The Neighborhood Phenomenon in the Space of the Modern City: An Experience of Empirical Research

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Abstract. The focus of this article is on identifying particular aspects of the phenomenon manifestation of neighborhood in contemporary urban space. The transition from «classical» understanding of the community to modern forms of urban communities was noted, and the main differences between the concepts of «community» and «neighborhood» were pointed out. Attention is drawn to the formal and informal version of modern neighborhoods in the city. The study found that in the perception of modern citizens, neighbors gradually (in comparison with the experience of the Soviet neighborhood) lose the characteristics of personalization and recognition, the connections between neighbors gradually weaken. The vast majority of communications take place against the backdrop of domestic problems and the joint organization of the residence territory according to associations such as condominiums. Neighborhood mode of communication also manifests itself in the direction of certain civic initiatives.

Keywords: city, urban space, neighborhood, community, trust.

I. INTRODUCTION

In modern society, neighborhood relations become an important social dominant, and find their expression in typical socio-cultural practices. Residence in close spatial proximity to each other causes people to develop a code of behaavior, which should contribute to a comfortable living in the joint space. That is, along with the cultural diversity, choice and control, the quality of relationships between neighbors acquires the importance. However, until now, the study of the processes of development of neighboring communities remain on the periphery of sociological research, and are characterized by poverty of scientific terminology, and usually narrow view of the subject that actualizes a problem of our study.

Sociological analysis of the phenomenon of the neighborhood was started by Western scientists. So since the mid-nineteenth problems of the spatial organization of society and social relations can be traced in the writings of classical sociologists such as F. Tennis G. Simmel, C. Kuli, R. Park and L. Wirth. In the modern sociological theories the work of Bourdieu «The Sociology of social space» in which a special place belongs to the study of neighborhood as bonded units of socio-spatial organization is one of the most influential. Scientific developments of G. Abdiraimova, M. Melnikov, S. Serikzhanova deserve special attention among modern studies of neighbourhood in the former Soviet Union. In the Ukrainian society, anthropologists (Tina Polkas «Anthropology of the neighbourhood in the Ukrainian culture»), Ukrainian urbanists school of sociology, in particular the well-known works of V. Arbenina, A. Ruchka, L. Skokova study «neighborhood».

Since in modern Ukrainian society there is an intensification of socio-spatial mobility due to both general civilizational trends and internal causes related to the actual military conflict, the study of reconfiguration of typical practices of neighborly relations is of particular relevance. Accordingly, the purpose of our study is to identify meaningful characteristics of the neighborhood in the modern Ukrainian city (for example, Dnipro).

II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

In recent years, the neighborhood has become the most debated phenomenon within urban studies, because it is it that envisages a promising basis for the social doctrine of new urbanism. But we should start by paying special attention to the conceptualization of the «neighborhood» notion in classical sociological writings. Since the time of F. Tennis in sociology the opposition of the community and society has become established. In this context, society meant the coexistence of independent persons arising from the flourishing of urban culture, while the community was associated with the credulity and greater sacrality of rural life. At some stage, there was a transition to the use of analytical categories and methods of anthropology in contemporary urban research conducted by sociologists, in particular in the topic of community studies. There was a special area of community studies. Small cities were usually selected as the object of study. But not only them. Rural and

urban communities were surveyed. The works of representatives of the Chicago School focused on immigrant and ethno-racial communities, neighborhoods, teenagers, and others. In turn, M. Weber noted that the neighborhood community may look very different from the outside. In this sense, it is possible to speak of separate yards, city streets or a densely populated house. The neighborhood community is based on the proximity of the actual place of residence, the dependence of individuals on each other in the event of distress, on amorphous periodic interaction [2].

In turn, R. Park identifies areas in the urban environment, the so-called «natural zones», which are formed naturally and perform certain functions. The city consists of a set of such heterogeneous natural areas and, according to the Park, becomes a «coordinate system» that allows you to observe social phenomena and study social relations. Natural areas have different characteristics, each area has its own history and special character that determines the behavior of its inhabitants. Park writes that in large cities, social distances remain despite geographical proximity, and «each community is likely to be composed of people living together and connected with relations, which can be described as symbolic rather than social» [6].

Considering the urban communities of American cities in the mid-twentieth century, J. Jacobs focuses on cohabitation duration, which he supposes more important than «family ties» of F. Tennis. The researcher asserts that the city has formed communities (of the traditional type) that permanently live on the same territory. It should be noted that the concept of «permanent residence» is subjective and variable in nature. If in pre-industrial society «long-term» residence is measured by generations, in today's changing society, people in the course of life time "manage" to permanently live a few times. Of course, relationships that were formed during this relatively short-term, «permanent residence», are weaker than before, but they correspond the most features of the traditional communities [5].

You should pay attention on the opinion of M. Melnikov who indicates that the term «community» is used more often instead the concept of «neighborhood». The identification of these concepts can be erroneous, despite the fact that they have a common origin and characteristics (e.g., presence of manifestations of mutual assistance among members, and common interests). There is a significant difference between these concepts – spatial component (definition of the space and the attitude to the space). The neighborhood, in contrast to the community (virtual community), cannot exist beyond the physical social space. Theoretical analysis showed the close relationship between the concepts of neighbourhood and community with the spatial belonging of the individuals, namely their place of residence (particular territory). Therefore, to study the neighborhood relations, it is important to obtain information about the type of territorial entities, about the environment where these relationships are formed [3].

In turn C. Jenks and S. Mayer propose the following six theories of neighborhood effects:
- the «epidemic» model focused on the ways in which age-mates influence each other;
- the model of «collective socialization» focused on the ways in which adults affect other people's children. Proponents of this model argue that the presence of successful adult population teaches kids that hard work and good behavior is the key to success. Similarly, the presence of an unemployed or partially unemployed adult population shows children that responsible behavior does not work well;
- «institutional model» focuses on the impact on children, schools, law enforcement agencies and other institutions. For example, this theory postulates that students who attend rich schools will have more knowledge than students who attend poor schools because the best teachers tend to work in more prosperous areas;
- the model of «relative deprivation» believes that people assess their success or failure by comparing themselves with other people. Low-income families who compare their living standards with the level of wealthy neighbors, will feel deprived;
- the model of «cultural conflict» argues, when people feel unable to meet society's expectations, they create a deviant subculture in order to deal with the inadequate feelings. Subcultures arise in areas where success is distributed unevenly;
- the model of «competition» implies that the increasing competition for jobs in more affluent neighborhoods puts low-income residents at a disadvantage [6].

Despite the widespread discourse on globalization, informationism, technological change, and cosmopolitanism that implies a diminishing importance of place in the daily lives of societies, the idea of neighborhood in its local spatial dimension remains an important component of an individual's life. It is emphasized that the neighborhood itself becomes both a goal and a tool for the development and strengthening of neighborhood communities, enables them to be visible, heard and influential, facilitates the implementation of collective decisions. By the neighborhood community, we mean a more compact part of the urban population, different from spatial coverage, by a different range of common interests that unite people. According to E. Shomina, the most widespread forms of neighborhood communities in the city today are formal and informal neighborhoods, where formal ones are represented by: initiative groups that support or abolish the construction of infrastructure, create forms of public association, etc. ; interest groups (motorists, sports or cooking enthusiasts, young moms, etc.); the Internet groups (in social networks) and have no offline counterparts.

Informal neighborhoods are all forms of territorial public self-government (with or without the formation of a legal entity); councils of apartment buildings, various local non-profit organizations, local offices of city or regional structures, etc .; groups representing registered organizations on the Internet [8, p. 93-99].

III. METHODS OF RESEARCH

With a view to identifying the main substantive characteristics of the phenomenon of neighborhood in a great location, we carried out author's study by distributing questionnaires to residents of Dnipro. The sample was quota-representative of the entire adult population of the city (N=400).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

During the results processing, we recorded what the respondents are giving in the concept of «neighborhood.» Because for one person the neighbor is unfamiliar person and for another is the best friend. So we were able to identify that 44% of respondents thought that the neighbor is «a person living with me on the same floor\in the house», for 27% of respondents the neighbor is the man that lives next door, and it is possible to call for help», 17% think it's «just a stranger», 4% of respondents perceive their neighbor as a close friend, the remaining 8% had no opinion. It was interesting distribution of answers against the question: «How do you spend your time with your neighbors?». 9% said «we breathe fresh air, take a walk together», 14% – «we go to work/kindergarten / to the supermarket», 4% – «together we go on holiday, 37% – «we communicate on work days, meetings duty», while 28% are unable to answer the question, and 8% chose another answer, noting that «we do not spend our time with neighbors,» «we walk the dog», «there is a garage nearby, so sometimes we hang out in the garage.» So, it turns out that the neighbor's practices concerning the residents of Dnipro are walks together, mutual support, issues solution of public housing type. In many cases, neighbors do not communicate and do not know each other. In general, these studies confirm the findings of sociologists that the depth and intensity of the neighborhood relationship depends on the size of settlement and housing - neighborhood relations are formalized and weakened in the apartment buildings in large cities, [1, 4, 7].

Respectively, estimation of the overall neighbourhood atmosphere of the residents of Dnipro were recorded. Thus, 42% of respondents said that «they do not communicate with the neighbours, but if there is a problem, they solve it together», 27% replied that the general atmosphere with the neighbors is friendly, for 16% it is «intense, conflict», 10% of residents of Dnipro were unable to answer this question, they chose the reply «difficult to answer», and 5% indicated the answer to this question, like «we recently moved and we have not yet managed to communicate with neighbors», «there are quarrels for parking cars in the yard, but in general we find a common ground» and so on.

Interpersonal relationships in the system of satisfaction of housing environment and life in general take an important role in human life. The spatial proximity of neighbors is combined with psychological distancing, creates inconsistency in the creation of neighborhood communities, and can potentially become both a source of daily stress and psychosocial hazards, and the possibility of assistance and support. According to our research, 67% of study respondents selected neighbors by chance, and 12% were interested in the neighbors, when they moved to the house and 15% were unable to answer this question and 6% of the respondents indicated the answer, including «of course the neighbors are important, but first and foremost they paid attention to the general atmosphere», «sorry, we did not choose neighbors, now we have quarrels», «thank God, we have got adequate neighbors» and so on. It should be noted that depending on the material conditions and social characteristics of an individual's choice of housing, according to respondents, important issues arise: convenient location, availability of housing and the existing condominiums, to a lesser extent: advice of acquaintances, friends, family, and life circumstances.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, to summarize, the issue of meaningful filling of neighborhood in the big city is quite relevant, given the popularization of so-called neighborhood organizations, such as «neighborhood watch», neighborhood movements aimed at upholding civil rights: against construction in the yard; for the creation of proper public utilities for the yard \ home and in many other cases to resolve urgent issues. Accordingly, the neighborhood can be seen as an important element in building civil society. The experience of Western countries shows that the neighborhood forms strong social bonds that can be positioned as local political forces and eventually influence the political situation in the country. The communication of people living in a common area facilitates their integration on a household basis. As a result, neighbors often form associations and become independent units of management whose rights and responsibilities lie in the legal plane of relations with the city government. This enables urban neighborhoods to play a political role, in addition to a municipal, social role, forming local points of political power. The main prerequisite for updating passive contacts to the level of close ties is engagement. At the stage of interaction and participation in joint events, opportunities arise for sharing

norms, values and expectations, trust growing with neighbors, a sense of community, social capital and collective effectiveness is forming and developing.

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