

Settlement sustainability as a result of the human and social capital development (on the example of the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe in the Republic of Crimea)¹

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Abstract. Sustainable development of territories is one of the key goals of global and national policy. However, despite the resonance and financial assistance, many territories still lag behind and suffer from social-economic crises due to the peculiarities of both economic specialization and local communities. In Russia, depopulation has affected not only certain types of settlements and localities but also macro-territories (such as the North and the Arctic), which is determined not only by economic backwardness but also by social atomization of local communities, i.e., weak social ties at the micro level. The government makes efforts to smooth out demographic contrasts within the country, providing lagging regions with additional funding in the form of federal transfers and subsidies (policy of participatory budgeting, national projects, and various target programs to support local projects). The population of the Crimean Peninsula, except for Sevastopol, has gradually decreased due to a number of reasons: the region's peripheral status, lagging social-economic development, proximity to the war zone, ethnic tensions, etc. However, some settlements do not lose their population and even manage to increase the number of residents. The authors consider one such settlement in different perspectives (historical prerequisites, economic specialization, features of social-economic and economic-geographical development, possibilities for accumulating social and human capital) and make a conclusion that its sustainability cannot be ensured only by additional funding for improvement projects and infrastructure construction.

Key words: sustainable development, settlement, rural areas, human capital, social capital, Crimea

DOI: 10.22394/2500-1809-2024-9-4-218-245

1. The article was prepared in the framework of a research grant funded by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation (grant ID: 075-15-2022-326)

Once upon a time there was space for grass and birds,
 And for the master's house under the tiles.
 In Nogai houses — no water, no stove,
 From ancient times, only a wasteland Kelichi.
 On these Nogai lands in the empty place
 Potemkin cut out an estate for Popov.
 From the small Popovka to the dacha Unlar
 Later we got large Biyuk-Onlar.
 V. Kasper (*The village...*, 2009)

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The concept of sustainable development implies maintaining a balance between natural, social-cultural, economic and energy systems, being one of the key tools for a comprehensive solution to global problems. It is within this concept that members of the United Nations General Assembly developed and approved the Resolution “Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” (Transforming..., 2024). It presents 17 main goals of sustainable development, which can be achieved through 169 tasks. As a result, the planet would be provided with equal access to the goods and resources necessary to meet the basic needs of the population and to realize human capital in all countries.

One of the goals is “sustainable cities and communities” (Goal 11): the Resolution proposes to solve a number of tasks to make cities and communities open, safe, viable and sustainable (To Make ..., 2024). A comfortable and safe urban environment is one of the global trends in spatial development: governments of different countries make efforts to modernize the environment in both megalopolises and other populated areas. The environmental situation has improved, urban spaces have been developed and contribute to the formation of social capital, new opportunities for the realization of human abilities appear, urban economy has transformed towards diversification, etc.

The Russian government had also contributed to the settlements' sustainability, focusing on supporting key settlements and rural agglomerations to preserve the collapsing system of rural settlements and counteract the reduction in population density of the territory (Guryanov, 2023). Urbanization and optimization of social infrastructure in the 2000s, a decrease in the level of living comfort intensified depopulation in certain areas of the country. A decrease in population is observed even in large cities: for instance, over the last twenty years, the industrial center of the Vologda Region, Cherepovets city, has lost about 10% of its residents. The population concentrates in the most developed cities and their agglomeration belts (Karachurina, Mkrtchyan, 2016: 56). To stabilize the social-economic situation and ensure the sustainable development of territories, the government implements a set of national projects to solve various problems of regional development and smooth out interregional differences (In-

dex..., 2021). However, the overall goal of these measures is to improve the standard of living and comfort in every locality, including in the sphere of realizing personal abilities.

The problem of realizing human capital in large cities and megalopolises is not as acute as in small towns and rural areas. Numerous field studies in Russian regions often reveal similar assessments of the situation by locals: “*we have nowhere to go*” (town of Nevel, Pskov Region), “*after the school was closed people started to leave*” (village of Semenovskoe, Kostroma Region), “*there is nowhere to go for a child, it is difficult to take one’s children to clubs in the district center*” (village of Ivankovo, Tula Region). Measures within the National Projects and numerous federal and regional programs also aim at leveling Russia’s internal heterogeneity. For instance, the state program “Integrated Development of Rural Areas” is to create conditions for the sustainable social-economic development of rural areas by reducing differences between the city and the village (State Program..., 2019).

There were many attempts to improve the living conditions of the rural population in the Russian history. Thus, with the onset of rural depopulation in the 1960s, the Soviet government took measures to transform rural settlements into “agro-towns” like experimental-demonstration settlements in the Ukrainian SSR (Gnes, 2010; BaytSYM, 2020) by optimizing the settlement system (resettlement of farmsteads and unpromising villages), introducing the planned multi-storey construction in large villages, improving the living conditions of villagers, prohibiting the construction of infrastructure facilities in “unpromising” villages (Shubina et al, 2023: 26) and so on. However, the problem of “lack of prospects” persisted, especially for younger generation, primarily due to the limited possibilities for the realization of human capital in the Soviet village.

The desire of the Soviet government to “put in order” all spheres of life in the country did affect the settlement system. Rapid industrialization, a growing share of workers and the development of industrial enterprises and service sector in large rural settlements contributed to the loss of agriculture’s special role in some rural settlements for which a new name was invented — urban-type settlements as a transitional form between the city and the village. They appeared in the 1920s (Trube, 1964), while the peak of granting the status of urban-type settlements came in the late Soviet period (Simagin, 2009: 20–27). According to the authorities’ idea, such settlements were to be transformed into cities in the future, but the peculiarities of the country’s development have preserved this type of settlement for a long time.

The question is how urban-type settlements should be classified — as cities or as rural settlements. Under the administrative reforms of the 2000s, the regional authorities made different decisions: some urban-type settlements formed rural settlements (like the urban-type

settlement of Pervomayskoe in the Republic of Crimea), others — urban settlements (like the urban-type settlement of Deputatsky in the Republic of Sakha) or even urban districts (like the urban-type settlement of Pelym in the Sverdlovsk Region). In any case, such a classification of the urban-type settlement is important due to determining the funding of settlement's development projects and its infrastructure (asphalt roads, street lighting, schools, etc.). Until recently, the population of urban-type settlements in Crimea had been considered urban, but in 2014, as part of administrative reforms, urban-type settlements were classified as rural.

Today, there are 58 urban-type settlements on the Crimean Peninsula, 56 of which belong to the Republic of Crimea and 2 to the federal city of Sevastopol (officially called urban settlements). In this article, we will consider the development features of the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe in the agricultural Krasnogvardeisky district (only 40 minutes' drive from the regional center Simferopol) and the influence of social and human capital on its sustainable social-economic development. The article is based on the works about Krasnogvardeisky district which was mainly considered by local historians as part of the Crimean Peninsula — the development of the district center of the urban-type settlement Krasnogvardeiskoe and the surrounding ethnic settlements — Estonian (Vilde, 2004), German (Cherkazyanova, 2007; Kasper, 2024; Gotovchikov, Gendin, 2011), Czech (The Chekh..., 2012), and Jewish (Gotovchikov, Gendin, 2009; 2011) (see also: Gotovchikov, 1995; 2017; Linevich, 2010; Yanchenko, 2013). The most informative book on the history of the village of Oktyabrskoe is V. Kasper's book *The Evstratovs and Others* on the history of the author's ancestors and the surrounding area (Kasper, 2005; 2006). In addition, there are some articles about Oktyabrskoe in the volume on Crimea in the *History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR* (Oktyabrskoe..., 1974), written in the Soviet propaganda vein, and in the volume on the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol *Cities and villages of Ukraine* (Urban-Type Settlement Oktyabrskoe, 2009).

The authors also studied cartographic materials and documents of the State Archive of the Republic of Crimea and the Russian State Archive of Economics, statistical data in the official reports, publications of the Tavricheskaya Scientific Archival Commission, statistical reviews, census materials on the websites of the Federal State Statistics Service (<https://rosstat.gov.ru>), the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (<https://www.ukrstat.gov.ua>), the journal *Demoscope Weekly* (<https://www.demoscope.ru>). Another important source of information was the local media — the regional newspaper *Lighthouse Lights* and Internet resources. In 2017–2021, the authors conducted many participant observations and interviews with local residents, activists, officials, specialists, entrepreneurs in the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe and the surrounding area, which allowed to clari-

fy some details that escaped the attention of documentarians, statisticians, and local historians.

The urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe is located in the central steppe part of the Crimean Peninsula, 25 km from the district center of Krasnogvardeiskoe and 43 km from the capital of the Republic of Crimea — the city of Simferopol. Oktyabrskoe is connected with other part of the region by the highways Dzhankoy–Simferopol, Oktyabrskoe–Sadovoe, Oktyabrskoe–Traktovoe and the railway Dzhankoy–Simferopol. The settlement has Elevatornaya railway station and Oktyabrskoe bus station but no public transport, despite an attempt to create a fleet of fixed-route taxis in the early 2010s. Administratively, Oktyabrskoe is a part of the Krasnogvardeisky municipal district as the only settlement in the Oktyabrskoe rural settlement² (until 2014 — Oktyabrsky village council). According to the Ukrainian legislation, Oktyabrskoe returned its historical name Biyuk-Onlar, and the Krasnogvardeisky district was renamed Kurman-sky (Resolution..., 2024).

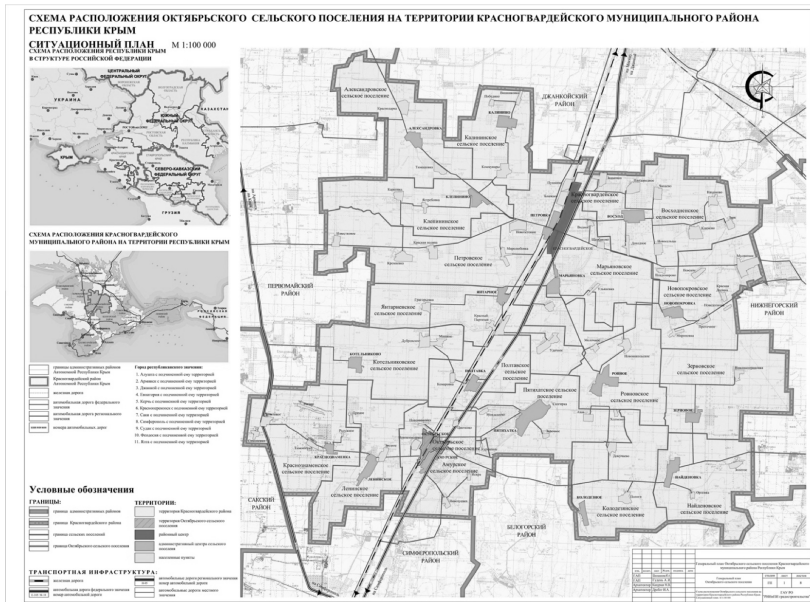


Fig. 1. Part of the situational plan of the Krasnogvardeisky municipal district (General Plan..., 2015)

2. After 2015, there is confusion: the urban-type settlement of Oktyabrskoe forms the Oktyabrskoe rural council, in which the executive authority is the Oktyabrskoe rural settlement administration.

The official year of founding the settlement Biyuk-Onlar is 1805, when it is first mentioned in documents (Lashkov: 1897, 113). However, some researchers suggest that Biyuk-Onlar was founded in 1787 after the allocation of lands to Potemkin's associate V. S. Popov and the construction of his estate — the Unlar dacha (Kasper, 2005), later the Biyuk-Onlar estate (Pushkarev, 2005). However, there had been settlements on this territory even before (Sarkizov-Serazini, 1925) such as the settlements of Biyuk-Onlar and Onlar mentioned in the 1874 Office Description of Crimea (Lashkov, 1888: 47). Some confusion is determined by the fact that in this area, there were two settlements with the same name until the early 20th century: the urban-type settlement under study and the one later renamed Russian Biyuk which in the 1960s became a part of the neighboring village of Amurskoe as its Russian Street. Until the last quarter of the 19th century, Biyuk-Onlar was a small Tatar village: villagers rented land and used several deep wells — a horse walked in a circle to pump water. The ethnic composition of the settlement depended on migration that contributed to the formation of a polyethnic structure of the population. The share of Crimean Tatars gradually decreased: in 1805, they made up 94.9% of the village population, but in 1926 — only 3.8% (List of..., 1927: 124–125).

The construction of the Lozovo-Sevastopol railway changed the trends in the social-economic development of the steppe regions of Crimea (Kuznetsov, 2004). The settlements through which the railway passed began to grow rapidly, while the former local (volost and sometimes district) centers began to shrink. In 1874, the Biyuk-Onlar railway station and a small station settlement were built on the Kelichi wasteland. By the early 20th century, it had transformed into a settlement with warehouses (1887), a post station (1895), a flour mill with a steam locomobile (1909), a one-class zemstvo school (1900), a library (1904), a church with a board of trustees (1910), a medical station (1910), a Sunday market (1914) and other infrastructure facilities (Urban-Type Settlement Oktyabrskoe, 2009). In fact, the year the railway station was opened can be considered the year of the settlement foundation, since the station was built on the territory of today's Oktyabrskoe and received its name from the previously mentioned village of Biyuk-Onlar (now a part of the village of Amurskoe). According to the 1897 census, the settlement of Biyuk-Onlar belonged to Pavel Vasilyevich Popov, and the number of its residents was 264 people³.

Grain produced in the surrounding villages was exported through the station, so Biyuk-Onlar soon became a local transport and trade center not only for the volost but also for the central part of Crimea. Unfortunately, the settlement was built up chaotically, as evidenced by some officials (Oktyabrskoe..., 1974: 343). At the railway station, grain barns and a fuel storage facility were built with local German entrepreneurs' investment (Kasper, 2005). At the same time, the volost cen-

3. Russian State Historical Archive. Collection 1290. Inventory 11. File 2267.

ter, the German village of Byuten (after 1948 — Khlopkovoe), located 7 kilometers from the settlement, began to shrink and by the mid-20th century became a part of the neighboring village of Leninskoe.

The Stolypin reform changed the settlement pattern of the area. Migrant peasants used loans from the Peasant Land Bank to get land plots and founded new settlements around Biyuk-Onlar. In 1906, there were 72 estates on both sides of the railway station on 17.5 desiatinas (Urban-Type Settlement Oktyabrskoe, 2009). In the late 1900s, the villages of Novoalekseevka, Novozuevka and Novoivanovka were founded. Migrations caused by the revolutionary events and the Civil War led to a sharp increase in the population in transport centers: in the late 1910s, Biyuk-Onlar became the center of economic and commercial life in the central part of Crimea, attracting population from neighboring volost centers (the villages of Byuten, Kokey, Tabuldy, Totanay). After the final formation of the Soviet authorities in 1921, the Crimean Revolutionary Committee transformed volosts into districts which were parts of regions (previously uyezds) (Decree..., 1921). Most volost centers lost the status of administrative centers; only 4 out of 35 became centers of the new districts (Den, 1930: 20).

The village of Biyuk-Onlar was the center of the Biyuk-Onlar district from October 18, 1921, to October 11, 1923, and was divided into village councils (Administrative-Territorial Changes..., 1999). After the new administrative reform, the district was divided between the Dzhankoy and Simferopol districts. In 1930, as part of the national building campaign, Biyuk-Onlar became the center of the new Biyuk-Onlar German National District (Resolution..., 1930). On March 1, 1931, the population of the district was 36.8 thousand people, of which 15.4 thousand were Germans (40.8% of the German population in the Crimean ASSR) (Krymskaya ASSR..., 1931: 138–139). In 1935, the northern part of the district was transformed into a separate Telmanovsky district (Kiselev, Kiseleva, 2024).

In 1938, the 40th aviation regiment of dive bomber under the command of N. A. Ostryakov was stationed near the settlement. In 1955–1996, the regiment was a part of the Black Sea Fleet as the 943rd naval missile-carrying aviation Konstanz Red-Banner Regiment of the Black Sea Fleet Air Force (Kuznetsov, Lobov, 2008). In July 1941, a fighter battalion under the command of F. S. Solovey was formed in the settlement to protect strategic facilities and communications; later, the battalion was transformed into the regional partisan detachment No. 21 based in the Zuya forests (about 100 people) (Gotovchikov, 2017: 46–48). During the German occupation of 1941–1944, there was a commandant's office in the settlement; 239 people were in the self-defense units (Romanko, 2005), of which 7 were from Biyuk-Onlar and the rest were prisoners of war and residents of other settlements in the region (Nemenko, 2020). From 1939 to 1944, the population of the region had almost halved (Broshevan, 1994: 119, 144): civilians, including Gypsies and Jews, were shot in a ditch on the outskirts of the

settlement (Tyagly, 2005; 2005b); its industrial and infrastructure facilities were destroyed; after the end of military operations in Crimea on May 18, 1944, more than three thousand Crimean Tatars (Bekirova, 2008) and representatives of other peoples of Crimea were deported. Later, the settlement was renamed Oktyabrskoe, and the Biyuk-Onlar district became Oktyabrsky (Decree..., 1945: 4). After the construction of a new elevator in 1952, the Biyuk-Onlar railway station was renamed Elevatornaya (Elevatornaya Railway Station..., 2024).

In the post-war period, the economy developed rapidly, administrative and infrastructure facilities were built: new schools, a district committee building (later a polyclinic), a hospital, kindergartens, shops, a cinema, a house of culture and lifestyle, etc. The declining role of agriculture in the economy, the developing service sector and a sharp increase in population contributed to the transformation of the settlement into urban type (1957). Oktyabrskoe (with multi-story micro-districts for workers of enterprises and military personnel of the aviation regiment) got a separate village council as the only settlement in its composition, surrounded by the territory of the Amur village council. Two construction sites — in the neighboring village of Amurskoe and in Oktyabrskoe approached each other, and the visual border between two settlements disappeared. Oktyabrskoe formed a “rural agglomeration” — a single space with neighboring villages of the Amur village council (Amurskoe, Novoalekseevka, Novoivanovka), the infrastructure of which had largely degraded, and their population was served mainly in Oktyabrskoe.

The next administrative reform of 1962 led to the consolidation of Crimean districts: the territory of the Oktyabrsky district became a part of the neighboring Krasnogvardeisky district, and some village councils were transferred to other districts (Vrublevsky, Artemenko, 2006: 7), i.e., Oktyabrskoe lost its status as an administrative center but retained its importance for settlements of the former district. Transport restrictions, difficult working conditions and low mobility of collective farmers from neighboring villages stimulated the development of service enterprises in Oktyabrskoe, making it a local service center for collective farmers from neighboring villages; thus, the so-called “Oktyabrsky bush” of villages was formed. In the Soviet period, Oktyabrskoe had a mixed specialization — food industry, military facilities, and service sector. The industry was represented by a dairy plant, a creamery, a winery, and a bakery, which processed agricultural products from the surrounding collective farms. A significant share of the population was employed at the regiment’s facilities. In addition, there were many social infrastructure and trade organizations, motor transport enterprises, a hotel, a cafe, an oil depot, a coal warehouse, associations of agricultural machinery and chemistry (Yanchenko, 2013: 378), repair shops, logistics enterprises, a savings bank, construction organizations, etc., including those functioning only on the territory of the aviation regiment.

After the collapse of the USSR, Oktyabrskoe entered a stage of social-economic crisis: most enterprises were closed, and due to insuffi-

cient funding, social infrastructure facilities fell into disrepair; state organizations were replaced by private shops, cafes, and retail spaces. The peak of the restaurant business was in the 2000s, when more than 10 bars, restaurants and cafes operated in the settlement. The development of the retail business can be divided into three stages by its features: (1) the 1990s — the dominance of small traders bringing goods from Odessa and Kharkov (they used trains stopping at the Elevatornaya station, especially the “Odessa” train No. 650 from Simferopol); the prevalence of informal spontaneous trade; trade participants represented different professions who were left without a livelihood; (2) the 2000s — development of small shops, formalization of market trade, “Moldovans”⁴, reconstruction of retail spaces; people who chose the industry as a source of income remain in trade; (3) the 2010s — construction of new retail spaces, dominance of large stores and supermarkets, first chain stores, stagnation and death of the “clothing market”.

In the late 1980s, the flow of repatriates rushed to the Crimean Peninsula: they did not found new settlements but integrated into existing ones in the form of compact residential areas (Bugai, 2002). According to the authorities, in 2012 there were 297 such areas in Crimea, and the majority of their population were Crimean Tatars (Integration of the Deported..., 2013: 15). Compact residential areas were created in the settlement Oktyabrskoe: agricultural lands of the neighboring S. M. Kirov’s collective farm (west and southwest of Oktyabrskoe) were given over for construction. In the early 1990s, the repatriates created the enterprise “Crimean Forest” for construction and improvement projects, which later became one of the main employers in the settlement (Yanchenko, 2013: 488–490). Residential areas of Oktyabrskoe suffered from the lack of infrastructure (roads, water supply) (Yanchenko, 2013: 418) which was gradually constructed with private investment in the 2000s (including with the assistance of the UNDP CIPD — Crimea Integration and Development Program). In 1994, the mosque was opened. The contemporary architectural ensemble of the central part of Oktyabrskoe has taken shape since the 2000s — residential buildings were gradually demolished and service organizations (shops, pharmacies, social infrastructure facilities) were built in their place. The central axis of the settlement is Station Lane from the railway station to the hospital, with shops, a food market, pharmacies, a church, a gymnasium, a clothing market, and a park; it is crossed by the main streets of Oktyabrskoe — Lenin and Karl Marx.

The social-economic crisis of the 1990s contributed to the rapid impoverishment of the population, which worsened the crime situation; street children and homeless people became commonplace. The growth of debt in wages and social benefits, the naturalization

4. Traders of clothes and shoes, who came to the village en masse on Thursdays; initially they were from Moldova, later Crimeans, including local gypsies, but they were still called Moldovans.

of wages, problems with housing and communal services led to the formation of protest professional, ethnic and territorial associations. The most famous were the protests of doctors that blocked the railway station and declared a hunger strike (Yanchenko, 2013: 462–463), demanding the payment of wage arrears, and the protests of Crimean Tatars defending their rights.

In the post-Soviet period, the economy of the settlement was restructured. The destruction of the collective-farm systems led to the rupture of production chains; the place of the disbanded 943rd aviation regiment and the liquidated state enterprises of the food industry were taken by private entrepreneurs. Despite legalization efforts, there is a high share of the informal economy (especially in trade and agriculture), which is one of the reasons of Oktyabrskoe's budget deficit, which is covered with transfers from budgets of other levels. Most of the budget goes to the social sphere. Many production facilities were privatized; of those that existed in Soviet times, the following continued their operations: Oktyabrsky Cognac Factory (was declared bankrupt in 2021), Oktyabrskoe Elevator, and a district consumer society (Yanchenko, 2013: 564–566). Some households managed to make peasant farms based on the collective-farm funds ("Agricultural Machinery", some objects of the S. M. Kirov collective farm). In the early 2010s, a distribution center for the ATB supermarket chain (after 2014 — "PUD") was opened on the construction site of the "Aquanika" soft drinks plant. Collection points for ferrous and non-ferrous scrap metals were opened, since some villagers dismantled abandoned buildings, regiment infrastructure, power lines, and other "ownerless" objects to make a living.

To serve apartment buildings, the housing and communal services enterprise was established ("Communal Economy"); however, large amounts of homeowners' debt, a shortage of specialists due to delays in wage payments (Interview..., 2014), and the lack of subsidies from the authorities determined the housing and communal services sector falling into disrepair. A significant share of apartments was disconnected from central heating and hot water supply, cold water was supplied for several hours a day; due to the theft of fuel for boiler houses, the temperature regime was not maintained even at social infrastructure facilities in winter, and electric heaters were used everywhere. After the gasification began, all boiler houses were converted to gas in 2011 (Yanchenko, 2013: 604), which made it possible to maintain the temperature regime. After 2014, the "Communal Economy" was liquidated, and apartment buildings were served by private enterprises and homeowners' associations headed by activists (later a municipal organization was created). However, due to the irrational spending of funds by private enterprises, a shortage of specialists and a low level of payments, the housing and communal services sector of Oktyabrskoe is still in a difficult situation (as of April 1, 2022, the level of payment in the Krasnogvardeisky district for heat

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supply was 40%, for the maintenance of houses and adjacent territories — 35.9%) (Monitoring ..., 2022).

A significant part of locals was employed in educational, health care and social protection institutions, which were also subject to reduction. Of five preschool institutions that operated in 1991, only three remained in 2000. In 1993, the eight-year school was transformed into a school with teaching in the Crimean Tatar language; in 2008, the school No. 2 received the status of a gymnasium. There is a children's music school, a house of culture and a sports school "Intersport" (in the village of Amurskoe), the Oktyabrskoe district hospital, a polyclinic and an ambulance station; a boarding house for the elderly and disabled and a social service center were opened and expanded. In the 2010s, private medical centers were opened, and in the 2000s, dental offices.

The agro-industrial sector is represented by private enterprises and peasant farms that grow grain crops on the share lands leased from residents of surrounding villages. Entrepreneurs are also engaged in cattle breeding and production of flour, compound feed, meat and dairy, bakery and confectionery for sale in the settlement and in its environs. Workers are mostly not registered and receive wages "in envelopes". In the 1990s, personal subsidiary plots played a significant role in agricultural production (livestock and poultry, fruits and vegetables). Some residents were employed in other agro-industrial enterprises of the district — "Oktyabrskoe" (village of Poltavka), "Oktyabrsky Incubator" (village of Tsvetkovo), etc. The local food industry is represented by small producers of bakery and confectionery. Trade is an important part of economic development: there are two markets (food and clothing; in the 2000s, there were five), retail stores of various specializations, chain supermarkets, pharmacies, catering establishments, beauty salons (hairdressers), hotels, service and gas stations, sports clubs, etc.

A significant factor of the settlement's sustainability is its demographic situation: Oktyabrskoe has gone through different stages that can be conditionally identified according to the characteristics of the population growth dynamics (Table 1). Thus, the favorable economic, transport and geographical position provided the settlement Oktyabrskoe with the opportunity to survive in various crises that had repeatedly devastated neighboring settlements. Despite the deprivation of the district-center status, its population continued to grow due to a more advantageous location in relation to the district center of Krasnogvardeiskoe. Travel time on the morning electric train from the Elevatornaya station to Simferopol is 36 minutes, while from the Urozhaynaya station (located in the district center of Krasnogvardeiskoe) — one hour. Oktyabrskoe is a part of the influence zone of the Simferopol-Sevastopol agglomeration, as evidenced by the intensive bus and rail passenger service (Gusakov, 2022). The settlement and Simferopol are connected by 11 pairs of electric trains and 23 pairs of bus routes on the Oktyabrskoe–Simferopol route per day. There are seven daily municipal bus routes connecting the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe with the villages of the "Oktyabrsky

bush” and the district center (Register..., 2024). A part of the working-age population is employed in Simferopol organizations and makes up a significant share of the labor pendulum migration to Simferopol from the northern direction. Therefore, to some extent, the settlement is a “sleeping area” for the regional capital: according to the head of the rural administration in 2017, out of 5 thousand residents of working age, about 2 thousand were employed outside the settlement and 1.7 thousand — in Oktyabrskoe organizations (Annual..., 2017). Since there are no higher or secondary specialized institutions in the settlement and only one agro-industrial technical school, most students from Oktyabrskoe study in educational institutions of Simferopol, less often in other cities of the region (Sevastopol, Yevpatoria) and Russia (Moscow, Saint Petersburg). Some of them travel to and from their institutions every day, contributing to the flow of educational pendulum migration.

Table 1. Stages of the demographic development of the urban settlement Oktyabrskoe

Stage	Population growth	Features
Stagnation until 1920	almost doubled (1805 — 130 people; 1915 — 232)	a small settlement that under the Russian occupation of Crimea transformed from a Crimean Tatar mono-ethnic settlement to a multi-ethnic settlement dominated by Russians; its stability was ensured by the construction of the Biyuk-Onlar railway station
Rapid growth (1920s–1990s)	increased 11 times (1926 — 839 people; 1989 — 9,487)	the planned approach to social-economic development contributed to the attraction of settlers who arrived at the railway station and were distributed among neighboring collective farms; the aviation regiment and its housing construction played a major role in the formation of the local community; the settlement lost its agricultural specialization and became a service center for the surrounding rural settlements
Stabilization (since the 1990s)	almost did not change (2001 — 10,904 people; 2021 — 10,932)	the Soviet transport, service and trade specialization helped to maintain a stable demographic situation despite the social-economic crisis, the declining standard of living and the high level of unemployment due to the closure of enterprises and the disbandment of the regiment

In general, Oktyabrskoe corresponds to the regional trend for the urban-type settlements (Fig. 2). Oktyabrskoe’s demographic stability is determined by its location, while for the urban-type settlement

of Krasnogvardeyskoe it is ensured by the district status and the concentration of large agro-industrial enterprises (“Peoples’ Friendship Meat Processing Plant”, “People’s Friendship Nova”, etc.), and for the urban-type settlement of Gvardeiskoe — by the proximity to the Simferopol urban district and intensive suburban passenger routes. The population of the urban-type settlement of Oktyabrskoe has grown slowly due to the positive value of the migration balance (inflow from surrounding villages and other regions of Russia, from which locals (ethnic Russians) who left in 1991–2013 often return), which compensates for the negative natural increase (Fig. 3).

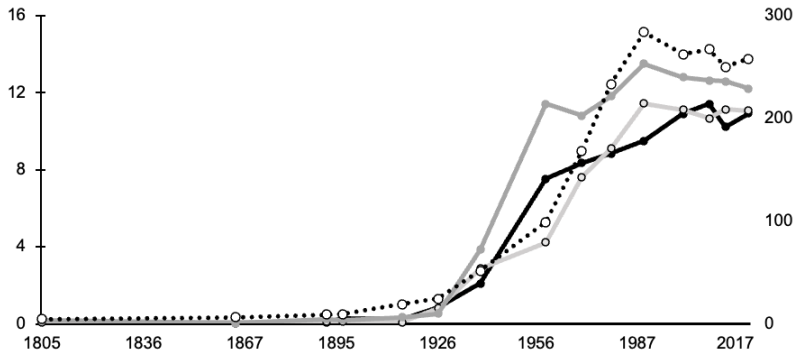


Fig. 2. Population dynamics in the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe and neighboring villages, in thousand

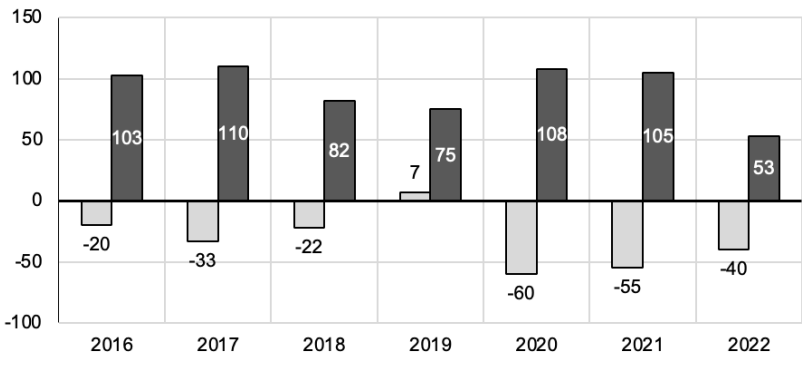


Fig. 3. Population dynamics in the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe in 2016–2022, in number of people

The possibilities of accumulation and realization of human and social capital contribute to the attraction and cooperation of people in the settlement. Human capital is a set of individual characteristics that allow a person to be successful in the economic and in a broader social

sense, which helps to increase the general well-being (Sorokin, Popova, 2022: 160). The development of the settlement and its ability to attract qualified specialists determines the high level of human capital, which is impossible for many rural areas suffering from depopulation. In the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe, there are the following conditions for attracting specialists and increasing human capital:

- *Employment opportunities.* The main organizations-employers are the logistics center “PUD”, the complex “Bakht”, the bakery of I. V. Kachura (formerly “Ros-Agro” private enterprise), the Oktyabrskoe elevator, the municipal housing and communal services enterprise, the Oktyabrskoe Electrical Networks, trade enterprises and budgetary institutions (schools, medical organizations, preschool institutions, etc.). Intensive transport links with Simferopol provide the opportunity for daily labor pendulum migrations.
- *Education.* There are three municipal schools designed for 1.9 thousand students (1.5 thousand in the 2023/2024 academic year). One school is specialized for teaching in the Crimean Tatar language. Schools accept children not only from the settlement but also from the neighboring villages that do not have schools (Novoalekseevka, Novoivanovka, Tsvetkovo, partly Amurskoe). There are three preschool institutions and one branch; there are no secondary specialized or higher educational institutions.
- *Medical care.* Healthcare is represented by the Oktyabrskoe District Hospital, adult, children’s and dental clinics, and an ambulance station. Due to the shortage of specialists in state organizations, private medical centers were opened, since they can invite specialists from other medical institutions of Crimea by agreement. Growing prosperity and a shortage of doctors make locals use the services of two private medical organizations — “Medical Park” and “Unimed”.
- *Cultural activities.* Since 1958, the children’s music school has been operating (about 150 students); until the early 2010s, the children’s and youth creativity center, tourist and local history clubs operated in the premises of the former officers’ house but were closed after the building was recognized unsafe (Village Oktyabrskoe..., 2024). There are two libraries, “informal” musical performers of various genres, street graffiti artists, etc. Two dance ensembles — “Small Spring” and “Breeze” — and the veterans’ choir operate at the cultural center. In 1999–2012, the “Wind of Hope” song contest was held in Oktyabrskoe.
- *Sports activities.* In the early 2000s, the sports complex was built in the village of Amurskoe, which started working only in 2022 as the “Intersport” sports school. There is the private sports club “ProSport”. Local enthusiasts organized kickboxing, boxing, mixed martial arts, and football sections. In the

late 2000s, football matches were held between teams from surrounding villages; the gymnasium had a basketball team; there were also illegal sports clubs (“gyms”).

- *Entertainment.* There are several cafes, fast food establishments, food delivery services, beauty salons and a barbershop (hairdressing, manicure and other services are also provided at home); delivery points of federal marketplaces, a branch of the Crimean Post and SDEK; enterprises of household and funeral services; a bank branch (until 2014 Privat-Bank, later RNKB). Concerts on various occasions are organized in the house of culture. Not far from the settlement, there are ponds for fishing. Locals can receive the missing services in the city of Simferopol — weekend trips “to the city” by private and public transport are common.
- *Tourist and recreational resources* are scarce, although there is potential for their development. The historical architecture of Oktyabrskoe, as in many southern settlements, has practically not survived. Artesian wells with a unique mineralogical composition are not used. The arboretum, founded by the Lustikh family in 1880 and located in the village of Pyatikhatka requires improvement. Not far from the settlement, there is a sign “Geographical center of Crimea”. In the village of Azov, there is an old well from the early 20th century of an original design typical for steppe regions, and in the village of Rovnoe — the architecture of the Mennonites who lived there before the World War II (Shpakov, 2014). In 2008, with the help of former military personnel, schoolchildren and investors, the people’s museum of the history of the 943rd aviation regiment opened. In 2023, in the framework of the national project “Culture”, its exhibitions were technically re-equipped and expanded, a department dedicated to the village of Oktyabrskoe was opened. The museum became a branch of the Krasnogvardeisky District Museum of Local History.

In addition to human capital, social capital is an intangible factor of the economic development of the territory. According to M. Granovetter, society consists of networks of social connections that can provide individuals with access to resources. He identified two types of connections: strong (between relatives and friends) and weak (between acquaintances, colleagues, neighbors) (Rogozin, 2023: 17–18). In Oktyabrskoe, weak connections are most important, given the history of the formation of its population: an aviation regiment and the compact settlement of its military personnel in neighboring four-five-storey buildings created a community of people employed in the same field and experiencing similar problems (constant moving, isolation from relatives, housing and communal services problems, etc.). Some of the military retirees are members of the regiment’s council of veterans, which performs an organizational function. There is

also the council of veterans of war, labor and military service. These councils organize events dedicated to various memorable dates, help former servicemen and veterans of the settlement, patronize thematic monuments. Some of the military pensioners joined the self-defense units during the events of 2014.

The disbandment of the regiment, the emigration of many servicemen with families, and the transfer of “vacated” social housing to vulnerable groups led to the ghettoization of certain areas: for instance, the settlement of the Roma in two-story houses on Kondrashin Street and of low-income families in the hostel on Tsurtsunia Street contributed to the marginalization and atomization of these spaces (piles of garbage, degradation of public places, lack of proper house maintenance). However, some educated military pensioners and their families remained in the settlement and laid the foundation for the local civil activism as initiators of public projects and supporters of common efforts to solve the problems of the settlement. The weak state support in solving social issues contributed to the locals’ belief to “rely only on their own strength” even in relation to agricultural enterprises’ debts (Yanchenko, 2013: 479). An important factor of solidarity as a social capital generator (Zayakina, 2022: 110–111) were historical contradictions within both the village community and the Crimean society. Russians (59% of population in the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe in 2021) and assimilated Ukrainians, many of whom were former military personnel, painfully perceived the collapse of the USSR and the reduction of the role of the Russian language in the social-political space (Russian Community of Crimea, 2018: 15).

According to the public opinion polls, Russians considered the government’s policy of administrative support for the Ukrainian language in significant areas of public life to be “forced Ukrainization”, which determined the formation of pro-Russian social-political organizations. The most influential and consistent one was the Russian Community of Crimea, which united representatives of different social strata and had its cell in the Oktyabrskoe — its members were activists in various public projects and events. The Russian Community performed an organizing function, often sponsored various events and projects, and was also a formal institution for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the Russian-speaking population, interacting with Russia’s authorities. Russians as the core of the Crimean society have a complex regional identity of Crimeans (Baranov, 2014: 53).

Among the peoples of the region, the Crimean Tatars have shown the highest level of social mobilization in defending their rights to restore historical justice and preserve their culture (although the middle and younger generations rarely use their native language in everyday communication) (Dashkevich, 2008). The feeling of dissatisfaction with the place of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimean society and helplessness in solving their problems contributed to the radicalization of their protest and to the formation of alternative institutions such as the Kurul-

tai of the Crimean Tatars (a form of the national social-political organization of the ethnic group like a national congress) and its executive body — the Mejlis (in 2016, it was declared an extremist organization) with its representative office in the settlement. Until 2014, the violation of the rights of the Crimean Tatars was manifested in the delay in the legalization of property rights (for instance, in Oktyabrskoe, it took 18 years after the reconstruction of the mosque to get an official state document for the land the mosque was built on), discrimination at work in budgetary institutions (among officials there was an unspoken ban on appointing Crimean Tatars to management positions in schools, hospitals, kindergartens and other organizations), denial in the right to political representation, etc. But despite all this, in electoral terms, Crimean Tatars more often took a pro-Ukrainian than a pro-Russian position, supporting Ukraine's European integration course (Sasse, 2007). After 2014, at the micro level the Crimean Tatars united around the local religious organization "Buyuk-Onlar". Their rejection of the 2014 results increased their voluntary segregation and attracted the authorities' attention to their activities (Zhilin, 2017). In 2019, some locals became defendants in the Krasnogvardeisky case of the "Hizb ut Tahrir" (the organization was recognized as terrorist and banned in Russia).

Trust in religious institutions is traditionally the highest in the region (Report on ..., 2011: 15). In addition to Muslim ones, there are other religious associations in the settlement: the most widespread is the parish of the Orthodox Church of the Icon of the Mother of God "To Be Worthy", the leader of which is the rector of the church. The parish restores and maintains the church building and territory, helps socially vulnerable people, celebrates religious holidays, and conducts prayer services. During the crisis of 2008–2009, the parish defended the rector of the church in a conflict with the new leadership of the diocese (Yanchenko, 2013: 579). Members of the district Cossack society help in guarding the church. There is also a Korean community of the Presbyterian Church (of the Magnificat) and an association of Christian Baptists. Until 2017, there was a congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses; after the organization was banned in Russia, the missionaries went underground.

There are also associations based on other criteria: political parties — previously, cells of Ukrainian political parties (Party of Regions, All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherhood", Party "Union", Communist Party of Ukraine, etc.), and after 2014, representative offices of Russian parties ("United Russia", Communist Party, Liberal Democratic Party, "Homeland" Party, etc.); housing and utility associations (of homeowners for servicing apartment buildings); initiative groups (to solve common problems of, for instance, to protest against the construction of a waste processing plant in the late 2000s, etc.); charity projects (like "Territory of Good. Crimea", which helps people in difficult life situations, supports military personnel and collects humanitarian aid for the population in the armed conflict zone), etc. Various projects implemented by local enthusiasts are an indicator of the accumulated social

capital. For instance, in Oktyabrskoe from 1994 to 2008, the Atlas-SV television company operated: it was headed by former military personnel and covered the events and everyday life of the settlement and the district. In the second half of the 2000s, the “Krasnogvardeisky Express” newspaper was published. Since 2012, the information Internet resource “Oktyabrskoe. I Live Here!” has been operating (Information ..., 2024). In addition, there are many public pages in social networks, and the most numerous online community is the VK group “Oktyabrskoe is the Center of Crimea” (18.2 thousand subscribers).

The social development of the Oktyabrskoe settlement can be divided into the following stages with their inherent features (Table 2).

Table 2. Stages of social development of the Oktyabrskoe settlement

Stage	Timeframe	Features
Formation	until 1783	formation of the settlement and its economy; its main population — Crimean Tatars — were engaged in animal husbandry, gypsies — in handicrafts
Stagnation	1783–1870	due to the dominance of the customary law (adat) in the Crimean Khanate and to the lack of documents after 1783, Crimean Tatars lost a significant part of their land plots (Shevchuk, 2011: 311); due to the strengthening administrative control and the spread of muhajirs, Crimean Tatars migrated to the Ottoman Empire; land is concentrated in the hands of landowners
Transformation	1870–1920	most peasants are landless; influx of foreign colonists and Russian settlers; construction of a railway station and development of a non-agrarian sphere of employment; influx of settlers after the Stolypin reform (bought land with loans from the Peasant Land Bank)
Self-organization	1920s	reduction of the working-age population due to famine and epidemics in the early 1920s; solution of the “land question”, development of initiative and self-organization, land cultivation partnerships, artels and entrepreneurship under the New Economic Policy; development of the service sector; elimination of illiteracy; “dekulakization” of some peasants
Indigenization and collectivization	1930s	Biyuk-Onlar as the center of the German national region within the indigenization policy and due to a significant share of Germans in the population of the surrounding area; forced collectivization (completed by 1932); closure of religious organizations; development of the service sector and social infrastructure; transformation of the settlement into a service center for the population of the surrounding area; diversification of the economy (reduction in the share of agriculture)

Stage	Timeframe	Features
Occupation	1941–1944	total deportation of the local German population; German occupation in 1941–1944; opening of the church after a ten-year break (1941); execution of “undesirable elements” (Gypsies, Jews, partisans, party workers, sympathizers of the Soviet regime, prisoners of war) in ditches on the outskirts of Biyuk-Onlar and at the prisoner of war collection station near the village of Juma-Ablam (now a part of the village of Traktovoe); collaborationism (self-defense units, self-government and law enforcement units)
Migrations	1944–1989	total deportations of the peoples of Crimea (including from the Biyuk-Onlar station) and the resettlement of collective farmers from other regions of the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR; rapid development of the service sector and social infrastructure at the expense of the state; improving quality of life; since 1957, the status of an urban type settlement; further diversification of the economy; formation of the “October bush” of settlements; construction of apartment buildings for employees of enterprises and military personnel of the aviation regiment; the state as the main investor; organizing force — the CPSU, trade union cells, aviation regiment
“Wild capitalism” and repatriation	1990 — early 2000s	repatriation of Crimean Tatars and the growth of individual housing construction; bankruptcy, plunder and privatization of state enterprises; development of private trade and the service sector; growing interethnic tensions; disbandment of the regiment and emigration of a significant share of the military personnel and their families; development of farming and private entrepreneurship; self-organization to resolve social issues; entrepreneurs as the main sponsors of social projects and improvement; weakening state power; prevalence of nepotism in the appointment of heads of various organizations (continues to this day)
Legalization	early 2000s — 2014	the strengthening role of the state in the control of economic activity and taxation; dependence of local authorities on private business due to budget deficit; development of the community institution to solve common problems of the settlement; dominance of private initiative in the development of culture and society; activities of the UNDP CIDP

Stage	Timeframe	Features
Russian	since 2014	state investments into all spheres of the economy; partial filling of the local budget, improvement of territories, construction and reconstruction of infrastructure facilities, benefits for business development; diminishing role of social institutions and locals' motivation for self-organization; increasing administrative control; increasing opportunities for the realization of human capital through participation in various projects

In 1995–2014, the external force that contributed to the formation and development of public institutions was the United Nations Development Program's Crimea Development and Integration Program (UNDP CIDP), which worked in several directions: community-oriented local development; sustainable development in Crimea (rural transformation models and advisory services); human security monitoring and public dialogue; equal opportunities and rights for women, etc. The key mechanism for implementing such projects was to consolidate the efforts of the authorities, foreign investors and the local population (their financial contribution was to ensure a responsible attitude towards the result). According to the 2013 data, more than 700 urban and rural settlements managed to identify and solve social problems related to improving living conditions — developed self-organization institutions (communities), opened fieldsher-midwife stations, constructed and reconstructed water pipelines, repaired social infrastructure facilities, created agricultural cooperatives, etc.), and about 40 million US dollars were invested in these projects. In Oktyabrskoe, the UNDP CIDP coordinators worked together with the authorities and local activists to consolidate people to solve common problems (the creation of a public organization (community) is a mandatory condition for the settlement's participation in projects); to develop tolerance and reduce interethnic tensions (reconstruction of public spaces, modernization of educational institutions, construction of infrastructure facilities in areas of compact residence of repatriates); to increase the sustainability of personal subsidiary farms in the "private sector" (like construction of additional water supply systems).

In Crimea, the level of local patriotism remains quite high, especially in rural areas, which is proved by the sociological surveys of 2010–2011 (Report..., 2011: 53) and our participant observations in the Krasnogvardeisky district in 2017–2021. The vast area of the Oktyabrsky district and the stages of its formation determined the informal names of its parts — the so-called *vernacular districts*, i.e., images of the territory that do not have an official status and are used in everyday life by locals (Pavlyuk, 2009: 53). The vernacular stage can be traced in many cities and large settlements (Urbanist..., 2017) and are the result of everyday life (Kalutskov, 2013: 7–8). For instance, in Simferopol, people use previous toponyms to name city

districts (Maryino, Freedom, Peter's Beam, TV Plant, Cube, Moscow Ring, etc.).

Oktyabrskoe is also conditionally divided into the following parts:

- the center (bazaar, market, church) of trade and economic life not only of the settlement but also of the southern part of the Krasnogvardeisky district; there is a food market for local produce, various shops, cultural and religious centers, and other attractors;
- officers' houses — residential areas consisting of apartment buildings (two-, four- and five-storey) built in the 1960s–1980s for servicemen of the 943rd aviation regiment and their families; all these areas make up Kondrashin Street (named after the regiment's pilot and Hero of the Soviet Union);
- Tsurtsumiya (Tsurka) — another multi-storey residential area for military personnel built in the 1980s and constituting Tsurtsumiya Street (named after the regiment's pilot and Hero of the Soviet Union);
- BAM and cooperative houses — a multi-story residential area along Krzhizhanovsky Street, built for employees of the motor transport mechanization base (BAM) and with funds of housing cooperatives of the *perestroika* era (in the late 1980s);
- “Agromachinery” — a part of the settlement next to the “Agricultural Machinery” branch that existed during the Soviet period;
- Mulberry estate — a compact residential area of Crimean Tatar repatriates who received land after returning to Crimea and built houses on the site of former gardens in the 1990s;
- Winery — houses around the Oktyabrsky Cognac Factory;
- Amurskoe — a village that merged with the settlement, the center of the Amur rural settlement (village council) surrounding Oktyabrskoe;
- Behind the line — a part of the settlement located to the right of the railroad tracks and consisting of one-storey houses (“private sector”);
- Elevator — houses near the Oktyabrskoe elevator, built for its builders in the 1950s;
- Behind the hospital — a part of the settlement behind the Oktyabrskoe District Hospital, consisting of several apartment buildings;
- Near the mosque — streets built in the 1990s after the return of repatriates, near the mosque;
- Park (Victory Park) — the only park in the settlement improved after 2014, where Victory Day ceremonies are held (like flower-laying ceremonies by high school graduates and newlyweds);
- Kvadratka — a picnic spot for residents of apartment buildings in forest belts dividing agricultural lands, behind the Sim-

feropol-Dzhankoy highway (called the “Moscow highway” or “highway”);

- Airdrome — abandoned territory of the former aviation regiment;
- Alekseevka — the neighboring village of Novoalekseyevka which belongs to the Amur rural settlement; due to its “unpromising” status in the Soviet times, it was deprived of almost all social infrastructure facilities, so its residents use the services of the settlement’s organizations.

Some objects were given the names of organizations that previously existed there. For example, the complex of shops built on the site of the former fire station is called “Fire Department” (or “Under the Blue Roof”), and on the site of the closed public bathhouse — “At the Bathhouse”. Entrepreneurial activities have gradually changed the appearance of the settlement and form new local “toponyms”, while the old ones lose relevance and disappear. Thus, the blocks of one-storey adobe houses in the central part of the settlement were called shanghaies due to their chaotic, squat and unsightly appearance (some houses are a legacy of the unsystematic development at the turn of the 19th — 20th centuries). Until 2014, during the operation of the North Crimean irrigation and water supply canal, there were two recreational zones — “an artificial pond” (in Ukrainian) and “canal” (a swimming area on the Krasnogvardeyskaya branch of the canal). Educational institutions also have informal names: school No. 1 — “first school”, school-gymnasium — “second school” or “Russian school” (among Crimean Tatar schoolchildren), school No. 3 — “Tatar school” (due to teaching in the Crimean Tatar language). The renaming campaign of 1948 did not erase the old names from the locals’ memory, and they are still used: the settlement is called Biyuk, Russian Street — Russian Biyuk, the area around the village of Turgenevo — Besharan, the district center — Kurman, etc. Therefore, if someone says that he is going to Kurman, it means that he will visit the district authorities to resolve some issues.

Besides the factors that contribute to the preservation and attraction of the population to the urban-type settlement of Oktyabrskoe, there are factors that increase the outflow of its residents:

- social-economic changes: the disbandment of the regiment, the movement of the families of military personnel to Russia and the disappearance of industrial enterprises were the main reasons for the outflow of the population in the 1990s; the outflow intensified interethnic and social tensions after the beginning of the Crimean Tatars repatriation, general dissatisfaction with various problems (arrears in the payment of wages to the public sector employees, a critical situation in the housing and communal services sector, disconnection of electricity and water supply, etc.);
- low wages: a large gap between the level of wages in Oktyabrskoe, Krasnogvardeyskoe and Simferopol stimulates la-

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bor pendulum migration, but there are also opposite examples, when specialists come to work in the settlement every day from the district center and the capital (doctors, teachers); spatial inequality of incomes contributes to the loss of qualified specialists and talented youth, i.e., to the reduction in the quality of human and social capital;

- nepotism, appointment of “one’s people” to important positions contributes to the outmigration of professional personnel from Oktyabrskoe; previously, there was a widespread “sale of positions” by the district and settlement authorities;
- underdeveloped service sector (lack of entertainment and public catering establishments) increases the motivation of the working-age population, especially the youth, to move to more developed settlements — first to get education or job, later move permanently;
- the limited realization of human capital contributes to the motivation to move to settlements with a more developed social and creative infrastructure, which is typical for families with children and for pensioners who suffer from the lack of infrastructure and activities similar to the “Moscow Longevity” program;
- worldview characteristics: a situation typical for relatively small settlements — “everyone knows each other” — is not comfortable for the entire population, so some people choose to work in other settlements to ensure privacy;
- a decrease in the level of educational and medical services forces parents to turn to private medical centers and hire tutors for additional preparation for exams; there is a shortage of teachers and doctors and a significant share of employees of retirement and pre-retirement age.

These factors affect the social-economic development of settlement, especially its such strategic sectors as education, health care and culture. Educational and medical organizations of Oktyabrskoe suffer from a staff shortage, but the municipality does not have resources and authority to resolve this issue, so in the future this problem will deepen due to the retirement of a significant share of employees.

Thus, the historical and social-economic features of the development of the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe follow the general trends in the development of settlements of this type on the Crimean Peninsula due to the similar factors of their formation: territories with a favorable economic and transport-geographical position and a diversified economic structure formed in Soviet times. The outflow of population caused by the transformation of the economic specialization in the post-Soviet period was compensated by a powerful flow of repatriates. However, the increasing gap between the levels of social-economic development in the city and rural areas contributed to the concentration of qualified specialists in cities. The ability of urban-

type settlements to maintain the quality of the population and adapt to social-economic challenges has become the most important factor of their sustainability. The effect of the “low base” of agriculturally overpopulated rural settlements of Crimea, experiencing a shortage of mechanisms for the realization of human capital, will positively affect the demographic and economic situation of urban-type settlements. Important factors of their sustainability are the efforts of the authorities to develop social infrastructure, improve the standard of living, facilitate business activities, form social capital, increase the opportunities for realizing abilities within the settlement and maintain social ties based on joint employment. In the urban-type settlement Oktyabrskoe, the development of social capital was determined by the joint employment in the aviation regiment and service enterprises, compact living in apartment buildings, a high level of education and the lack family ties. Therefore, the solidarity that formed under social-economic upheavals of the 1990s was a source of social capital, and the core of the community was former military personnel and their families. The disbandment of the regiment, emigration of a significant share of military personnel and the transfer of social housing to “random” people led to a decrease in social ties. If measures are not taken to consolidate the population, then after the end of the inertia of the 1990s, the crisis of atomization will deepen.

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Settlement sustainability as a result of the human and social capital development...

Устойчивость населенного пункта благодаря развитию человеческого и социального капитала (на примере пгт Октябрьское Республики Крым)⁵

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Аннотация. Обеспечение устойчивого развития территорий — одно из ключевых направлений мировой и национальной политики. Несмотря на резонанс и финансовую помощь многие территории продолжают отставать и страдать от социально-экономических кризисов по причине как экономической специализации, так и особенностей развития локальных сообществ. В настоящее время в России депопуляция охватила не только определенные типы населенных пунктов и местностей, но целые макро-территории (например, Север и Арктику), что происходит не только из-за экономического отставания, но и в результате социальной атомизации, неразвитости социальных связей на микроуровне. Правительство предпринимает усилия для сглаживания демографических контрастов внутри страны, направляя в отстающие регионы дополнительные средства в виде федеральных трансфертов и субсидий, реализуя политику инициативного бюджетирования, национальные проекты, целевые программы по поддержке локальных проектов. Население Крымского полуострова, за исключением Севастополя, постепенно сокращается по целому ряду причин: периферийность региона, отставание темпов социально-экономического развития, близость к зоне боевых действий, этническая напряженность и пр. Однако некоторые населенные пункты ни только не теряют население, но даже наращивают его численность. В статье такое поселение рассмотрено с разных точек зрения: исторических предпосылок, хозяйственной специализации, особенностей социально-экономического и экономико-географического развития, а также возможностей наращивания и реализации социального и человеческого капитала. Авторы приходят к выводу, что устойчивость населенного пункта не может быть обеспечена только дополнительным финансированием проектов благоустройства и строительства инфраструктуры.

Ключевые слова: устойчивое развитие, расселение, сельская местность, человеческий капитал, социальный капитал, Крым

5. Статья подготовлена в рамках гранта, предоставленного Министерством науки и высшего образования Российской Федерации (№ соглашения о предоставлении гранта: 075-15-2022-326).