Formation of vernacular areas in large city
(case of Khabarovsk)

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Abstract. The study considers the urban environment as a subject of interdisciplinary study. The relevance of the problem is confirmed by the irrationality of the administrative zoning of large cities in terms of modern epistemology. As an example, a large far Eastern city of Khabarovsk, characterized by a large length, heterogeneity of the population in quantitative and qualitative compositions, is considered. The study analyzed the preferences of Khabarovsk residents regarding accommodation, work and leisure activities in different areas of the city of Khabarovsk. Two methods of delimitation of urban space are applied – division into administrative districts with clear boundaries and allocation of urban space vernacularly (mental) districts with a conditional boundaries. Based on empirical data obtained in the course of a sociological survey of residents of the city of Khabarovsk, the features of the concentration of the population in the administrative inner-city areas are revealed. In most of them, there are several vernacular regions, which differ from each other numerically and in a number of other factors: age, nationality, level of well-being. Accordingly, the data of the residents of the administrative district give average figures, do not characterize the features of a particular location – and can not serve as the basis for the study of the urban environment. Vernacular zoning as an element of research, on the contrary, allows revealing the most characteristic features of the urban environment. In the course of work generated schematic map of Khabarovsk locations and schedule preferences Khabarovsk relative to the most semiotician urban.

1. Introduction

All the spheres of society in recent decades gravitate to cities, increasing the urban population in Russia and the Far East, in particular. This trend is confirmed by the results of the all-Russian population censuses of 2002, 2010, the trial census of 2018.

At the same time, cities differ from other types of spatial organization not only by a large population, but also by a special environment, which includes a number of qualities of social, natural, spatial, cultural, ethnic character [1; 2; 3; 4; 5].

In order to describe the city as polychromatic system and explore its features often integrate knowledge from many scientific areas, covering one of such factors. This leads to the fact that the city is studied "narrowly-disciplinary, in the context of a scientific direction" [6; 7; 8]. The authors believe
that an important research and practical task is to study a particular urban space through an integrated interdisciplinary approach. This takes into account the various natural, urban, spatial, sociological and cultural factors that ultimately form the spatial urban environment.

The purpose of the study is to identify the preferences of different groups of the population regarding the quality of the urban environment in certain areas of the city of Khabarovsk.

2. Features of conducting a sociological survey of residents of Khabarovsk: sample, portrait of the respondent

In order to obtain primary empirical data on the subject under study, the most common method of sociological research was chosen – a sample survey conducted by interviewers in person in the period from 1 to 15 July 2019. The geographical framework is established within the administrative boundaries of the city of Khabarovsk. Accordingly, the General population of the sociological survey is equal to the urban population and is 589 596 people. With a confidence interval of 5 (five), a 99.00% reliability (confidence probability) sample of 565 people is provided.

The survey was conducted in all five administrative districts of the city, the number of respondents in each of which is directly proportional to the number of residents (Figure 1).

Among the respondents there is a predominance of the young population (the first 3 positions: up to 19, 30-39, 20-29 years), a slight predominance of men under the age of 39 years, women – 40 years. This is due to the natural demographic processes and peculiarities of contact with the interviewers: women over 40-50 years old are more likely to enter into conversation with them than men of the same age category.

The survey data clearly shows a natural trend of population decline with increasing age. There is a "failure" of values for the group of 20-29 years due to the peculiarities of demographic processes and a sharp drop in the birth rate in Russia in General and, in particular, in the region and the city of Khabarovsk.

Almost half (47.92%) of the respondents are unmarried. If we subtract 20.98% of respondents under the age of 19 who did not create a family because of their small age – we get the value of more than a quarter of respondents (27%). The reason is the change of social orientations: the traditional large family is replaced by a nuclear (and often free form of relations), the influence of public opinion on human decision-making is weakened.

A quarter of respondents bring up children under 18 years. Accordingly, in the criteria of their comfortable life in the urban location there is an infrastructure for leisure, development, education, security of the older generation.
The main part (37.8%) lives in Khabarovsk for more than 25 years (Figure 2) – accordingly, they are witnesses and participants in the formation of urban spaces, know the features of the city, have opinions about the processes taking place in the city. 27% — less than 5 years (including internal and external migrants, students from small settlements of the region and neighbouring regions).

It is interesting that the statistical data differ from the data of congestion of inner-city areas obtained in the course of a sociological survey (Figure 3). Respondents were asked: "In what area of the city do You live / work / relax?", the answers to which allow making a difference from the above rating of the number of intra-urban areas. Forward to 4 position moves to the Krasnoflotskiy district. The number of people living in it is 211 respondents. Despite the fact that only 89 citizens were interviewed in the public spaces of the district according to the sample.

It is possible to explain such phenomenon unless the increased mobility of inhabitants of this area – as, judging by data of a sample and Figure 3, part of the respondents interviewed, with a high probability, in the Industrial and Railway areas, were residents of Krasnoflotsky.

Krasnoflotsky district is also the most popular for work and leisure Khabarovsk according to their answers. Moreover, at the time of the survey, many respondents voiced the assumption that the majority of citizens work in the Central district and choose it as the most frequent place to relax, while they themselves gave an answer in favour of another district.

In fact, the number of enterprises and, accordingly, jobs is seen as the largest in the Central region. In the Krasnoflotsky district, such an impression is not created because of the larger area
and dispersion of urban development, but there are a number of organizations that provide a large number of jobs for citizens. However, as a rule, are not considered small businesses and health organization, primary and secondary schools, sports centres, offices of the MIA, retail trade and public catering – as their counterparts also are found in other parts of the city and, therefore, does not help to identify the cause for differences in the number of workers in different areas of the townspeople.

As for almost half (46.90%) of respondents who prefer to relax in the Krasnoflotsky district – it is assumed that this is due to the construction of the Park "North". Despite the well-founded criticism of architectural and landscape solutions of the Park among professionals, citizens with special warmth and a sense of belonging to European culture belong to the Park "North", calling it the first advantage of the area in comparison with others. In addition, many citizens call Krasnoflotsky district the most "eco-friendly", "clean". Such public opinion also encourages its choice as a place to rest.

The answers of the respondents to the questions about their place of residence, work and rest in other inner-city areas correspond to the data in Figure 1. In particular, the number of actually living in the Central district of the city, taking into account the error, coincides with the statistical value (16.04 and 16.40%, respectively).

3. Analysis of citizens preferences in relation to urban locations

The attitude of an individual to the urban environment, emerging in the process of interaction with it, largely depends on the level of his personal well-being. The answers of respondents about such, in the majority, are reduced to an assessment of material well-being. More than 80% of respondents spend 30% of their monthly income on services and goods of daily demand, more than 34% – more than half of their income. They also note a systematic lack of funds and a special high cost of goods and services in Khabarovsk.

Despite the fact that the majority of respondents say that mandatory spending is significant for them and, in General, are not satisfied with their financial situation, nevertheless, they assess the living and working conditions in Khabarovsk as "Rather comfortable" (33.9%) and "Absolutely comfortable" (17.7%). While less than 16% of citizens "rather uncomfortable" and less than 5% "absolutely uncomfortable" to live and work in Khabarovsk (Figure 4).

![Figure 4](image-url)

**Figure 4.** Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question "please Rate how comfortable you live and work in Khabarovsk?"

Since the system of administrative districts of Khabarovsk only partially reflects the spatial organization of the city, its use for a full analysis of the urban environment and interaction with it is difficult for citizens.

Moreover, for some citizens it is difficult to determine the boundaries of administrative districts. In communication, more often used informal names of well-known urban places, "fifth site", "Baza KAF", "Aviagorodok", etc. With the aim of improving the quality and reliability of the obtained data provided the most contrast and only semiotically filled with the location of the city of
Khabarovsk – vernacularly or mental areas. Vernacular (mental) areas of the city, in contrast to the intra-urban areas mentioned above, do not have an official status and clear boundaries, but are determined by the residents themselves on the basis of their empirical knowledge about these spaces. In modern science, the study of the urban environment increasingly tends to identify features of the perception of such an environment by different social groups: citizens, visitors, people of different ages, different activities, etc. [9; 10; 11; 12]. The study does not consider the entire territory of the city of Khabarovsk, but identifies up to five of the most characteristic locations in each of the intracity areas. The scheme of their placement in the city is presented below (Figure 5), and was also available in paper version at interviewers for representation to respondents during face-to-face communication.

![Figure 5. Schematic map of Khabarovsk vernacular regions](image)

During the survey, interviews were conducted with citizens about their attitude to the designated places, including a question about their desire to live in a vernacular area (Figure 6). The majority of respondents were easily determined with respect to the answer to most points. The answer "does not matter" followed, as a rule, if the Respondent doubts, leaning to a negative answer, does not want to voice a negative review, while giving his attitude non-verbally. Thus, such a variant of the answer with a high probability can be attributed to the indicators "rather no".

In General, the answers "rather no" and "no" prevail in comparison with the positive answers, which indicates the General attitude of citizens to urban vernacular areas, close to rejection. The exception is the Northern district and the Central part of the city. The last location of more than half (57%) of respondents noted as positive for living.

Based on the distribution of respondents’ opinion on their desire to live in a particular area, a graph of their preferences is made (Figure 6).
The fractures of yellow and blue lines of the graph (in the direction of increasing the number of positive answers and reducing the number of negative ones) confirm the special positive attitude of respondents to the Central part of the city, as well as to the Northern micro-district. The reason in the first case – stereotypes about the concentration of social, cultural, economic spheres in the historical city centre, in the second – improving the quality of the environment due to the construction of the Park "North", a strong opinion about the "environmental" location. The most liveable locations residents of Khabarovsk is considered the Central part of the city and North district, unfavorable Koprowski town (bordering the Central part of the city), Red River, the First district and the Khabarovsk-2.

Figure 6. Schedule of public preferences of accommodation in Khabarovsk city locations

4. Conclusion
A necessary element of the study of the population's preferences regarding the quality of the environment is the use of various methods of delimitation of urban space. In the context of this study, such is vernacular zoning. Although the study, for reasons rather of a technical nature, does not represent the zoning of the entire urban area of Khabarovsk, the results of a sociological survey of the population suggest that the features of the interaction of citizens with the environment of large intracity areas and with the environment of specific vernacular areas are different. Moreover, even in the case of the actual location of the vernacular district within the boundaries of the intracity administrative (for example, the working town and the Central district of the city of Khabarovsk).

Thus, the study confirms the assumption that in order to obtain empirical information about the opinion of citizens about the urban environment, the division of urban space into vernacular areas is effective. Subsequently, it is necessary to perform a continuous zoning of the territory of Khabarovsk by the given method of delimitation to compile a complete picture of social and spatial interaction in the city.

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