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E-mail: kabulzia@rambler.ru Тел.: +77014070164

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Мионг Сун-ок, доктор антропологии, ассоциированный профессор (Корея, Сеул); Scopus Author ID: 56720218700; ORCID

Моррисон Александр, PhD, профессор NewCollege, Оксфорд (Великобритания, Оксфорд); Scopus Author ID: 35794760200; ORCID

Мотузаите-Матузевичюте, Гидре, Доктор археологии, профессор, руководитель Научного центра «Биоархеология» Вильнюсского университета, г. Вильнюс, Литва; Scopus Author ID: 25225880890; ORCID

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Садвокасова Закиш Тулехановна, доктор исторических наук, профессор; Главный научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова (Республика Казахстан, Алматы); Scopus Author ID: 56682843400; ORCID

Уяма Томохико, PhD, профессор Центра славянско-евразийских исследований Университета Хоккайдо (Япония, Саппоро); Scopus Author ID: 56471951500; ORCID

Финке Петер, доктор PhD, профессор Института Макса Планка, университет Цюриха (Швейцария, Цюрих); Scopus Author ID: 55124700300

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Outram Alan, Doctor of archeology, professor, Department of Archaeology and History, University of Exeter (Exeter, UK); Scopus Author ID: 8954776500; ORCID

Peter Finke, PhD, professor of the Max Planck institute, Zurich university (Switzerland, Zurich); Scopus Author ID: 55124700300; ORCID

Sadvokassova Zakish Tleukhanovna, doctor of historical sciences, professor; chief researcher of the C.C. Valikhanov Institute of history and ethnology of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty); Scopus Author ID: 56682843400; ORCID

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THE CITY AS A PROBLEM IN FOREIGN AND SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

Aksunkar Tursunovna Abdulina¹, Altyn Slyamkaidarovna Ualtayeva²,
Aida Serikovna Margulan³

¹Candidate of historical sciences, associate professor, leading researcher
Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of history and ethnology
(28, Shevchenko Str., 050010 Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8556-3432>. E-mail: abd_aksunkar@mail.ru.

²Candidate of historical sciences, associate professor, leading researcher
Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of history and ethnology
(28, Shevchenko Str., 050010 Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9530-352X>. E-mail: altyn.lazzat@mail.ru
*Correspondent author

³PhD-student, researcher
Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of history and ethnology
(28, Shevchenko Str., 050010 Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1260-6099>. E-mail: aida.1@mail.ru

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article presents foreign and Soviet historiography on the problem of the city as a certain historically formed political, administrative, industrial, socio-cultural, architectural populated space accumulating advanced practices, technological achievements, and the spiritual potential of society. *The aim and objectives* is to study the scientific heritage, which was developed by scientists on urban processes in retrospect; identification of similarities and differences in the theories of the origin of cities. *Materials and methods of research.* Typological, systematic, and comparative methods were used in this study. At the same time, the causal relationships and patterns of historical movement were analyzed. *Results.* The study of diverse historiographical material allowed researchers to consider the stages of formation of large cities from a small settlement to a large mega center, along with those that have suspended their development. *Conclusions.* The concept of an ideal city-state was laid down in Ancient Greece. In modern times, theories are being developed and concepts related primarily to the role of the city in economic development are being applied in practice. Soviet scientists studied cities mainly from the point of view of settlement and planning of total employment of the population.



Keywords: City, polis, settlement, sociology of the city, urbanization, pre-revolutionary urbanism, foreign historiography, settlement

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ГОРОД КАК ПРОБЛЕМА В ЗАРУБЕЖНОЙ И СОВЕТСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ

Абдулина Аксункар Турсуновна¹, Уалтаева Алтын Слямкайдаровна²,
Маргулан Аида Сериковна³

¹Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч.Валиханова
(ул. Шевченко, д. 28. 050010. Алматы, Республика Казахстан)
Кандидат исторических наук, доцент, ведущий научный сотрудник
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8556-3432>. E-mail: abd_aksunkar@mail.ru.

²Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч.Валиханова
(ул. Шевченко, д. 28. 050010. Алматы, Республика Казахстан)
Кандидат исторических наук, доцент, ведущий научный сотрудник
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9530-352X>. E-mail: altyn.lazzat@mail.ru

³Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч.Валиханова
(ул. Шевченко, д. 28. 050010. Алматы, Республика Казахстан)
PhD-докторант, научный сотрудник
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1260-6099>. E-mail: aida.1@mail.ru

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье представлена зарубежная и советская историография по проблеме города как определенного исторически сформировавшегося политико-административного, производственного, социокультурного, архитектурного населенного пространства, аккумулирующего передовые практики, технологические достижения, духовный потенциал общества. *Цель и задачи статьи* состоят в исследовании научного наследия, которое было разработано учеными по урбанизационным процессам в ретроспективе; определении сходств и отличий в теориях возникновения городов. *Материалы и методы исследования.* В настоящем исследовании были использованы типологический, системный, сравнительный методы. В то же время были проанализированы причинно-следственные связи и закономерности исторического движения. *Результаты.* Изучение многообразного историографического материала позволило исследователям рассмотреть стадии формирования крупных городов от небольшого поселения к крупному мега центру, на ряду с теми, которые приостановили свое развитие. *Выводы.* Концепция идеального города-государства была заложена в Древней Греции. В Новое время разрабатываются теории и применяются на практике концепции, связанные прежде всего с ролью города



в развитии экономики. Советские ученые изучали города в основном с точки зрения расселения и планирования тотальной занятости населения.

Ключевые слова: Город, полис, поселение, социология города, урбанизация, дореволюционная урбанистика, зарубежная историография, расселение

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ҚАЛА ШЕТЕЛДІК ЖӘНЕ КЕҢЕСТІК ТАРИХНАМАДАҒЫ МӘСЕЛЕ РЕТІНДЕ

Абдулина Ақсұңқар Тұрсынқызы¹, Уалтаева Алтын Слямқайдарқызы²,
Марғулан Аида Серікқызы³

¹Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты
(28-үй, Шевченко көш., 050010 Алматы, Қазақстан)

Тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, доцент, жетекші ғылыми қызметкер
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8556-3432>. E-mail: abd_aksunkar@mail.ru.

²Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты
(28-үй, Шевченко көш., 050010 Алматы, Қазақстан)

Тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, доцент, жетекші ғылыми қызметкер
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9530-352X>. E-mail: altyn.lazzat@mail.ru

³Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты
(28-үй, Шевченко көш., 050010 Алматы, Қазақстан)

PhD-докторант, ғылыми қызметкер
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1260-6099>. E-mail: aida.1@mail.ru

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Андатпа. *Kіріспе.* Мақалада озық тәжірибелерді, технологиялық жетістіктерді және қоғамның рухани әлеуетін жинақтаған нақты тарихи қалыптасқан саяси-әкімшілік, өндірістік, әлеуметтік-мәдени, сәулет құрылысы дамыған тұрғылықты мекен ретіндегі қала проблемасы бойынша шетелдік және кеңестік тарихнамасы баяндалған. *Мақаланың мақсаты мен міндеті* – ғалымдардың урбанизация процестері бойынша жасаған ғылыми мұрасын ретроспективті түрде зерттеу; қалалар пайда болу теорияларының ұқсастығын және айырмашалағын анықтау. *Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері.* Бұл зерттеуде типологиялық, жүйелік және салыстырмалы әдістер қолданылды. Осы орайда тарихи қозғалыстың себеп-салдарлық байланыстары мен заңдылықтары талданды. *Нәтижелер.* Әртүрлі тарихнамалық материалдарды жан-жақты қарастыру зерттеушілерге үлкен қалалардың шағын тұрғылықты мекеннен ірі мегаорталыққа дейінгі қалыптасу кезеңдері мен олардың дамуын тоқтатқан кезеңдерімен қатар қарастыруға мүмкіндік берді. *Қорытынды.* Идеал қала-мемлекет ұғымы Ежелгі Грецияда пайда болған. Қазіргі заманда ең алдымен экономикалық дамудағы қаланың рөліне байланысты теориялар жасалып, концепциялар тәжірибеде



қолданылуда. Кеңес ғалымдары қалаларды негізінен қоныстандыру және халықты жалпы жұмыспен қамтуды жоспарлау тұрғысынан зерттеді.

Түйін сөздер: Қала, полис, елді мекен, қала әлеуметтануы, урбанизация, революцияға дейінгі урбанистика, шетелдік тарихнама, қоныстану

Алғыс айту: Мақала AP23488712 «Тәуелсіз Қазақстанның шағын және моноқалаларының күнделікті өмірі (Шығыс өңірінің мысалында)» жобасын іске асыру шеңберінде орындалды.

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Introduction. The city as a certain historically formed political-administrative, industrial, socio-cultural, architectural populated space has long been and remains one of the topical and debatable problems of the humanities and, more recently, natural science disciplines – philosophy, history, sociology, political science, economics, geography, mathematics, IT, etc. They accumulate the most advanced practices, technological achievements, cultural values, spiritual potential, and ideological theories of society.

In the foreign tradition, the philosophical and theoretical foundations for considering the phenomenon of the city were laid in ancient Greece, in the history of which city-polises surrounded by rural agglomerations were separate states competing with each other.

The heyday of the polis system of Ancient Greece falls on the classical period (V–VI centuries BC), when the outstanding philosophers Plato (Plato, 2013) and Aristotle immortalized their names. In classical Greece, there is a leap in the history of urban planning – along with a spontaneous radial-ring layout, there appears a regular, perpendicular-axial grid of residential quarters and streets, applied by the architect Hippodamus (485-405). Among the reasons for the transition to new development are: population growth, accelerated urbanization, the need to rationalize construction and increase its pace, as well as the development or conquest of new territories. In his main works «Critias, or Atlantis», «State», «Laws», etc. Plato substantiated the concept of an ideal city-state, in which each of the 3 classes – philosophers, warriors and demiurges (artisans, bread farmers, traders, etc.), performed their functions of management, military affairs and production of material values. Platonov's city had an irregular concentric development: «The city should be arranged in circles rising to high places, for the sake of good security and cleanliness. Premises for rulers and courts should be located near the temples» (Polyakov, Mayorova, Shapovalova, 2008: 5). The famous student of Plato – Aristotle continued to substantiate the «ideal city-state» in the work «Politics», advocating not for a Platonic monarchy, but a moderate democratic republic, in which the layout of the city-state combines the correct quarters of Hippodamus with concentric circles for the purpose of military security. Aristotle advocated the zoning of urban space into administrative, religious, commercial, and other zones. The great «second teacher» of the East, al-Farabi, was also an adherent of the ancient concept of the «ideal city-state», interpreted by him in the IX century in a socio-ethical way as a theocratic state led by the Imam – the most reverend ruler-philosopher, creating all conditions for citizens to achieve happiness (Aristotle, 1997; Al-Farabi, 1970).

In the medieval period, secular teachings were persecuted by the church, so we can name one of the few dualistic concepts of the theologian of the V-th century Aurelius Augustine about the «city of the earth» and the «city of God» (Armstrong, 2006: 241), the belonging of people to which is determined by their unrighteous or God-pleasing behavior.



Methods and materials. The application of interdisciplinary approaches and research methods is caused by the modern realities of the development of world historical science, intellectual postmodernism, the problems, which can be solved with the help of innovative research methods.

The historiography of cities is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and a value-based approach. On the basis of the principle of historicism, the problem of the city is considered by foreign and Soviet scientists. The methods of historiographical analysis are based on general historical ones: historical-genetic, comparative-historical, typological, historical-systemic. On the basis of which the properties, functions and changes of the object are revealed, cause-and-effect relationships, patterns of historical movement are analyzed. The evolution of opinions and scientific approaches has changed in connection with socio-political, demographic, and other processes. Marx's basic methodological principle was used, which is based on an anthropological understanding of history, a person stands behind any historical process. In the study of cities, according to Marx, it was the migration of people, the movement towards more attractive and decent living conditions and benefits that contributed to the concentration of people in certain cities, which confirms the transition from phenomenon to essence.

In addition, semiotic and hermeneutic methods were used to understand the whole when studying its individual parts, to analyze the problem of cities over a long historical period, foreign scientists studied the history and features, symbols of one city, then systematized the data obtained with the region, country and came to certain conclusions and scientific views.

The collaboration of historically existing methods and approaches will make it possible to consider a wide range of humanitarian issues based on the symbiosis between scientific, fundamental and applied knowledge, the synthesis of humanitarian and natural science approaches to the study of urban problems.

Discussion. The Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain in the 18th century and then spread to other countries in Europe and the New World, significantly accelerated the process of urbanization.

The problem of the city has again become the object of research in Western historiography by philosophers, political economists, sociologists, etc. One of the founders of scientific communism, Friedrich Engels, in his work «Big Cities», first of all highlighted the aspect of social differentiation of the population of big cities, describing the depressing situation of the working people of London. He also highlighted some of the characteristics of the city as a settlement: «This colossal centralization, this concentration of two and a half million people in one place, multiplied the strength of these two and a half million people a hundredfold; they turned London into the trading capital of the world, created giant docks and assembled those thousands of ships that always cover the Thames...The fragmentation of mankind into monads, each of which has its own special life principle, its own special goal, this world of atoms reaches its apogee here. It also follows that the social war, the war of all against all is proclaimed here openly» (Marx, Engels, 1929). As can be seen, K. Marx's colleague substantiated the materialistic and class understanding of the city, in which the concentration of people is associated with the concentration of capital. The thinker also outlined the psychological portrait of the citizen as an anatomized unit guided by egoism and insensitivity to the needs of others, outlining the anthropological cross-section of the problem.

The views of the German philosopher, representative of the «philosophy of life», sociologist G. Simmel had a great influence on the understanding of the city as a phenomenon. He represented an understanding of the nature of a large city, which distinguishes it from villages and even small towns: «...big cities, centers of monetary economy...In them, the result of the accumulation of people and objects reaches a relatively high degree, which excites the individual to the greatest expenditure of nervous forces. But a



purely quantitative increase in such conditions leads to the opposite result...The internal relations of residents of large cities to each other are formally characterized by isolation, isolation...a large city can be considered the center of individual and social freedom, which is the result of the world-historical process of interaction between the expansion of the territory and the growing need for personal freedom...large cities have always been the center of cosmopolitanism» (Simmel, 2002). Author stressed that in cities there are opposite features in the human mind: on the one hand, the boundaries of consciousness expand significantly, and, on the other hand, a person loses many contacts, there is a «one in the crowd» effect.

A more comprehensive study of the city from a philosophical and sociological point of view was undertaken by a prominent German sociologist and philosopher M. Weber, the author of the monograph «The City». In this in-depth study, Weber consistently reveals the main features of the city:

1) from a sociological point of view: a city is a large settlement with adjoining houses, in which there is no personal acquaintance of neighbors with each other;

2) from an economic point of view: a city is a settlement in which residents «predominantly live not on income from agriculture, but from crafts and trade», differ in the variety of occupations; satisfy a significant part of their needs in the local market;

3) from a political point of view: a city is the residence of an aristocratic landowner or prince.

In this regard, he identified three types of ancient cities: the city of consumers, the city of producers, the trading city. According to Weber, «cities are almost always mixed types and can only be classified according to the prevailing economic component». In a comparative analysis with modern European cities of ancient and medieval cities, M. Weber emphasizes the importance of their economic component, since large banks, joint-stock companies, cartels accumulate in them, entire business districts of the «city» appear, where there is no residential development. (Weber, 2017). Another representative of the German school of «philosophy of life» was Oswald Spengler, the author of the sensational book in 2 volumes «The Decline of Europe» (Spengler 1918). Spengler developed the *theory of local cultures* arising in a particular natural landscape called the «mother bosom of culture». Great cultures that have created forms such as the state, science, art, politics, and religion emerge as urban ones. In line with *the biologization approach*, Spengler believes that the city has its own soul, which develops and determines the appearance of the city, i.e. the city is a socio-historical organism that embodies a certain type of culture.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the United States experienced accelerated urbanization, in connection with which Chicago turned into a major center of industry, finance, logistics, science, and culture. It was in this city that a new specialized direction was formed in the Chicago school – the *sociology of the city*, whose prominent representatives were R.E. Park, who had G. Simmel, E. Burgess, L. Wirth as his mentor. In the understanding of the Park, which has formed an *ecological approach* to understanding the city, every citizen seeks to find his place in the social structure of the city. (Park, 2011). E. Burgess, the author of the theory of concentric circles, identified 5 concentric zones in Chicago: a business center, a pedestrian zone around, sleeping working areas, an area of urban residential residences, a suburban area. He believed that the mobile structure of the city is formed by social groups that have certain local settlement zones and are subject to changes due to migration processes, and this causes the emergence of new citizens whose views differed. Wirth is considered the founder of another interesting concept of the Chicago School – urban theory or urban lifestyle, where he identified a number of characteristic features of the city: high population size and concentration, social differentiation, weakening of family and neighborhood ties, the prevalence of business and casual contacts, and the growth of social mobility (Zinchenko, 2016).



The Chicago school of sociology of the city with its concept of «urban ecology», according to which each district of the city is a naturally formed ecological and social niche, requires a separate historiographical analysis due to its importance in the development of urban issues. Representatives of this school in the 1920s developed a *method of social mapping*, i.e. the territorial distribution of areas of intense crime, poverty, suicide, etc. in Chicago, and also began to conduct field research. In the 21st century, the modern American Urbanist M. White actively applied the cartographic method and the theory of concentric zones of E. Burgess to his research. He developed about 400 socio-topographic maps in the study of 21 cities, identifying the placement of various socio-professional, racial and ethnic groups with differences in income, status, education, in various concentric zones, differing in density, time of housing construction, type of housing and its quality, property relations (private property, rent, sublease) (Popova, Ponomareva, Malykhin et al., 2014).

In the second half of the 20th century, among the foreign approaches to the problem of the city, the *semiotic* (W. Eco, C. Jenks, E. Venturi, etc.), aimed at studying urban space as a sign system, *hermeneutic* (R. Barthes, J. Derrida, J. Baudrillard), proceeding from the knowledge of the city as a text, were developed. J. Baudrillard believed that in the postmodern period, signs are enclosed in the media, advertising, television, etc., and the city is a structured built-up space. (Baudrillard, 2000: 156).

Within the framework of cultural anthropology, *anthropology of the city* arose as a subdiscipline in the 1960s-1970s, although some aspects of human psychology in the big city were already developed by the mentioned scientists who did not focus on anthropological problems. Anthropology of the city explores the refraction in the individual consciousness of collective ideas about urban space and its symbols (the concept of mental maps), narrative space, i.e. individual interpretation of the urban environment due to the subjectivity of the cultural memory of an individual with unique specific memories of urban objects. S. Low, R. Sanzhek, L. Braidbork, K. Lynch adjoined to this direction. In the 1970s and 1980s, a major specialist in urban planning, Kevin Lynch, substantiated the *normative theory of the city* in his works, linking the aesthetic values of society with urban planning forms. In the early 1980s, a new urban planning concept of «new urbanism» also appeared in the United States, which was developed by A. Lefebvre, L. Loughland, D. Jacobs, M. Art, S. Melia, et al. They advocated «compact cities» with all municipal, communal services, a network of commercial and cultural facilities located within walking distance for citizens and built in accordance with environmental requirements (Lynch, 1986).

A new vision of urban space with emphasis not on the business center, but on the periphery was developed at the Los Angeles Sociological School, which applied an integrated research approach through SPACE(D): S – sociology/society, P – management (politics/management), A – architecture (architecture/architecture), C – city culture (culture/culture), E – city economy (economics/economy), D – city data (data) (Sokolova, Sukhova, 2019: 59).

Another critical approach to the phenomenon of the modern city is the American concept of the «coalition of growth» by D. Logan and H. Molach, according to which the city acts as a mechanism of growth, i.e. a place of investment of the efforts of entrepreneurs, bankers, construction companies, etc., but this can happen without taking into account the interests of ordinary citizens to the detriment of the ecology, city history, etc.

The problem of the urbanist was the object of study not only by humanitarian scientists, but also by technicians. In particular, the American engineer Jay Forrester in 1969 published the book «Dynamics of City Development», in which, based on the application of mathematical methods of simulation modeling with data processing on a computer, he revealed the life cycle of an urbanized territory (city). In his opinion, an urbanized area is a complex, self-regulating system, «in which various types of entrepreneurship, housing and



people interact». The study of the life cycle of the city is necessary to prevent the stage of stagnation of urban development, effective planning based not on short-term requests of people, but on long-term public interests (Forrester, 1974).

In the Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century, geographical urban studies developed, which had two directions – economic-geographical and historical. The founder of the Russian geography of cities was K.I. Arsenyev, who studied the patterns and features of territorial networks of cities. A famous scientist-geographer, traveler V.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky made a great contribution to the typology of Russian cities and the zoning of the territory of the empire by types of settlements. He identified the main features of cities (number and concentration, composition, occupation of the population, urban space, the nature of residential buildings, administrative, cultural institutions, improvement, urban transport, etc.), according to which he divided them into classes according to the level of development («true cities», «towns», «future cities», etc.) and types – administrative, legal, military and commercial-industrial. In addition, on the basis of his historical analysis of the origin and development of cities in Russia under the influence of physical and geographical, historical, economic and other reasons, he concluded «about the principle of circularity around the main center» (Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, 1910). In the pre-revolutionary period, studies on the geography of cities were also carried out by A.A. Kruber, A.I. Voeikov, P.I. Köppen, I.K. Kirilov, V.P. Androsov and others (Obedkov, 2002: 59).

The ideas of the German philosopher O. Spengler about the soul of the city were continued and developed in the works of the late 1920s by the Soviet culturologist and urban historian N.P. Antsiferov «The Soul of St. Petersburg» (1922), «Ways to study the city as a social organism: the experience of an integrated approach» (1925), «The Book of the City» (1926–1927), etc. He interpreted the term «soul of the city» in a socio-cultural way, implying three hypostases: anatomy as the structure of urban space, physiology as the function of the city and the social composition of its population, psychology as the historical fate of the city, the nature of its population, its «landscape» – architectural and artistic appearance. Antsiferov also connected with the big city the problem of speeding up time for a citizen when there is no time for contemplation. An ally of N.P. Antsiferov in the study of the contemporary Russian city was the art historian N.K. Püksanov, the creator of the theory of cities – the "cultural nests" of Russia. He insisted on an integrated approach, providing for the study of the genesis of the city, its economic growth, the social composition of the population, cultural structure, etc. components. His approach to the study of the city problem is quite applicable to modern researchers.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the works of the first Soviet architects, often belonging to the old Russian architectural school, appeared on the new principles of architectural construction in the context of the construction of socialism, associated with the emerging discussion about resettlement. In particular, already in 1926, M.Ya. Ginzburg, in the pages of the magazine «Modern Architecture», reasoned about the need for architects to take into account the principle of planning when designing, so that their ideas were included in the «production network of the whole country», and also called on architects «from the search for an individual taste solution – to improve their standard, to clarify and maximize the typification of all its details» (Ginzburg, 1926: 2), calling this approach a method of functional creativity that satisfies the needs of workers. In 1930, at the height of the first five-year plan, the "Soviet avant-garde" began in architecture, inspired by the ideas of constructivists and, above all, the French Architect Le Corbusier. They advocated, to varying degrees, deurbanization in architecture, low-rise buildings of new socialist cities stretched along highways, for abandoning apartment housing in favor of dormitories with generalized public services in order to free women from family life and give them the opportunity to work fully in production.



It should be noted that the main discussion of the late 1920s and early 1930s, in which A. Zelenko, I. Chernya, and others also took part, was between disurbanists and urbanists. Among the brightest representatives of the disurbanist trend can also be called the architect M. Ohitovich, and the leading figure of urbanists was the economist L.M. Sabsovich. Their positions coincided in the search for new methods of urban planning and the need to move away from the old canons of architecture, the unbundling of cities, the even distribution of industrial and population facilities, the development of public utilities, but the differences were in the settlement system: disurbanists advocated the construction of small cities with scattered one-storey (for one family) or low-rise houses located mainly along transport communications, and urbanists were for the concentration of a population of about 50 thousand people in urban settlements with multi-apartment and multi-storey (no more than five) communal houses. (Meerovich, Menkovsky, Zherebtsov, 2020: 12). The discussion of architects and economists that swept through the media was soon curtailed by the party-Soviet authorities, since Gosplan had already developed a plan for the construction of new cities with multi-storey buildings around city-forming enterprises by the early 1930s.

In 1959, the engineer-geographer V.G. Davidovich published an academic article «On the development of the network of cities of the USSR for 40 years», in which he summarized his long-term research on the formation of the geographical settlement of cities, gave their classification and typology (Davidovich, 1959), identified the group systems of I.M. Mayergoiz (Mayergoiz, 1987).

In the second half of the 1960s, a four-volume series «Fundamentals of Soviet Urban Planning» was published, prepared by the staff of the Central Research and Design Institute of Urban Planning at the request of the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture under the State Construction Committee of the USSR. The authors' team included such prominent specialists as N. Baranov, V. Shkvarikov, E. Barkova, O. Kudryavtsev, V. Lavrov, G. Lappo, O. Smirnov, who covered the settlement and regulation of urban growth, planning solutions for new cities, infrastructure, etc. In 1985, a new generalizing work «Urbanization and Urban Development in the USSR» appeared, which sets out the theory of urbanization, analyzes its development in the Soviet Union and in the world (Baranov, Shkvarikov, Barkova et al., 1966).

A broad classification of the main directions of geographical urban studies in the Soviet period was presented by the Russian geographer A.P. Obedkov in several directions:

- exploring the city as a self-developing system;
- economic and social geography of cities;
- research of the city and its regional networks from cultural, historical, geographical and local lore positions;
- development of the theory of population settlement;
- classification and typology of urban settlements and agglomerations;
- development of urbanization and urban settlement systems of the USSR;
- analysis of global urbanization;
- the use of mathematical and geographical research methods;
- urban environment and environmental problems of population settlement;
- improvement of urban settlement systems based on architectural and planning approaches, and some others.

During this period, interesting theories and concepts of urban geography appeared:

- the concept of the supporting framework of the territory;
- the concept of group systems of populated places;
- the concept of a world (global) city;
- stadium settlement concepts;
- the concept of «Center – periphery», etc. (Obedkov, 2020: 63-77).



It should be noted that the term "settlement support framework" was introduced into urban studies by B.S. Khorev, although it was previously developed by N.N. Baransky, it meant a system of key cities with agglomerations connected by a network of transport infrastructure. As we can see, during the Soviet period, scientific thought in the field of geographical urban studies achieved qualitative growth and, in accordance with the analysis of the main trends in the field of urbanization of urban achievements in the world and in the USSR, raised the question of the allocation of a separate science about the city, the need for their typologization and classification, developed important theories and concepts in this direction. (Khorev, 1975).

The problems of population, labor resources, the working class, the intelligentsia, the influence of migration processes on the structure of the urban population were consecrated in the works of V.I. Pervedentsev and others (Perevedentsev, 1975).

In the Soviet period, the problem of the city from the point of view of ethnography was studied in the 1980s. M.G. Rabinovich and M.N. Shmeleva, G.V. Starovoitova, who raised the questions of studying the urban lifestyle, its acculturating influence on representatives of different ethnic groups, migrant groups among the urban population, etc. The emphasis was placed on the superiority of the Soviet way of life, its fundamental difference from the bourgeois one, on the formation of the Soviet ritual culture associated with socialism (Rabinovich, Shmelev, 1981).

Meanwhile, in the second half of the 20th century, the topic of everyday life was reflected in the studies of P.V. Zhibarev, V.I. Kuzmin, V.I. Kasyanenko, V.F. Mayer, L.A. Gordon and e.V. Klopov, etc., which showed a permanent increase in the welfare of workers and other urban layers, as well as an increase in leisure time and types of leisure (Zhibarev, 1969).

Despite the great importance of the works of the Soviet period on the problem of cities, in which the above aspects were posed and comprehensively studied, the interpretation of issues with ideological overtones (for example, the justification for the construction of barracks-type houses during the years of industrialization, poor nutrition of citizens, the influx of starving people into cities, coverage of the mainly positive standard of living of Soviet people, ignoring the position of representatives of the deposed classes, spirituality, silence of conflicts, and deviant behavior of citizens, etc.) was censored in accordance with the prevailing Stalinism.

Results. In the post-Soviet period, the interdisciplinary direction of studying cities continued to develop based on the achievements of past years and using new opportunities for analyzing foreign urban studies in connection with the fall of the Iron Curtain and the availability of information.

The philosophical and socio-cultural approach to the consideration of the city is further traced in the works of the culturologist and semiotician Yu.N. Lotman, who, arguing about Leningrad in comparison with Moscow, again calls the city a living organism, capable of changing its images depending on the demands of time. A philosophical understanding of the phenomenon of the city was given by S.A. Smirnov, who argues that the city begins with the idea of the city, which goes back to the idea of the City of God Augustine. After the embodiment of this idea in space, the city is likened to a living organism that has life cycles. As we can see, Smirnov's approach to the interpretation of the city combines a religious ontology with a philosophy of life. B.V. Markov explains the phenomenon of the city in a symbolic way, since moral, political, sacred symbols are hidden in it. The problem of the cultural landscape in the aspect of memory culture was also covered by N.G. Samarina, A.V. Svyatoslavsky, L.E. Trushina and others (Sokolova, 2017: 78).

St. Petersburg culturologist M.S. Kagan focuses on the study of the city through urban culture, which has three dimensions: spiritual-human, procedural-activity and objective,



covering three interrelated spheres of life – spiritual, material, artistic. A multicomponent analysis of the city should take into account the following factors of the urban environment: geographical or natural, taking into account the nature of the city landscape (the presence / absence of a river, sea, mountains, etc.); the social status of the city; the main focus of the activities of citizens; architectural appearance, which has both aesthetic and psychological significance for citizens. (Kagan, 2008).

The author has identified several fundamentally new areas of geo-urbanism:

- methodological works on geo-urban studies;
- restructuring (territorial and social) of cities under the influence of the new post-Soviet modernization;
- interdisciplinary research of cities at the junction of geo-urban studies and urban planning;
- history of Russian and foreign urban agglomerations;
- problems of single-industry towns and prospects for their development;
- problems of urban settlements and prospects for their development;
- environmental problems of cities;
- research on the functional economic zoning of urban space and the scientific foundations of urban policy (Obedkov, 2020: 70)

A great contribution to the development of the issue of Soviet legislation on urban planning and housing was made by the Honored Architect of Russia, Doctor of Historical Sciences and Doctor of Architecture Mark Grigorievich Meerovich. In his doctoral dissertation and monographs, he analyzed the main urban planning concepts of the 1920s, the features of the architecture of garden cities and workers' settlements. The researcher revealed the principle of social control over the population by the party and Soviet nomenklatura through the housing issue (Meerovich, 2007). However, S.S. Bukin and V.I. Isaev, who studied the housing problem in the cities of Siberia (1920-60s), who considered the poor living conditions of the population not a purposeful policy of the authorities, but a reflection of the general socio-economic level of the country, do not agree with his assessment. T.F. Yashchuk continued to reveal the concept of the city according to the Soviet legislation of the 1920s.

Methodological works appeared on the space of the Soviet city, its architectural appearance of the 1920s-1930s, demographic processes of population, the state of various social strata of Soviet society, etc. A collection of articles published in 2017 was devoted to the psychological state and adaptation processes of citizens in everyday practice in the 1920s and 1930s. (Rozhkov, 2017).

On the topic of everyday life of urban residents, research was conducted on various aspects:

- about the life of people in the conditions of Stalin's supply in 1928-1935.;
- about working conditions, salary levels, housing and nutrition of city residents, etc.

The topic of the Soviet everyday life of citizens in the regional context was relevant to researchers, they based on the study of a wide range of sources made reasonable conclusions about the archaization, the domestication of the life of citizens of the first generation, who migrated to the cities and brought their worldview, peasant values and practices. However, they did not deny the gradual process of formation of proletarian urban culture, the perception of new «cultural ideologies» of the Soviet government (Glebkin, 1998).

Conclusion. Thus, by now, the phenomenon of the city has been subjected to a thorough analysis by Western and Russian scientists using variety of methodological approaches. At the same time, it can be stated that the city as a type of settlement was characterized, based on the specifics of a particular science and its developments on this issue,



the historical context dictating certain ideological attitudes, the analysis of sources and the subjective position of the scientist.

Researchers identify many criteria for defining a city, including: «an emphasis on the qualitative originality of urban activities (intensive, diverse, concentrated, integrated, differentiated, etc.); the importance of the urban lifestyle; an indication that the city is the largest of the artificially created habitats, on the factor of improvement and infrastructure development as the most important criterion on the basis of which it is possible to distinguish the village from the city» (Zaborova, 2016: 7). In general, a city is a relatively large administrative-territorial settlement with the official status of a city, characterized by the presence of an architectural and planning urban structure, the concentration of a population with a complex composition and leading an urban lifestyle, developed infrastructure (transport, communal, information and communication, trade, socio-cultural, etc.), objects of financial and banking activities and industrial production, science, culture, urban symbols (coat of arms, certain memorable places, urban legends), forming an urban identity.

Summarizing a brief review of Western historiography on the problem of the city, we note that scientists have managed to develop important methodological approaches to the study of this complex interdisciplinary problem: class, sociological, semiotic, hermeneutical, ecological, anthropological, etc.

The historiographical review showed that scientific thought in the post-Soviet period in the field of urban studies differs from the Soviet one in a more in-depth analysis of trends in the development of urbanization, cities, their territorial settlement, architectural styles, composition of the population, demographic and migration processes, everyday life, etc., giving rise to works of methodological and methodological content, as well as applied nature to solve numerous urban problems – on urban zoning, development, ecology, infrastructure, information communications, etc.

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