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Urban Identity Discourse: How Young People Preserve Heritage in Leisure Practices

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Abstract

The paper presents the results of surveys of St. Petersburg youth on the preservation of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of St. Petersburg. Based on the latest concepts of the city as a place of identity, we present and analyze the results of two surveys on the identity of a young St. Petersburg citizen and the city's representation as a World Cultural Heritage site (n = 205). Our analysis includes various theoretical approaches and methods— quantitative, qualitative and discourse analyzes within the framework of the theory of practices, taking into account the approaches of an active agent (P. Bourdieu, De Certeau), while taking into account the actor- network theory (J. Low, B. Latour). Using semiotic methods, a synchronous analysis of the representations of drawings was carried out and the practices of young people in relation to the city, constructing urban identity, were reconstructed. Youth narratives classify urban identity along the axes of opposites: tradition and innovation; individualism and collectivism. We show that young people living in St. Petersburg primarily identify the city by its monumental cultural representations and aesthetic value, rather than by their familiar social identity. The practices and narratives of the monumental representation of the city largely crystallize personal identity. We show that the political implications lie in the understanding that the identification of the majority of young people surveyed with the city's monuments is not responsible for their preservation and support for sustainable development policies, as has been the case over the past 5 years. At the same time, we were able to reconstruct meaningful criteria and recurring practices of youth in relation to historical heritage related to leisure and ideas for improving and transforming locations that need to be taken into account in order to involve society in urban planning. Based on the results obtained, we have already recommended the implementation of public policy measures to raise awareness among young people about the possibility and necessity of preserving cultural heritage.

Keywords: Discourse, Heritage, Youth, Practices, Ant, Identity

1. Introduction

We develop the still underutilized scientific discourse and underestimated in communication research, ANT, which insist that material objects can be actors and influential parts of society.

Research question is how youth leisure practices can help preserve heritage.

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The answer is precisely the transformation of the functionality of historical places into comfortable leisure spaces.

ANT is advantageous because it allows you to view assembly (assemblage) as an ongoing process and apply social criticism to various stages of this process. By youth, we mean not specific individuals with their characteristics, but an assemblage, a united whole, which corresponds to a single whole of the city's cultural heritage.

The study was prompted by a shift in leisure practices and the use of city locations by young people, which are perceived traditionally, although new ones are still in their infancy.

The shift consists in the fact that something in becoming is used as normative. The system of practices is dictated not by norms, but by the procedures of their current assembly.

In the Russian literature on leisure practices, we come across either autoethnography (reviews of how young people observe themselves and their practices, published online, as well as stories, conversations and interviews), or an analysis of the current situation with outdated methods of analysis.

The interaction of these agents cannot be described only by the existing theories, since we see the process of the formation of new perception and new practices, and not normative functioning.

Interaction of the city's cultural heritage with the leisure practices of the new generation of young people which can be attributed to posthumanism and giving agency to different actors is a new, unexplored phenomenon. How does this network function? What are the interests and communication practices and strategies of the acting agents?

Using ANT in our study of youth leisure practices within the UNESCO World Heritage Site, we describe the entire assembly, deconstruct the network to understand what it consists of. ANT methodologically insists on a dense qualitative description of practices, which is expressed in a number of methodological maxims: "follow the actors" or "let the actors speak out". Thus, we create a research space of opportunities for actors, or a field of their articulation, in which they (in our case, these are: youth, the Committee for the Protection of Monuments of the Governments of St. Petersburg, the Historical Center, UNESCO, social networks, content, researchers) will be able to realize themselves , show how they affect the rest of the actors.

2. Methods and Results

For 5 years, our group of researchers from the university has been working in a city project to popularize cultural heritage and we are studying the attitude and knowledge of young people about the city and its historical center (Sosnovskaya *et al.,* 2018; Sosnovskaya and Orlova, 2019). During this time, within the framework of the project, many competitions were held among students—competitions of poems, logos, projects, excursions, fairy tales, as well as scientific research, including polls, focus groups, projective drawings, analysis of representations, hashtags and geotags in social networks, analysis photos and selfies on the background of the city's landmarks, digital representation of the city. The group of this urban project summarized the experience in a series of articles and dissertations, conferences and round tables.

If from 2016-2019 we found a distant monumental attitude to the historical center, then starting from 2020 we find a shift towards the inclusion of the historical heritage by young people in their field of practice.

We regularly research the practices of young people using different methods. In the last 2 years, we have conducted several surveys and received drawings, images of heritage. Below we will discuss the different methods of considering our contingent process.

In the course of a longitudinal study of the interaction between youth and the cultural heritage of the city, practices, social networks, geotags, photographs, representation of the city by young people for 5 years (more than 1000 artifacts in total) were considered. Methods such as critical analysis of texts, ideology, semiotic and discourse analysis were applied. Discourse analysis made it possible to reveal the ideological content of representations.

Discourse is texts and activities that have an effect, are imprinted in the memory and construct the imaginary. Behind the representations of the imaginary are values and ideologies that shape the identity of the citizen. The semiotic view of the city as a text then takes on a social dimension.

Semiotic analysis, implying oppositions, helped to arrange representations in different coordinates of signifying and reading meanings.

In total, about 50 oppositions were considered. Different perspectives and theoretical approaches (theory of practices, theory of cultural capital and habitus, communicative functions, semiotics, archetypes of analytical psychology, actor-network theory, behaviorism and cognitivism, gestalt theory) gave us a different vision of the practices of the current interaction of agents with the environment. In addition to sociological theories, we drew on the tools of psychology and the optics of philosophy. The figure shows the drawings of the students. The drawings represent the city. You can view the drawings in the photo by the link (Representation Mapping, 2021). The infographics of Figure 1 made in the mind map program and representing the mapping in the matrix of two oppositions shows the arrangement of the figures by

content—traditionalism on the left or changes on the right and individualism at the bottom and collectivism at the top. Also written next to each figure are the criteria for a UNESCO World Heritage (Figure 1).

We took four UNESCO criteria as 100%, then the presence of one criterion would mean 25%. From the Table 2 you can understand how many criteria are reflected in each Figure 2.

We analyzed the content of the drawings by categories of verbal and non-verbal (Figure 3). Where verbal or discursive—this is knowledge and a dissociative view detached from the beauty and monumentality of the city. It is a symbolic register according to Lacan's psychoanalysis. This is importance, significance, fame, recognition, pride. The non-verbal criterion is associated with associativity. That is, with a direct, comfortable experience. Admiration and awe of the city is not easy, but fantasies about comfort for people. This is an imaginary register. There are fewer non-verbal drawings, and two of them do not contain a single UNESCO criterion, since they are not related to the symbolic significance of the place, but to everyday practices.

We also coded the favourite places of the city according to their characteristics according to the "social - change" criterion (Table 3), which means how much a given place implies urban changes, and to what extent it implies the social participation of people around (Figure 4).

3. Analysis of Polls

Next, we will present a visualization of the surveys and the empirical data obtained.

3.1. Visualization of data on preferred places of leisure in tables and infographics

With the initial understanding of the agency of a city dweller, for the correct interpretation of value statements in the course of the polls, the philosophy of the language was taken into account, according to which the practice or form of life sets the conditions for the meaningfulness of everyday language.
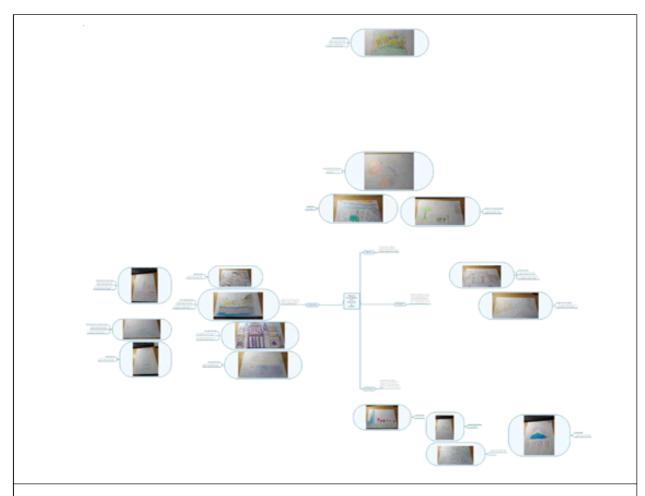

Figure 1: Infographics: The Arrangement of Pictures by Content – Traditionalism or Change and Individualism and Collectivism

Table 1: UNESCO Criteria and Their Description (https://kgiop.gov.spb.ru)	
Criteria Keywords	**Description of Criteria**
1. Peter the Great, New capital, Regular building, Urban model	In the field of urban planning, St. Petersburg is a unique artistic achievement in terms of the ambitiousness of the program, the consistency of the plan and the speed of its implementation. From 1703 to 1725, Peter I raised his new capital, St. Petersburg, from bogs, peat bogs and rocks in marble and stone, which he wanted to make the most beautiful city in Europe.
2. The system of ensembles, the unity of composition, a holistic image	Ensembles created in St. Petersburg and its environs by Rastrelli, Vallin-Delamotte, Cameron, Rinaldi, Zakharov, Voronikhin, Rossi, Montferrand, etc., rendered in the XVIII-XIX centuries. significant influence on the development of architecture and monumental art in Russia and Finland. The normative importance of the capital was from the very beginning emphasized by the establishment of the Academy of Sciences, and then the Academy of Fine Arts. Finally formed as a result of the work carried out during the reign of Catherine II, Alexander I and Nicholas I, the urban planning model of St. Petersburg was used during the reconstruction of Moscow (after the fire of 1812), as well as with the development of new cities such as Odessa and Sevastopol. located in the southern part of the empire.
3. Socio-cultural phenomenon	The proposed cultural heritage connects the architectural ensemble of St. Petersburg—the capital of predominantly Baroque and Classicism—with outstanding examples of the Baroque imperial residences. The palaces of Peterhof and Tsarskoye Selo, rebuilt after World War II, are among the most significant buildings.
4. Events and people of global importance	St. Petersburg was twice directly and tangibly associated with events of global importance. In the period from 1703 to 1725, the construction of St. Petersburg (which was later symbolized by the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, located on Senate Square) opened Russia to the Western world. The Bolshevik revolution won in Petrograd in 1917 (the city was renamed in 1914). The cruiser Aurora and the mansion of Matilda Kshesinskaya, later the Museum of the Great October Revolution, located in the heart of St.Petersburg, are symbols of the formation of the USSR.

Table 2: Figures 2021

Full Description of the Place	Short Description of the Place	Found in the Image Criteria by UNESCO (4 =100%)
1. Sevkabel port	Port	0
2. Spit of Vasilyevsky Island	Island	50
3. Yard "well"	Yard	25
4. Isaac's Cathedral and park	Isaac's Cathedral	50
5. Atlants near the Hermitage	Hermitage	25
6. Bridge and roads	Bridge	50
7. Obvodny channel	Channel	25
8. Peter and Paul Fortress and Neva	Peter and Paul Fortress	50

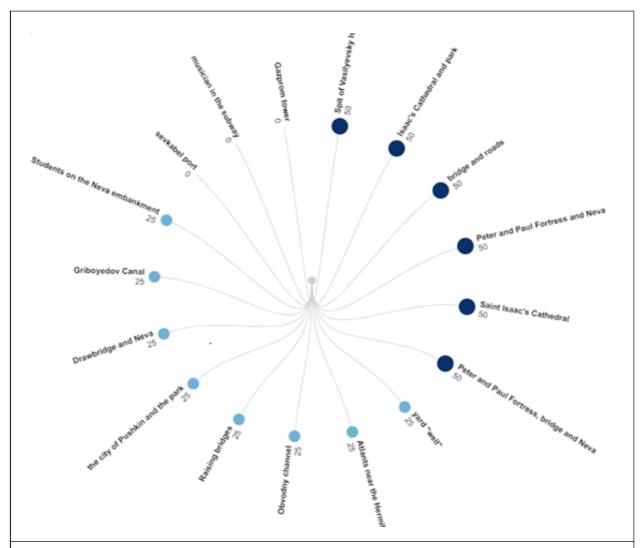| Table 2 (Cont.)		
Full Description of the Place	**Short Description of the Place**	**Found in the Image Criteria by UNESCO (4 =100%)**
9. Raising bridges	Bridges	25
10. Saint Isaac's Cathedral	Isaac's Cathedral	50
11. City of Pushkin and park	Pushkin	25
12. Musician in the subway	Musician	0
13. Drawbridge and Neva	Drawbridge	25
14. Peter and Paul Fortress, bridge and Neva	Peter and Paul Fortress	50
15. Griboyedov Canal	Canal	25
16. Gazprom tower	Gazprom tower	0
17. Students on the Neva embankment	Embankment	25

Figure 2: Infographics: Presence in Figures of UNESCO Criteria (4 Criteria - 100%) Infographics. Presence of UNESCO Criteria in Figures (4 Criteria - 100%)
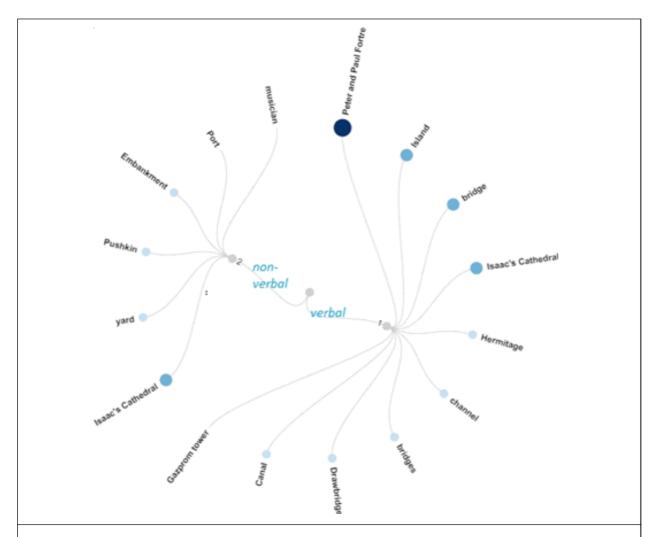
Figure 3: Infographics: The Presence of Criteria and Differentiation on the Basis of "Verbal 1 - Non-verbal 2"

Table 3: Characteristics of young people's favorite places in the city according to the criteria "social - changes"

Place	Changes	Social
Port	5	5
Island	-3	-5
Yard	-4	-3
Isaac's Cathedral	1	4
Hermitage	3	3
bridge	1	1
channel	-3	-4
Peter and Paul Fortress	1	2
bridges	2	3
Isaac's Cathedral	-5	-4
Pushkin	2	3

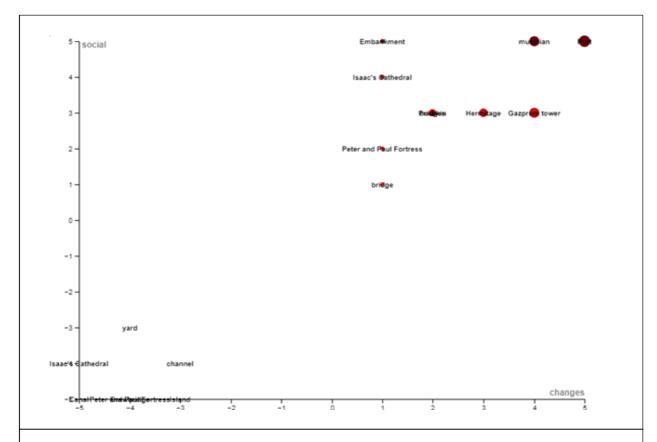| Place	Changes	Social
Musician	4	5
Drawbridge	-4	-5
Peter and Paul Fortress	-4	-5
Canal	-5	-5
Gazprom tower	4	3
Embankment	1	5

Figure 4: Characteristics of Young People's Favourite Places in the City According to the Criteria "Social - Changes" This Infographic is Consonant with the Mapping of Figures in the Opposition Matrix. Here, The Figures are Arranged Along the Axes According to the Content Analysis, with a Score of -5 To +5, Traditionalism or Change Along the X-axis and Individualism and Collectivism as a Level of Sociality Along the Y-axis

Language functions against the background of the entire set of practices adopted in a given culture. Then it becomes possible to reconstruct background practices, starting from statements, mapping as linguistic material what is considered common in the culture of the city.

3.2. Poll 1: "What to do in the Historic Center of the City?"

The survey was carried out using the snowball method in two groups (n = 40), practitioners were collected until they began to be repeated. Repetitive and typical answers to the question "What to do in the historic city center?" are performance and refer us to the preferred forms of pastime and leisure.

Performative utterances have a transformative effect on reality, and not only describe it, so we can assume that articulated practices have strengthened themselves and will be reproduced.

1. Boat trip with music

2.   Visiting galleries and museums

3.   Sit with a friend in a cafe or restaurant

4.   Go to a party

5.   Go on an excursion

6.   Walk along the embankment of the Neva

7.   Eat for Rubinstein

8.   Go to the roof

9.   View bridges opening

10.   Walk around the courtyards.

Everyday utterance turns out to be both a characteristic of a stable bundle of social practices and a background for the formation of a network of communicative interactions in the city.

Also, in these repeated statements one can see the core of the city's associative manifestations: one cannot fail to notice rivers and canals and bridges open every day, a special dense urban development, where courtyards and roofs are connected with neighboring houses, numerous cultural objects calling for familiarization. According to ANT, "to act is to mediate the actions of another". The city mediates the practices of the townspeople.

3.3. Poll 2: "What Distinguishes St. Petersburg from Other Cities in the World?"

About 200 answers to the question "What distinguishes St. Petersburg from other cities in the world?" also associated with the city's persistent cultural presentation, as well as its climatic and landscape features:

1.   Beauty and weather

2.   Many attractions

3.   the terrible weather

4.   Damp and sad

5.   Own flavor

6.   30 sunny days a year

7.   Language

8.   Petersburg differs from other cities in its beauty and rainfall.

9.   The atmosphere prevailing on the streets of the city

3.4. Poll 3: "What is a St. Petersburg Citizen of the XXI Century?"

"What is the Petersburg citizen of the XXI century?" is a person who unconsciously adjusts his verbal and non-verbal practices to the peculiarities of the city with all its conventions and manners imposed by tradition, sung in the St. Petersburg text (the city as a whole and the places reflected in fiction and art of all-Russian and world significance).

1.   Inspired by the beauty of the city and striving to match the level of culture

2.   Sad man with an umbrella

3.   This is a person who will not be discouraged in the most inclement weather, who will certainly want to show his city to foreigners and the one who never forgets about the eternal fun on Nevsky Prospekt.

4.   A true Petersburger comes out exclusively from the front door and stumbles only over the curbs.

5.   Modern man with colossal patience for climatic conditions.

6.   Petersburgers, as a rule, are very talented people, because in St. Petersburg there are a huge number of inspiring places that can encourage creativity or just something new.

4. Discussion

The use of ANT and frame theory allowed us to rebuild this network of relationships in a new way. Analysis of the literature in recent years has directed us to search for the similarity or dissimilarity of interactions with heritage in different contexts.

We have problematized this relationship of students with the city.

Problematization leads to the creation of reflectively meaningful forms of organization of experience in relation to the corresponding spheres of life. This entails the transformation of the deep worldview universals of culture—both from the point of view of enriching their content, and from the point of view of checking their relationship with each other.

Science appears where our mind cannot cope with the abundance of information, impressions and is forced to create this assembly in a new way, somehow simpler.

We use the actor-network theory, according to which the processes are contingent, that is, they can be reassembled in different ways, considered from different angles and by different methods.

Contingency is also the admission of non-human agents into the analysis process. The big data software we use has also influenced our interpretation of student leisure activities in the city. The identified topics and values of the articles legitimize and actualize the practices defined our vision and focus of analysis..

The study of heritage requires the contextualization of statements, including using the methods of statistical analysis.

We analyzed the most cited articles with the keywords "Identity, Discourse, Heritage" over the past 5 years in the Web of Science Core Collection database using scientometric programs. Figure 5 shows the most cited authors in the form of large nodes.

Next, we will review these texts. These studies highlight different aspects of the relationship with heritage and its impact on people's practices, such as rethinking heritage, incorporating heritage into travel trajectories, and making sense and value of places and events.

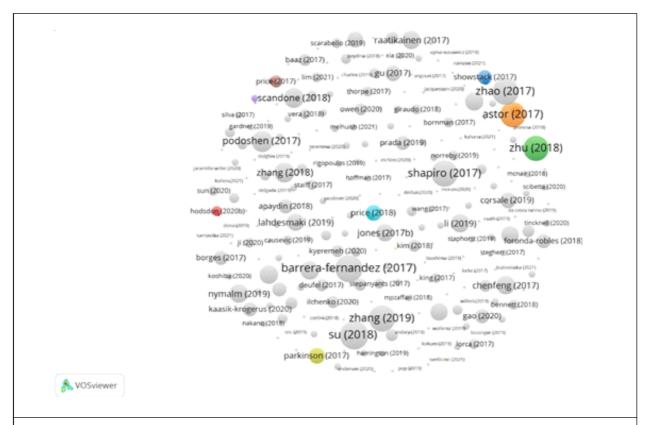All current research is in tune with our findings to one degree or another.

Figure 5: The Most Cited articles with the Keywords "Identity, Discourse, Heritage" over the Past 5 years in the Web of Science Core Collection

The study by Su (2018) of the impact of intangible cultural heritage on subjectivity says about the ability of heritage to broadcast the values of identity;

The study by Barrera-Fernández and Hernández-Escampa (2017) shows that the emotional perception of the city and World Heritage sites correlates with events as festivals within.

Shapiro and MacDonald (2017) explores the narratives construction of identity of refugees and concludes that 'asset discourse focuses on three central themes: agency, critical awareness, and contribution'.

Astor , Burchardt and Griera (2017) writes about religion as structuring the norm of social interaction between the cultural heritage of Spain and the multicultural past of his country.

Zhang and Smith (2019) highlights the understanding the affective and emotional content of the cultural and social interactions of tourists and residents at World Heritage sites illustrates the agency of both tourists and residents in the making and remaking of heritage values and meaning (Su, 2018; Barrera-Fernández and Hernández-Escampa, 2017; Shapiro and MacDonald, 2017; Astor , Burchardt and Griera, 2017; Zhang and Smith, 2019).

The contingency of our topic lies in the fact that we can look at the relationship of students with the heritage as a reluctance to associate their leisure practices with the heritage, as well as a lack of awareness, and then this is an omission of the system and management of the city. This can also be interpreted using frame theory.

According to E. Goffman's theory, there are two properties of frames. Frame recursiveness is the ability to reproduce itself even when the situation changes. Unspeakable frames – we cannot represent them in the form of text, but rather a feeling and a sense of relevance. Recreate the world as they used to frame it (Goffman, 1974).

When we interviewed young people about the image of a young man of the 21st century, we came across many images referring to the Petersburg text, as it is customary to look at a city dweller—sad and enduring bad weather, romantic and deep in self.

"What is the Petersburg citizen of the XXI century?" is a person who unconsciously adjusts his verbal and non-verbal practices to the peculiarities of the city with all its conventions and manners imposed by tradition, sung in the St. Petersburg text (the city as a whole and the places reflected in fiction and art of all-Russian and world significance).

5. Leisure Practices

Someone may say that the practices of young people are the same in all major cities of Europe, and also that they are inspired by fashion and trends, the circumstances of the pandemic. We recognize all these actors and all these will be considered further, but for us it is important with all this, not to devalue non-human agencies, namely the city and the legacy. we will look at the interaction of youth with the city as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. How the city affects, how is it taken into account in practices.

Heritage researchers have recognized that youth participation in heritage conservation is essential. As young people enter the social decision-making arena.

And also young people enter the stage of the post-humanistic world, acquire a vision of their practices, where not only people have agency and subjectivity, but also other agents such as social networks, artificial intelligence, animals, features of the urban landscape and heritage.

Heritage undoubtedly guides the practice, as it is the object of interest in the city and is recorded on the UNESCO list. Their work may be related to those spheres that provide work for the heritage—restoration, tourism, research.

The youth of St. Petersburg, being relatively well off, spend a lot of time in their leisure. Young people feel quite free, because in addition to their parents' money, the city offers free tickets to museums, discounts on transport, youth programs for visiting city events, including in the historic center. It is an urban strategy to draw the attention of young people to heritage. In addition, the Committee for the Protection of Monuments has developed numerous programs and competitions for young people to study and inform about monuments.

This makes it possible to involve them in the work to preserve the heritage of St. Petersburg.

This can be done by raising awareness of the leisure activities available to them in the city, made possible by the city's rich cultural heritage.

In this way, heritage can be preserved through the pursuit of common interests, rather than conceptualized as a burden that older generations place on younger generations.

To assess the potential of this plan, we studied the opinion of young people about the heritage of St. Petersburg and about youth leisure in the city center.

We paid special attention to the preferred locations in the historical center in order to take into account not only verbally mastered, recognized places, but also unknown, but chosen by young people, where they feel comfortable.

Our research shows that youth leisure has little to do with the special cultural heritage of St. Petersburg, as reflected in the UNESCO criteria.

Rather, these activities are stereotypical for wealthy urban youth around the world. The most popular activities mentioned by the youth of St. Petersburg may be urban youth in Paris, San Francisco or Tokyo.

For example: Go to a party, sit in a cafe with friends, take a walk along the river bank. These actions say little about St. Petersburg.

However, of course, the Russian culture and cultural heritage of St. Petersburg is actually very rich and different from the cultural heritage of other places in the modern world.

In addition, the preserved tangible and intangible heritage in the city center provides unique opportunities for the realization and reproduction of this heritage. And this can be done as entertainment for local youth.

An example of this are interactive city holidays like Scarlet Sails (school graduates party in the historical center near the central water square with a sailboat during the white nights, city day, night of museums, festivals of contemporary art, historical reconstructions and exhibitions of major historical events as the Battle of the Neva of Alexander Nevsky 13th century, the 1917 revolution and the events of the First World War, the blockade of the city during the Second World War.

Other cities in Russia do not have such a rich historical heritage, since St. Petersburg was the capital of the Russian Empire and became the cradle of three revolutions and experienced special unique events in its history. It is also a historical meeting place for writers, artists, musicians, etc.

Other cities in Russia do not have such a rich historical heritage, since St. Petersburg was the capital of the Russian Empire and became the cradle of three revolutions and experienced special unique events in its history. It is also a place of attraction for writers, artists, musicians and poets who described and glorified the city in their works. This formed a special culture and a special phenomenon known as the Petersburg text. Almost the entire city center is artistically meaningful and spiritualized through art. These works about the city of such writers as Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Gogol, poets of the Silver Age are included in the school curriculum and have an impact on the minds of young people. The excursions for young people are compiled in accordance with the literary programs "Petersburg of Dostoevsky", "Petersburg of Dovlatov", "Petersburg of Akhmatova", "Petersburg of Brodsky".

Other global cities in Russia carry out such excursion and study programs, as well as those associated with famous personalities. who glorified places in works of art.

We have concluded that such programs on culture and events in the city attract interest and are integrated into the educational process, if implemented with care, unobtrusiveness and based on more extensive research on youth leisure in St. Petersburg, can help both improve the lives of local youth, and contribute to the preservation of heritage.

6. Methods

Over the past five years, we have studied young people's perceptions of heritage in various ways. We have collected about two thousand responses on "What do you do on your vacation in the city center?" during this time, of which we provide a representative sample below:

- Go to the party
- A walk along the river
- Hang on the roof
- Drink coffee with friends
- Go to the museum
- Watch the bridges open
- Network karaoke on the boat

As you can see from this list, the Russian students with whom we spoke had little to offer exclusively to Russians or Petersburgers as leisure activities. It is interesting because in this cultural Mecca, or, one might say, in this cultural St. Petersburg, they have a huge variety of leisure opportunities available. The museums were mentioned and indeed there are more than 200 state museums in the city. There are also private museums. Examples of other opportunities:

Example a: There are more than 100 theaters in the city, which have discounted tickets for students, and some theaters organize free student days.

Example b: The city government routinely organizes free activities and excursions for students to explore and preserve cultural heritage.

Example c: the city hosts themed holidays and festivals timed to coincide with significant dates. Example d more than 100 mansions in the historical center with their own cultural programs.

Example d: 90 libraries with ongoing cultural programs and meetings with poets and writers.

When asked about such opportunities, we find that students are willing to try these activities, but have not considered them. This leads us to the hypothesis that an information campaign or other effort to raise awareness among local youth about these leisure activities can attract their attention.

An information campaign or other effort to raise awareness among local youth about these leisure activities is being undertaken by the Monuments Protection Committee. Our working group has collected over 1000 artifacts from various competitions and drawings.

We analyzed one course of drawings by different methods and from different angles in order to determine the attitude towards the historical heritage and the possibilities of spending leisure time there. we came to the conclusion that the majority of students perceive the historical heritage as a monumental discursive phenomenon, that is, majestic and deep in content, as an object of pride and admiration from the outside without close participation. if we consider the city as a subject, it means a distance non-contact relationship. However, some students reflect on the transformation of historical spaces into places of leisure and coworking, talk about pedestrian zones, add landscape design, nature, flowers to their fantasies.

7. Limitation and Conclusion

Recognizing that this is just a snapshot of the city's population and that further study of the young population is required, participants' responses may be skewed towards those who wanted to speak to the researcher and were available to the researchers.

Although we have researched the identity of young people from different angles using different methods over the course of 5 years, it is possible that those who are not interested in participating and learning about their identity are practicing a different practice. However, we have identified the range in which these practices appear. And we have endowed the city with an agency that makes its own requirements for the practice of citizens.

This limitation can be explored in future research, although the methodological problems are numerous. While it is too early to generalize these results, we hope they will help guide further theoretical reasoning about identity, agency, and practice.

Using ANT in our study of youth leisure practices in a UNESCO World Heritage Site, we describe the entire collection, disassemble the network, and understand what actors it consists of. We have created a space for exploring opportunities for actors, or a field of their articulation, in which the following actors: youth, the Committee for the Protection of Monuments of the Government of St. Petersburg, the Historical Center, UNESCO, social networks, content, researchers can realize themselves, show how they influence each other. on the other, as they cannot but take into account the presence of each other in their field.

The research question was how youth leisure time can help preserve heritage and was prompted by the observed shift in youth practices over 5 years. The answer today lies precisely in transforming the functionality of historical sites into comfortable spaces for relaxation.

The interaction of these agents cannot be described only by existing theories, since we see the process of the formation of new perceptions and new practices, and not normative functioning.

ANT is beneficial in that it allows you to view assembly (assemblage) as an ongoing process and to apply social criticism to various stages of this process.

The study was driven by a shift in leisure practices and the use of urban spaces by young people, which is perceived traditionally, although new forms are still in their infancy.

In the Russian-language literature on leisure practices and urban identity, we find either auto-ethnography (reviews of how young people observe themselves and their practices, published on the Internet), or analysis of the current situation with outdated methods of analysis.

Western articles from leading peer-reviewed journals as agents playing in the field have defined our vision of practice as comparisons: the ability of heritage to convey identity values; emotional perception of the city, events and

World Heritage sites, the construction of identity narratives of new arrivals, to which we can include the younger generation of city dwellers, structuring the norms of social interaction with cultural heritage, understanding the emotional response and the value of tourism.

Our research has shown that youth leisure has little in common with the special cultural heritage of St. Petersburg, which is reflected in the UNESCO criteria.

We came to the conclusion that the programs on culture and events in the city related to the Petersburg literary culture "Petersburg Text" are of interest and are integrated into the educational process if they are implemented carefully, unobtrusively and based on more extensive research on youth leisure in St. Petersburg, can help improve the lives of local youth and contribute to heritage conservation.

We found that young people are not taking full advantage of the cultural and recreational opportunities that the city has to offer.

We came to the conclusion that the majority of students perceive the historical heritage as a monumental discursive phenomenon, that is, majestic and deep in content, as an object of pride and admiration from the outside without direct participation. If we consider the city as a subject, this means a distance contactless relationship. However, some students think about turning historical spaces into places of recreation and coworking, talk about pedestrian zones, add landscape design, nature, and flowers to their fantasies.

The coincidence of our theme is that we can view students' attitudes towards heritage as a reluctance to associate their leisure time with heritage, as well as a lack of awareness, and then this is an oversight of the system and city management.

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