

PRACTICES OF RISKY CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN THE DYNAMICS OF LIFESTYLE STYLIZATION DURING WARTIME: RESEARCH OUTLINE

Artem Lytovchenko

Ph.D. in Sociology,

Associate Professor at the Department of Political Sociology,

V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine

e-mail: A.D.Litovchenko@karazin.ua, orcid.org/0000-0002-1439-5213

Oksana Nekhaenko

Ph.D. in Sociology,

Associate Professor at the Department of Political Sociology,

V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine

e-mail: O.V.Nekhaenko@karazin.ua, orcid.org/0000-0001-5201-8200

Summary

In the context of a prolonged military conflict, consumer practices in frontline cities of Ukraine, such as Kharkiv, undergo significant transformations, becoming important indicators of social change. This article presents the exploratory stage of research aimed at studying "risky" consumption as a means of stylizing life under conditions of heightened threat and instability. We focus on such functions of consumption as anxiety management, maintaining collective and individual identity, and reconstructing everyday life through symbolic, including adaptive, mechanisms. Based on expert interviews, the main practices of "risky" consumption are systematized, including symbolic presentation, social adaptation, innovative approaches, and resilience-building.

The theoretical framework of the article encompasses the sociology of risks and the sociology of consumption, including concepts by P. Bourdieu, A. Giddens, Z. Bauman, and E. Shove's theory of practices. We propose the formation of a compensatory consumption model, which manifests itself in the desire to reproduce pre-risk everyday life and symbolically (re)construct a deformed reality. Ultimately, we hypothesize the compensatory and hyper-adaptive nature of these practices and propose a methodological framework for their further study, including observations, in-depth interviews, and "walking" methods adapted to analyze urban and commercial spaces.

This article lays the foundation for a multi-stage study aimed at identifying and analyzing changes in the stylization of life in urban communities under high-risk conditions, as well as their impact on the dynamics of social transformations.

Key words: risky consumption; frontline cities; sociology of risks; lifestyle; consumer practices; symbolic reconstruction; identity; war.

DOI <https://doi.org/10.23856/6728>

1. Introduction

Contemporary urban spaces under crisis conditions become unique laboratories for analyzing changes in consumer practices. The Ukrainian context, in this regard, is particularly indicative because, during the prolonged military conflict, consumer models have not only

taken shape but have deeply rooted themselves in urban communities, thereby determining potential vectors of their development. One of the key characteristics of such crisis spaces is heightened riskiness, defined by the instability of socio-economic and political circumstances. Against this background, not only basic consumption models transform, but also the functional aspects of lifestyle stylization, expressed in shopping practices. In the conditions of frontline cities, the consumption of goods and services ceases to be merely a tool for satisfying basic needs, acquiring new social functions. These functions may include reducing anxiety levels, expressing collective solidarity, maintaining identity, and seeking "normality" in conditions of anomie. Under the conditions of war and the associated social instability, not only basic needs change, but also approaches to consumption, which acquire new functions. Shopping practices, previously perceived as part of routine or leisure, become means of social adaptation, anxiety management, and identity maintenance. Under conditions of heightened riskiness, war creates a new reality: social structures and everyday practices are destroyed, and hybrid and adaptive behavioral models emerge in their place. Consumption in frontline cities fulfills functions that go beyond utilitarian tasks, becoming an indicator of social changes, including transformations in identity, habitus, and social solidarity.

The relevance of this article stems from the limited academic literature on the issue of consumption under wartime conditions. Most current studies of wartime society are devoted to macroeconomic and macrosocial aspects, issues of humanitarian aid, or social (re)integration, while everyday practices, reflecting more subtle social shifts, remain on the periphery of scientific interest. Nevertheless, it is precisely these micro-practices that provide an opportunity to understand how people adapt to crises, construct new forms of social connection, and form new symbolic systems through everyday and routine practices such as the consumption of goods and services. The specificity, if not uniqueness, of the Russo-Ukrainian war compared to previous wars lies in the fact that its primary arena has become a country with fully developed consumer capitalism (at least in major cities and regional centers). The core of the problematic situation, in our opinion, lies in the fact that the critical increase in risks associated with hostilities hypothetically affects such a society very differently than societies of the countries involved in World War II or wars of the last three decades in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya, or Syria, none of which were, in the full sense, examples of consumer capitalism. The dynamics of most social fields, and especially consumption fields under such conditions, may prove to be unique, which makes their study particularly relevant. The relevance of studying consumption under wartime conditions is determined by several main directions, which, at this stage of studying the problem, can be depicted broadly:

1. **social perspective.** War transforms social interactions, influencing value systems and cultural preferences, provoking tectonic shifts in everyday life, and affecting both individual and collective forms of interaction. Under the influence of extreme conditions, value and cultural patterns change, and studying such changes during a crisis is often quite challenging due to its dynamic nature, which in turn often prevents the academic community from responding with due attention. Nevertheless, such a semi-anthropological cross-section of individual spheres of everyday life can provide an opportunity for not only current but also retrospective analysis. In this case, studying changes in consumer practices serves as a domain that allows conclusions to be drawn about broader social shifts, such as the axiological sphere or culture;

2. **psychological perspective.** In conditions of crisis, when the usual structures of life are disrupted, psychological pressure on individuals increases. Consumption becomes not only a way to meet basic needs but also a mechanism of psychological adaptation that helps manage anxiety and restore a sense of control over the situation. This phenomenon is particularly vividly

manifested in Ukrainian frontline cities, where certain consumer practices become strategies for coping with anxiety and a means of symbolically returning to "normality." Consumption acquires functions related to the sense of security and reducing uncertainty. People try to satisfy basic and symbolic needs, which give a sense of preparation for possible risks. For example, in many Ukrainian cities, residents stockpile long-shelf-life products (canned goods, grains, water) and medicines, creating home reserves. These actions help alleviate anxiety related to potential supply disruptions or escalating situations, even though there are currently no real logistics problems in frontline cities (of course, this does not apply to territories that are under occupation or in zones of direct active hostilities);

3. economic perspective. Local and digital markets become arenas of adaptation as well as business resilience under wartime conditions. The crisis transforms economic systems and consumption mechanisms, affecting both traditional and digital markets. Amid the destruction of usual infrastructure, disruption of supply chains, and reduced purchasing power of the population, businesses and consumers are forced to adapt. Local and online markets become key platforms for maintaining economic activity and social survival. Local production in these circumstances is considered the foundation of survival—the value of agricultural and artisanal producers providing essential goods such as food, hygiene items, and fuel increases, while serving as the basis of economic activity. For example, despite the risk of shelling, farms continue to operate, ensuring food security. Local producers help sustain economic activity during wartime, preventing a complete collapse of the economy in frontline regions. At the same time, the digitalization of trade has significantly intensified as online platforms provide opportunities to make purchases even under physical danger or infrastructure destruction, restructuring the market in line with the idea of "marketing at one's fingertips."

These perspectives not only reflect the specifics of life under wartime conditions but also demonstrate profound processes of social and cultural transformation that go beyond the local context, revealing universal mechanisms of society's adaptation to extreme conditions.

The general goal of the research, which we envision as comprehensive and multi-stage, is to identify possible directions of changes in the stylization of life in high-risk societies. The research focus of the article is the development of a foundation for analyzing shopping practices as a tool for stylization and an indicator of social shifts under wartime conditions.

2. Theoretical Foundations

The Risk Theory vision. Our understanding of risks and riskiness aligns with the traditional sociological interpretation of risk as a product of globalization but complements it by shifting the focus to the micro-level. We consider the relationship between risks and benefits dialectical: they are products of the same social production process within a late-capitalist society. At first glance, it may seem difficult to consider the benefits produced by social progress as sources of risks in modern frontline Kharkiv. However, this difficulty arises only under a straightforward understanding of progress. If one rejects linearity and interprets this relationship within, for example, historical sociology, it no longer appears contradictory.

Possible objections may arise: for instance, Charles Perrow does not include war in the list of "normal accidents" (Perrow, 2007), and according to Niklas Luhmann's "threshold of catastrophe" logic (Luhmann, 1991), war should deprive individuals of a propensity for risk, making the lens of risk sociology inapplicable to wartime situations. However, we do not share these objections. We do not claim full conceptualization in this article, but schematically point to the following reference points for sociological consideration of life in a frontline city through the prism of risk theory.

1. War can be considered a "threshold of catastrophe" for peaceful society. However, after its onset, when its duration (in Ukraine's case—two and a half years at the time of writing) turns it from a point event into a process, it is no longer valid to say that people are no longer aware of risks due to the "catastrophe." A prolonged catastrophe loses its status as an exception and produces a risk order where risks become normalized.

2. Since war encompasses not only the present but also the (near) future, it may seem that decision-making about the future is no longer accompanied by risk awareness. Nevertheless, war absorbs non-military risks without erasing them (or negating their awareness), becoming a shell for them. Awareness of the macro-level risk of war's impact on all aspects of life modifies the awareness of micro-level risks.

3. War as a point event can be considered an external source of damage to an individual, and its impact can then be interpreted not as risk but as danger, according to Luhmann. However, war as a process produces risks. A member of "war society" (we use this concept as an instrumental designation of any (part of) community located in that part of the social space that is engulfed in war; (re)conceptualization of this concept is a separate task for the future) a resident of a frontline city, practically loses the ability to forecast near-future events and take them into account when constructing life trajectories. They become accustomed to the fact that any social action produces risks simply because it is carried out within a risk order; this risk order forces consumers to accept the rules of risk producers (*Yanitsky, 2000*).

4. The future created by war is fundamentally opaque to individual consciousness. It can be assumed that individuals can only colonize it, as per Giddens, using risk-awareness. However, since war minimizes the effectiveness of tools for overcoming risks, as the living environment itself becomes a producer-shell of risks, risk-awareness is applied to the present, relying on the past as support.

5. Both macro-risks and micro-risks produced by "war society" and all its co-producers (external and internal) are processed by individuals at the micro-level. Overcoming existential macro-risks is inaccessible to individuals, leading to a specific transfer, adapting the task of overcoming them to the micro-level.

6. Since the present for a resident of "war society" is normalized risk, their consciousness turns to the past as an alternative to the current risk order. Here, we hypothesize not a nostalgic reaction but at least a tactic for overcoming micro-risks, which is built on risk-awareness of the present using available means. Such a means is compensation (since we are talking about the present, not the future, prevention and avoidance of risks are inappropriate, and overcoming is an overly ambitious task, as macro-risks have also been transferred to the micro-level) through the reproduction of pre-risk everyday life.

Such compensation can simultaneously be seen as a breach of the discourse of current reality or an unveiling of hegemony (*Lytovchenko, 2011*): opposing the restrictive practices imposed by war, pre-war consumption practices (e.g., shopping) are reclaimed, allowing individuals to step outside the crisis order of "war society." Without the ability to influence the macro-reality of war, individuals refuse to reformat their micro-reality according to the rules of wartime social order, shifting their consumer practices into the realm of the past. However, while this interpretation appears sociologically promising, it is only applicable when war is viewed as a point event, not as a process—and not in a socio-historical vacuum.

Far more precise would be to define war itself as a breach of pre-war everyday reality, which logically and chronologically may claim the status of a "normal" reference point. Here, we can already discuss the breach of reality at all levels of order – material-factual and symbolic (rather than just the symbolic level of discourse or hegemony, as in the case of

reproducing pre-risk everyday life). This breach was carried out – from the perspective of Ukrainian citizens – externally, and resistance to it appears to be a socially justified reaction of individual consciousness. This logical framework better accommodates the compensatory model of consumer lifestyle stylization described above—as a means not of breaching but repairing a breached everyday life, not of deconstruction but reconstruction of the original reality from its deformed image.

3. The Consumption Sociology vision

As defined earlier, we propose analyzing consumer practices as dynamic and adaptive processes that reflect changes in social structures. From this position, the ideas of Anthony Giddens are valuable, as he analyzes how macro- and micro-social processes interact under conditions of modernization and crisis within his theory of structuration. In this specific case, Giddens' claim that social structures do not exist separately from human actions – they both constrain and are created by these actions – is critical. In the context of frontline cities, this helps to understand how individual practices interact with social and economic structures. Giddens describes late modernity as an era where traditions give way to reflexivity. This means that people actively reinterpret their actions in response to changing conditions (*Giddens, 1991*). In frontline cities, where risks and uncertainty define daily life, consumers become particularly reflexive: consumption helps manage risks, express identity, and even becomes a form of political manifestation – in general, extending far beyond the satisfaction of basic needs. Personal identity becomes a project that individuals construct through their routine activities, including consumption. During war, consumption emerges as one of the tools for maintaining identity and constructing a symbolic "life project."

Elizabeth Shove, Mika Pantzar, and Matt Watson further develop this theme, shifting focus to everyday routines and social practices that form the fabric of daily life. While Giddens describes how structure and agents mutually influence one another to create new social patterns, Shove and colleagues argue that for understanding and managing social change, it is essential to study practices as dynamic systems shaped by the interaction of resources, skills, and meanings. This opens up new approaches to studying daily life, including consumption. Practices as units of analysis are presented as the sum of three elements: 1) materials (objects and technologies), 2) competences (knowledge and skills), and 3) meanings (symbolic and cultural content). These elements exist both as stable entities and as actions that are constantly reproduced. Changes occur when elements of practice are transformed or newly combined. Stability is maintained through the repeated reproduction of routine actions. The authors practically reject ideas based on rational choice, individual preferences, or external pressures, emphasizing that social changes are embedded within the practices themselves. Inspired by Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration, the authors see practices as resulting from the interplay between individual actions and social structures. They argue that practice theories hold potential for analyzing complex societal changes, such as climate crises, health issues, and inequality (*Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012*). While the authors were not specifically interested in questions of consumption, their proposed logic nevertheless demonstrates the potential of routine practices for reflecting changes in social structures.

Continuing the discussion, it is worth mentioning the works of Pierre Bourdieu, who, in his theory of habitus and practices, emphasizes the role of social context in shaping individual behavior. Bourdieu highlights that consumption is determined not only by economic opportunities but also by cultural capital, social norms, and symbolic structures that regulate everyday

actions. This assertion becomes particularly relevant in times of crisis, when established norms and structures undergo transformation. Consumer practices can be viewed as manifestations of habitus adaptation to extreme conditions, where consumption becomes a means of preserving social identity and reconstructing social reality (*Bourdieu, 1984*).

Another significant contribution to the sociology of consumption was made by Zygmunt Bauman with his concept of the consumer society, in which consumption becomes a key factor in identity formation. Bauman describes how, under conditions of uncertainty and instability, people use consumption to create an illusion of control and stability. In the context of Ukrainian frontline cities, consumption fulfills a similar function, serving as a means of acquiring symbolic security and resilience amidst constant threats (*Bauman, 2007*).

Ulrich Beck, the author of the concept of the "risk society," also provides a useful framework for analyzing consumer practices during wartime. Beck notes that in risk societies, individuals are forced to make decisions under conditions of high uncertainty and potential threats. War intensifies this dynamic, transforming consumption from a routine action into a survival strategy. Under heightened risk conditions, as Beck points out, people develop new forms of social and individual reflexivity, enabling them to adapt to extreme circumstances (*Beck, 1992*).

Additionally, attention should be given to the works of Adrian V. Franklin and Sharon Zukin. Franklin, in his research, emphasizes the role of cultural and social meanings attributed to objects of consumption (*Franklin, 2002*), while Zukin examines "landscapes of consumption," showing how urban spaces shape and organize consumer behavior (*Zukin, 1998*). These ideas can be applied to the analysis of how frontline cities transform their commercial and public spaces in response to crises, creating new forms of social organization and cultural expression.

From a global context perspective, it is also worth mentioning the approaches of Daniel Miller, who studies consumption as a form of social and cultural practice. Miller emphasizes that consumption forms the "social fabric" and reflects broader social changes. In the context of war, his concept can be used to analyze how consumption contributes to maintaining social cohesion and symbolically reconstructing normalcy (*Miller, 1998*).

To emphasize: we accept the thesis on the role of consumer practices in constructing personal identity, but we do not endorse an absolutization of this thesis. We are fully convinced of the need to focus on the symbolic significance of consumer practices, yet we do not reduce them exclusively to their symbolic dimension, nor do we consider personal self-construction to be the exhaustive goal of consumer practices. Such a view would disregard the meso- and macro-level readings of consumer practices, as unjustified as excluding the material-object layer from socially significant aspects of consumer practices. Even within the scope of this specific article, focused on consumer practices as a tool for lifestyle stylization, we do not reduce their sociological understanding to an identity-centric vision.

4. "Risky" Consumption

We define "risky" consumption as forms of consumer behavior that arise in response to extreme conditions of heightened threat or uncertainty associated with social, economic, political, or environmental factors. It is characterized by adaptation to an unstable reality, where consumption acquires new, non-utilitarian functions, such as anxiety management, maintaining identity and social order, and compensating for the loss of a familiar environment.

"Risky" consumption is not synonymous with either the production of risks – the creation of systemic threats that are byproducts of industrial and post-industrial society (e.g.,

environmental pollution, economic crises, etc.) – or the consumption of risks – the acceptance or use of products or services associated with known risks. The latter includes actions such as purchasing and using high-emission vehicles or consuming unhealthy food, where individuals voluntarily accept potential negative consequences. “Risky” consumption differs in that it does not arise from voluntary choice but as a reaction to pre-existing external threats. It is an adaptive practice aimed at minimizing the consequences of risks or compensating for their impact.

Each of these categories has different points of application for research efforts: the production of risks is studied to understand structural changes, industrial processes, and their societal consequences; the consumption of risks relates to individual rationality, culture, and preferences, which are important for research in behavioral economics and cultural anthropology; “risky” consumption – the focus of our study – reflects how individuals and groups adapt to extreme conditions. This is crucial for understanding models of social survival, solidarity, and new forms of social organization in crisis conditions.

Differentiating these concepts is necessary for developing effective policies and strategies. For example, a detailed investigation of specifically risky consumption is essential for creating adaptation strategies in crisis zones – this may include supporting local production, ensuring the availability of essential goods, or establishing social support systems. Recognizing the conceptual differences between “risky” consumption, the consumption of risks, and the production of risks is vital for a deeper understanding of social changes and adaptive strategies under conditions of instability. It allows for distinguishing macro-level processes related to the production of threats from micro-level practices formed in response to these threats – practices that are driven not only by rationally calculated responses but also, and primarily, by symbolic reactions of stylization.

5. Preliminary systematic analysis of the object

As we indicated at the beginning of the article, our goal at this stage is to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive, multi-stage study of “risky” consumption under conditions of macro-social shifts, specifically shopping practices as a tool for stylizing life in a “war society.” Above, we outlined the theoretical framework of the future research; we now move on to formulating hypotheses and defining the methodological framework.

We conducted a pilot research, comprising five unstructured expert interviews with a sociologist, an anthropologist, a cultural theorist, an economist, and a journalist residing in Kharkiv. We were interested in the broadest possible set of probable consumer commodity practices that could be considered specific to a frontline city. The experts talked about consumer practices in general; we identified commodity practices ourselves post factum. The specificity of these practices was determined independently of whether these practices were new, arising only in connection with the war, or whether they were specifically transformed from previously existing practices. Based on the results of these interviews and our own observations, we compiled a list of specific consumer practices – both newly emerged and transformed – characteristic of Kharkiv in 2022–2024. We recognize that it is not appropriate to generalize practices across two years with very different events, and we do not intend to do so in a full-scale empirical study. The list is heuristic and exploratory in nature, does not constitute research finding, and is part of the purely exploratory stage. For clarity, we have conditionally categorized the practices by their functions as follows.

1. **Symbolic presentation:** Consumption transcends utilitarian goals and becomes a tool for managing generalized anxiety, maintaining (counter)identity, and fostering solidarity.

Practices include purchasing goods with contributions to the Ukrainian Armed Forces or military volunteers (the so-called “economic front” – indirect financial participation, where the significance lies not in the volume or actual allocation of funds, but in the act itself); purchasing goods with front-line themed emblems—plush toys of the Patron dog, stamps, tote bags, postcards, keychains, T-shirts with military or ersatz-military slogans, and other “combat merchandise.” At the same time, the same function is fulfilled by excessive consumption typical of peacetime (or even exaggerated in volume and scale), such as buying unnecessary, duplicate, or completely nonfunctional items as a way of demonstrating to oneself that the war does not dominate one’s personal world, in which everything (i.e., consumption) remains as it was, including one’s own identity.

2. Social adaptation: Transformation of consumption in response to war as a macro-level crisis accompanied by the destruction of infrastructure and social ties. This consumption also involves anxiety management, but of a more specific nature. Practices include mass purchases of generators, charging stations (e.g., EcoFlow, noting that such devices have risen in price by 500% since the beginning of the war), creating irrationally large household reserves of food and water, acquiring specialized survival items (e.g., parachute cords), and so forth; equipping wood-burning stoves and solid-fuel boilers in private homes and purchasing autonomous heating systems—even in the absence of gas supply issues, and so forth.

3. Innovation: Local solutions that strengthen the local economy and support networks. Practices include purchases from the “De-occupation Shop” (a volunteer initiative selling agricultural products grown by residents of territories de-occupied in September 2022) and the use of digital platforms for remote shopping. It is worth noting that the reinforcement here is more symbolic in nature, as the defining characteristic of these practices is their public and presentational aspect. At the same time, these practices differ from simple symbolic presentation in their niche, somewhat exclusive character—not yet “elite,” but no longer “mass.”

4. Ensuring resilience: Consumption demonstrates how residents adapt specifically to conditions of instability, minimizing risks and maintaining social order. Unlike adaptation, resilience is focused on short-term problem-solving with minimal changes. It arises as a crisis response involving temporary use of reserves, whereas adaptation is geared towards the long term and implies implementing new models that can function in prolonged crisis conditions. Practices include consumer preferences for farmers’ markets, where urban residents can buy fresh products directly from local producers; urban farming, such as planting gardens within high-density residential areas; and community self-organization for joint procurement of fuel, food, or medications, which helps reduce costs and increase accessibility. Resilience here should be understood symbolically rather than in a straightforward rationalist sense: it refers to the resilience of the symbolic social order rather than the resilience of need satisfaction—at least primarily.

We observe in all these practices a common, albeit variably expressed, orientation toward the reconstruction of the past. This orientation is realized through different templates, yet in all cases embodies a logic of lifestyle stylization, whose distinguishing feature we consider to be compensatory in nature.

It is worth noting that “risky” consumption in the context of modern Ukraine, and Kharkiv in particular, is shaped by material-factual constraints and symbolic shifts. For instance, the very possibility of consumer behavior is limited by several external and internal factors: 1. Unpredictable shelling and bombings create both actual and hypothetical threats; 2. Stores close frequently due to air-raid alerts, which can last ten or more hours; 3. Retail chains and outlets withdraw from frontline cities as owners avoid risking employee safety; 4. Product

assortments shrink and prices rise due to supply disruptions and inflation; 5. Personal incomes decline as a result of economic downturns; 6. Aggressive activity by military recruiters (“military enlistment offices”) leads men aged 25 to 60 to restrict their movement around the city; 7. A moral-emotional barrier against excessive consumption, rooted in a sense of solidarity and shame toward fellow citizens entirely deprived of such opportunities—such as soldiers on the front lines or residents of settlements where active combat occurs directly in residential areas.

In summary, we propose the hypothesis of the dominance of a compensatory model (with varying objects of compensation) of consumer lifestyle stylization in the “war society” of a frontline city. In this model, consumer practices serve as a tool for the “repair,” or reconstruction, of everyday life deformed by war. An alternative hypothesis can be formulated as follows: “risky” consumption, particularly shopping practices, embodies models of integration into a disrupted everyday life, relying on hyper-adaptability. Testing these hypotheses requires conducting a comprehensive study using a combined methodology, including observation (both participant and non-participant), a variation of Michel de Certeau’s “walking through the city” method adapted for supermarkets and retail chains, and in-depth interviews. Based on the results of the first stage of research, the feasibility and potential of conducting a mass survey of active consumers (e.g., users of online shopping platforms and marketplaces) will become clear.

6. Conclusions

Thus, the risk theories discussed above demonstrate how war transforms the perception of risks: a prolonged conflict turns them from exceptional situations into everyday norms, forming what is referred to as a “risk order.” Under such conditions, macro-level threats are recognized by society and are processed into everyday practices using compensatory mechanisms. This leads to a shift in focus from future planning to managing the present. Everyday actions, such as consumption, become not only a means of meeting basic needs but also a tool for reconstructing social reality and creating a sense of normalcy. Ultimately, risk theory underscores the importance of adaptive strategies based on familiar actions to overcome existential threats.

The perspective of the sociology of consumption highlights the changing functions of consumption during a crisis. It becomes not only utilitarian but also a symbolic means of adaptation and identity maintenance. Cultural and social capital play an important role in determining an individual’s ability to adapt to new conditions. Urban spaces and infrastructure are being transformed, creating hybrid forms of social organization where consumption serves as a mechanism for expressing solidarity and maintaining control over the situation. These changes illustrate how everyday practices, as described through the theories of Bourdieu, Bauman, and Miller, reflect deeper social transformations and act as indicators of a society’s resilience during a crisis.

This allows us to anticipate that the comprehensive study of “risky” consumption practices in a frontline city, as proposed here, will not only provide valuable data for specialized sociological disciplines but will also open opportunities for broad conclusions about the dynamics of lifestyle stylization as a reflection of major social changes. The testing of the hypothesis about the dominance of a compensatory model in the “risky” consumer stylization of life in a “war society” will be the focus of further articles on this topic.

References

1. Bauman, Z. (2007). *Consuming Life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
2. Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: SAGE Publications.
3. Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
4. Franklin, A. (2002). *Nature and Social Theory*. London: SAGE Publications.
5. Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press.
6. Luhmann, N. (1991). *Der Begriff Risiko*. In N. Luhmann, *Soziologie des Risikos* (pp. 9–40). Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
7. Lytovchenko A. (2011) *Discourse as an instrument of the «reality-hacking»*. *Methodology, theory and practice of sociological analysis of modern society*. Vol. 17. pp. 208-211. URL: http://www.irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/irbis_nbuv/cgiirbis_64.exe?C21COM=2&I21DBN=UJRN&P21DBN=UJRN&IMAGE_FILE_DOWNLOAD=1&Image_file_name=PDF/Mtpsa_2011_17_41.pdf
8. Miller, D. (1998). *A Theory of Shopping*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
9. Perrow, C. (2007). *The next catastrophe: Reducing our vulnerabilities to natural, industrial, and terrorist disasters*. Princeton University Press.
10. Shove, E., Pantzar, M., & Watson, M. (2012). *Connections between practices*. In *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes* (pp. 81-96). SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446250655>
11. Yanitsky, O. (2000). *Sustainability and risk: The case of Russia*. In *The Risk Society and Beyond: Critical Essays for Social Theory*. London. Innovation: *The European Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(3). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/713670515>
12. Zukin, S. (1998). *Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption*. *Urban Studies*, 35(5-6), 825-839. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43084034>