Diagrams of Resilience: Pragmatic Diagnostics of Moscow Shopping

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Shopping Paradoxes

The changes experienced by Moscow in the context of political unrest and extreme economic hardship following the fall of the USSR present a notable case of urban resilience. The headlong jump into a free-market system, privatization scams, and financial shock therapy signaled massive economic and political overhauls. The overarching process of reformation caused ruptures in traditional urban practices. After the collapse of the state-controlled system of production, distribution and supply, Moscow became a spatial reflection of social transition. When the city was forced to accommodate the demands of a fledgling capitalist market, rapid proliferation of commercial structures became a key mode of urban transformation. If during Soviet years commerce hardly impinged on the fabric of the city, in Post-Soviet Moscow shopping became the dominant mode of spatial production.[1] The unprecedented speed of commercialization, as well as continual invention and hybridization of spatial typologies position Moscow as a unique context for the study of post-crisis urban remediation.

However, the collision between old and new urban systems during the process of restructuring renders Moscow as a promising, yet particularly challenging, case of post-crisis remediation. The shopping landscape is marked by a series of paradoxical coexistences. The bottom-up emergence of new structures is affected by top-down government planning. Rigid zoning striations allow for unprecedented mixtures. Introduced as a passive addition to the existing urban frame, shopping is the most active space-producing infrastructure. Recent mega-projects give the impression of growing stability, which is at odds with the instability of ownership, occupancy and internal structure. The officially supported "Moscow style" sustains national identity, yet occludes the transplants of external retail models which contribute to the processes of globalization. Permanent facades mask turbulent interior content. [*Fig.* 1]
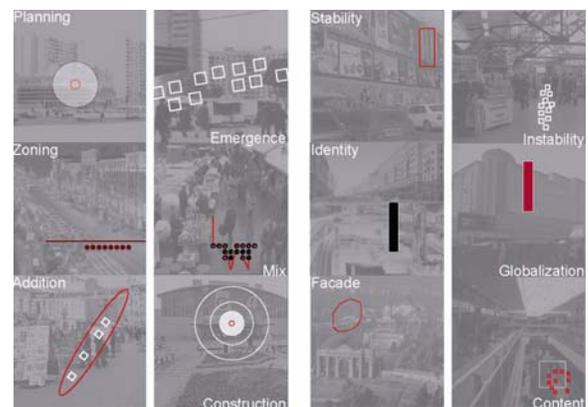
The ambiguous program of restructuring challenges theoretical apparata of the discipline. Most noticeably, post-crisis Moscow does not fit neatly into artificially constructed "disaster narratives" that create the illusion of order or exaggerate dissolution into chaos.[2] The transformation of Moscow space cannot be described as an evolution of disorder into order. Neither does it present itself as an entropic process. Non-linear interactions between existing and emergent urban structures do not present themselves in terms of linear progression to a single stable state.

Unfortunately, many urban inventions and their effects are discarded by most narratives of Moscow's transformation for they do not act in support of dominant conceptual perspectives. Dynamic processes and pervasive contradictions are, at best, acknowledged.[3] Furthermore, since Moscow's hybrid "orders" do not follow directly from planning schemes or theoretical programs, ready-made categories for their analysis do not yet exist. In the terminology of Thomas Kuhn, the perceived ambiguities are perplexing "anomalies" in relation to the paradigms of "normal" architectural science.[4]

Pragmatic Diagnostics

In order to promote the development of new theoretical categories, Moscow anomalies are explored within the framework of pragmatic diagnostics. A "pragmatic" turn in both scholarship and practice can be seen as an attempt to overcome the current disjunction between theoretical reflection and design interventions.[5] Contemporary practices can no longer rely on a priori theoretical frameworks to diagnose existing situations, for the outdated nomenclatures of key urban components tend to be at odds with new dynamic organizations. Pragmatic engagement with urban conditions gains heightened importance in this context, for it implies the ability to distinguish a series of phenomena that do not easily fit into existing scientific formulae.[6] New theories can be produced while negotiating inconsistent urban processes. As proposed by John Rajchman, pragmatic research adapts its assumptions in response to new forces, rather than subjecting observed phenomena to ready-made theoretical filters.[7] Adaptive analysis focuses on diagnosing singular orders out of complex environments. The diagram is to be used as a primary tool to detect and archive new spatial organizations and temporal relations.[8] Challenged with the complexity of urban dynamics, diagrams can convey specific spatial models. The inherent materialism of the diagram not only describes forces and relationships behind the contradictory compositions of form, but also makes them visible and operable.[9] Thus, diagramming is integral to the present investigation.

In the context under consideration, "Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping" offers a particularly important precedent.[10] Directed by Rem Koolhaas, Harvard Guide defied dominant theories of architecture and urbanism by exposing the pivotal role of shopping in urban mutations. Shopping defined new models of the city that are prolific, dynamic, inclusive and adaptable. On a programmatic level, many activities rely on shopping for their survival, while shopping continues to swallow existing programs to expand its reach. On a spatial level, the medium of shopping comprises unprecedented horizontal expansions, vertical extension, and sectional confusion. The smooth pervasiveness of shopping transforms the city into a continuous "junkspace". Within the proliferating smoothness of "junkspace", old and new, form and function, permanent and temporary, controlled and indeterminate are no longer distinguishable.[11]

Previously, shopping remained largely unexamined by the profession because its effects defied traditional urban categories. "Junkspace" escaped the radar screens of urban theory for it couldn't be grasped and analyzed through conventional lenses. As Koolhaas admits, "only the diagram [can give] a bearable version" that approximates the permanent evolution of "junkspace".[12] The Harvard Guide collects shopping "diagrams" that range from informational to formal. Shopping is diagrammed as a boundless collection of new self-replicating elements that form a larger dynamic system. For example, shopping is approached as a living urban ecology where change is explained by the organic relationships among commercial "patches", "corridors", and the "matrix" they inhabit.[13] The Guide seeks new theoretical terms for urban analysis that are sensitive to the new logic of operation.

While such retroactive excavations inform the current pragmatic diagnostics of Moscow shopping, differences must be noted. Analytical diagrams of new urban elements that emerged within shopping ecologies can provide a general theoretical framework within which to unravel the orders of post-crisis "junkspace". However, this study treats shopping as an efficient instrument of urban transformation rather than a proliferating spatial medium of simulated programmatic unity. Absorption of conventional theoretical distinctions is perceived as the emergent rule of resilience. Despite the fact that post-Soviet Moscow is commonly considered to be a slow-recovering metropolis that has generally deployed

"imported" methods of commercialization, there are efficient technologies of restructuring that are unique to the Russian context. Thus, this study aims to excavate the reconstructive logic devised by Moscow shopping in critical moments, while updating conceptual frameworks for urban analysis.

Case-Studies

Product / Production [*Fig.* 2]:[14]
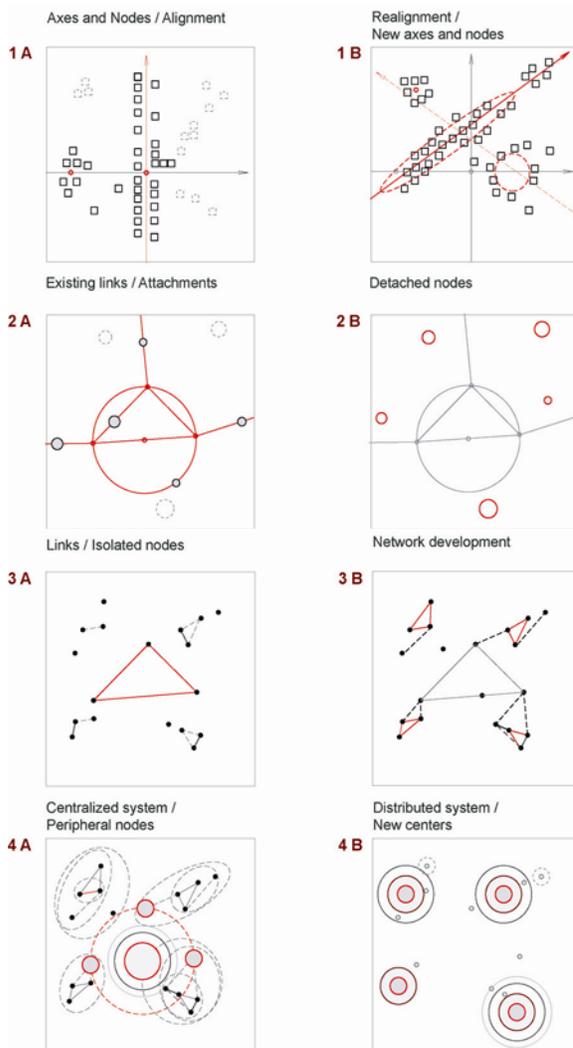
Given the significance of easy access for commercial success, the initial commercial explosion of Moscow was aligned with existing infrastructure. At first, transportation paths and nodes were the backbone for additive development. The first wave of trading stalls and kiosks concentrated around main prospects, metro stations and bus stops.[15]

Those seemingly chaotic accumulations of non-stationary sites exhibited distinct spatial rhythms: some organized into provisional strip malls while others formed new urban plazas.[16] Lines of sidewalk stalls and kiosks around Gagarin Square later fossilized into a large outdoors shopping "arcade". At Konkovo, several outdoor markets, covered pavilions and parking lots gradually integrated into a single trading complex. [*diag.* 1] Due to regulatory measures, subsequent ad-hoc construction was relegated to leftover and transit areas. As shopping took over buffer strips, industrial yards and transfer tunnels, it activated the residual space. The pedestrian passages linked with the metro transfer halls at Pushkinskiy square were lined with kiosks and eventually grew into an underground "mall". On a larger scale, the commercial nodes that originally gravitated towards airports, rail and trunk roads also switched from passive to active roles. Exiled to the periphery, assemblages of pavilions became independent attractions. [*diag.* 2] Where the shortage of local infrastructure was most acute, private shuttles and roads sponsored by IKEA, Ramstor and Mega enabled new links with outlying cottage communities. Accessible commercial centers spurred new residential development.

As argued by Manuel de Landa, within a non-linear "mineral" model of development, urban infrastructures are both generated by and generate material flows.[17] Even through new provisional assemblages are not yet fully formalized into an interconnected "exoskeleton", their autonomous parts can already regulate and direct motion of urban matter. The solidified segments of infrastructure begin to participate in urban processes, creating a set of constraints that either intensifies or inhibits them.[18] The established circuits begin to support programmatic events that in their own turn perform as "motors" of intensification and concentration of future material accumulation.[19]

Post-Soviet shopping entered into non-linear interaction with the Soviet city. Shopping was catalyzed by the existing infrastructural system, and at the same time served as a powerful catalyst for its growth. Transportation routes provided for fast spread of shopping, but were also altered by subsequent commercial development. Even though the proximity to existing hubs of activity imposed

limits on emergent configurations of markets and arcades, their extensions transformed transfer spaces into independent attractions. Occupancy of peripheral and interstitial space altered the established hierarchy of sub-centers. The space of commerce was fragmented by the existing distribution of empty space, yet proliferating homogeneity of shopping served to linked heterogeneous patches of the city. Commercial space "bundled" with secondary infrastructural elements evened out sharp contrasts between dense urban corridors and inactive residential tissue. [*diag.* 3-4]

Appearance / Operation [*Fig*. 3]:
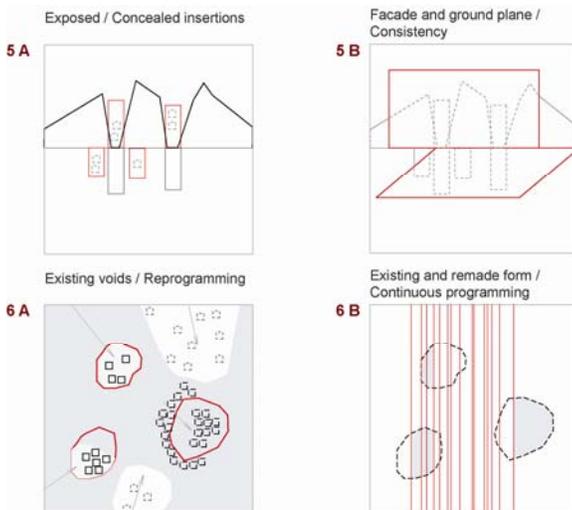
In Moscow, appearances are deceiving. In keeping with the long Russian tradition of the "Potemkin villages", shopping was the perfect material for the expedient construction of the fake urban frontage. Like previous regimes, the Moscow government attempted to cover all traces of hardship, destruction and transience with the simulated image of timeless power.[20] As part of the mayor's "master-plan", key concentric urban "rings" were to maintain continuous fronts of boutiques. Occasionally, unsightly processes of urban restructuring would interfere with the projected image of an economic miracle and deter tourists and local consumers. Given the urgent need for visual consistency, the most efficient way to "cover-up" the problem was to permit the construction of an extra-large commercial project. The desire for an uninterrupted street appearance conditioned the grafts of foreign retail models into the city center. For example, the shopping complex on Kurskaya square was originally
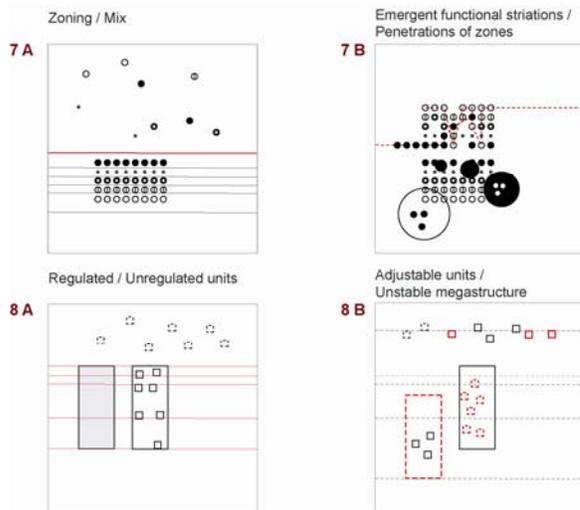
conceived as a subterranean platform, but was realized above ground. The enormous "box" conveniently covered up the huge "problem spot" in front of the Kurskiy train station.[21] It thwarted unwanted visitors from the station square with its blind wall, while on the side oriented towards the affluent Garden Ring, the fortress switched into a hypertrophic glass arcade. Such commercial "masks" produced an impression of stability within actual turmoil. [*diag.* 5]

In order to accommodate commercial expansion without demolition of existing structures and erasure of stylistic identity, it became convenient for Moscow's exterior to be disconnected from interior. Following the deindustrialization of the city, the expanding shopping network colonized factory buildings, production halls and warehouses and gave a second life to abandoned facilities.[22] Some invaders had a temporary status and shared their spaces with the "host" programs, such as stall markets inside / outside of Luzhniki stadium and the covered arena "Dynamo". One of the most illustrative examples of re-use of existing space is VDNH, where stately neo-classical facades contain a cob-web of passages, partitions and vitrines.[23] Yet another Russian paradox of a historical "re-make" also implied a disjunction between copied appearance and contemporary function. The Moskva Hotel on the Manege Square was planned to be re-built as a multi-functional complex, incorporating business center and entertainment programs. Historical mansions are "restored" to house boutiques and restaurants such as "Pushkin" on Boulevard Ring. Reconstructed "Costinniy Dvor" ("Guest Yard"), previously occupied by a bazaar and government offices, reopened as an arcade of modern boutiques, an exhibition hall and a business center.[24] Even "contemporary" facades were in disjunction with their commercial content. The official "Moscow Style" of recent megalomaniac complexes disguised the insertion of imported shopping models.

As control over urban exteriors increased, commercial interiors enjoyed greater flexibility. As discovered by Rem Koolhaas, the "lobotomy" performed on a New York skyscraper liberated internal conflicts from their traditional relationship with the outside surfaces. "Deliberate discrepancy between container and contained" allowed architecture

to "discover an area of unprecedented freedom". In even more schizophrenic version of Russian architectural masquerade, consistent separation between form and program became a restructuring strategy.[25] Tight fit between processes and their external manifestations was abandoned. Shopping could independently affect programmatic content and visual appearance. Behind the fixed urban image or decorative façade, commercial mechanisms could be easily installed and manipulated. Without disturbing the static container, "programmatic lava" delivered maximum commercial density with minimum intervention.[26] The unrestricted, steady flow of program filled unused urban interstices and erased obsolete spatial striations. Continuous cycles of use permitted new forms of time-based urban restructuring. [*diag.* 6]

Regulation / Instability [*Fig.* 4]:

Zoning / Mix

7 A

Emergent functional striations / Penetrations of zones

7 B

Regulated / Unregulated units

8 A

Adjustable units / Unstable megastructure

8 B

Moscow structures appear to have progressed from temporary, uncontrolled arrangements to significantly more stable organizations. Since belated commercialization occurred in a context of high economic risk, early retail structures favored locations and construction systems that required only a low level of investment. After the first freedoms were granted to private initiatives, Moscow came alive with crowds of people selling goods on folding tables. A bit later, thousands of multi-purpose kiosks sprouted everywhere, providing a quick fix for the shortage of commercial space.[27] The initial provisional clusters of trading units, stalls, kiosks, and trucks were extremely flexible to the changing economic conditions.

However, these expressions of a city-wide 'spatial revolution' were perceived as inappropriate by the municipality. When bidding processes for lucrative central locations and organized permit issuance attempted to introduce coherence into prime infrastructural spots, many temporary units relocated into residential courtyards and parks. Regulatory measures were also taken to concentrate spontaneous activities into open-air markets or vacant industrial facilities. Most temporary sites received lasting enclosures. Since the municipality was only concerned with restricting exterior boundaries of the trading sites, the absence of control over the interior permitted new structures to emerge from within the scattered stalls, containers and mesh-screens. Early markets promoted not only spatial tolerance, but also supported a range of ancillary programs such as gambling, currency exchange, dining and even living-space.

By the end of 1990s, the spread of high-level locations coming from strategic investments made by large concerns, rather than the activities of small kiosk traders, suggested the beginning of a more stable regulatory framework.[28] The Moscow administration pursued a repressive policy towards open-air markets, while supporting the foreign model of specialized retail. Under the pressure of permanent shopping centers, "nomadic" markets kept shifting towards the periphery along the arterial motorways.[29] They were forced to relocate frequently, and deployed parked trucks and fabric coverings as their facilities. Some owners of open-air markets started to construct purpose-built facilities on the city outskirts, in which they leased structural bays on a short-term basis. While such large enterprises were no longer mobile, they nevertheless developed flexible uses of space, providing a versatile alternative to the historical shopping arcades or "big boxes". Unlike the peripheral sites, shopping in the city center did not contribute to programmatic fluidity. A number of main thoroughfares had turned not only into exclusively commercial areas, but also into "single-specialty" shopping strips. For example, Leninskiy Prospect offers nothing but home improvement and furniture stores for several miles. [*diag.* 7]

At first, Moscow appears to comply with the "junkspace" model, defined by Rem Koolhaas.[30] Materialization is always provisional and

change is the only constant. Evolution, conversion and movement mark a condition of "escalation", not permanence.[31] As an accumulation of "impermanent subsystems" and "orphaned particles" in search of a framework or pattern, junkspace offers a reversal of organization. The existing distinctions between spaces and programs are dissolved within homogeneous interiors. Attempts to transcend the entropy by imposition of the megastructure are of no avail. However, in Moscow the situation was more complex. Attempts to centrally organize shopping according to a mega-plan did, in fact, fail. The control measures meant to make commercial space more permanent, forced the displaced structures to seek temporary locations. The attempts to compact the dispersed trade units prompted new strategies for their distribution. Demands for stability increased the mobility of commercial sites. While the authorities were concerned with the appearance of urban containers, shopping devised new modes of flexible operation.

Shopping did not directly oppose the imposed spatial hierarchies, but introduced change by rearranging an expansive shopping "field". As Stan Allen has observed, field conditions are defined not by overarching geometrical schemas but by internal rules for accumulation.[32] Because the rules are defined locally, variations and obstacles can be accommodated by fluid adjustment.[33] In order to survive constant relocations around the city, the originally chaotic proliferation of shopping subsystems developed an internal pattern of organization that allowed for quick assembly and reassembly. In response to stabilization measures, Moscow shopping fields also developed new crossovers between the superstructure and the subsystem. "Plug-in" units and migratory "particles" developed symbiotic relationships with their shells, while the preserved loose logic of accumulation inflected the imposed rigid order. Furthermore, while shopping did smooth out the existing boundaries of functional zoning by hybridizing with other programs, it also introduced new functional differentiation into the homogeneous urban fabric. [*diag.* 8]
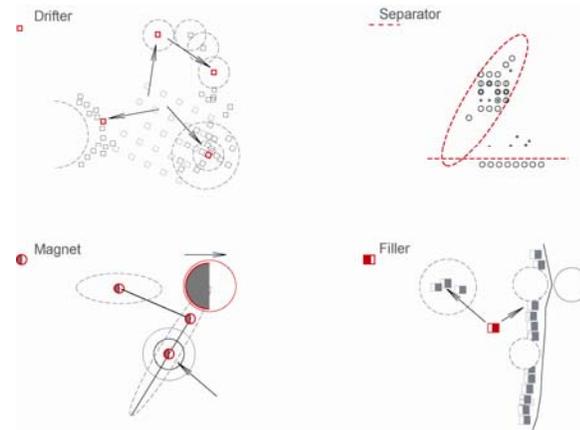
Elements

Although the assembled archive of diagrams demonstrated the heterogeneity of procedures that underlie the interaction of shopping with the city, a number of common traits were perceptible in all case-studies to varying degrees. Overlaps between diagrams suggested that a limited set of functional components were at work. The key to Moscow shopping systems lies in four alternative types of urban elements: drifters, magnets, separators, and fillers. Their principles of operation were condensed into diagrammatic templates. [Fig. 5]

The unprecedented mobility of unfixed units – *drifters* - permitted transformation of the centralized systems into distributed networks. Drifters sustained an urban "field condition", within which commercial clusters could emerge, react to controls and obstacles, and re-form at a new location. Drifters accumulated around urban attractors, permeated functional zones, and delineated commercial corridors. Drifters also transported programmatic "packages" into the underdeveloped areas. Transitory shopping clusters alleviated the disparity between dynamic models of urban operation and existing static framework.

Commercial space functioned as a *magnet*: it would cling to the permanent segments of the urban armature and simultaneously attract loose filaments. Attaching themselves to existing infrastructural paths, transfer stations, building skeletons, magnets converted quantitative difference into qualitative change. The directionality of display and service "domains" formed dense figures within dispersed material field while maintaining high

level of activity along exposed frontages. Attracted to each other, magnets catalyzed connections between sub-centers. The magnetic field of shopping prevented disintegration of the urban fringes into suburban sprawl.

Shopping acted as a *separator*: it collected fragments of both planned and self-generated material, mixed them into a fluid suspension, and then applied centrifugal force in order to filter out key "rich" particles. At first, new structures and programs were liberated from the need to be permanently attached to any particular design scheme, and Moscow was converted into an enormous mixed-use site. With the proliferation of regulatory boundaries, shopping began to act as a filter. The volatile mixtures of programs were directed into "high" and "low" channels. Low-budget retail and entertainment filtered into the depth of the interior and to the peripheral districts, while upscale urban substance was layered over the urban center. Once solid commercial product was spread over urban façades, shopping separated opposite charges of "figured" and "disfigured" districts, in order to prevent a destructive short-circuit. [34]

Commercial *filler* permeated cracks and voids of the disjoined urban system. Provisional connections between old and new components were made flexible, yet resilient. Disparate structures were unified into continuous urban facades. Sealed seams produced shock-tight urban masks. Behind the surface, fill-in programs invigorated use and re-use of existing facilities. Shopping permeated the concealed cavities and developed a cohesive urban network. Facilitating insertion of imported models, filler introduced fluid market models onto a city with an established formal structure.

Effects

The remarkable resilience of the post-Soviet city in dire social and spatial straits can be attributed to the emergent technologies of shopping. Moscow experiments demonstrate that systemic crises can create opportunities for inventive urban practices. The study reveals alternative orders that helped resolve the most persistent conflicts during urban reform. Analysis of contradictory urban expressions locates emergent rules of resilience in the space in-between the opposing

agendas. With identification of new urban elements, apparent paradoxes are resolved. In combination with each other, shopping elements permitted transformation of commercial substructures as local adjustments to large-scale redevelopments under governmental master plans. Externally controlled hierarchies were mitigated by the a-hierarchical organization of the shopping field. Without complicity or resistance to prescription, shopping production hinged on creative "deviations" from dictated norms. Local intensifications of material flows created enclaves of "smoothness" that dissolved material borders and eliminated top-down zoning, while accumulation of matter and activity along emergent infrastructure stabilized into new urban "striations". Additive developments were converted into autonomous centers of growth and activity. The permanent urban surfaces protected the productive condition of instability. Operating in the gap between external form and internal function, shopping elements supported flexible patterns of use within a rigid urban framework.

On a methodological level, diagrammatic diagnostics of Moscow shopping resonates with larger disciplinary debates regarding the necessity for change in the relationship between urban conditions, theoretical analysis, and design projection. Subliminal urban rules are made accessible through research and diagramming, helping to bridge the divide between theoretical models and urban operation. In attempting to provide explanations for persistent urban anomalies, diagrammatic diagnostics also suggest the possibility of redefining theoretical approaches without resorting to traditional binary oppositions. Focusing on operation, diagrams accommodate the relations of hybridity and simultaneity. Key templates of transformation are extracted from the bewildering urban complexity. The study not only distills the principles of urban resilience, but also identifies key agents behind the urban change. New shopping elements emerge as analytical categories for the subsequent engagements with Moscow restructuring. Significantly, the theoretical framework is not only applied from without, but is also produced during the process of analysis. In this way, pragmatic engagement with reality through diagramming facilitates invention of new theoretical norms.

The use of the diagram as a tool for urban analysis has further advantages. Diagrammatic analysis defines shopping elements in both discursive and material terms. Functioning as both machines for material intervention and carriers of architectural concepts, diagrams link analysis and production. Facility of transposition between abstract and concrete modes of presentation suggests new applications for research products. Invisible processes of transformation are made accessible as material for experimentation. Such research can have a direct effect on design practice. Theoretical modeling of the urban systems can inform project scenarios. Analytical diagrams can be upgraded to generative. Pragmatic diagnosis and diagramming can become a means for operational alignment between design techniques and urban conditions.

Endnotes

[1] Dmitry Shvidkovsky. "Moscow Architecture in 1997: trade, power and the 'new Russians" *AA Files 33* (Summer 1997): 3-12

[2] As noted by Kevin Rozario, "illusion of order" is characteristic of the constructed narratives of urban disasters. However, such narratives belie the true complexity of the restoration process by promoting a notion of linear progress towards total control. On the other extreme, an artificially sustained "illusion of disorder" exaggerates the advantages of a return to the original chaotic state in opposition to predictable conventions. In the case of Moscow, both types of narratives would be equally inaccurate. Kevin Rozario. "Making Progress: Disaster Narratives and the Art of Optimism in Modern America" in Lawrence Vale and Thomas Campanella, eds. *The resilient city: how modern cities recover from disaster* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 27-54

[3] See for example Felix Zwoch. "Hotel Moskva" in Ramesh Biswas, ed. *Metropolis Now! Urban Cultures in Global Cities* (Vienna, New York: Springer-Verlag, 2000), 194-205

[4] Thomas Kuhn. *The structure of scientific revolutions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1962)

[5] Here I am referring to a set of papers from the "Pragmatist Imagination" conference, Museum of Modern Art, New York, November 2000.

[6] As Stan Allen argues, while pragmatism "respects laws that govern matter and forces, it is also attentive to the fact that these laws operate without regard to ... the established conventions of rational expression." The apparent gaps in the fit between theory and reality can be explored as a source of invention and creativity. Stan Allen, "Pragmatism in Practice", manuscript from "Pragmatism Imagination" Conference, Museum of Modern Art, New York, November 2000, 3

[7] According to John Rajchman, "new pragmatism" in architecture demands responsiveness to new conditions and forces, without being inhibited by any ideological program or larger vision. Given the new challenges, a new manner of questioning through diagrammatic diagnostics is proposed. John Rajchman. "A New Pragmatism?" in Cynthia Davidson, ed. *Anyhow* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 212

[8] According to John Rajchman, the connection with reality is made possible by "diagnosis and diagramming". Diagram is used to locate singular orders can be located within complex environments. By releasing previously invisible movements and spaces, diagrams can define alternative programs for architecture. John Rajchman. "A New Pragmatism?" in Cynthia Davidson, ed. *Anyhow* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 212

[9] Sanford Kwinter. "The Hammer and the Song" *OASE* 48 (1998), 31-44

[10] Chuihua Judy Chung, Jeffrey Inaba, Rem Koolhaas, Sze Tsung Leong, et al. *Harvard Design School guide to shopping* (Köln: Taschen; Cambridge, MA: Harvard Design School, 2001)

[11] Rem Koolhaas. "Junkspace" in Rem Koolhaas, Sze Tsung Leong, et al. *Harvard Design School guide to shopping* (Köln: Taschen; Cambridge, MA: Harvard Design School, 2001), 408-422

[12] Ibid., 415

[13] Tae-Wook Cha. "Shopping is Ecology" in Rem Koolhaas, Sze Tsung Leong, et al. *Harvard Design School guide to shopping* (Köln: Taschen; Cambridge, MA: Harvard Design School, 2001), 320-336

[14] This paper is a condensed version of the larger project - "Moscow Guide to Shopping". Due to space limitations, only three case-studies are introduced. The other investigations dealt with the contrasts between emergence and planning; zoning and mix; as well nationalism and globalization.

[15] Dmitry Shvidkovsky. "Moscow Architecture in 1997: Trade, Power and the 'New Russians" *AA Files* 33 (Summer 1997): 4

[16] Jim Curtis. "Kiosk Culture in Moscow" *Metropolis* v. 17, n. 7 (April 1998): 28-35

[17] Manuel de Landa. *A thousand years of non-linear history* (New York, NY: Swerve Editions, 2000), 28

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Svetlana Boym. "Nostalgia, Moscow Style: Authoritarian Postmodernism and its Discontents" *Harvard Design Magazine 13* (Winter-Spring 2001): 4-12

[21] Eugene Vladimirov. "Above-Ground Underground City" *Proekt Rossia / Project Russia* ("Shopping: The Architecture of Display") 23 (1992): 19-26

[22] For example, the textile factory Krasnaya Rosa was converted into a furniture showroom, a café and an architect studio. Clem Cecil. "Safeguarding Architecture" *Abitare* 444 (2004): 117-122

[23] VDNH was a Soviet trade-show complex of specialized pavilions built to promote the image of unified industry and agriculture. After 1991, sprawling kiosks and unregulated movement of all kinds of vehicles occupied the centralized master-plan of strolling alleys and vast fountain plazas. *Moskva 850 let*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Moskovskie Uchebniki, 1996), 130-131

[24] Anatoly Korolev, "Post-Soviet architecture dominated by remakes," http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/7260-3.cfm

[25] Rem Koolhaas. *Delirious New York: a retroactive manifesto for Manhattan* (New York, NY: Monacelli Press, 1994), 100 -101

[26] Rem Koolhaas. "Programmatic Lava" in Rem Koolhaas, et al. *SMLXL* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), 1210-1238

[27] Dmitry Shvidkovsky. "Moscow Architecture in 1997: trade, power and the 'new Russians" *AA Files 33* (Summer 1997): 3-12

[28] Robert Rudolph. "Moscow: Processes of Restructuring in the Post-Soviet Metropolitan Periphery" *Cities* v. 22, n. 2 (April 2005): 147-148

[29] Ibid.

[30] Rem Koolhaas. "Junkspace" in Rem Koolhaas, Sze Tsung Leong, et al. *Harvard Design School guide to shopping* (Köln: Taschen; Cambridge, MA: Harvard Design School, 2001), 409

[31] Ibid.

[32] Stan Allen. "Field Conditions" in *Point and Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 94

[33] Ibid., 97

[34] Terminology by M. Christine Boyer.