# THE PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

## Formation of the social space of the suburb

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**Abstract.** In this paper, the topic of the formation of the social space of the suburbs is considered both as a conceptual subject area of economic sociology and as an object of empirical interdisciplinary research of rural areas and social geography. Guided by the current discussions at the junctions of assembly theory, the construction of locality as a topological perspective of densification of open layers and closing of space with the components of material and symbolic production and critical urban political economy, our analysis demonstrates how socio-technical infrastructure, political mobility and socio-economic relations are spatially aligned, they are maintained and dissolved in fragmented agglomerations. The authors of this paper clarified the modifications of the definition of "rural" as challenging the concept of the urban revolution of the production of space by A. Lefebvre; verified the production of place in terms of phenomenological sociology by A. Appadurai as a center of meanings created by experience; used the methodology of the structural and genetic operationalization of space by P. Bourdieu as the actions of actors - carriers of capital in various social fields. The combination of several approaches provides an integrated interdisciplinary matrix for understanding exactly how interlocal social relations, life worlds, and revealed identities of residents in a new rural microdistrict between a city and a village are interconnected. Taking into account the methodological issues that arise when trying to empirically study such changes, new theoretical schemes are proposed for the social construction and reconstruction of spaces through various types of action. In the particular example of the Tyumen Region, evidence is given that global trends in the isolation of rural areas as a format of peripheral urban development are gaining priority. The results obtained are important and useful because they confirm the hypothesis of the spread of global suburbanization of R. Kayla, which is becoming a more and more widespread and more significant phenomenon in different regions of the world.

The authors' empirical data reinforce the importance of new formats of peripheral urban development; and precisely verified photographs provide independent visual measurements of the formation of the social space of the suburb. All this in general leads to the idea of the usefulness of revising urban social theory in the context of the growth of rural suburbanization.

## INTRODUCTION

In regions that claim to be global and strive to become dominant in their country, urban and suburban politics are increasingly intertwined. As world experience shows, influential players in their regions are mobilizing territorial space to create and promote their images of urban development experience, but questions remain about who is building, who is creating, and who can take advantage of the revised spatial identities. Local interests, as a rule, are deliberately obscured in the regional political environment, which leads to unexpected contradictions in terms of unintended consequences (R. Merton) in newly created spaces between gentrified areas inside the city, attractive suburban spaces outside the city, and nodes of privileged places of economic growth. This paper analyzes how post-suburbanization socio-spatial changes at the urban fringes affect ways in which regions can reconfigure themselves and how they are perceived and reinterpreted by actors (decision makers) and local populations.

The purpose of the paper is to identify features of the social space created in the suburbs as ways of interaction between the urban and rural communities as well as manifestation of the socio-economic, symbolic, institutional, and power (political) specifics of suburban space in the context of modern scientific discourse and in real embodied practices.

The main reason why the authors conducted this study are difficulties in separating suburban and urban politics. Over the last decades, urban policy makers have been indicating the need to expand the central scale of urban policy to its regional manifestations. Urban peripheries are new forms of suburbanized space of the rural-urban continuum [1; 2; 4; 5; 21; 23; 25; 36; 41; 42; 46; 48; 52; 65; 66; 73].

Other reasons why the authors decided to write this paper are connected with the current issue regarding the disciplinary-theoretical "purity of a specific subject field" with the ratios of various interdisciplinary «contamination» and cross-disciplinary interlacement has not been resolved between such basic humanities as social geography, urban theory, cultural studies, economic sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics. Amin Ash and Thrift Nigel spoke honestly, harshly, clearly, and sanely about this problem in their famous book «Seeing Like a City». Describing complexities of urban life, they focused on the importance of changing the methodological paradigm itself — in the spirit of epistemological reorientation which requires a three-way action: in cases of obvious inactivity of any "universal standard or objective method"; due to the blurring of boundaries between disciplines of different sciences and life experience, inadequate condemnation of any other method. This kind of reassessment is necessary to understand the urban socio-cultural mechanism. [3 p. 31]. Operational incentives for such a new vision of the world gives things and people the appropriate "clientele of consumers" ("constituency") [3 p. 90]. Epistemologically, the most adequate study of the modern city and suburbs, according to Amin Ash and Thrift Nigel, should take place in the context of the intellectual Anthropocene project — in line with the study of how various infrastructures make things and people circulate, associate and disconnect within the city and adjacent territories; and how we can explore, understand, and manage all of this.

According to them, this is an intellectual process that aims to rethink how urbanists and social scientists in various disciplines related to the city and the suburbs from the point of view of their approaches. A mental transition from the object level to the analytical category for the formation of a critical understanding of space is of key importance. Here, the objects of research are transformed into analytical level categories that can be used to understand phenomena that go beyond understanding them as traditional subject areas in the narrow sense of the word. The type of transformation of the categorical level caused by "spatial turn" has a powerful heuristic effect because it is accompanied by the transformation of an initially descriptive term into an active concept that can eventually shape and change social reality [69 p. 200]. The forerunners of the spatial turn are contained in Henri Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space [44], the concept of "heterotopias" ("real places", which "are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively realized utopia") and Michel Foucault's "other spaces" [27 p. 24], along with Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the produced social space as a habitual form of practice, positioning, genesis of groups, symbolic power [14; 17; 18; 19]. The spatial concept of Arjun Appadurai has become an important starting point of the spatial turn in connection with transnational spaces, local and transnational contacts, including institutional networks, global actors, financial markets, even international terrorism — all that he called "global ethnoscapes" [6; 7; 8; 9]. When the American urban planner and geographer Edward Soja introduced the terms "third space" and "real-and-imagined places" into scientific circulation, he used them to describe an area in which real and imaginary places simultaneously existed places — for example, because of clusters of the imaginary in megacities such as Los Angeles. Within the framework of spatial rotation, the "mapping" procedure (continuous mapping, direct mapping, transformation) acquired special significance, which meant a general model of ordering reality, organizing spatial knowledge [59; 60; 61]. The conceptualization of the "third space" extends to similar epistemological areas; in addition, it can be enriched by a striking semantic coincidence with other theories, all of which work

for the same purpose and, from the point of view of spatial rotation, contribute to the ability to assert themselves and increase the scientific potential of this concept. From such a high springboard, a new, far-reaching emphasis can be achieved, which assumes the connection of spatial rotation with the layering of various cultural identities and symbolic algorithms of the work of new regionalized topologies. Taking all this into account, one must agree with the conclusions of Amin Ash and Nigel Thrift that many competitive advantages of cities and their suburbs stem precisely from the special spatial concentration of people, objects, firms, institutions that form the basis of supply and demand for growth, innovation and efficiency [3 p. 101]. Emerging new regionalized topologies and new territoriality began to blur the traditional division into urban–rural–suburban zones, especially in expanding urban areas, which currently characterize polycentric post-urban/post-urban territorial systems. From two points of view — their essence and functionality — «really existing» regions are currently being territorialized as if repeatedly — as new complex aggregates that are integrated into regional economies and identity policies, and ultimately determine key socio-cultural patterns (behavior algorithms, «habituses» according to P. Bourdieu) of various status groups.

The presented scientific problems are very relevant. Their new facets are just beginning to be revealed to one degree or another. This is also due to the fact that when a suburb becomes a competitive space of interaction between a village and a city, the physical and symbolic properties of which impose a tense imprint on the current daily life of local society, it is associated with key sets of existing economic, identification, socio-cultural and other working efficiency practices. Thus, the system of predominantly estate development affects the entire specifics of the organization of residential space, radically different from the city. The distance from the immediate place of work makes it necessary to switch to the online mode of the work schedule, to motorize, and optimize the distribution of all time budgets, including the implementation of all household loads. of on a global scale the physical space is becoming more and more "blurred", then on the local scale of the suburb, on the contrary, it acquires a new meaning

of social and mental relevance, one way or another, determining the character of the local community. Here, the specificity of physical, social, symbolic, economic, socio-cultural, and other types of spaces as "pure forms" or "pure formats" [58] determines all the specifics of communications and the entire spectrum of interactions between people inhabiting it as their semantic and meaningful content. In turn, in the process and as a result of filling the meanings and contents of these forms from the parent spaces of the city and village with specific interactions and communications, a relatively new integral quality of the social space of the suburb, which is discussed in this paper, develops.

The object of research (theoretical) is the heterogeneous components of the suburban space, occupying an intermediate position between the extreme forms of the city and rural settlement, forming the basis for the development of the suburban community as a translocality in the rural-urban settlement social world.

The subject of the study is the specifics of the consolidation of a new community of a city and a suburb (village) in the context of the symbolic development and appropriation of suburban space by this population group; the specifics of transformations of socio-technical infrastructure, political mobility, and socio-economic relations of population groups in the processes of spatial construction of locality as a topological perspective of the closure of the spaces of a city and a village.

The **research methodology** is the concept of assembly as a combination of multiple interactions of actors, which allows integration of communities, institutional organizations, cities, suburban and rural areas equally. The real strength of the assembly theory lies in the interdisciplinary structural explanation of phenomena and processes with the obligatory demonstration of specific objects in the relations of which they (phenomena and processes) are realized and presented as topological invariants of a variety. The data collection depends on the space dimension (parameters of specific objects), the topology of the variety (relations that are fundamentally possible for objects), and the determinants of the interaction of specific formats [24].

The **sample of the study** included residents of a new suburban microdistrict between the urban and rural communities of the Tyumen agglomeration (a multistage sampling method using a face-to-face survey of 211 people — residents of a new microdistrict, the total population of the microdistrict is 8,500 people); degree of satisfaction with the housing stock and the infrastructure of the microdistrict for the population. Research materials for this work were collected during 2020-2022 within the framework of the project of rural area development in Russia and the Tyumen region.

**The hypothesis** of the empirical study: the "housing mentality" of the residents of the new microdistrict is characterized by relatively healthy optimism and relatively low demands on consumption standards in the new microdistrict of the suburb. Hypothesis verification: a mass survey of the co-authors of the paper in the form of personal interviews using a face-to–face method for a representative sample in late 2020 — early 2021; the use of visualization and social mapping methods. Although the hypothesis was generally confirmed, but with many interesting variations. Falsification of the hypothesis by K. Popper: subsequently, a sharply positive assessment of some residents of the new neighborhood about moving to a new apartment should lead to disappointment, despite the initial phenomenon of "happiness of a new living space" (generally confirmed). In addition to the fact that the reasons for the lack of suburban space in official statistics and in many information arrays have not been fully clarified, thereby the specifics of the development of the economic and political (power) fields of the social space of this suburb have not been fully and clearly redefined, which can be proposed as a continuation of the research on this topic — that is, the formation of the social space of the suburb as an environment of new types of interaction between urban and rural communities in future studies.

**The authors' scientific contributions** are designated as modern reinterpretations of theories and methodologies of space production in terms of A. Lefebvre, reconfiguration of suburbs between city and village in the paradigm of R. Keil, structural and genetic explication of the concept of social space by P. Bourdieu, reinterpretation of new regions from

the standpoint of sociological phenomenology by A. Appadurai, socio-cultural landscape as a place and home idea representation in critical geography and verification of social space in the author's empirical research.

The paper is organized as follows. The Introduction indicates the reasons why the authors conducted this study, explains the key methodological and theoretical approaches, and presents an empirical database. The theoretical overview indicates important theoretical approaches of social interaction that determine the connections of geographical and social space and the key ideas of those authors who have become the direct methodological basis of the studied cultural landscape (representation, information, and representation of a place, home, locality in the scientific context of critical geography), based on understanding the junctions of analytical constructs due to the high degree of their instrumentality in relation to the subject of our study. Social space is based on a few factors. They are: institutionalization of territorial and agent structures, the results of the actors' activities (in terms of their patterns of perception, thought and behavior). The section "Data" provides a conceptual scheme of the empirical project, based on the fact that the behavioral characteristics of any people are, as a rule, standard and repeatable; that the actual situation is established based on the statement of facts as conditions of life and human activity in these conditions; that survey was conducted on a representative sample and qualitative and quantitative information was obtained as about the residents themselves, and their assessment of the attractiveness of the neighborhood between the city and the village. The relevant subsections describe the schemes of the empirical project, the respondents structure was presented, the key characteristics of the respondents' lifestyle were given, the visual design in the formats of semiotic and photographic analysis of the territory was shown, and the conclusions of the empirical study were given. In the «Conclusion», summing up some results and making general forecasts of the development of the joint territories of the city and village, the key global and of the Tyumen region.

## THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

This paper is based on many and diverse conceptual approaches associated with the spatial turn paradigm in the humanities, the range of new focuses which has opened wide horizons in understanding the relations of spatiality and social action, coupled with practices and their interpretation, expression, translation and overcoming, as well as visual understanding, perception of images and reproduction of various cultures, social structures, and attitudes. The starting point is not so much the given spaces, locations, places, and houses, but the production of space by topographic cultural techniques, the formation of networks by mapping, representation, localization, and movement [20]. The spatial turn is central, self-sufficient and self-reflexive to the extent that it is possible to overcome the metaphorical nature of the spatial categories of the social geography of cultural studies themselves: center, periphery, outskirts, borders, giving them a more precise definition and measuring all their complexity. The figure of the turn itself is a spatial metaphor, and the development of many discussions on the landmarks of such turns is far from accidental. Any spatial movement forms a combination of vectorality and simultaneity: these are theoretical landscapes, intellectual fields, contact zones, overcoming disciplinary boundaries, but, for example, not the prospects of evolutionism or progress. The essence of this common feature lies not only in the fact that in each individual case it is possible to state the transition from the dictionary of «existence» to the dictionary of «becoming», from the assertion of one's existence to the assertion of the procedural nature of many points of view.

Despite the fact that selection of scientific ideas and figures of scientists for theoretical review is usually due to the authors' personal preferences and knowledge, however, the works of such modern thinkers as Arjun Appadurai and Jean-Paul Addie are considered conceptual frontiers on the way to explaining the social constructions of space today. Amin Ash, Zygmunt Bauman Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Doris Bachmann-Medick, Roger Keil, Hubert Knoblauch, Henri Lefebvre, Martina Löw, Mike Krang, Edward Soja, Michael Storper, Nigel Thrift, Yi-Fu Tuan, David Harvey,

Piotr Sztompka, and Gabriela Christmann are considered among the most outstanding and most cited, especially when it comes to the latest ideas and theorizations of social construction of space.

In classical sociology, in relation to social space, emphasis is placed on the structural-genetic approach in terms of Pierre Bourdieu, who for the first time presented in theory the produced social space as habitual forms of practice and positioning of groups [17]. Transforming his social theory, introducing new principles and categories, he was first to come to significant restructuration of the academic field in the humanities, simultaneously modeling this field as an arena of symbolic competition and potential conflict [18 p. 14], defining it as «a space, a playing field, a field of objective relations between people and institutions competing for the same stakes» [13 p. 133]. From this point of view, he considered the study of cultural phenomena as an area of intellectual «fashion» in which dominant groups use «conservation strategies» and newcomers use «subversive strategies» to «win or defend their positions» [13 p. 133]. In the paradigm of the «cultural topographies» project, the principles of «subversive acts» became ideology of transcultural unblocking of space as subversive actions accompanying the formation of space, even at the level of a representative form, and worked as symbolic mechanisms aimed at «tearing space». Other similar and significant terms of this line of analysis are marginality, edges, borders, location, deterritorialization, describing the phenomena of how to win or defend one's positions in this field, inventing new subversive ways and strategies of translation to reveal deep social structures, setting a topological perspective for its study, when the structure of social space manifests itself in social distances and in a wide variety of contexts as spatial oppositions. A slightly different context in sociology in relation to social space is made in symbolic interactionism in terms of many classical authors, for example, in the breakthrough scientific research of Irving Goffman on symbolic interaction in a playful form in frame analysis and the presentation of oneself to others in everyday life [33; 34]. In humanitarian geography, in turn, attention is drawn to the production of space and to the production of places as centers of meaning created by experience [67 p.152], which in many ways resemble the algorithms for creating spaces in the logic of Pierre Bourdieu's practices [14; 15]. These approaches are joined by the outstanding works of the founder of a new direction in the social geography of action, Benno Werlen, who developed a unique paradigm of combining society, action and space from the point of view of the actionist theoretical approach to social reality developed in sociology. This approach is based on his ideas in understanding the ways of action to connect them at the local level and global challenges, on this basis forming an understandable new geographical worldview, the elements of which, in turn, lead to the formation of certain models of placement, patterns of location spatial practices that subsequently play the role of conditions as opportunities, and as obstacles to the future rational actions of individuals [70; 71]. This theory of social geography is inherently linked with an activity-oriented approach in sociology when any spatial phenomena are considered as formations constructed by an actor. Here one can see spatial interpretations of the Schutz concept of adequacy, which assumes that scientific descriptions of an external observer should be understandable to an ordinary person. If social cognition is interpreted in terms of the natural attitude of Alfred Schütz as a naively simple-minded view of the world, seeing things existing outside of us in space and time, based on the acceptance, interpretation, redefinition, and modification of certain elements of culture. The natural attitude reflects a naturally naive perception of the world, in such a natural normal perception, the subject sees things not as images in his consciousness, but as a physical reality transcendent to his consciousness, which is intersubjective in the sense that its adequacy at the level of common sense is complemented by scientific adequacy - and to the extent that the social construct is adequate causally based on the principle of causal attribution. In addition to spatio-temporal characteristics, all things (objects, people, states of affairs) are also endowed with value and practical characteristics; when this is realized, then both the course of action itself and its

inertia fit into the typical (standard) conditions of the undertaking action, when a special place in the stylistics of sociological phenomenology is given to ideal-typical concepts (that is, «ideal types» in Max Weber's terminology) in the interpretation of any human activity of the cognizing subject [56]. Strange as it may seem, a similar scientific position is expressed in the theory of the founder of humanistic geography Yi-Fu Tuan, which should achieve a complete understanding of the human world through the study of human relations with the outside world, his geographical behavior, as well as his feelings and ideas about space and places [67 p. 266]. The humanistic geography model actually offers a very strong approach to the question of the human and social experience of space and place. Involving in research on the methods and ways in which people feel and think about space, how they form their attachments to home, neighborhood, community, and nation, Yi-Fu Tuan, focusing on this experience, justified that «what is not visible» in imaginary spaces and local representations acquires its value in positivist geography. He revealed his new methods about how a person's feelings of space and place depend on the sense of time, based on his aphoristic premises that a place is security, space is freedom, especially when people are attached to one given (place) and have long existed for another given (space). Humanistic geography, in contrast to positivist geography, insists on the exceptional importance of the links between activity, meaning and sense of space [68].

Any urban space is subject to segmentation by residential units, which contributes to the development of tolerant relations between its residents or, conversely, conflict. At the same time, residential units with adjacent territory divide the urban space into two categories: internal and external. It is difficult for residents of one residential complex to establish social contacts with citizens located outside their territory, so urban space cannot be considered open and equally accessible for interactions. According to the wise thought of the great Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, it is possible to solve this contradiction by creating open and hospitable public places regularly visited by permanent residents, as well as their guests, who are meaningfully ready to participate in joint creative actions on this territory [11].

The modern sociological approach, freely understood in the tradition of the phenomenology of perception and visual culture [72], is aimed at studying the social space of the city in combination with the principles of loss and urban vision, which provoke a different understanding of what is happening in the city, prompting a new idea of the ordinary and focusing special attention on artistic and urban details, which arouses interest in the image reality. As the great Polish sociologist Piotr Sztompka proved, there are weighty theoretical grounds for using photography in a broad socio-philosophical and cultural context as a practice of the method of sociological research. The special role of visual representations, manifestations and imagination in postmodern society is embodied in socially oriented photography, which is represented as a scientific direction — sociological photography. Society, communities, groups and human personalities, actions, interactions, collectivity, culture and the environment can be represented in images through a photographic lens as a complement to other methods of sociology. Theoretical aspects of the development of visual sociology, presented by the subject of social research in the form of fragments of qualitative interpretation of photographic images, are presented as a new paradigm of sociological methods for displaying visual aspects of public life [63]. A person uses a camera to convey what he sees, reincarnating into an observer, and represent the phenomenon of urban life. Thus, the photo illustrates a part of social reality, presents it taking into account the feelings of the photographer, receiving recognition in the eyes of the audience. According to the fair version of the modern phenomenologist Marc Augé, the author of the latest works on symbolic anthropology, ethnology and everyday life of post-modernity, any city exists thanks to the sphere of the imaginary. In the conditions of ultra-modernity and hyper-modernity, the reasons for people's loss of their identity are spatial over attachment due to the high dynamism of movement; saturated eventfulness that does not have time to get an essential-being

representation; individualization and independence in the interpretation of any information. Marc Augé develops a well-known tradition in social philosophy and anthropology dedicated to the search for interrelations between physical, symbolic and social spaces, and tries his best to rethink it in the context of not just the challenges of the XXI century, but a new era, which he calls ultra-modernity (ultra-modern) or hyper-modern (hyper-modern) [50; 51].

Summing up our short analysis and a brief review of the literature, it can be stated that it preliminarily explains the state of knowledge of theory and methodology regarding the formation of social space, presents the main achievements and unresolved issues, identifies the features of methodology and research results in this area, including alternative options, shows the reader the state and movement of research in this area, outlines the intended place of this work in the flow of others. In methodological terms, this paper offers relatively new contributions, authors' operationalization of ideas based on strict scientific principles of production and reproduction of locality, spaces, ideology of local subjectivity, when a very wide range of social contexts and people's connections for the realization of their special interests are united through the space of places, goals, values, preferences and limitations in their daily life. The author's approach also includes the integration of key ideas of social and humanitarian geography [4; 64; 65; 66] in those contexts in which the problem of the formation of the social space of the city and suburbs is understood. The empirical object of our research is the residents of the new neighborhood, and the subject of the study is the key factors and determinants of its attractiveness. In scientific terms, the author's idea is given about solving the problems of building the configuration of the social space of the suburb between the city and the village, in which new groups become dominant agents (actors), which ultimately leads to the formation of a new system of social distances in space determined by the relationship to the main resource of communities — the boundaries between the city and the village. In turn, the emerging distance system produces new social positions and statuses that are impossible

in a traditional purely urban or purely rural space. One of the main hypotheses of the empirical study: the «housing mentality» of the residents of the new neighborhood is characterized by healthy optimism and relatively low demands on the created space. Falsification of this hypothesis according to Karl Popper: subsequently, the low demands of new residents of the neighborhood on the key parameters of the space they create can lead and, as a result, leads to disappointment, despite the initial phenomenon of "happiness of a new living space". As world experience has shown, this state of affairs is a typical situation when influential players in their regions mobilize regional space to frond changeable images of urban experience to create scaled images of the experience of suburbanization, but questions remain as to who is building and equipping new territories, and who can access the benefits of a changed new spatial identity. The analysis of world-class scientists usually focuses on the most important issues of regional logistics, territorial management and land use in order to demonstrate how suburban municipal and non-governmental actors play the game of creating a regional image and competition between localities in the context of globalization; explain the new policy after the suburbs beyond the formal and institutional logic that have traditionally marginalized the vast suburban megalopolis districts; and, consequently, they create a region after suburbanization as a field of tension between scale, networks, mobility and ways of urban living [41 p. 4].

## DATA

The study is based on semi-structured face-to-face interviews conducted in the city of Tyumen and a microdistrict partially inhabited on a rural wasteland in the period from 2020 to 2021. New residents of this microdistrict were interviewed, as well as some municipal urban and suburban, regional, provincial and state officials, urban planners, economists and developers as institutional actors with key knowledge about the development management programs of the territory on various scales. The interests of stakeholders in relation to regional logistics, political and economic issues of urban development to

representatives of non-profit organizations, transit transport organizations and various public groups were taken into account. We proceeded from the fact that behavioral characteristics of any person, as a rule, are standard and repeatable, which is especially true for new residents. If we use the concept of "the core of their lifestyle", then it includes three basic elements: the conditions in which life takes place, the activities carried out in these conditions, and, finally, the attitude (assessment) to both existing conditions and activities. The protocols and transcripts of these interviews included a set of research questions studied by the authors as the intersection of the interests of management, policy and planning in the conditions of marginality of the suburban community. The analysis of these interviews highlighted competing and merging storylines and narratives, which are selectively presented in the form of original quotes. The analysis of the discourse of planning documents, reports, materials of public groups and newspapers in both areas (suburbs and cities) confirms the interview data. We have revealed that the formation of the social space of the suburb between the city and the microdistrict under construction allows us to consider it as an independent locality, closely related to both parent (rural and urban) environments, but in no way identical to any of them. Since the suburban community arises in the border space of interaction between the city and the village, it functions as a trans-locality, is included in both urban and rural space, which arises and functions on the basis of the exploitation of the border between them as the main resource of both districts. As a result, there is a special habitus of a suburban settler, close in its key characteristics to the type of "human boundaries". This habitus as a system of social attitudes is not a direct reproduction of the habitus of a villager or a citizen but is a borderline rural-urban set of preferences that takes shape through the adaptation of urban practices to a new space, and the counter-adaptation of rural practices to the urban experience. These socio-spatial transformations underlie the emergence of new forms of peripheral development, as well as new formats of rural-urban governance and rural-urban identity.

When interviewing new residents of the microdistrict, the authors of this paper also proceeded from the fact that if the purpose of the empirical study was to establish the actual situation and obtain quantitative and qualitative information about the attractiveness of the new microdistrict between the village and the city then its tasks included checking the following research objectives: establishing a causal relationship and the feasibility of acquiring new (changing old) housing; determination of criteria for the choice of housing; identification of the degree of satisfaction with the acquired real estate and the area of residence itself; identification of key characteristics of residential complexes; identification of strengths and weaknesses of adaptation (habituation and adaptation). The dynamics of "real existing regionalism" is a contested product of various discourses, interests, technologies (material and power), territorial and institutional relations.

**The conceptual scheme of the empirical study**
The study of residents based on recently acquired housing (up to 5 years) to establish the current problems, as well as the opinion of residents of the old stock, was also considered, only to a lesser extent (¼ of the respondents), because the characteristics and living conditions are similar and long-time residents may merge with the area. Long-time residents probably will not notice those shortcomings, in contrast to new residents.

**The sample population and its characteristics**
Objects are residents of the new microdistrict over 18 years old. The sample was applied to a specific microdistrict of the city of Tyumen, characterized as an ecologically clean area of residence, away from the hustle and bustle of the city, but typical in terms of landscaping and with all the necessary infrastructure within walking distance. Housing near major highways and a well-developed public transport network (five city routes have been laid) allows local residents to get to the center by private car (taxi) in 20-25 minutes, by minibus or bus in 40-60 minutes.

Number of respondents in each house: 20 people; selection step — 5 apartments; the physical characteristics of the apartments are different in area and room size; gender — male and female;

the minimum age is 18. Old housing stock — 25%; new housing stock — 75%; survey time period: late 2020 — early 2021. Sampling basis: microdistrict plan. Methods of selection of observation units. The sample type is a stratified (zoned) sample and a route survey based on the criteria that standard selection algorithms were incorporated into the study, on the basis of which the selection of houses took place and their numbering was assigned (house code). The general population — within the studied microdistrict: 8,500 persons (estimated). Sample size: 211 personal interviews.

### Procedure for selection of residential buildings/complexes

• Visual study of the research area;
• Determination of the number of new buildings, new and old houses, see Table 1.

Table 1. Number of houses in the microdistrict

Таблица 1. Количество домов в микрорайоне

| Private sector | Old housing stock | Houses aged 5-10 years | New housing stock |
|---|---|---|---|
| 182 houses, with a number of floors from 1 to 3 floors | 59 houses, with a number of floors from 2 to 5 floors | 5 houses, with 5, 10 and 18 floors | 10 houses, with a number of floors from 8 to 17 floors |
| TOTAL | 256 houses (including private sector) 74 houses (old and new housing stock) | | |

Source: (map of the microdistrict).

Источник: [карта микрорайона].

### Establishment of criteria for the selection of houses in the survey:

• type of housing (new (priority) and old housing stock);
• choosing a developer (based on the widespread construction of economy class residential buildings);
• period of operation (specific residential complexes, with a certain period of operation);
• the material of the house (panel and brick houses mainly).

### Key characteristics of respondents' lifestyle

Determining the relevance of the study of lifestyle: the opinion of those respondents who relatively recently (no more than 5 years) bought a house in the area is relevant in order to find out what problems new residents faced during this period. Determining the relevance of studying a residential complex: residential buildings with a service life of no more than 5 years are relevant (they belong to the category of new houses) in order to find out which characteristics of the house and its adjacent territory are important for new residents of the district, and which do not matter.

Allocation of residential facilities by developers and housing stock: 6 residential complexes in the new housing stock and 4 residential buildings in the old housing stock. Drawing up a route through the microdistrict: each house is assigned a house code, in accordance with the street name and house number.

### Collection and analysis of empirical data

Within the framework of sociological logic, a methodological direction has been applied to understand the meanings of places and the of respondents, using the technique of creating photographs in order to further analyze social reality in this way. The tactics and strategy that were applied to research issues were identified as "open": all data was collected explicitly and visibly for any environment, without any restrictions, due to the nature of research issues that did not overlap in any way with the interests of the governing authorities imposing the restriction itself.

### Determination of the degree of attractiveness, satisfaction with the housing stock and infrastructure of the microdistrict

The structure of respondents and key social characteristics of residents of the microdistrict:

28% of respondents are residents of new buildings of the microdistrict living in Tyumen for less than 5 years. The age of respondents ranged from 19 to 78 years, 66% of respondents were women, 34% were men. 55% of respondents have children living with them. Of these, 48% have one, 44% have two, and 6% have three children. 79% have preschool–age children, 52% have school-age children, that is, we have typical young households as research objects.
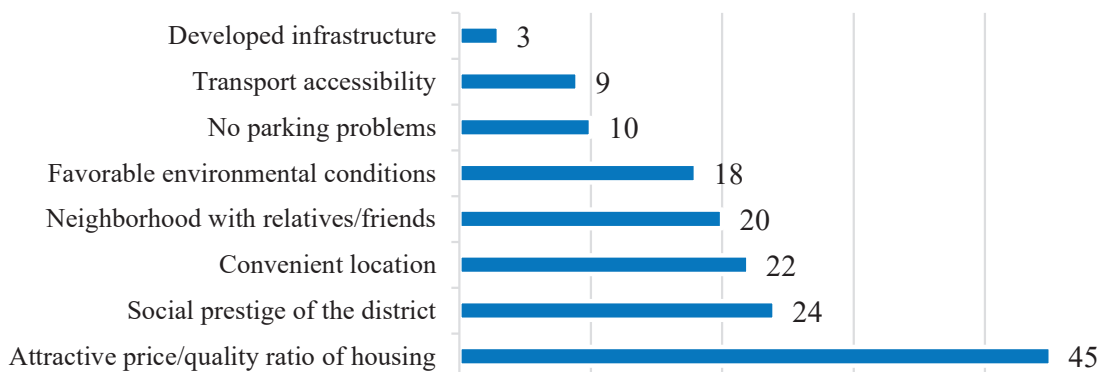
Reasons for moving and the relevance of buying a house. As the reason for choosing the microdistrict (Fig. 1), the majority of respondents cite an attractive price-quality ratio of housing, followed by such reasons as: the social prestige of the district, location.

*Fig. 1.* Reasons for choosing the microdistrict, % of respondents

*Рис. 1.* Причины выбора микрорайона, % от числа опрошенных

Source: (research results based on the authors' survey).

Источник: [результаты исследования].



As reasons why they would not consider the place as a new residence, the respondents noted: the location ("distance from the center", "far to get anywhere", "poor transport interchange"), the contingent.

Respondents who purchased an apartment recently were asked to answer the question, "Why did you choose this residential complex/house?". As criteria for choosing a house (Fig. 2), the most important factors are: attractive architecture of the house (24%), good landscaping of the yard / house territory (20%), convenient parking (20%), quiet, cozy neighborhood (19%).

Assessment of residents' satisfaction with the microdistrict and purchased real estate. Respondents are generally satisfied with living in this microdistrict. At the level of 73% of responses, respondents belong to the categories satisfied (32%), or completely satisfied (41%). A comparison of the level of satisfaction with the microdistrict of residents of the old and new housing stock showed that, on average, residents of new buildings are less satisfied with the microdistrict than residents of old houses (statistics

U Mann-Whitney). It was also revealed that the respondents' income, the time spent on the way to work, marital status and the presence of children do not affect satisfaction with the microdistrict.

Among the parameters of the apartment that influenced the choice, the most common are: the price of the apartment (55%), layout (43%), the presence of a balcony / loggia (32%), the total area of the apartment (30%).
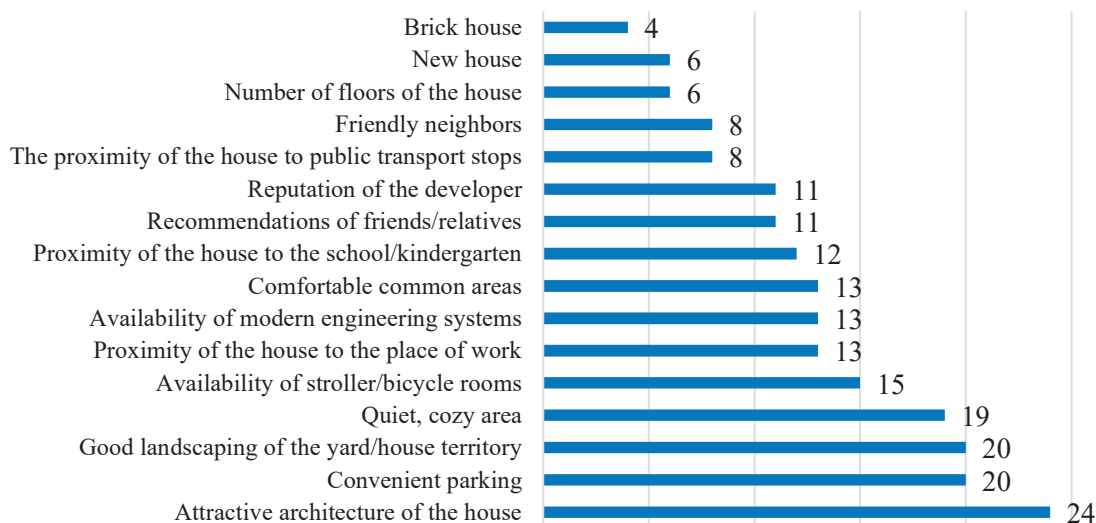
First of all, the following characteristics were mentioned as the reasons why residents like the microdistrict: silence and tranquility (without the city bustle, like in the village); clean, eco-friendly, green (no gas pollution, nature).

Among the disadvantages noted by the residents of old houses and new buildings, the two most often stated are: undeveloped infrastructure (40%), a dangerous area (first of all, the presence of stray dogs 22%). The disadvantages identified by residents of new buildings and residents of old houses do not have statistically significant differences.

*Fig. 2.* Reasons for choosing the residential complex / residential building, % of the number of respondents

*Рис.2.* Причины выбора жилого комплекса/жилого дома, % от числа опрошенных

Source: (research results based on the authors' survey).

Источник: [результаты исследования].



| | |
|---|---|
| Brick house | 4 |
| New house | 6 |
| Number of floors of the house | 6 |
| Friendly neighbors | 8 |
| The proximity of the house to public transport stops | 8 |
| Reputation of the developer | 11 |
| Recommendations of friends/relatives | 11 |
| Proximity of the house to the school/kindergarten | 12 |
| Comfortable common areas | 13 |
| Availability of modern engineering systems | 13 |
| Proximity of the house to the place of work | 13 |
| Availability of stroller/bicycle rooms | 15 |
| Quiet, cozy area | 19 |
| Good landscaping of the yard/house territory | 20 |
| Convenient parking | 20 |
| Attractive architecture of the house | 24 |

Among the infrastructure objects that need to be added first of all, residents of the district note: shops (noted by 40% of respondents), a school (38%), a kindergarten (30%), roads and sidewalks (27%). At the same time, 20% of respondents living in new buildings are against having any socially significant objects located in their house. Most of all, residents of new buildings would like to see a grocery store (40%), a hairdresser (29%), a fitness room (25%), a bakery (32%) in their house.

The study suggested assessing satisfaction with various characteristics of one's place of residence on a 5-point median scale from 1 (absolutely not satisfied) up to 5 (absolutely satisfied). The average satisfaction values (by median) are presented in Table 2.

*Table 2.* Are you satisfied with the following living conditions in your apartment?

*Таблица 2.* Удовлетворены ли Вы следующими условиями проживания в вашем доме?

| living conditions | median |
|---|---|
| The quality of housing and communal services provided | 4 |
| Relations with neighbors | 5 |
| The work of the house management company | 4 |
| The condition of common areas (halls, corridors, elevators) | 4 |
| The state of the house territory | 4 |
| Quality of engineering systems (water supply, electricity, heat supply, sewerage) | 5 |
| The quality of the elevator operation | 5 |
| Window quality | 4 |

Source: (research results).

Источник: [результаты исследования].

The highest level of satisfaction is characterized by the following parameters according to priorities: the quality of the elevator, relations with neighbors, the quality of engineering systems, the condition of common areas, the condition of the court territory, the quality of housing and communal services provided, the work of the house management company, the quality of windows (estimates according to the Friedman criterion).

The most common disadvantages of new buildings are:

• poor noise insulation (very good/high audibility, noise from neighbors, the elevator is audible, everything is heard catastrophically, who says what, who snores how);

• the area of the apartment, the size / number of rooms, the layout of the apartment (the rooms are long, narrow rooms, a dressing room, a small corridor);

• the quality of the building (technical defects, problems with ventilation, elevator; the most common problem here is with windows);

• there is no fenced territory in residential complexes, they are close to the road, residents note the disorder in the entrances (on the stairwells, young people are outraged, "We have some very strange people, they break something all the time, the house is new, and already all broken, dirty, the entrance has already been destroyed, a lot of strangers come in").

In addition to purely quantitative data, some qualitative results of our project, coupled with the theoretical approaches presented, are also very interesting. In particular, we clearly established that the routine phases of the lifestyle of the population — what we designated in the theoretical subsection of the paper as "everyday life" and "life worlds" differ somewhat from the "core" lifestyle of different status strata of the population. In some groups (layers, strata), life cycles in a given locality and their corresponding lifestyle phases are "protracted" ("long"), in other social groups they are subject, as a rule, to a rather strict rhythm of their own; in others, they are "torn"; in others, they are characterized by relative short duration and quite often change, which generally indicates a distinction between the types of "everyday life" and "life worlds" of certain population groups. Nonetheless

since we did not have a separate task to investigate the lifestyle of representatives of households in new buildings, we did not conduct a special empirical study on this issue.

### Visual design of empirical research

In Russian sociology, discussion of space consumption issues rarely involves the use of images, which is not surprising, since so little has been written about the role of photographs in the research process. At the same time, there are widespread assumptions that photographic images represent a transparent window into the world, without taking into account the critical analysis of the environment. Recent discussions have raised questions about the neutral status of the data collected by sociologists and the conclusions they give, photography has also come under closer scrutiny.

Daily trips to the territory of the new microdistrict showed that its perception should take into account the changes taking place: after each visit to a new residential complex on the territory of the microdistrict, it seemed "less and less like the previous one". When taking photos in the social space of the microdistrict, as Christopher Michello rightly pointed out, it is necessary to establish a context reflecting the nature of the changes: what you need to pay attention to and what values are in the image [49 p. 39]. In addition, it is important to emphasize that the visual design of our empirical research is based on the well-known methodology put forward by the American sociologist Douglas Harper, presented in his works on visual sociology as an extension of the sociological vision [35].

The flexible design of the study and the understanding of the theoretical sample provide a justification for the fact that the photos were taken in the right place. The method of photographs is equated to a qualitative approach in sociology.

The research question of the visual design of the empirical study presented by us: what are the strengths and weaknesses of the new microdistrict? Object: a new microdistrict. Subject: urban environment of a new microdistrict. The collected visual information leads to a formal qualitative study. Different types of photographs indicate the most purposeful collection of information.

### Operational definitions of visual research theoretical concepts

The modern analysis and interpretation of Russian sociological visual data is based mainly on Western concepts, which leads to a comparison of the main theoretical concepts. Visual data are social and cultural phenomena through the prism of visual images and representations of objects, people, places, events, situations [26 p. 4]. Urban space is a social structure whose parameters are developed by norms, values and a sense of belonging. This space acts as a place of residence for actors, providing conditions of safety and security and influencing the nature of interaction, which is mediated by the territory as solidarity. Peter Shtompka convincingly stated that the camera is one of the most reliable tools for obtaining an objective vision [63 p. 46].

### Collection and analysis of visual research data

Within the logic of reasoning, a methodological direction is applied (to create photographs in order to analyze social reality). Visualization of residential complexes was based on the following characteristics: the condition of the house territory and playgrounds, external and internal components of residential buildings. The nature of the issue under study should determine the strategies for accessing information and constructing the role of the researcher. The introduction of a photo and film

camera throughout the study took place using an approach in terms of John Prosser's "softly-softly" [54], which involved walking around the sampling site with a camera in the mode from a case over the shoulder, followed by safe photographing of residential buildings and their constituent elements. The context of the studied area of public life is a residential building and its surroundings.

An adequate answer to the question "How and where should one start photographing?" requires specific planning because the act of photographing itself can serve as the beginning of society's acquaintance with the photographer, his activities and goals [22 p. 33].

At the same time, a photo or movie camera itself should become the most important means of entering the social life of the area, being a means of activity and allowing you to engage in understandable, purposeful work. With the help of photographs, an attempt has been made to better understand the life and life worlds of people in the new microdistrict and show what it really is. A semiotic approach is proposed as a decoding of signs, our analysis uses the typology of signs proposed by the American philosopher, logician and mathematician, the founder of pragmatism and semiotics Charles Pierce [53], namely: operationalization of visual signs-pointers in the social space of the microdistrict (Table 3).

*Table 3.* Index signs in the urban environment of the microdistrict
*Таблица 3.* Знаки-указатели в городской среде микрорайона

| Economic variables | Cultural and psychological variables |
|---|---|
| 1) fences, roads, sidewalks<br>2) parking and its structure<br>3) house territory<br>4) children's playgrounds and sports grounds<br>5) places for cultural and active recreation<br>6) common areas (elevators, corridors, halls) | Well-groomed residential building/ complex:<br>• expression of individual characteristics in the entrance<br>• decoration and embellishment of the staircase<br>• expression of individual characteristics in the yard: swept, tidied, tools stacked |

Source: (compiled by the authors based on the methodology of Charles Pierce [53]).
Источник: [составлено авторами на основе методологии Чарльза Пирса [53]].

Visualization of residential complexes was based on the following characteristics: the condition of the house territory and playgrounds, external and internal components of residential buildings. The nature of the issue under study should determine the

strategies for accessing information and constructing the role of the researcher.

The subject of the semiotic analysis of the territory is a series of pictures. Additional categories of semiotics are paradigmatic relations of signs,

meaning the possibility of mutual substitution of sign images when designating the same object. The starting point of the semiotic analysis was the consideration of photographs in terms of John Collier's "cultural inventory" [22 p. 47] as a reflection or as an expression of cultural patterns and values of various socio-cultural groups.

The context of visual sociology, in the terminology of P. Shtompka, is the studied area of public life [57 p. 14], which in our case acts as a residential building and its surroundings — the external civilization and infrastructure of the microdistrict. How and where to start photographing requires some planning, because the act of photographing can serve as a public acquaintance with the photographer, his activities and goals [22 p. 33].

### The results of the visual empirical study

First of all, we are going to present the characteristics of residential complexes identified by means of photographs and then determine the strengths and weaknesses of the location of the new microdistrict.

Modern well-groomed playground in a thematic Russian-folk style: a hut on chicken legs. Its design is made in two bright colors: the main color is yellow and the red color is optional (for patterns). The manifestation of a cultural pattern reflected through the children's infrastructure, which contributes to the formation of values from an early age. (Fig. 3).

*Fig. 3.* Modern children's play area in the microdistrict

*Рис. 3.* Современная детско-игровая зона в микрорайоне

Source: (compiled by the authors).

Источник: [составлено авторами].



The sports ground acts as an opportunity to lead a healthy lifestyle. Nearby, garbage and trash can be seen behind its fence, namely a large number of cigarette butts and bottles of alcoholic beverages. In the presence of social infrastructure, local residents prefer to encourage their bad habits and do not care about the environment.

Residential complexes were also studied inside to display the state of common areas. So, there are signs of hooliganism — an abundance of written and pasted advertisements in the elevator, shabby walls, garbage. It is confirmed that residents do not equate the social space of the residential complex with their property due to antisocial actions.

On the territory of residential complexes, spatial and structured parking inside the courtyard is illustrated, there is no small-scale or large-scale landscaping. The playground (Fig. 4) is modern with sports elements, fenced off from the roadway and made in bright colors: green, blue, yellow, red, which definitely attract attention. Fig. 4 clearly illustrates the availability of places to rest — benches and gazebos, as well as an abundant number of trash cans and the absence of garbage.

*Fig. 4.* Modern children's play area in the microdistrict

*Рис. 4.* Современная детско-игровая зона в микрорайоне

Source: (compiled by the authors).

Источник: [составлено авторами].



Among the advantages of these residential complexes can be noted their internal condition. Residential complex No. 3 is famous for the decoration of entrances by its residents. This suggests that people take care of their place of residence, try to make it prettier and attach great importance to the internal condition of the residential facility.

The entrances of residential complex No. 4 are equipped with a lift for people with disabilities. The residents of the house show trust in each other leaving personal property in unlocked storage areas near the entrance to the building; they demonstrate creativity in approaching their place of residence by decorating th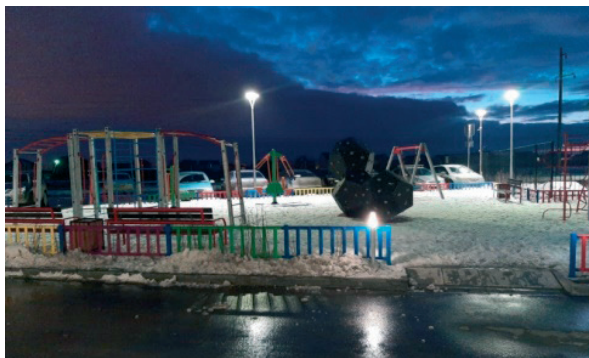e corridor with decorative elements such as potted and artificial flowers, thus making the space visually cozier, more attractive and inspirational. The walls are clean and tidy, painted with a pastel tone.

Residential complexes are equipped with modern playgrounds fenced off from the roadway and made in bright colors: blue, green, red, yellow (Fig. 5). There are elements of sports infrastructure: exercise machines, horizontal bars and places to relax — benches and gazebos. Parking in the courtyards is semi-structured: there are cars standing randomly. The number of cars is not plentiful. Everywhere there are high lanterns, an abundant number of trash cans.

*Fig. 5.* Modern children's play area in the microdistrict

*Рис. 5.* Современная детско-игровая зона в микрорайоне

Source: (compiled by the authors).

Источник: [составлено авторами].

In addition to new houses, the old housing stock was also analyzed, residential buildings of which have similar characteristics: commissioned more than 10 years ago, the number of floors is 5, its own open courtyard, a common parking area, a lot of chaotic structures in the courtyard, an old playground; some recreational facilities.

Sports complexes, good street lighting, enclosed courtyards with parking lots and the absence of cramped buildings, the architecture of houses and design halls add novelty and youth to the microdistrict, and modern playgrounds add brightness and playfulness. But the underdevelopment of the social infrastructure necessary for human life, the lack of landscaping of the territory, the poor behavior of residents should be the major concerns.

### Discussion of the results

Our study devoted to new territorial formation between the city and the village showed that new regional images, new identities and a new territorial policy are emerging indeed. The specific structure of the new social space of the suburb leads to a rapid transformation of the economic field: from the space of the producing economy, the suburb is increasingly evolving into a consuming economy of services and trade, displacing agricultural production outside the suburban area and limiting the development of the producing home economy characteristic of rural communities.

The economy of the city is more dynamic than the economy of the village, which means the possibility of its faster industrial and social development. The village, on the other hand, finds itself in a certain dependence on the city, since only the city can give it the means of production capable of raising it to a new level. All this determines the very specifics of the socio-economic content of the division of labor between the city and the countryside, the nature of the interaction of their real resources. The global phenomenon of suburbanization has not yet been adequately reflected in the economic and social sciences. In Russia, due to its vast territory, there is a paradoxical orientation of this process towards the expansion of its uninhabited part.

The growth and strengthening of mini agglomeration development has an increasing impact on the territorial aspect of the integration of cities and villages. This paper is not just about some local feature, but about the localization of the global phenomenon of suburbanization on the example of a specific rural area in connection with its increasing development by urban residents, and especially in connection with the district-forming role of local government centers, largely due to the fact that construction of new microdistricts allows to preserve the rural population, thereby preserving a healthier and demographically full-fledged rural environment.

Amazing paradoxes arise based on the formation of new suburban communities that produce and reproduce their own symbolic space of groups, reflected, among other things, in the production of a significant number of new symbols and meanings. In particular, suburban settlements are increasingly being attributed as an institutional space in which "outsiders" are not ex-citizens, but the "indigenous" population. At the same time, social differentiation on the basis of the economic field is obvious: rich residents build and acquire rich cottage settlements, and poor residents of developed rural areas acquire relatively inexpensive housing in cheap high-rise buildings. Through the symbolization of the suburban space, the latter stands out from both rural and urban space, the enclaves of which are also both «elite» cottage settlements and "poor" high-rise buildings. The key concepts here are the dichotomy of physical (geographical) and social (symbolic) space. The latter is understood in the logic of Pierre Bourdieu's concept as such a multidimensional space of statuses, norms and interactions formed by the structure of social positions of agents in a wide range of sub-fields: economic, power, social, cultural, managerial, religious. Their internal configuration is formed not so much by social structures as by the actions of agents based on habitus — in Pierre Bourdieu's terms as systematized models of perception and evaluation, cognitive and evaluative structures that are the result of long-term experience. An important feature of his approach to understanding social space, used by us in the analysis, is the idea of double structuring of social space: primary (objective) social relations, defined in the distribution of a wide variety of resources: both economic and non-economic, and,

secondly, the representations and representations of agents about these relationships that affect the primary structuring as feedback actions.

The coming to power of suburban regimes at the regional level changes the overall significance of the entire urban policy towards an acute competitive political environment between municipal interactions. This often leads to the intrusion of suburban conservative political values into the usually more progressive urban political sphere. However, suburban regimes in the communities around Tyumen are also developing a completely autonomous set of strategies to leave their mark in an increasingly competitive global urban environment. An important consequence of the designated features of suburban space is the uncertainty of its borders and territorial informal position. In many ways, the formation of a tense situation is due to the vagueness of positions from the point of view of the (non) institutionalized environment of suburban space located on the territory of a rural area and formally related to rural space, which in fact is no longer such. The revealed inconsistencies in the trends of the actual development of the suburb attributed to it by the fact of territorial and administrative subordination in the urban development model predetermines the high rates of the emergence of territorial innovations, often based on informal practices. A significant part of the latter turns out to be closely related to urban space and community, which makes it impossible to redefine the suburb only as part of urban or as part of only rural space. The description of suburban territories and communities living on them as border («frontier») zones of social space poses an urgent task of redefining the position of the suburb in the city and village system, the mechanism of its formation and vital activity.

Our analysis has shown that changing contexts and new mechanisms of post-suburbanization are vital elements of comprehensive processes of global regionalization. The conceptual framework of post-urbanization is vital for confirming both the emerging new urban spaces from rural areas and the overlooked intermediate spaces of which they are a part. Regional space and zones of regionalized urban policy are constituted and assembled through

heterogeneous territorial and topological relations. Various experiences of regional development and socio-spatial transformations in urban suburbs reveal new aspects of uneven development, global interconnectedness, mobility of management policy and socio-economic marginalization through socio-spatial polarization and infrastructure bypasses. In this context, we tried to consider, for example, the continuing connection of poverty with the spatial imagination of the city, shedding light on social marginalization, which is often hidden in many suburban spaces and is revealed only after time passes after settling into new apartments.

The selective application of spatial thinking to the actual economic processes taking place between the city and the village in the "gray holes" brought to the fore the importance of the relationship between formal institutional and infrastructural mechanisms that restructure regional development and the management policy of everyday spatial practice within the framework of «really existing regionalism». Structural coherence embodied in «real-life» regions is the product of a diverse set of social relations, territorial strategies, and technological solutions used by actors (agents) with different structural capabilities and powers. This is the territory where regional urbanization is taking place and the real spatial policy arises in connection with it. The material reconstruction of regions is inextricably linked with their symbolic reconstruction, but this symbolization itself expresses the ongoing processes of social struggle based on shared material interests and symbolic interests formed by them. We stand for the recognition of the existence and dynamism of huge diversity and multiplication of differences in both suburban and urban identities; both in political and planning practice, as well as in the modern theory of cities and the modern theory of suburban development.

The emergence of new urban configurations, characterized by enlargement/enlarged scale, polycentrism and strong cities, often contradicts the established settled institutions of the "old" city with its hierarchical and centripetal development models. These models are being challenged by autonomous decisions of commercial and private actors about

location, planning initiatives aimed at creating new spaces between the city and the countryside, adapting to this new spatial reality, but despite this constant problem, traditional concepts of cities still seem to prevail. This paper proposes a sociological and institutional approach to the analysis of how the institutions of the "old" city are challenged, considering the role of symbolic markers in planning strategies as an explanation for the institutional activation of new ideas about a changing city. The urbanized zones of Tyumen districts, where a large-scale investment strategy of private sector companies has presented a new vision that challenges the entrenched positions of the city center, provides an example for studying how symbolic markers ignite conflict over the significance of suburban areas that are closely connected, but have so far worked in isolation. The extent to which the importance of existing institutions is reflected in the strategy is crucial to the success potential of creating new spaces.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. The goals of this paper included, in theoretical terms, conceptualization of the content of the social construction of the terrain in the context of the idea of the space production as a constructed phenomenon; in empirical terms — the application of the results obtained to study the strengths and weaknesses of the interrelations of social practice on the example of a specific socio-territorial transformation. This paper analyzes the phenomenon of socio-economic development of the "city-village" system in the specific case of building a new microdistrict in rural areas adjacent to the urban outskirts. The question of separating the urban sphere from the rural one is relevant, since in the history of Russia and other countries of the world, not only villages turned into cities, but also vice versa).

2. The logic of the presentation adopted in this paper is based on a spatial new interdisciplinary theory, which includes various subject areas associated with cultural studies, sociology, social geography, history, urban theory, practices of development and production of space, economics, anthropology, analysis of places in general, including

photographic documents, visualization of social space, defining strengths and weaknesses of the placement in the place of the destroyed old village. The authors' scientific contributions are designated as modern reinterpretations of the space production methodologies used in terms of A. Lefebvre, structural and genetic explication of the concept of social space by P. Bourdieu and verification in terms of sociological phenomenology by A. Appadurai.

3. Housing is considered not only as a "socio-economic issue", but also as a question of spatial development of the region. The authors of the paper attempted to find new conceptual interfaces of the concepts of "places", "houses", "locality", "identification with space", which, on the one hand, would be theoretically adequate, on the other hand, analytically useful for understanding the trends of modern development of a city, suburb, village. The paper offers a relatively new authorial operationalization of ideas based on strictly scientific principles of production and reproduction, the ideology of local subjectivity, where a wide range of social contexts and connections of people in the realization of their everyday life are united through the space of places.

4. A conceptual scheme of empirical research was presented and the hypothesis was tested that the "housing mentality" of rural residents of the new microdistrict is characterized by healthy optimism and relatively low demands. In general, this hypothesis was confirmed, but with interesting variations.

5. According to the author's sociological research, it was found that the new residential area between the city and the village is a typical rural settlement (neighborhoods), which cannot be called an urban-type settlement not only because of the size of the settlement and the territorial area, but also because of the lack of shopping centers, cafes, hospitals, places for recreation and entertainment (e.g. museums, theaters or scientific institutions). Although the microdistrict formally received the administrative status of a city, both the social infrastructure and the means of communication necessary for a full life have not acquired adequate territorial content. The actual database presented by

the authors of the paper confirms the hypothesis that the officially declared type of terrain (city status) does not correspond to the actually executed project (settlement).

6. As it turned out, symbolization processes are crucial for rethinking the identity and socio-spatial policy of suburban regions. At the same time, since the formation of a regional image serves mainly as a "disguise" of socio-spatial differentiation — especially in the ubiquitous suburban spaces between the overvalued central city, suburbs, and growing regional centers — there remain acute questions about who exactly creates, who builds, and who can get real access to the benefits frontier and take advantage of them after the revised spatial identities. The lack of communication between the elements of space, as well as a single idea of it, is associated with poor communication between different actors/subjects in the territory. It turned out that the main problem is communication, since many subjects are located on the territory, and these subjects do not have any connection with each other: no one knew what was happening in neighboring houses or in apartments of large buildings, and how they fit together it is unclear what is open, closed, at what time, what, where and why it's happening. The actions of the actors (agents) constructing this or that social space should be aimed at overcoming this discontinuity and creating a single, recognizable urban suburbanized space

7. On an empirical level, this paper confirms a new trend that the global world order tends to "increasingly suburban" formats of "new suburbanization", including those associated with the settlement of existing urban voids (wastelands) and a kind of expansion of rural areas adjacent to the outskirts of the city. Local interests are always preserved, but they are rarely connected only exclusively with the locality from which they are proclaimed, postulated, and manifested. They represent topologies of meaning and identity that transcend both the locality in which they arise and the political region in which they seek their application.

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# Формирование социального пространства пригорода[*]

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**Аннотация.** В статье тема формирования социального пространства пригорода рассматривается и как концептуальная предметная область экономической социологии, и как объект эмпирического междисциплинарного исследования сельских территорий и социальной географии. Руководствуясь текущими дискуссиями на стыках теорий сборки (*assemblage theory*), конструирования локальности как топологической перспективы уплотнения разомкнутых слоёв и смыкания пространства (*closing of space*) с компонентами материального и символического производства (*material and symbolic production*) и критической городской политической экономии (*critical urban political economy*), наш анализ демонстрирует, как социально-техническая инфраструктура, политическая мобильность и социально-экономические отношения пространственно выравниваются, поддерживаются и растворяются в раздробленных агломерациях. Авторами статьи уточнены модификации дефиниции «сельский» как бросающей вызов концепту городской революции производства пространства А. Лефевра; проведены верификации производства места в терминах феноменологической социологии А. Аппадураи как центра смыслов, созданного опытом; использована методология структурно-генетической операционализации пространства П. Бурдьё как действия акторов-носителей капиталов в различных социальных полях. Сочетание нескольких подходов обеспечивает интегрированную междисциплинарную матрицу для понимания того, как именно взаимосвязаны межлокальные социальные отношения, жизненные миры, выявляемые идентичности жителей в новом сельском микрорайоне между городом и посёлком. С учётом методологических вопросов, возникающих при попытке эмпирического изучения таких изменений, предлагаются новые теоретические схемы для социального конструирования и реконструкции пространств через различные типы действия. На конкретном примере Тюменской области даны подтверждения того, что мировые тенденции по обособлению сельских территорий как формата периферийного городского развития приобретают приоритетное значение. Полученные результаты важны и полезны потому, что они подтверждают гипотезу распространения глобальной субурбанизации Р. Кейла, которая становится всё более массовым и более значимым явлением в разных регионах мира. Авторские

эмпирические данные подкрепляют значимость новых форматов периферийного городского развития, а точно выверенные фотографии дают независимые визуальные измерения формирования социального пространства пригорода. Всё это в целом приводит к мысли о полезности пересмотра городской социальной теории в контексте роста субурбанизации сельских территорий.

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