UDC 130.2

# M.M. Manassova\*, B.I. Karipbaev

Karaganda University of the name of academician E.A. Buketov, Kazakhstan (E-mail: sayabek-mira@mail.ru, karipbaev@mail.ru)

## Socio-philosophical analysis of trends in the development of urban culture

This article discusses the nature and appearance of cities, manifestations of the phenomenon of urban culture. First, it analyses the features of cities in the various stages of the development of society. Second, it assesses the changing role of the modern city. Third, urban development and the changing role of capital in modern Kazakhstan. The authors examines the city as part of a variety of socio-economic systems. Formulated theoretical and methodological approaches used to study the major trends and issues of socio-economic dynamics of cultural cities. The authors analyzes the current state of urban culture and cultural values of cities in the world development. In conclusion, the authors develop their own understanding of the role of Nur-Sultan in the cultural and civilizational development of Kazakhstan.

Keywords: function of cities, urban culture, civilization, Kazakhstan, capital, Nur-Sultan, Astana, postmodern city, postindustrial city, urbanization.

#### Introduction

Grandiose urban cultural shifts are currently happening on a worldwide scale. According to American scholar Richard Florida (2005), the modern city is a hub for innovation, activism, and a growing community of vivacious people. People who value innovation, diversity, and tolerance gravitate toward areas with strong creative forces. [1; 35].

In recent history, the population of cities has grown significantly. 3.5 billion people, or roughly half of the world's population, lived there in 2010. By 2030, it is anticipated that there will be 5 billion people living in cities [2; 420]. In their writings, several American academics (Lees Linda, 2012) examine the rise of urbanization and the part that culture plays in the creation of cutting-edge cities.

Representatives of several scientific disciplines are currently very interested in the phenomena of the city due to the current scenario. The growth of megacities is the primary concern in the building of society. Cities are where the primary manifestations of civilization appear and change the availability of resources.

There is a need to address the causes of the city, to identify key aspects and trends in the development of modern cities since the goal of our research is to examine the city as a unique socio-cultural phenomenon. The characteristics of human activities inside the contemporary urban environment must also be taken into account.

The city serves as the center of the populace's essential activity and plays a variety of functions in the territorial economic system and resettlement. Cities serve as geographic hubs for both economic development and social change, and they are a striking example of how humans can design their own habitats while releasing and isolating them from the natural world. The World Wide Web connects towns all over the world, and information sharing improves inhabitants' quality of life.

### Experimental

The approach of historical and philosophical analysis must be used while studying urban culture sociophilosophically. The project makes use of the principles of development, concreteness, and ascent from the abstract to the concrete, as well as general scientific methodological approaches such as structural-functional, systemic, activity, comparative, method of cultural relativism, cultural-analytical method, and hermeneutic methods. Using the urbanization theories of Richard Florida, John Rennie Short, Lees Linda, G. Simmel, and others, the essay demonstrates an understanding of the sociocultural phenomenon of capital.

-

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author's e-mail: sayabek-mira@mail.ru

### Results and Discussion

Numerous academics view cities as a sociocultural phenomena of historical development. In his 1995 study Glazychev V.L., a Russian scientist, examines the fundamental principles and socioeconomic underpinnings of the urbanization process. He also describes the characteristics of how cities function at various stages of social development and in various historical, geographical, and cultural regions. He asserts that "the city transcends the conventional tradition, social interactions, and relationships of the globe" [3; 3]. Here, the city is described as a unique cultural phenomenon and as the hub of intricate human knowledge frameworks. The practical qualities of cities form the foundation of every historical and artistic achievement of civilization.

Astana - in its novelty intention contains the will to reflect in its structure not only the nomad nomad world, but also the global world transliterated by the desire economy into the structures of nomadic consciousness, according to a modern Russian cultural critic, one of the modern researchers of cities K. Medeuova [4; 170]. We therefore provide a framework for comprehending the entirety of the universe by reflecting on the civilizational traditions and mindset of the Kazakh nomadic people, the fundamental character of the city, and conventional modes of cultural transmission. Here, the conflict between urban and traditional forms of being is taken into account as both the current status of Kazakh culture and a transition from local isolation to openness to the outside world.

The authoritarian city, the city of difference, the cosmic city, the collective city, the postindustrial city, the postmodern city, the postcolonial city, the immigrant city, the economic city, the competitive, the gendered city, the erotic city, the political city, and the designed city are just a few of the parameters of cities mentioned by the expert on urbanization John Rennie Short (2006) [5]. The social and geographical order of society are both fundamentally affected by each characteristic. The functional organization of the city is directly tied to each of the processes (globalization, life-style divergence, and postmodernism). Cities in space are regarded as holy artifacts (Short, 2006). In the minds of contemporary Westerners, the city is seen as a secular setting rather than a center of religion. But the relationship between the holy and the commonplace was deeply ingrained in the first towns.

We can draw a conclusion from analyzing and organizing the sources that discuss the genetic elements of the dynamics of the functional structure of urban culture. For instance, the concept of a "old city" is connected to the preservation of assets and the delivery of religious services. Ancient towns were also known for using military assaults to enlarge their boundaries.

Meanwhile, other academics contend that more than one factor cannot account for the city's creation. For instance, Herbert Girardet (2004) describes how the original city of Jericho, which is now 17 km northeast of Jerusalem and was established circa 8000 BC [6; 25], came into being in the study of the city. According to experts, among the earliest cities to appear at the same period were Damascus, Susa, Sidon, Fayoum, Beirut, and Jerusalem.

Lewis Mumford, a renowned urbanist and sociologist, explains the origin of the city in terms of evolution: he refers to the ancient cities (Jericho, Babylon) as embryos that later developed into fully developed urban forms, and the final stage of this evolution represents a sharp leap - the "urban revolution" [7]. L. Mumford begins by providing a thorough interpretation of the origin and nature of the city before tracing its evolution from Egypt and Mesopotamia through Greece, Rome, and the Middle Ages to the present. He also describes the key features of the city, among which the ceremonial center, the sacred space set apart from the everyday, or "house of the gods," is one of the most significant.

The ancient religion was significant in the formation of the ancient state, according to French historian Fustel de Coulange (2010) in his book "The Ancient City" [8; 135]. He believes that the city's foundation has always been religious in character since it was built as a place of universal worship by the tribes that united to form it.

Early Middle Ages saw a dramatic shift in the condition. Despite the extreme diversity of medieval European urban forms, a certain typological coherence may be seen in the culture that develops there. The community of the metropolitan way of life, where trade and production functions quickly take center stage, is where this unity has its origins. As a result, cities in Northern France, Southern Germany, Spain, England, Scandinavia, and the Czech Republic all experience comparable occurrences.

The role of towns evolved during the X and XI centuries as iron ore mining replaced crafts, the idea of "citizens" emerged, and stone defenses protected the city. In Western and Central Europe, there were hundreds of cities by the XII–XIII centuries. The adage "the air of the city provides freedom" perfectly captures

the significance of the city as a location at the center, where each resident's right to freedom and security is guaranteed. The city has become a hub of innovation in many facets of public life as a result of this significant concentration of the "air of freedom".

Later, in the Late Middle Ages, political centralization accelerated and took several forms, including the emergence of "capital" towns and technical advancements that boosted the urban economy.

Important, essential occurrences in European towns during the nineteenth century drastically altered what cities meant. It was the time when industrial civilization was developing.

The idea of modernization is created as a result of the shift from a traditional to a contemporary industrial society that occurs throughout urban growth. This procedure is thorough and touches on every aspect of society. The most significant phenomena that modernization encompasses are:

- the agrarian revolution (the emergence of rural markets, the switch from vast to intense farming practices);
- industrialization (the automation of all aspects of the economy, the development of a network of machines, and the emergence of large-scale industry);
- urbanization (rapid population expansion, a concentration of economic activity in cities, and a prevalent urban way of life);
- alteration of society's social structure (acceptance of social stratification's economic and class components);
  - democratization of politics (establishment of civil society and the rule of law);
- secularization (the secularization of consciousness and the establishment of a scientific worldview, the liberation of society from the influence of the church).

The system of international relations has undergone significant changes as a result of modernization, which has altered the previous balance of power between the major nations. England became the "industrial workshop of the world" and the top global power as a result of its dominance in industrial growth in the middle of the XIX century. At the same time, rural Germany, which traditionally served as a "European village," has assumed a leadership role in the continent. France, which had fought for primacy in Europe for many centuries, was obliged to admit that its rivals, first England and later Germany, were superior.

In many Western European towns, the final third of the nineteenth century saw the rapid expansion of large-scale industrial output. The process moved especially quickly in the three major industries that made up the then economy: metallurgy, mechanical engineering, and transportation. Emerging industries like electrical and chemical ones are starting to significantly alter urban residents' daily lives.

Post-industrial cities, whose primary duties are connected to the provision of various services, have been actively forming since the second part of the twentieth century. At the close of the 20th century, the globalization of the international economy is in progress. At the international level, some of the cities act as economic agents and assume a significant role akin to that of the state.

Urban culture experts like Z. Freud, Simmel, T. Roszak, and R. Sennett characterize contemporary cities as oppressive social structures. They believe that a person who meets his requirements in the city suffers harm because of urban civilization. According to Wirth, who has studied the research of the experts described above, living in a city impairs our capacity for logical decision-making and causes us to behave more automatically. For instance, Wirth uses R. Sennett's contention that cities prevent personal growth as an example. Urban life is seen by the other three theories as a daunting beginning [9; 25].

The development of bureaucracy, shifting governments and democracies, the merchant class, and early capitalist enterprises are just a few of the key characteristics of the modern urbanized territory that can be observed in the city, according to M. Weber's study of the medieval city (Die Stadt, 1921)[10]. Such cities aid in the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the adoption of a new rationale that emphasizes order, efficiency, and causation as the cornerstones of efficient operation. They foster the development of independent, small businesses and the emergence of fresh ideas, cultures, and management structures.

In his book "Metropolis and Mental Life," G. Simmel gave the study of the urban environment a lot of consideration (1903). Simmel mentions the increase of "nervousstimulis" – a psychological effect on a person—as one of the city's distinctive accomplishments. In contrast to rural communities, where life is more orderly and conventional, the city overpowers a person with signs, sounds, and odors of every description. All of this trains the person to be more receptive while also dulling perception.

Researchers that study urban theory provide many typologies of how cities serve their purposes. A city is now often identified by its population, geography, and administrative status: a) The city - goods, the power of the prince, serfdom (Moscow); b) The city lease of land, which is connected to a monopoly position on

trade routes from antiquity to the Byzantine Empire; c) in the Middle Ages, the city was a trade and craft, not economic; d) London, Paris, and New York - they are in the center of national or international lenders and large banks; e) there were Agricultural type cities urban areas like Cologne, Germany; j) in ancient times and the Middle Ages in Europe and outside the city there was a fortress and a garrison residence.

The city, which gradually lost the narrow industrial specialization that gave it its appearance in the 19th century, usurped cultural functions in the 20th century, transforming it into a space where the political will of the state, which was unambiguous, clashed with multiple attempts to develop the city. That is, it is no longer possible to tell which is the city's dominating function or style. The city space needs to be divided into zones, segments, and districts. The city's overall size makes it difficult to recall the city's original intent. The integrity of the contemporary city, which may once have been defined by a fortress wall, has been lost, just as there is no longer sponsorship from a single king. Modern urban study is founded on this difficulty in identifying the limits of the city's essence and function. Every new generation that has grown up in both new and ancient cities searches for a more trustworthy explanation for the extraordinary power of the city.

Living in a contemporary city may sometimes be challenging. The problems that residents of contemporary megacities deal with on a daily basis are numerous and include the expansion of industrial production, environmental degradation, transportation issues, overpopulation, high cost of living, marginalization and desolation of some areas, and high crime rates. In his essay "The City and Hate," J. Baudrillard claims that the city has lost its integrity, has fragmented and become disordered, and has become a "Museum of Ideal Deconstruction."

When examining the characteristics of contemporary megacities, one of the most eminent Western urbanists (K. Tange) remarks that the twentieth century saw the emergence of cities with a population of more than 10 million people in various areas of the world [11]. Cities with populations that now surpass 10 million people or will do so soon include London and Paris, hey are frequently referred to as being overpopulated. The need for connections between these non-productive functions—such as those in government, finance, and the management of production and consumption—can be traced to the rise in the proportion of non-productive functions in the world's largest capitals. This further stimulates capital growth and leads to the development of complex systems that determine the futures of entire nations and enable the exchange of ideas and global communication.

In order to better understand urban life, researchers from the Chicago School of Urban Sociology in the 20th century (R. Park) merged broad biology (evolutionary law, battle for existence) and social patterns (social cooperation, competition, balance, and order in society) [12]. According to Park, the primary distinctions between "social ecology" and "biological ecology" are brought about by the nature of human life and the communities that people create; this shift in nature has an effect on the social ecology. Animals cannot drastically alter their habitat or nature as man can. Environmental changes caused by humans are a defining aspect of human life. In comparison to the biological environment, language and human culture enable the creation of orders of magnitude more complex systems of species cohabitation. R. Park therefore based his argument on the distinctions between the biotic and cultural elements that have an impact on urban ecology.

Logan and Moloch offer a mechanism, or growth machine, as the fundamental idea to keep in mind when thinking about the city [13]. According to researchers, this idea refers to the coordinated efforts of businesspeople, real estate agents, contractors, builders, banks, and judicial authorities to influence the value of a certain metropolitan location. Although they have various interests, they are bound together by the desire to ensure that, with the help of the local government, they will profit from their involvement in the enhancement of urban space. The price of the development mechanism is frequently paid by raising costs for all people, including inconveniences from maintenance, traffic congestion, pollution, and increased taxes and payments. While the growth mechanism's "activists" profit greatly from it.

Production of things through labor and knowledge was the primary function in the era of industrial towns. The development of consumer culture and the subjective individuality of modern cities were related to the industrial order. The industrial economy's demise defies accepted convention. This is how the vacant industrial areas and shuttered industries of contemporary cities seem.

In North America and Europe, the first deindustrialization procedures for urban manufacturing were place (Short, 2006). Later, there were waves of industrialization in China, Korea, and Japan. The historic concentrations of specialized labor shifted away from standardized manufacturing and inexpensive transportation. Urban development serves as the organization of the economic world throughout the world, primarily through the development of new organizational and managerial methods, new service types, such as consulting, information, marketing, and financial services, as well as the concentration of all kinds of innovations,

new technologies, management, and organizational systems. Intermediary services of all types and on a worldwide scale are the primary "product" of the global metropolis. Mobility, mass media, and cross-cultural dialogue are playing a larger role in contemporary cities. The city is a location for assimilation, segregation, migration, and integration. Migration is the interpenetration of the area and into the normativity of distinct groups, or the diffusion of sociocultural norms. Thus, there is continual "segregation" - the sociocultural isolation of groups, the modification of territorial settlement in society and the inclination to segregate, or to categorize, the populace of a big metropolis is determined by people's likes and interests. In parallel, there is a process known as "assimilation" in which members of a group are socially and culturally dissolved. Writing, architecture (an objective material environment in the form of a cultural text), a functionally organized structure of the territory, the elements of which are loci of social and cultural activities of various types, and the structuring and objectification of the temporal continuum of human life through "everyday" (artificial organization of life and interaction) and "space-time" are just a few of the new mechanisms and means of communication that have been created by the city (the concentration of cultural and historical product in a geographically-subject environment, the city itself is a museum of history).

According to citizens' shared conventions, beliefs, emotions, sense of community, and collective identity, modern cities may serve as a collective voice for economic, social, and political concerns. Such cities have an urban life and urban cultural symbolic infrastructure.

All eras of Kazakhstan's history have seen high rates of urbanization. The development of cities in Kazakhstan's steppe areas, which occurred during Russia's economic colonization of the Kazakh territories, is a defining feature of modern history. Rapid urbanization processes define the present era of development. For the first time in Kazakhstan's history, the proportion of urban and rural residents matched in the 1970s, and since the 1980s, there has been a trend toward a greater concentration of citizens. Domestic studies predict that by 2015, 72.5% of the republic's population will live in urban areas. The rapid speed of urbanization creates issues for society in the areas of ecology, economy, sociopolitics, and urban planning, which may be resolved by looking to the past of individual cities.

One of the newest capitals in the world is Nur-Sultan. In the 24 years since it was granted metropolitan status, Nur-Sultan has come to represent the modern Kazakhstan as a city that "never stops growing," a place with limitless potential for creative development, and a place of "cultural and semiotic contrasts" that served as the backdrop for a particularly intense intellectual examination of the city. The processes of Kazakhstan's sovereignty, capital, and national consciousness all developed at the same time, which brought the issue of Kazakhstanis' cultural and political identity into the present. Gaining a new status entails altering the city's administrative, political, and aesthetic aspects; Astana (kaz. "capital") was chosen as the new name in an effort to represent all of these changes. Finding a solution that matches the status of the capital is crucial in the quest for the new city center of the nation's capital. The Japanese architect K. Kurokawa's sketch-the-idea of the master plan for the new center of the capital is based on the principle of metabolism (from Greek: Metabole - change, transformation), which has as its goal the creation of a long-lasting viable framework of any architectural form and easily updatable elements.

This idea is based on a symbiosis of a solid foundation and a dynamic ensemble of architectural features, as well as a symbiosis of the Soviet architectural legacy and the new metropolis, natural and urban elements, and eastern and Western ideologies.

A situation like this is the exact matrix that has been replicating itself in all cities gaining the title of the global capital for thousands of years.

There are several aspects of Nur-Sultan. Nur-Sultan is a geopolitical entity that determines the direction of development of the entire state and enables you to structure society in accordance with global trends. It is a Eurasian city, the communication hub of Eurasia, the administrative center of the state, and the center of central power. The country's economic growth should be boosted by the new capital, which also appears to have the potential to overcome Kazakhstan's unequal population distribution, solidify the nation's multiethnic makeup, and develop into a global city.

The inclination to establish independence and the development of national identity via the use of architecture typical of the post-Soviet republics impact how the capital's architecture is perceived as the "Eastern Capital."

The western portion represents Kazakhstan's steady growth, while the eastern part is distinguished by the semantics of the country's earliest traditions and cultural quirks. The major element of the environment's semantics, the link between Europe and Asia, was dictated by the city's placement at the junction of the Great Silk Road's directions.

The distinctive nature of the people serves to support the capital's functions' progressivism, originality, and variety. The national culture is not only being preserved in the capital, but it is also being elevated. Representatives of the city modify and recreate the national culture. This is a requirement for developing the "center-periphery" model's geographical relationships in the construction of the nation's cultural landscape.

The development and execution of the strategic plan for the city's sustainable development through 2030, which unquestionably provides a powerful impetus to the socio-economic and spiritual development of kazakh society, has earned Nur-Sultan recognition as the "Best City of the CIS and EurAsEC" in a number of nominations. As a type of milestone in Kazakhstan's quest for and consolidation of independence, it serves as a real representation of the country.

The article was prepared as part of a scientific project under the grant AP13268743 "The phenomenon of the capital in the national picture of modern Kazakhstan" (2022-2024) (Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

#### References

- 1 Florida R. Cities and Creative Class / R. Florida. Routledge. 2005.
- 2 Lees L. Culture Counts: A "New Math" for the Future of Innovative Cities / L. Lees // Vital Speeches of the Day. 2012. Vol. 75.
  - 3 Город как социокультурное явление исторического процесса / под ред. Э.В. Сайко. М.: Наука, 1995. 351 с.
  - 4 Медеуова К. Отражение города. / К. Медеуова // Европейский гуманитарный университет. 2008. С. 307–309.
  - 5 Short J.R. Urban theory critical assessment. Palgrave Macmillan / J.R. Short. 2006.
  - 6 Girardet H. Cities people planet liveable cities for a sustainable world / H. Girardet. Wiley-Academy, 2004.
  - 7 Mumford L. The city in history: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects / L. Mumford. Brace & World, 1961.
- 8 Фюстель де Куланж Н.Д. Древний город. Религия, законы, институты Греции и Рима / Н.Д. Фюстель де Куланж; пер с англ. Л.А. Игоревского. М: ЗАО «Изд-во Центрполиграф», 2010. 414 с.
- 9 Louis W. Urbanism as a Way of Life / W. Louis // The American Journal of Sociology. 1938. Vol. 44. The University of Chicago Press.
  - 10 Вебер М. Город. Избранные произведения / М. Вебер; пер. с нем. Ю. Н. Давыдова. М.: Прогресс, 1990. 808 с.
  - 11 Танге К. Архитектура и градостроительство / К. Танге. М.: Стройиздат, 1978. 134 с.
  - $12\;$  Park R.E. The city / R.E. Park. The University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- 13 Logan J. Urban fortunes: The political economy of place Berkeley / J. Logan, H. Molotch. University of California Press, 1987.

### М.М. Манасова, Б.И. Карипбаев

## Қала мәдениетінің даму тенденцияларын әлеуметтік-философиялық талдау

Мақалада алғашқы қалалардың пайда болуы және қала мәдениеті феноменінің жан-жақтылығы зерттелген. Қойылған мақсат мына міндеттемелер арқылы жүзеге асырылды: біріншіден, қоғам дамуының әр түрлі кезеңдерінде қалалар функциясы талданған; екіншіден, қазіргі заманғы қалалардың өзгертуші рөлі қарастырылған; үшіншіден, қазіргі Қазақстан астанасының рөлі анықталған. Авторлар мақалада қаланы әлеуметтік-экономикалық жүйенің бөлшегі ретінде көрсеткен. Қолданылған теоретикалық және әдіснамалық бағыттар қалалар мәдениетінің дамуында негізгі тенденция ретінде пайдаланылады. Сонымен қатар қала мәдениетінің қазіргі жағдайы және әлемдік дамудағы қалалардың мәдени құндылықтары талданған. Қорытындылай келе, авторлар Қазақстанның мәдени-өркениеттік дамуындағы астананың рөлін көрсеткен.

Кілт сөздер: қалалар функциясы, қалалық мәдениет, өркениет, Қазақстан, елорда, Астана, постмодернистік қала, постиндустриалды қала, урбанизация.

## М.М. Манасова, Б.И. Карипбаев

## Социально-философский анализ тенденций развития городской культуры

В статье рассмотрены процесс появления первых городов и многообразные проявления феномена городской культуры. Поставленная цель реализуется посредством следующих задач: во-первых, анализируются функции городов на различных этапах развития общества; во-вторых, рассматривается меняющаяся роль современных городов; в-третьих, исследуется меняющаяся роль столицы в современном Казахстане. Авторы данной статьи рассматривают город как часть различных социально-экономических систем. Используемые теоретические и методологические подходы применяются при изучении основных тенденций и проблем социально-экономической динамики культурных городов. Помимо сказанного, авторы анализируют текущее состояние городской культуры и культурные ценности городов мирового развития. В заключение авторы вырабатывают собственое понимание роли столицы в культурно-цивилизационном развитии Казахстана.

Ключевые слова: функция городов, городская культура, цивилизация, Казахстан, столица, Астана, постмодернистский город, постиндустриальный город, урбанизация.

#### References

- 1 Florida, R. (2005). Cities and Creative Class. Routledge.
- 2 Lees, L. (2012). Culture Counts: A "New Math" for the Future of Innovative Cities (Vol.75). Vital Speeches of the Day.
- 3 Saiko, E.V. (Eds.). (1995). Gorod kak sotsiokulturnoe yavlenie istoricheskogo protsessa [City as a socio-cultural phenomenon of the historical process]. Moscow: Nauka [in Russian].
- 4 Medeuova, K. (2008). Otrazhenie goroda [Reflection of the city]. Evropeiskii gumanitarnyi universitetm European Humanities University, 307–309 [in Russian].
  - 5 Short, J.R. (2006). Urban theory critical assessment. Palgrave Macmillan.
  - 6 Girardet, H. (2004). Cities people planet liveable cities for a sustainable world. Wiley-Academy.
  - 7 Mumford, L. (1961). The city in history: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects. Brace & World.
- 8 Fustel de Coulanges, N.D. (2010). Drevnii gorod. Religiia, zakony, instituty Gretsii i Rima [The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws and Institutions of Greece and Rome]. (A. Igorevskii, Trans). Moscow: Izdatelstvo Tsentrpoligraf [in Russian].
- 9 Louis, W. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life, The American Journal of Sociology (Vol. 44). The University of Chicago Press.
- 10 Weber, M. (1990). Gorod. Izbrannye proizvedeniia [City. Selected works]. (Yu.N. Davydov, Trans). Moscow: Progress [in Russian].
  - 11 Tange, K. (1978). Arkhitektura i gradostroitelstvo [Architecture and urban planning]. Moscow: Stroiizdat [in Russian].
  - 12 Park, R.E. (1967). The city. The University of Chicago Press.
  - 13 Logan, J., & Molotch, H. (1987). Urban fortunes: The political economy of place Berkeley. University of California Press.