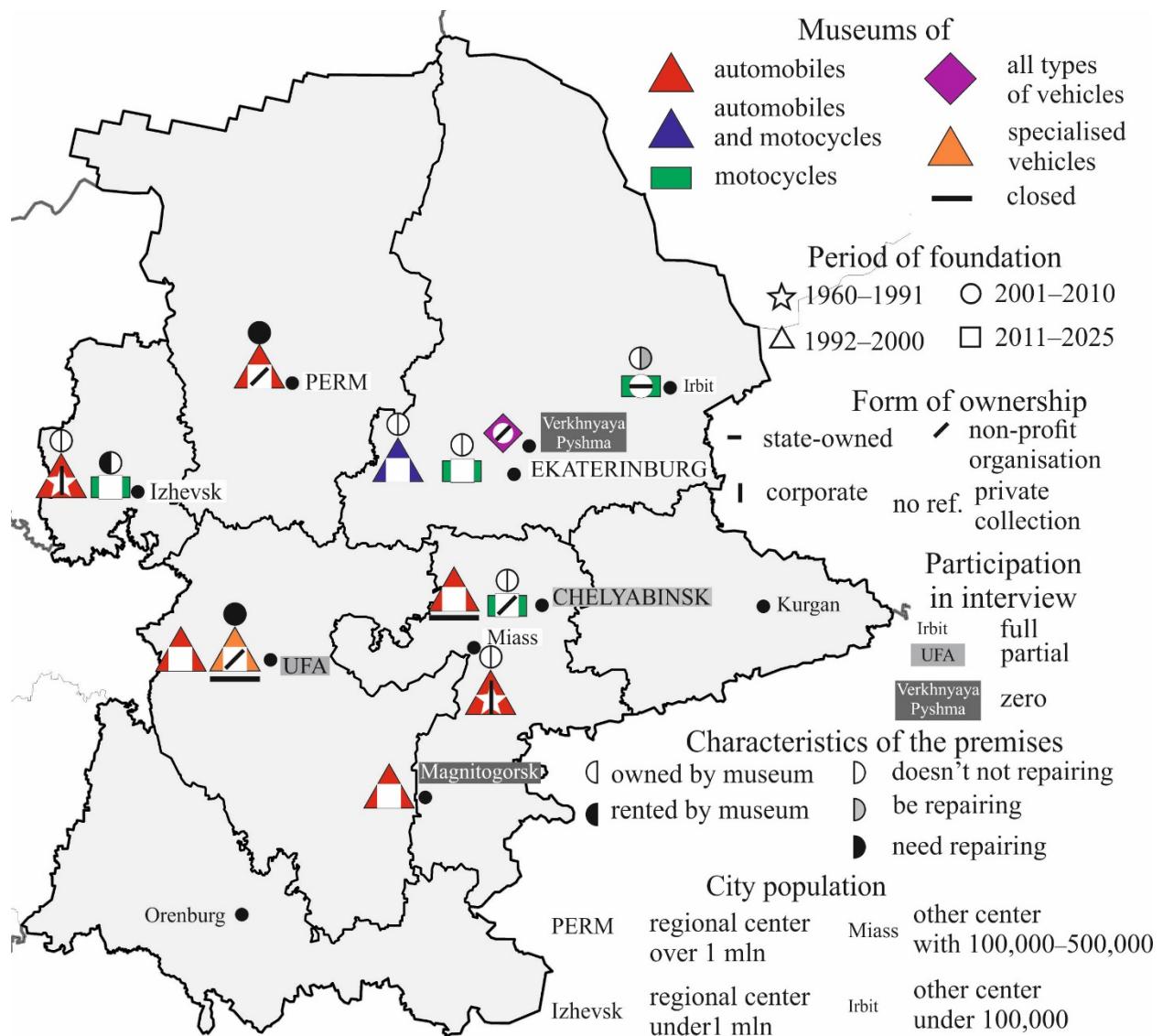
Fig. 1. Motor transport museums of the Ural economic region.

Compiled by the authors based on the results of the study.

A good investment .... If you have a museum, then ... it is an opportunity for the enterprise to promote its history.

An important topic in the specialization of cities and districts of the Russian Federation is the evacuation of enterprises to the Urals during the Second World War.

Tractors were used in the war ... and during the economic recovery of the country after, ... when extinguishing the fire at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant .... If the state does not pay enough attention to such things, ... then it only loses from this. This is all the great history of the country.

3. Type of exhibition. The complexity and duration of the creation of a museum is determined by the type of vehicles that form the basis of the collection (small and large), the cost of restoration, the in-

clusion of historical context in the exhibition, and demonstrations of exhibits from other collectors. The museums under review offer different exhibitions – history of the automotive industry, special vehicles, thematic museums – and directions of their work (when, in addition to the exhibition of models, there is a demonstration of the restoration process, as well as household items of the Soviet period). Since some types of road equipment are smaller than others, it is easier for museums specializing in them to organize storage, exhibition and restoration (Fig. 1, section of the legend «Museums»).

4. Type of premises. The museum founder's ownership or lease on favorable terms of premises that meet the requirements for the storage of the collection (in emergency/non-emergency condition, whether there is enough space or not) greatly simplifies the creation of a museum. The rent of the premises is a significant expense for the museum, which often exists at the expense of the founder. The emergency condition of the rented premises is an obstacle to receiving visitors, obtaining official permission for conducting museum activities and protecting valuable exhibits. Even in relatively prosperous cases, MTMs can complain about the lack of space if they have long-term plans to expand the exhibition (Fig. 1, legend section «Characteristics of premises»).

5. Organizational form. The process of creating a museum also depended on the involvement of relevant enterprises or authorities. If a museum is founded solely on the initiative of an enthusiast, it faces the need to register as an NGO or a private cultural institution. The museums in question are mainly private collections, and only two of them have the status of an NGO. In addition, two museums are corporate or are registered as subsidiaries (JSC automobile plant «URAL», JSC Izh-Lada).

Interestingly, the Urals is a home to the only state museum of motorcycles in the country (in Irbit). Since it does not function as a corporate museum with an operating production facility (Irbit motorcycle plant LLC), the latter does not contribute to its maintenance (Fig. 1, legend section «Form of ownership»).

6. Sources of funding. Almost all corporate museums have stable sources of funding in the face of their enterprises (Izhevsk automobile plant history museum, Automobile manufacturers history museum of JSC AZ «URAL»), state museums – in the face of the state budget (Irbit state museum of motorcycles). The rest are structures that do not always generate income and are financed from the funds of the founders (Izhevsk motorcycle museum of the Kozhushkovs, Retro-Garage museum, MotoEpoha museum, Y. Kuznetsov retro motorcycle museum, «Firefighting equipment always in service», Ets classic cars museum of classic retro cars). The only museum that is fully funded by ticket sales, the Presidential grants fund and the Governor's grants fund of the Perm territory is the Retro-Garage PAM. None of the private museums has a third-party sponsor, although they would like to (Fig. 1, legend section «Form of ownership»).

Operating conditions and strategies of managers

It is necessary to consider what other external conditions influence the choice of strategies for action and interaction among the leaders of the MTMs. These include the following.

1. Lack of legal regulation in the field of private, corporate museums and museum-type institutions [Yureneva, 2024a; Yureneva, 2024b, p. 22]. As a result, regional and municipal authorities cannot pursue their own museum policy (for example, transfer private museums to municipal ones):

It is necessary to create conditions, legislative, first of all... For example, to provide benefits in relation to compulsory motor third party liability insurance.

However, a number of managers see legislative regulation as a potential limitation on their work: *on the one hand, we receive support; on the other, we seem to lose our uniqueness.*

An appropriate strategy would be to create an MTM association to lobby their interests in legislative bodies. However, with the exception of two informants, most MTM directors do not see this as a problem and continue to operate within the existing legal framework.

2. Financial constraints. As non-profit organizations, MTMs can receive support through grants, but their applications do not guarantee success. And even if they receive grants, there are restrictions on expenditure items. For example, most foundations do not allow expenditure on real estate acquisition (including land) or capital construction of new buildings.

As a result, the main strategy is to maintain the museum through independent fundraising. Another strategy is applying for grants. Each new application must meet the current needs of society and the government (not all informants rely on this strategy).

3. Lack of support from regional and municipal authorities. Museum directors expect government support in addressing key issues, such as purchasing or leasing premises and land, the necessary space, and meeting requirements for exhibit placement and storage:

Our exhibits are quite large... and we need somewhere to wash them, ... so we need a large area. Where gasoline and electricity are available, ... we need certain fire safety measures.

Museums also need support in ensuring a constant flow of visitors, for example, through the Pushkin Card system[1]. This requires meeting a number of requirements, including registering a portion of the collection in the state catalog of Russian museum collections [Zyuzichev, 2022].

We actively supported the Pushkin Card for two years, which significantly improved our financial situation. Then the Russian Ministry of Culture tightened the regulations. The most important requirement we are unable to meet is the creation of a safety passport for the premises. The premises do not belong to us.

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[1] A cultural education program for Russian youth aged 14 to 22, launched in 2021. Participants can attend certain cultural events (museums, performances, concerts) at the expense of state funds (up to a special limit, replenished annually).

We are a fully private organization, and are automatically excluded from all state programs... When we opened, the Pushkin Card was also valid for private museums. After a year, funding ceased, and it was recommended that the exhibition be transferred to state storage.

Municipal authorities are expected to improve the urban area near museums:

There was a discussion with the head of the district administration about allocating a park for equipment. Then there was a discussion with the city's designer[1]... things didn't go further than that, as there weren't enough funds.

These characteristics do not apply to state-owned and corporate MTMs that receive support from government agencies or enterprises.

The initial strategy of MTM leaders was to approach local and regional authorities with specific proposals for cooperation or solutions to specific problems. In this study, only one case proved completely successful (the creation of a state museum). Two cases involving establishing cooperation with regional tourist information centers were partially successful. In all other cases, support was either inconsistent or nonexistent. As a result, MTMs either minimize their interactions with government agencies, relying solely on their own resources, or plan to approach government agencies when their leadership changes (hoping for greater interest in the automotive industry's heritage).

4. Lack of sponsorship support from large and medium-sized businesses outside the automotive industry. A possible strategy would be for MTMs to develop business proposals. However, only one museum plans to pursue this strategy. Another possible strategy could be fundraising (using resources from Planeta.ru, Boomstarter, creating a museum foundation, or conducting fundraising events).

5. Lack of personnel with expertise in museum operations (exhibit restoration, archival management, etc.) and museum management (museum mediation, souvenir production, etc.). Moreover, the number of people already working at these museums is insufficient to ensure its day-to-day functioning. Often, the manager's family and friends are involved in MTM work:

The biggest problem is staffing, which I don't yet know how to solve... because it's related to salaries.

Museums either don't know how to solve these problems (due to a lack of funds and expertise), or are just starting to search for solutions «blindly». However, for corporate MTMs, this isn't a significant issue. Often, staffing shortages in museum management are resolved by borrowing successful organizational models from other specialized and non-specialized museums.

6. The museums are located in peripheral urban areas. With the exception of the Kozhushkov motorcycle museum, located in the historical core of Izhevsk, the remaining museums are located on the outskirts of the city center or in the outer zones (in warehouse and industrial areas) of large cities and cities with over a million residents.

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[1] The informant probably meant the city's chief architect.

Since relocating the MTM to the city center is difficult due to the nature of its premises, the chosen strategy is to establish a city navigation system with directions to the museum in coordination with the authorities. Another option is to include it in guidebooks and tour itineraries through collaboration with the Tourist Information Center (TIC) and travel agencies.

Conclusion

All the museums examined in this article, except one («Firefighting equipment always in service»), are currently operating successfully, regardless of the type of director. However, their strategic development goals vary depending on both the type of museum and the type of director. For the first type, the goal is to preserve the museum's automotive heritage; for the second, it is to restore the collection and maintain and expand the automotive community; for the third, it is to expand the format of events to promote the company.

Directors who are custodians of industrial heritage and «ideological» managers are experienced museum leaders with their own development plans and the intention to implement them. For the second type, the museum represents a stable (organizational) form of their passion and interaction with the automotive community. Therefore, they do not always consider long-term plans for the museum's development as a full-fledged organization and do not consider alternative strategies for overcoming existing and future problems.

The key to MTM success under both types of leaders is the professional education (cultural capital), inclinations, and established contacts (social capital). The third type of MTM managers are hired employees and lack specialized expertise in the field of automotive transport. However, they are dedicated to the enterprise and well-versed in the history of the region, which allows them to leverage their experience in promoting the museum externally (social and cultural capital of a different nature).

The first two types of museum managers focus on supporting their activities through their own resources and grant support, while the third type focuses on supporting the enterprise. For corporate museums, state aid is not a priority, whereas for private museums, it is essential. The specific characteristics of these museums, as well as their managers, should be taken into account when developing appropriate government measures.

In a historical and national context, it should be noted that the successfully developing European automotive market (localized production in the region, a large sales market, high product quality, and in-house research and development facilities) has facilitated the emergence of numerous automobile museums with rich and diverse collections [Karasev, 2025, p. 40; Michnicka, Kołodziejczyk, 2022, p. 133]. The emergence of these museums stems from the «abundance» of existing models and the desire to showcase them, to promote brands and the country's technical achievements. In Russia, the creation of MTMs occurred when the country's motor vehicle heritage was threatened to be lost. Interviews revealed

that the museum founders were preserving the country's technical heritage under historically and structurally unfavorable conditions, at a time when interest in it from public institutions, the government, and business was extremely low. Therefore, it is important that efforts to preserve the motor vehicle heritage of the Urals and the Russian Federation, which began as a private initiative, find support from the state and society. MTMs must find a sustainable foundation for their continued operation and development.

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