Potential of exurbanization in Russia: possibility and priorities

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Abstract. The article discusses the issues of ruralization and exurbanization as a priority to ensure the development of agricultural regions. The data on the main social groups - potential subjects of exurbanization are given. The factors affecting the process of exurbanization and ruralization are analyzed in relation to Russian conditions. It also discusses the main risk factors for the processes of ruralization. The article also points out the need for a new model for the development of the territorial economy of agrarian regions.

1. Introduction
The actual problem for most countries that have passed the peak of their industrial development is currently the problem of restoring society, creating conditions for its sustainable growth in the new conditions created by the post-industrial society. It is obvious that new alternative approaches are needed to overcome the above negative trends in the development of society. A number of researchers consider exurbanization as the main path of development of post-industrial society. Indeed, the creation of a geographically distributed settlement structure can solve many problems of social development, ranging from providing the population (and young families, in particular) with housing, which is prohibitively expensive in large cities, to creating environmentally friendly conditions, which, in fact, are one of the key blessings in the modern world. Possibly, the possibility of exurbanization is one of the most important factors capable of ensuring the competitiveness of national economies in the postindustrial world [1, 2].

However, in reality, the situation in the Russian economy is diametrically opposite. At present, it is customary to attribute the majority of agrarian regions to territories that have a “tense” position in the social sector, or even a depressive position in the entire social sector. In many ways, such judgments are due to the situation that developed in the regions of agrarian specialization in the 90s. The twentieth century, when mass production collapsed (and not only in rural areas), as a result of which considerable amounts of labor resources were not in demand.

Today it is already quite obvious that the result of these phenomena in the economy of the 1990s. there is a progressive degradation of the labor potential of the agrarian territories. This is due, primarily, to the fact that the economic revival that took place in the mid-2000s. made relocation to cities, especially large ones, more attractive, which was made more or less by economically active population. It should be noted that today the average age of residents of rural settlements is, on average, more than fifty years old and tends to increase. In essence, we can talk about the gradual extinction of the population of most rural areas.

It should be noted that such a completely unhealthy situation in the social sphere of a modern village leads to completely negative and, in many respects, irreversible phenomena in all spheres of the
territorial economy that are in one way or another in contact with it. Today, as V. Lexin and A. Shvetsov accurately noted in their work, today the motivation of the majority of villagers is “survival”, and not development aimed at the future.

Of course, these trends cannot be recognized as positive, however, it should be noted that the statements of a number of researchers about the supposedly complete degradation of the Russian village are, to put it mildly, greatly exaggerated. Of course, rural society is quite heterogeneous and has serious problems in its development, but now there are also positive trends. In particular, at present, the tendency towards a substantial consolidation of personal subsidiary farms is being observed more and more clearly. Another significant trend can be called the not yet clearly manifested, but still existing germs of ruralization [3-5]. The main objective of the study is to analyze the social and economic basis for the implementation of processes exurbanization in Russia

2. Materials and methods
In terms of methodology, the study is based on a comprehensive methodology that uses a statistical analysis of indicators in three groups: (a) the production sector; (b) production infrastructure; (c) social infrastructure; with the subsequent analysis of development priorities based on the hierarchy analysis method (HAM). The obtained local development priorities are subject to multidimensional ranking, which allows determining the degree of compliance of the development priorities of each element of the economic complex with the possible scenarios. Based on the ranking of priorities, the energy-production cycle is formed, which is the basis for the functioning of the sinter structure. Evaluation criteria reflecting the situation of the development scenario in each plane should be estimates obtained at the previous stage of the study, showing its position relative to groups of indicators reflecting the state of each of the three main segments of the territorial farms. Thus, positioning a ready-made development scenario, one can get its spatial position in the structure of the territorial economy. At the same time, one can get a fairly clear idea of its potential and possible directions of growth and development. [6]

The choice of technological directions is carried out on the basis of a comparison of each of the options on the basis of matrices of pairwise comparisons, followed by their ranking according to the degree of compliance with the identified priorities. The group of 11 municipal districts of the Altai Region: Biysky, Altaisky, Smolensky, Sovetsky, Bystroistoksky, Petropavlovsky, Krasnogorsky, Soltonsky, Soloneshensky, Tseliny, Yeltsovsky was chosen as the basic object of research. These areas form a classic nodal area with the center - the railway station “Biysk” (Chemrovka). All material flows entering or extending beyond this range are concentrated in the nodal center - the city of Biysk. The object of study is the total area of the territory - 27.7 thousand square meters, including rural areas - 27.3 thousand square meters, the total population of the territory - 448.6 thousand people, including rural population - 198.3 thousand people. The average population density of the territory is 16.2 people on 1 square meter. The object of study is a typical object for the regions of the south of Western Siberia. It should also be noted that it is possible to single out similar territorial objects in most regions of the agricultural specialization, both in Russia and in other countries belonging to the category of developed ones.

3. Results
In social terms, the following categories of persons moving to live in rural areas can be distinguished: (a) “Northern” pensioners, representatives of other professions who retired at 40–45 years old and who wish to spend the rest of their lives in an ecologically clean area; (b) activists of all sorts of environmental movements, founding various types of environmentally friendly villages, communities, sometimes with a religious bias, the most famous in this regard is the movement of "Anastasians"; (c) immigrants from the former republics of the ex-USSR who, for whatever reason, cannot or do not want to live in the city — as a rule, this category of persons begins to develop personal subsidiary farming with the greatest degree of intensity [7, 8].

As for the first social group, it should be noted that often they are people who have more than enough work experience in industry, including and in managerial positions, many of them do not lose their
active life position after retirement. It should be noted that this category, among all the above, as a rule, has the greatest personal savings, which are usually invested in the arrangement of the estate, the purchase of transport, the establishment of the economy, etc. Often among this social category, attempts to do business, the creation of any processing industries. So far, this category is very few, since its requirements for quality of life are usually quite high, and such migrants cannot provide for them alone. It should be noted that the representatives of this group, as a rule, have a technical education, most of them have a good command of technical skills adjacent to their profession, which can also be successfully applied in rural areas. A characteristic feature of this social group is the presence of adult children, in most cases living separately from their parents, in other words, young people, at best, condescendingly refers to the attempts of the older generation to spend the rest of their lives in the wilderness, "in the lap of nature" [9, 10].

The second category is today the most numerous and, potentially, its number may increase significantly. Currently, there are many attempts to create new type of settlements, built on the basis of a new social structure, a new morality and, in some cases, a new religion. If we explicitly exclude totalitarian religious sects from this, whose leaders build communities on destructive principles (such an example is the village of the notorious Vissarion in the Krasnoyarsk Region), then more attentiveness should be looked at. The most famous is the “Anastasian” movement, which, although it bears some features of a religious sect, at the same time has a completely civilized character and, until now, has not been noticed in the spread of any destructive cults. Moments of Roerich's follower and the like are adjacent to him. As a rule, the followers of these movements are quite young, the average age of inhabitants of eco-settlements (the most famous of which are the Kitezh settlements in the Kaluga region, the Ark in the Ryazan region, in Siberia, the eco-settlements in the village of Salgandy of the Choisky district of the Altai Republic and a group of settlements in the Uimon valley (Ust-Koksinsky district of the Altai Republic), founded by initiative groups, mainly former residents of the Akademgorodok of Novosibirsk, is 25-35 years old, in most cases do not have any harmful effects. Habits have a fairly high educational and cultural level. The reasons that motivated the relocation of this social group may be different: these are housing problems in big cities, without any real opportunity to acquire it, and the stress inevitably accompanying the residents of large megalopolises. Finally, it is a conscious desire to build life according to new, communal principles, in a team of like-minded people. As a rule, the majority of residents of eco-settlements in the past were residents of large cities, have a higher education, in most cases, humanitarian, or natural sciences, as well as often you can meet specialists in the field of information technology. Cases of resettlement to such settlements of persons with engineering, agricultural or military education are immeasurably less frequent. It certainly imposes a certain imprint on the outlook of the inhabitants of the new settlements and the way of life in them. The same "Anastasians" promote vegetarian food, machine-less farming, etc. aspects of life that completely exclude commodity management. However, in practice there are other cases: in the eco-settlements of the Ust-Koksinsky district, many residents have refused to completely follow these settings, they use modern means of mechanization rather broadly and are owners of strong commodity farms (the main product is honey, red deer antlers, etc.). In general, this social category is distinguished by a low level of technical knowledge (especially in practical issues related to the operation and maintenance of equipment), little practical experience in commercial activities, or work in industry. It should be noted that the representatives of this social group, as a rule, are well versed in modern information technologies, which allows them to create their own computer networks with access to the Internet via a satellite channel, create websites, etc. Also, representatives of this social group, as a rule, are well versed in legal issues. In particular, within the framework of the “Anastasian” movement, a scheme for obtaining land for ecological settlement has been developed and replicated. At the same time, as a rule, this social category of potential settlers is least focused on the creation of commodity production of agricultural profile, often due to personal moral and spiritual attitudes, built in accordance with the teachings of N. Roerich and advocating the rejection of excesses, simple life, etc., which, of course, limits consumer aspirations, significantly reducing the need for obtaining material resources.
At the same time, many residents of large cities, who previously had apartments there, or who worked in fairly high-paying positions, have, by the time of resettlement in rural areas, sufficiently large sums of money, allowing, in principle, to organize a normal commercial economy. However, very often, representatives of this social group, by virtue of little practical experience, are not able to properly realize their savings. This social group is very promising, given that, as a rule, its representatives are relocated to the countryside by married couples, and having children is one of life priorities. At the same time, there is a significant difference in worldview, culture, level of education, etc. Representatives of this social group with the local population very often lead to a lack of understanding and even direct conflict, which certainly complicates the lives of the former. As a rule, representatives of this social group are least protected from the manifestation of aggression by criminal elements in rural areas, due to the absence, in most cases, of any special training and experience in solving such problems.

The next social group is the most multifaceted: it includes representatives of various Russian-speaking ethnic groups who, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, chose to move to the territory of the Russian Federation. Many representatives of these social groups, especially those who previously engaged in agriculture professionally, prefer to choose rural areas for resettlement. Another motive is usually a lack of funds to buy an apartment in a big city, where there are employment prospects, in the absence of the possibility of such in cities where housing may be available. In this case, the option of self-employment may be attractive, especially for the age group of 40-45 years old, who have life and work skills in rural areas. On the other hand, there are precedents when ethnic gangs “settling down” in the countryside, under the guise of immigrants, criminalize the life of sometimes whole regions. As a rule, this leads to the flourishing of criminal business, especially illegal logging, a sharp deterioration in the quality of life of the indigenous population. Of course, such attempts should be stopped in the most decisive manner in accordance with applicable laws and regulations.

In general, the majority of immigrants from the republic of the former USSR are often the most economically active stratum of the population in Russian villages. As a rule, the educational level of such immigrants is higher than that of the majority of the local population, this social group, as a rule, has considerable economic experience, which allows us to conclude with confidence that the influx of this social group is in many cases for Russian regions good As a rule, this social group, at the time of its relocation, has few funds, which does not allow to immediately establish a commodity economy, however, in many cases, the necessary capital for expanding such an economy accumulates over several years, under favorable circumstances. This social group is characterized by the presence of children, mostly middle-aged and older. At the same time, now most of the children of representatives of this group leave the countryside after reaching the age of 17-18, going to study, etc. to large cities, with only a small proportion connecting their future with the countryside.

Of course, the weak movements of the “eco-settlers”, or the isolated attempts of relatively young “northern” retirees to settle in the countryside, are unable by themselves to ensure the construction of a new society. The own society of agrarian territories, in most cases, is at the stage of disintegration, which is due, primarily, to the fact that the average age of rural residents will soon exceed 60 years (and in some regions, especially in central Russia, this the threshold is already passed). Under existing conditions, when there is a steady outflow of population from rural areas, there is nothing to oppose to these negative phenomena, by and large.

It is necessary to search for hidden reserves of social development in rural areas, otherwise many of them are threatened by the general disappearance of the population in the next 20-25 years. It should be noted that currently there are no means capable of reversing this situation. The key condition for the further development of agrarian territories in social terms is the search for factors that can make them competitive for promising, in terms of future development, population groups. In other words, it is necessary to create conditions that make it possible to ensure a competitive quality of life in rural areas. This does not mean that it is enough to ensure a level of wages comparable to that of Moscow in order for all development problems to be solved. Not to mention the fact that it is impossible today, it should be remembered that money significantly improves the quality of life, but is not able to change it drastically. To solve the problem of social development, the territory should provide a set of factors that
make living on it more profitable compared to alternative options. Such factors of competitiveness may be the following: (a) environmental factor; (b) the possibility of local self-government, including the further expansion of the powers of territorial self-government organizations; (c) availability of conditions for the implementation of its own business; (d) availability of modern social and production infrastructure services; (e) comfortable, psychologically, habitat; (f) opportunities for development and personal growth; (g) social perspectives (the presence of a “social elevator”); (h) security of residence, including personal, property and legal varieties of it, in accordance with modern ideas about the rights of man and person [11, 12].

However, one of the goals of forming agglomeration structures is to improve the quality of life in the Russian countryside to the level of similar territories in the United Kingdom, the United States, Norway and other countries where a large proportion of the population lives in small towns (often several dozen people), being at the same time carriers of urban culture.

The creation of a new subculture on the communal “matrix” today, probably, is the only possible direction of social development of agricultural regions in the post-industrial period. Today it is already clear that the existing social order in rural areas is not viable in the medium and long term, and certainly needs to be modernized, mainly on the basis of a return, to the new values of the development spiral, to the traditional human values [13-15].

It should be noted that the denouement of this problem, mainly in the form of changes in public consciousness, bringing it to the norms of post-industrial society, in which life in rural areas, in a small town, or in general - in a separate residence - farm, ranch, etc. is much more prestigious than life in a megacity, is the basis for the formation of a society of a post-industrial society in our country.

The territorial-production agglomerations can now become the instrumental means of solving this undoubtedly socially significant task. Under them should be understood the community of economic entities and individuals, localized within a certain territory and interconnected by a system of horizontal links. Thus, the territorial production agglomeration is a further development and adaptation, in relation to the tasks of the development of agrarian regions, the well-known concept of territorial production complexes that have proved their effectiveness by numerous examples in practice.

Of course, this is not an instantaneous process, but it should be remembered that as long as there is a human potential that can make up the society of the future, there are groups of people who are ready to begin constructing a new society, due to the fact that for some reason they do not have comfort in modern surroundings. There are a lot of such people in modern Russia, which is evidenced by the growing number of various kinds of environmental movements such as “Anastasian”, and they can be the initiating link that will launch the process of sociogenesis of post-industrial society - the basis for agglomerative structures. Possibilities for the development of agrarian agglomeration clusters, likelihood, directly depend on the rates of these processes. The key condition for their acceleration is the development of the advancing pace of social institutions of a specific territory, chosen for that or other reasons, as the basis of the agrarian territorial production agglomeration. It is necessary to create prerequisites for the development of the spectrum and quality of social services provided by the social infrastructure of the territory, at the same time, implicit social factors play a major role, first of all, such as the level of development and readiness for further development of civil society institutions in a particular territory, creation of prerequisites to the formation of a new format of local self-government, more appropriate to the requirements of the educated segments of the population in this area. It should be noted that this is the most important competitive advantage of agrarian territories: starting from the moment when a villager (including a new, consciously choosing a rural lifestyle) will feel more legally protected than his urban counterpart, the pendulum of prestige, in public consciousness, will inevitably swing in the direction of the rural lifestyle. This can be accomplished when rural communities form new type of institutions that support their members as part of their civic activities and act as a collective representative when interacting with the external environment. They must provide the individual’s most important security needs, social security and other social priorities. This process cannot be simultaneous, but it should be remembered that the introduction of modern technologies, mainly in the information
sphere, can significantly speed up the process of forming social consortia, which will later have to turn into community structures [16, 17].

It is quite obvious that the creation of such a social structure cannot be tied to any religious or other dogma, such phenomena should be avoided. At the same time, the creation of a new society, albeit at the micro level, will inevitably require its ideological, semantic content. Such a semantic node can be ideas of environmental orientation, focused on achieving harmony between man and nature, minimizing damage to the environment, preserving and restoring nature. Most people including the basic social groups that should play a key role in shaping the future society of agrarian regions, to one extent or another, these views today, and accordingly they are the basis on which to build new social and organizational structures. Of course excesses of various kinds can be very harmful, primarily from the standpoint of economic development and, ultimately, for the realization of the ideas of an ecologically oriented society [18].

4. Discussion of the results and issues of practical implementation

Today, three main alternatives for social development of rural areas can be distinguished: (a) the conservative way is to preserve the existing society and its gradual degradation with subsequent extinction, due to the lack of full-fledged reproduction of the population in most rural areas (as, indeed, in these); (b) the path of the traditional development of the agrarian economy of the industrial society focused primarily on a wide inflow of investments into the agrarian sector and attracting new employees, primarily on the basis of economic expediency; Needless to say, there is no reason today to suggest that ever, when implemented within the framework of traditional industrial approaches, work in the countryside will become attractive for wide social groups and the population will flow in the opposite direction, from the cities to the countryside. (c) social network development path. focused primarily on the creation of a new type of social order, built on network principles that open up new opportunities both for society and for the individual, which are absent in traditional society; This path of development, essentially being built on the basis of social engineering, of constructing a new social structure is today practically the only alternative to the first development scenario, that is, slow extinction, with “anesthesia” in the form of subsidized support, with no future prospects. Without creating a sustainable society of the new type, corresponding to the specifics and structure of the economy of the post-industrial period, no sustainable economic development of agrarian regions is possible. To do this, it is necessary to use all the available factors that can become the primary cells of the future social structure, first of all we can and should talk about those social groups that, for whatever reason, would like to build it, and it is in rural areas [19, 20].

At the same time, it should be noted that the territorial production agglomeration creates the widest opportunities for professional and social growth, due to the constant self-development of the system, its need for specialists will continuously increase. In general, the requirements for the competence of specialists in agglomeration structures are likely to differ significantly from the current professional qualifications structure. In particular, there will obviously be a need for specialists who combine several professions, the level of education of which allows them, in fact, to work at the “interface” of the professions. This is especially true, of course, of managerial managers. At the same time, within the framework of an agglomeration cluster, the requirements for a formalized education, oriented only towards confirmation of compliance with the qualification level, can be significantly reduced. It is also certain that the existing education system today is unable to provide specialists who fully possess the skills necessary to work in cluster structures at the middle and top management levels. Training of such specialists should be carried out directly, within the framework of the agglomeration cluster, without necessarily having to have some kind of formalization expressed by a diploma or some other evidence. However, it is much more important to have the necessary set of skills that allow coordination of all cluster elements, allowing them to interact in a coordinated manner. It is clear that for these purposes the head should have, in addition to technical knowledge, also a sufficient level of education in economics, law, and psychology. However, simply “collecting” diplomas will not do anything; you need
the ability to organize a systemic meta-action within an agglomeration structure that affects all spheres of activity of individuals.

In other words, the territorial-productive agglomeration must ensure the possibility of the concept, which in Western sociology is called “downshifting”, i.e. relocation of specialists to the countryside, as a rule, with some loss of income, but with a more comfortable habitat.

5. Conclusion
Based on the above, we can draw the following conclusions:

1) exurbanization is a necessary element of territorial development in countries in the post-industrial phase of development;
2) at present, in Russia, the processes of exurbanization are of an initial nature, which does not meet the objectives of a country's development in the long term, like any other country that has completed an active phase of industrial development;
3) Russia has the necessary potential, in the form of free land, natural resources, etc. for accelerated development of exurbanization processes;
4) there are also a number of social strata capable of providing these processes with human capital;
5) the main element determining the possibility of exurbanization is the formation of a new infrastructure of rural areas in the production, social and institutional spheres;
6) the territorial-production agglomeration is proposed as the institutional basis for the exurbanization - a new form of organization of the territorial economy, covering the whole complex of economic relations within the territory;
7) the carrier basis for the functioning of the territorial-production agglomeration is the production and social infrastructure.

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