Social Housing in Russia: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow

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Abstract. The main type of housing construction in modern Russia is an apartment building (MKD) with combined types of property: commercial and municipal (state). The current situation is a direct reflection of the inexpressive architectural appearance of mass residential development. Municipal apartments of the state form of ownership, which are part of the MKD, can and should be allocated to a separate class of social housing with subsequent architectural and spatial development and taking into account new effective forms of private rental entrepreneurship and management. The reason for this are the intensive efforts of state structures, which are increasingly entering the rental housing market, creating competition for the shadow sector of rented apartments by the so-called private “rentiers.” In this regard, two main directions for the development of social houses of private-state entrepreneurship were identified: rental apartment buildings of a commercial type and municipal houses of a non-commercial type. The development of social houses of private-state entrepreneurship will take into account the socio-economic needs of society and will make the architecture of residential development more diverse.

1. Introduction
The topic of social housing has always been one of the priorities, the more the state takes care of its socially vulnerable citizens, the stronger and better the future of the country. The need to allocate social housing to a separate class with the subsequent development of architectural and planning typology is largely determined today by their consumer value, which is determined by a number of new legislative initiatives, namely:
- social rental houses of private-state business of commercial type are put into operation, which at the same time are a kind of “income” houses.
- social state/municipal houses are developed for preferential categories of citizens who are provided with apartments under a social hire agreement, which can and should also be ranked by interest.

Modern social housing in urban and peripheral conditions should provide modern requirements for a comfortable and accessible environment [1].

2. Theoretical part
Social residential buildings in Russia have undergone a long path of development. In pre-revolutionary Russia, they were mainly shelters and almshouses built by charitable and religious organizations or
private individuals. For example, the house of "free apartments" of brothers Bakhrushin on Sofiyskaya embankment in Moscow, which has survived to this day (Figure 1) [1 - 3].

Figure 1. The house of "free apartments" of brothers Bakhrushin on Sofiyskaya embankment in Moscow. Currently the office of "Rosneft" company. © L.A. Solodilova.

Social forms of housing in tsarist Russia also include departmental barracks or barracks built by the owners of production enterprises for their employees, and the so-called night houses, which can be attributed to cheap types of income housing (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Facade and fragment of the facade of one of the first departmental apartment buildings of the merchant P. Khryashchev, built in 1778 and intended for the residence of its employees. © L.A. Solodilova.

Since 1918 in Soviet Russia a whole series of privatization in apartment buildings was carried out, in fact private property ceased to exist. Since the 1950s the era of housing construction with the first socially oriented apartments has come. First such houses had excellent characteristics (meter, floor height, etc.) and today can be classified as the highest price category (Figure 3).
Figure 3. Plan and general view of a residential building of the Moscow series II-02 on Stroiteley Street: 1-room apartment 32-50m²; 2-room apartment 44-66m²; 3-room apartment 57-85 m²; 4-room apartment 80-140m²; kitchen up to 15m²; floor height up to 3.5m. © L.A. Solodilova.

Period from 1957 to 1933 was marked by houses built according to extremely economical model series (MG 300, II-32, 1605 -AM, K7, etc.), which were massively built in accordance with building codes and regulations. This was dictated by a shortage of housing and accompanied by an obvious excess of old and poor-quality real estate in the late 60s, which at that time was presented by unfavourable barracks. New houses are distinguished by scarce architectural, artistic and spatial solutions. Such houses in real estate terminology sound today like "Khrushchevki" or "Malogabaritki" (Small apartments) in memory of the KPSS Central Committee first Secretary Nikita Khrushchev, on whose initiative these houses were developed and introduced (Figure 4) [4].

Figure 4. The plan and general view of one of the first Moscow series of industrial house building II-32: 1- room 26-36m², 2-room - 36-45m², 3-room - 45-56m², 4-room - 56-68m², 5-room - 68-80m². Kitchen area - 4-6m², floor height 2.7m. © L.A. Solodilova.
Period from 1970 to 1980 was marked by the construction of brick and panel five-story and nine-story houses according to the typical series (1-515/9sh, II-29, II-49, P-44 P-47, 111-90, etc.) of industrial house building. These houses in real estate terminology sound like "typical" or "standard," among them the subspecies "Czech," "Polish" became famous. Apartments in these houses have slightly better parameters, in particular: 1-room with a layout "Polish" - 35m²; 2-room - 44m²; 3-room - 65m²; 4-room - 70m²; in 1-room and 2-room apartments - a straight balcony, in 3-room - a straight and corner balcony. 1-room apartments with a standard layout "Czech" have the following parameters - 32m²; 2-room - 44m²; 3-room - 64m²; 4-room - 89m²; In 1-room and 2-room apartments - corner balcony, in 3-room - straight and corner balcony, in 4-room - three balconies. The area of kitchens is up to 6.5-7m², the height of the floor is 2.7 m. For houses built in the period from 1970 to 1990 [5, 6] panel and brick 9-storey and 16-storey typical houses are characterized by the following (series II-66 - K7/16, K8/16, "KOPE" - volume-planning elements, P-44, P-44TM, P-44K, etc., in which the following upper limits of the total area of apartments are recommended: the area of kitchen is at least 8m²; 1-room apartments - up to 36m²; 2-room - up to 53m²; 3-room - up to 65m²; 4-room - up to 77m²; 5-room - up to 95m². Subsequently, apartments are divided into subtypes A and B and have the following areas: kitchens - at least 8m², 1-room apartments with a standard layout of type A - 28m² (with kitchen or niche kitchen at least 5m²); type B - 36m²; 2-room type A - 44m²; type B - 53m²; 3-room - type A - 56m²; type B - 65m²; 4-room - type A - 70m²; type B - 77m²; 5-room - type A - 84m²; type B - 95m² and 6-room - type A - 96m²; type B - 108m². Such houses are 9-12 and 16-story panel houses, as well as 14-story brick houses. Part of the apartments is designed with an improved layout, the area of the 1-room apartment is up to 39m², the 2-room - up to 53-54m², the 3-room - up to 64-69m². Such apartments in real estate terminology sound like "Uluchshenki" ("improved"). For Moscow types A and B are divided into categories of housing and have normative values according to the categories of comfort (Table.1) [7].

| Category of the housing | Apartment type and total area, m² |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                        | 1M 1B 2M 2B 3M 3B 4M 4B 5M 5B 6M 6B |
| I category             | 33 38 44 54 62 68 74 83 89 96 103 109 |
| II category            | 33 38 44 54 62 68 74 83 89 96 103 109 |
|                        | 24 26 36 51 54 65 70 77 84 94 101 108 |

All the listed types of social housing developed in Soviet times were a separate class of state property and accordingly, could not be inherited. Already from the 90s of the XX century apartments in these houses began to be privatized and as a result of such a housing policy a new class of MKD appeared in Russia, faceless both in their architecture and in the form of property presented by:
- the municipal authority;
- by citizens, the owners of apartments, most of which evade taxes on the profits earned from the surrender of their dwellings. Thus, in modern Russia social housing, which previously existed as a separate class, practically disappeared, turning into separate apartments allocated by the municipal (state) authorities in mass houses of the standard class. Changing the status and characteristics of promising social houses make it urgent to allocate social housing to a separate typological class, followed by the development of scientific and practical recommendations for the design of such houses and their complexes. Social employment houses can be classified as non-commercial rental houses and can be built by the state or a private investor as special social income housing. In a social apartment house, at least half of the apartments as a rule can be given for non-commercial free rent to poor citizens [7-9]. In its turn housing for commercial rental operates on the basis of a preferential rental rate, therefore it can be called a rental apartment house of private-state entrepreneurship. That is
in the usual sense these are rental/hired houses that are offered for rent by any organizations: as a rule state structures, less often - developers. There are two types of hired housing: hired houses of a social type and hired houses of a commercial type. If we are talking about hired/rented houses of a commercial type, this is a tenement house in which all apartments are intended for rent. At the same time, the level of rent is controlled necessarily [10-13].

3. Suggestions and recommendations
The need to allocate social housing in a separate class with the subsequent development of architectural and planning typology is caused by a complex of modern requirements:
- socio-economic factors arising from the preparation and implementation of a number of legislative initiatives related to preferential rental of housing [14];
- private-public enterprise by state entities, which are increasingly entering the commercial type of rental social income housing market.

The current situation determines the need to move to some more cost-effective forms of social housing, which are possible not only for preferential categories of citizens (veterans and participants of wars, the poor, living in premises without amenities, etc.), but also for private-state entrepreneurship (Figure 5):
- social income-generating houses with small commercial rents located in the central part of the city, including mansion buildings;
- the so-called "growing" social houses with plots for representatives of amateur groups with families, who taking into account state subsidies, can count on the basic equipment of their future home [15-17].

Thus it is possible to improve for example their housing conditions by introducing social "basic" housing for low-income families. The essence of the "basic" housing is that residents receive plots that are built up with the basic composition of housing (living room, staircase, bathroom, kitchen), the remaining parts the residents complete themselves. Such social residential buildings can become part of the national project "Affordable and comfortable housing for the citizens of Russia" to improve the housing conditions of citizens. It should be clarified that social and affordable housing is not exactly the same. If we are talking about affordable housing, it should be noted that these state programs are aimed mainly at helping to buy new housing for certain categories of citizens: changing the place of residence (for example, the Far Eastern mortgage), who want to get money to improve housing conditions, including cases under a social employment contract, etc.
The nomenclature of profitable social housing may include an expanded range of areas and premises for living and working together (colivings), family rest, education and upbringing of children at their place of residence.

4. Conclusions
The allocation of social housing into an independent class with the development of commercial and subsidized types of it will definitely lead to the new forms of organization of spaces, which will enrich the architectural appearance of urban spaces. The expansion of commercial types of social housing, including income housing for rental to various categories of citizens, will help better take into account the various requirements of citizens. In addition, profitable social housing, classified as an opportunity to implement private-state entrepreneurship, will definitely help significantly replenish the taxable base of the state. This method of diversifying investment in commercial-type social housing can be
effective from an investment point of view for the state as a whole, so that the market for rented apartments finally becomes transparent [18-20].

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