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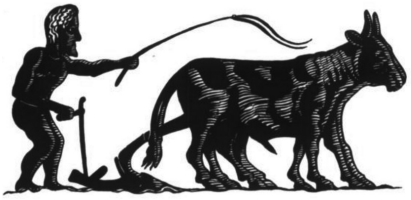

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УЧРЕДИТЕЛЬ
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Содержание

Introduction
Special Issue — Differentiation in contemporary rural societies

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This issue, published in English for the first time in the journal's history, focuses on the continuing influence of the 20th-century industrialization, urbanization and marketization on rural regions, which has become a central topic for interdisciplinary research of rural development and is considered in three main sections of the journal: "Theory", "History", and "The Present Time".

The "Theory" section begins with the text of the outstanding agrarian economist Alexander Chayanov, providing a review of the most important agrarian research universities and institutes in various regions of the world in the mid-1920s. Chayanov reconstructs the main fields, branches and ideas of the world agrarian-economic science a century ago as to a large extent associated with the issues of rural regional social-economic differentiation. Vladislav Afanasenkov's archaeographical preface describes the fate of Chayanov and his institute and the historical transformation of Chayanov's key concept "agricultural economy" in the context of the development of Russian and world science in the 20th century.

The next article presents a comparative analysis of two impressive rural-urban utopias created by the contemporaries and active participants of the great Russian Revolution — Marxist Alexander Bogdanov and populist Alexander Chayanov. Alexander Nikulin and Irina Trotsuk argue that both utopias are largely ideologically opposed futuristic forecasts — of the progressive industrial-proletarian civilization on Mars and of the peasant-cooperative civilization around Moscow. Both utopias predict some features of the future development of (rural) human capital, providing different answers to the questions of contradictions between the city and the village, the peasantry and the working class.

The third article of the theoretical section by Alexey Ershov is a review of the contemporary international, mainly European, approaches to typologization of rural areas. The author explains the reasons for the need for complex typologies that combine different bases such as transport accessibility of territories, trajectories of their transformations and influence of macro-regional features. The references reflect both the methodological focus of today's typologies and scientific innovations typical for such research work.

The objective of the articles that constitute the section "History" is to reflect on the study of differentiation in contemporary rural societies and to draw links with the debate about the transition from feudalism to capitalism and further. Thus, the processes of class differentiation should be studied as a part of the construction of the capitalist system of social relations. Certainly, such a task cannot but question the analytical tools used. The very understanding of the rural-urban duality has affected different aspects of capitalist development and its effects. As Raymond Williams indicated in *The Country and the City* (1973), the ideas of the rural and the urban have historically had different but interrelated meanings shaped by different historical relationships and the general development of capitalism.

Three articles of this section place the problem addressed in the context of historiographic debates around the agrarian question and the peasantry by considering the discussions within the classical Marxist thought and the dialogue of different national historiographies, starting from the classics. The three studies — by Maria Marcelo Crovetto, Alba Díaz-Geada and Hessam Khorasani Zadeh — focus on the specific agrarian and territorial realities in the context of a larger state. The studies of Díaz-Geada and Khorasani Zadeh explore the period from the mid-19th to the mid-20th centuries, during which rural communities experienced effects of the transition from the *Ancien Régime* to capitalist social relations and liberal states.

For agrarian historiographies, the peasantry's access to private land property was a central object of study. As Khorasani Zadeh argues, an increase in the peasant private property in agrarian societies was understood as a symptom of mitigating social inequalities. However, his analysis of different cadastral sources shows that this relationship cannot be established directly or unambiguously. His study agrees with others in that the impacts of peasant ownership on social differentiation can vary depending on the context, as observed in Northern France and Veneto. This is also mentioned by Díaz-Geada when speaking of the contributions of agrarian historiography for the Galizan case. Both works agree in emphasizing that to study class differentiation, it is necessary to incorporate other elements in addition to the access to private property by a part of the peasantry, which cannot be understood separately from the impacts on peasant economies of industrialization or deindustrialization and different migratory processes. It is also necessary to consider the way in which different reproductive strategies of peasant families were readjusted to the pressures of the liberal capitalist state under construction and subsequent consolidation.

Crovetto's study presents a different spatial-temporal context, inviting to rethink the concepts we use for the study of historical issues. The author argues that the agrarian question persists, and the extension and intensification of capitalist production relations, in their

most recent globalized forms, create new forms of exploitation and social differentiation that need to be studied. New forms of agroindustry determine new forms of exploitation, which are difficult to include into the traditional rural-urban dichotomy. On the other hand, the interviews show that analytical labels are not equivalent to subjective self-identifications.

"The Present Time" section begins with Tatyana Nefedova's study of rural-urban development in the Republic of Tatarstan in recent decades in the context of the general trends of the Russian spatial development. The author explains the specifics of rural areas by their ethnic composition, distance from cities and economic transformations in agriculture, and pays special attention to agroholdings which play an important role in the social-economic development of Tatarstan, providing illustrative examples from the history of large agricultural enterprises, showing their impact on the economic development of rural areas, and also mentioning the features of small rural businesses.

Yulia Andreeva considers the very special phenomenon of kin's domain settlements that have become a new trend in the Russian rural development and were inspired by the series of books *The Ringing Cedars of Russia* by Vladimir Megre. Today about 500 rural settlements in different Russian regions strive to bring to life the ideals described in these books. The author shows that the typical kin's domain is created on agricultural land and requires the construction of the entire social and engineering infrastructure anew; therefore, practical skills, technical knowledge and creativity are highly valued by residents of such rural settlements. In many ways, kin's domain settlements follow the global trend of building eco-villages as laboratories for sustainable rural development and autonomous rural communities.

Ksenia Averkieva considers another recent phenomenon of the Russian rural-urban development — the so-called rural gentrification in the Non-Black-Earth Region, focusing on the increasing influx of city dwellers to the village, who usually have social capital and other resources for transforming rural areas. The article presents some cases from the Verkhovazhsky district of the Vologda Region, which show how former townspeople participate in various spheres of rural life, filling them with new skills and practices and successfully combining urban innovations with rural traditions.

The article by Kirill Korolev is a case study of the Karelian village of Pyalma, which shows how former townspeople construct the image of the traditional Northern village, relying on their ideas about rural authenticity and presenting their interpretation of rural traditions to urban tourists. The author argues that such urban projections of rurality can be analytically divided into general and specific, commemorative-tourist and personal-economic and constitute a post-productivist "new rurality" of historical villages in the Russian North.

The special issue ends with Alexander Kurakin's review of J. C. Oi's book about initial stages of the miraculous Chinese agrarian reforms, Irina Trotsuk's review of the collection of articles about the relationship between pastoralism, uncertainty and development in today's turbulent world, and Stephan Merl's review of the 7th International Conference of the European Rural History Organization in the Romanian city Cluj-Napoca. These three texts constitute the final intellectual chord in the symphony of historical and futuristic, social and economic representations of diverse differentiation trends in rural regions that experience the extremely contradictory influence of urbanization and marketization.

Alexander Nikulin (RANEPA, MSSES)
Lisandro Cañón Voirin (Universidad de Oviedo)
Alba Díaz-Geada (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)
Irina Trotsuk (RUDN, RANEPA)

A short review of the centers of economic thought in the field of agriculture in Europe and other countries (based on the book exchange and scientific correspondence of the Institute of Agricultural Economics)

A. V. Chayanov

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Abstract. In 2024, it will be 125 years since the establishment of the Higher Seminary of Agricultural Economics and Policy at the Petrovsky Agricultural Academy, which was later transformed into the famous Research Institute of Agricultural Economics (RIAE) headed in the 1920s by A. V. Chayanov. His article "A short review of the centers of economic thought in the field of agriculture in Europe and other countries", published in the *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Agricultural Economics* in 1927, is presented for the English-speaking reader for the first time. Chayanov provides a brief description of the most important centers of the agrarian economic thought, including those with whom the Institute managed to establish correspondence and book exchange, and concludes the review with a conditional classification of trends in the science of organizing agricultural production in the 1920s. Certainly, this long list of scientific institutions and research partners was to prove the high importance and usefulness of the Institute for strengthening the prestige of the Soviet science and Soviet Russia in the international arena. However, fate decreed otherwise: in 1928, Chayanov was removed from the leadership position; in 1929, the Institute was reorganized and merged with the Institute of Large-Scale Economy into the Institute for Organizing Large-Scale Economy and Agricultural Economics; in 1930, after the final removal of Chayanov from the scientific staff, this new Institute was transformed into the Collective Farm Institute. Thus, all international contacts were cut off; Chayanov's Institute, which united researchers with different approaches and views on the object and tasks of agricultural economics as a scientific discipline, was destroyed, and Chayanov's materials on international relations, ironically, formed the basis for the future work scenario of the punitive authorities (as follows from Chayanov's interrogations by the Chief of the Secret Department of the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU) Ya.S. Agranov).

The English translation of the concept "agricultural economy" used by Chayanov for the field of scientific knowledge is still debatable. According to specialists in the history of economic thought and in Chayanov's works, there are two options: agricultural economics and agricultural economy. It was suggested that the term "agricultural economy" would more accurately reflect the diversity of approaches in the Soviet agrarian-economic thought of the 1920s: general economic theory (applied to agriculture) in its interpretation by the world science of the 1920s; technical and technological (agronomic) approaches to organizing the economy; theory and practice of agricultural policy with an emphasis on its social aspect; accounting and taxation. We should not understand "economy" as anything else than a historical, outdated by the end of the 19th

century synonym for economic science, which in the late 19th — early 20th centuries was abandoned in favor of "economics" all around the world, including in Russia (B. D. Brutskus, N. N. Kazhanov, A. I. Skvortsov, A. F. Fortunatov, etc.). Thus, in 1925, the title of the famous work by G. A. Studensky was translated by the publisher in English as *Outlines of Agricultural Economics*. In other words, "economics" is just the name of economic science and cannot be reduced to A. Marshall's ideas; therefore, the term "economy" interferes with the correct understanding of Chayanov's text by the English-speaking reader, providing wrong connotations with real economic phenomena — industry and economy.

The text is provided with notes that clarify and supplement facts mentioned by Chayanov. Editor's notes are marked as Ed.

Key words: A. V. Chayanov, Research Institute of Agricultural Economics (RIAE), centers of the agrarian economic thought, Soviet science, international contacts

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In recent years, one of the main tasks of the Institute of Agricultural Economics has been the maximum possible restoration of scientific ties with those foreign centers of economic thought that work on agricultural issues. Such connections, poorly established even before the war, were completely interrupted in the turbulent period of 1914–1921, and only since 1922, through trips of the Institute's members abroad, extensive book exchange and scientific correspondence, we have gradually managed to contact those scientific institutions in the West that study the same issues. Today, this work is far from finished, but the Institute is already aware of the state of agricultural economics and statistics abroad; therefore, the following short review can give a schematic idea of the state of the world agricultural economics[1].

Limitrophe states

In Estonia, the center of economic thought is the University of Dorpat: its Department of Political Economy has long been headed by Prof. M. A. Kurchinsky known for his works *Land Debt*[2] and *Unions of Entrepreneurs*[3]. Last year he published in Russian the first volume of his course on political economy[4], which reminds by its style and direction the courses of M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky and V.Ya. Zheleznov. The Department of Agricultural Economics was

1. This review includes only representatives of the academic science. In the next issue of the *Bulletin*, the Editorial Board will publish a review of Marxist authors not working in the higher school.
2. Kurchinsky M. A. (1917) *Land Debt: Statistics of Land Debt in Austria, Germany, France, Italy and Russia*, Petrograd — Ed.
3. Kurchinsky M. A. (1899) *Unions of Entrepreneurs: An Economic Study*, Saint Petersburg — Ed.
4. Kurchinsky M. A. (1926) *Fundamentals of Economic Science. A Course of Lectures*. Part 1, Tartu — Ed.

headed only in 1926 by the young economist P. Köpp, who defended his thesis as a monographic description of one large Latvian economy during the war and revolution, tracing its turnover and profitability by year from 1912 to 1921[5]. It is interesting to note that this thesis was sent by the University of Dorpat for the review to our Institute[6]. Due to the youth of this Department, we do not know its works on local economy.

In Latvia, agricultural economics is in the same situation. As is known, the Riga Polytechnic Institute, which at one time trained many good Russian agronomists, was evacuated to Petrovskoe-Razumovskoe during the war; in 1920 it was returned to Riga and transformed into a university, but for nationalist reasons the Institute fired most Russian and German scientists led by the famous chemist P. Walden. The teaching staff was formed primarily of Latvians, and the statistician K. Ballod, better known by his pseudonym Atlanticus, the author of the famous book on agriculture of the future[7], was invited to the Department of Political Economy and Statistics from Berlin. The Department of Agricultural Economics is headed by P. Starets, a graduate of the Saint-Petersburg Stone Island Courses and a student of B. D. Brutskus. According to our data, in his works Starets focuses on various issues of agricultural cooperation, of agricultural workforce and of the peasant professional movement.

There is greater scientific revival in Lithuania: in addition to the Kovno University, in 1924, in Dotnuve (70 *versts* from Kovno), the special Agricultural Institute was opened on the basis of the pre-war secondary agricultural school that was transformed into an agricultural academy with two departments — agriculture and forestry. We have recently received its luxuriously published report for 1924–1926, which proves that the young school is firmly on its feet, and its teaching staff is mainly Lithuanians, partly associated with Razumovsky (D. L. Rudzinsky, J. *Tonkūnas*, etc.), partly with Germany (J. Aleksa, A. Rimka, V. Gaigalatis).

Poland is even richer in economic institutions and works, for instance: 1) the Poznan University — Prof. W. Schramm, 2) the University of Warsaw — Prof. F. Bujak and Prof. W. Stanewicz.

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5. Köpp P. (1926) Einfluss der Preis-, Intensitäts-, und Produktlvltätsrelatlons Verschiebungen auf die Rentabilität der einzelnen landwirtschaftlichen Produkte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kriegsverhältnisse (Prof. P. Kõpp põllumajanduse doktorits. *Kaja*, no. 122, L. 1) — Ed.
6. The review of this thesis was written by Chayanov: Chayanov V. A., Petrikov A. V. (1998) A. V. Chayanov under the investigation of the OGPU in the case of the Toiling Peasant Party (1930–1932). *Rural Worls*, vol. 2, p. 73 — Ed.
7. Atlanticus (1898) *Ein Blick in den Zukunftsstaat. Produktion und Konsum im Sozialstatt*, Stuttgart — Ed.

Of the five states in this section, we have not yet established any relations with Finland and Sweden. According to the well-known academic directory Minerva (lists of all scientists in the world; in 1927, it was published in 4 volumes instead of 1 volume before 1923), in Sweden, there are two special agricultural institutes — in Alnarp–Uppsala and the Higher Forestry School in Stockholm.

In Norway, the center of agricultural economics is the Higher Agricultural School (Norges Landbrukshöiskole) in Aas near Oslo. Prof. P. Borgedal's works are based on the long-term studies of peasant economies and on the statistical processing of peasant accounting records. These studies are based entirely on the Swiss works of E. Laur, and F. Korovin's article pays sufficient attention to these Norwegian works[8]. Prof. Borgedal is not old but already highly respected in his country; he has just published a large study *Intensity Problem in Norwegian Agriculture* (Intensitetsproblemet i det norske Jordbruk)[9].

In Denmark, agricultural economics is led by Prof. O. H. Larsen, the Head of the special Institute of Agricultural Economics in Copenhagen and a member of our Moscow Institute of Agricultural Economics. According to our employees who visited Copenhagen, Prof. Larsen has indisputable authority in the issues of organizing Danish economies, and his Institute has an exclusively practical direction, including consultations on organizing individual farms. Prof. Larsen has published relatively few works, and his main work is periodically published under the title *Undersøgelser over Landbrugets Driftsforhold, Periodiske Beretninger* — this is a collection of reports on the Danish economy profitability, which are based on the accounting records of several hundred peasant economies and are not less academic than Laur's works.

In Holland, we are in correspondence mainly with Prof. D. van Bloom from the University of Leiden, who studies the development of socialism and is very interested in Russian authors' ideas in this field. According to him, agricultural economics in Holland was headed by Prof. Koene, who had a whole school of students and conducted extensive research of peasant economies. However, during the war Prof. Koene died, and no one came to take his place.

8. Korovin F. (1927) Today's accounting records of peasant economies abroad. *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Agricultural Economics*, no. 1–2, pp. 79–82 — Ed.
9. Borgedal P. (1926) *Intensitetsproblemet i det norske Jordbruk*, Fredrikshald — Ed.

Germany has always been a classic country of agricultural economics and maintains this reputation. The German science of agricultural organization, once highly developed by A. D. Thaer, J. H. von Thünen and T. A. von der Goltz, is supported with sufficient success by F. Aereboe and T. Brinkmann. Certainly, it is not possible to provide even the most general outline of the German agricultural economics in 15 universities and 5 special agricultural institutes; therefore, we will focus on 6 leading academic centers.

The most northern one is Koenigsberg. Its university's Department of Economics is headed by Prof. W. Preyer, a graduate of the Moscow University, who published two works on Russian issues — on the peasant land lease and on the Stolypin's land reform[10]. Prof. Preyer is a member of the Reichstag and a politician; his works primarily address issues of agricultural policy; a few months ago, he was in Moscow and spoke at the plenum of our Institute. A. Mitscherlich is even of greater interest among the Koenigsberg scientists. He is the Head of the Department of Agriculture; however, his works consider primarily the law of diminishing marginal utility in agriculture, which he defined in a technical sense and added to its development a lot of new and original ideas.

Another northern center of agricultural economics is Breslau in Silesia — the Institute for the Science of Agricultural Work headed by Prof. R. Krzymowski and uniting a large group of the academic youth. Krzymowski is the author of two quite paradoxical, controversial but attention-grabbing books — *Philosophy of the Peasantry* and *Philosophy of Agriculture*, and the latter has been recently published in Russian by our Institute[11]. Among his colleagues, we should note W. Radetzki, A. Haase and H. Metzner, who study the labor question in agriculture, issues of the German self-supply with agricultural products, and so on.

It goes without saying that both scientific centers are significantly inferior in importance to the third one — Berlin, where W. Sombart, L. J. Bortkevich, E. F. Schumacher and others work at economic departments. Certainly, in the agricultural perspective, of all Berlin scientists F. Aereboe, the head of the current European science of agricultural organization, should be put in first place as the author of major books on the basics of agricultural organization and land evaluation; recently he has significantly expanded the scope of his research

10. Preyer W. D. (1914) *Die russische Agrarreform*, Jena — Ed.

11. Original edition: Krzymowski R. (1919) *Philosophie der Landwirtschaftslehre*, Stuttgart. Russian edition: Krzymowski R. (1927) *Development of the Basic Principles of Agricultural Science in Western Europe*. Transl. from German by L. K. Soldatov with an additional article by A. V. Chayanov, Moscow — Ed.

and focused on general economic issues and current policy (customs duties). Aereboe is the Head of the special Institute of Economic Organization, he has hundreds of students and teaches at the Agricultural College in Berlin; his work is supported by Prof. O. Auhagen from the Department of Political Economy. Both speak Russian and are quite familiar with Russian works[12].

At the University of Berlin, Prof. M. Sering founded the Research Institute for Agriculture and Settlement. Despite his old age, he is full of energy, continues to work tirelessly on issues of internal colonization of Germany, edits a series of works on agriculture and agricultural markets after the war and has recently taken an active part in the debate about customs duties on agricultural products, having published a book on this topic[13]. Among his colleagues, we note F. Schlömer.

The fourth and last major center of agricultural economics is the Agricultural Academy in Bonn: its rector is T. Brinkman, and its most brilliant and original student is F. Aereboe. Last year our Institute (Brinkman, like Aereboe, is a full member of our Institute) published Brinkman's book in Russian[14]. His ideas about the organization of agriculture are well known in our country, which frees us from the need to present them.

In addition to the centers of agricultural economics, we should mention some centers of the general economic thought. Today the largest economic forces are concentrated in Freiburg (Prof. K. Diehl and Prof. G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz teach at the departments of political economy) and in Heidelberg (A. Weber and E. Lederer)[15]. Lederer is the Editor of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* and is considered the most left-wing academic economist.

Among other academic institutions of Germany, we should mention the Institute for the World Economy in Kiel, which has been relatively recently founded by Prof. B. Harms and is the largest economic institute in Europe in terms of equipment and material resources. Its huge library (300,000 volumes), a collection of newspaper clippings on all economic issues of the world economy and the well-published journal *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* make the Institute of Prof. Harms an institution of global importance.

Undoubtedly, we should also include institutions of Austria and Switzerland in German science. In Austria, the head of agricultur-

12. F. Aereboe considers A. S. Ermolov one of his teachers, especially due to his book on agricultural systems: Ermolov A. S. (1879) *Organization of Field Economy. Systems of Agriculture and Crop Rotation*, Saint Petersburg.
13. Sering M. (1925) *Agrarkrisen und Agrarzölle*, Berlin — Ed.
14. Brinkman T. (1926) *Economic Foundations of Organizing Agricultural Enterprises*. Transl. from German by L. K. Soldatov; with a Preface by A. Chayanov, Moscow — Ed.
15. E. Lederer was the Chairman of the Commission for Socialization of the German National Economy in 1918.

al economics is G. Vogel, who also heads the agronomic section of the engineers' trade union, which is in some ways similar to the agronomic section of our Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers, and he is very interested in issues of agricultural assistance. In Switzerland, everything is still focused on E. Laur, the creator of accounting statistics and the author of a course on agricultural economics, which has been recently published by our Institute[16]. The key undertaking of his life were annual studies of the profitability of Swiss agriculture based on the accounting of many thousands of peasant income-expenses books. These studies have been conducted for almost 30 years and serve as a model for all other research in this field.

Romanesque countries of Europe

We have much less data about the Romanesque countries of Europe: we know absolutely nothing about the state of agricultural economics in Belgium and Spain; in France, we exchange books with Prof. Ch. Gide and A. Aftalion, i.e. non-agricultural economists. We know that the head of the French agricultural economics is Prof. H. Hetier, but we were unable to establish permanent correspondence with him.

In Italy, the head of agricultural economics is still Prof. O. Bordiga — an 80-year-old venerable scholar. Most recently, he has published the fifth edition of his course on agricultural economics, which amazes with its old pre-Goltz research methods and with its almost complete ignorance of the contemporary German and English works[17]. We have not yet found any younger agricultural economists. Our most interesting Italian book exchange is with statisticians (Prof. U. Ricci, Prof. A. Mariotti, Prof. G. Zingalli, Prof. C. Gini). In Rome, the International Institute of Agriculture, the world center for agricultural statistics, is of great interest to us. Its statistical, legal and some other reports are an essential guide for any researcher of world agriculture.

Countries of Eastern Europe

When considering the state of agricultural economics in the Slavic and all Eastern states of Europe, we should first focus on Czechoslovakia. In Prague, the scientific work that interests us is headed by Prof. V. Brdlik, who has conducted expeditionary budget and accounting studies of peasant economies for years. He is the head of the

16. Laur E. (1925) *Introduction to the Economics of Agriculture*. Transl. from German by L. K. Soldatov; with a Preface by S. S. Bazykin, Moscow — Ed.
17. Bordiga O. (1926) *Trattato di Economia Rurale: i Fattori della Produzione Agraria*, Portici — Ed.

special research institute and the Editor of the monthly journal *Agricultural Archives* that publishes not only economic but also technical articles. Of all scientific centers of Europe, Prague is the most influenced by Russian economists, as can be seen from a very complete review of the Russian economic works, which was published in this journal (Prof. Brdlik is a full member of our Institute).

In Bulgaria, before the Tsankov's coup d'état, the Department of Agricultural Economics in Sofia was headed by Prof. I. Mollov, a graduate of the Petrovsky Agricultural Academy, if we are not mistaken. We have no information about the situation in recent years and about the situation in Romania and Hungary.

Therefore, to conclude our review of continental Europe, we will focus on Greece with its intensively working and making the best impression circle of economists which is headed by Prof. D. Kalitsunakis in Athens. He is the editor of the economic journal that pays great attention to both general theoretical issues (articles on A. R.J. Turgot) and the results of special studies of Greek economy, providing excellent references and reviews. In addition to Kalitsunakis, we should mention the young agrarian economist C. Evelpidis, who published in French several works on rent and agrarian relations in Greece.

England

Having completed our review of the continent, we can move to England with its great and very fruitful revival of the agrarian thought, which is strange enough. The center of this revival is the special Research Institute of Agricultural Economics founded by Prof. C. Orwin at the Oxford University in 1913. This Institute, not only in its name, but also in its structure and research topics, more than any other is similar to our Moscow Institute. This Institute is headed by Prof. Orwin, whose works on cost calculation and general accounting in agriculture provided him with a strong scientific reputation, and has 6 full-time members, including A. Bridges, W. Peel and F. Prewett, 7 junior researchers and 11 graduate students (8 juniors and 3 seniors). Their numerous works are based on the microanalysis of agricultural areas and specialized research, on the compilation of an agricultural atlas of England, on the analysis of areas of commercial attraction, cost of agricultural products and labor organization, and on the study of the sugar beet economy, i.e., topics on which our Institute is currently working. In addition, we find in these works some issues that we have not considered yet but that will certainly require our attention in the future, such as the analysis of the economic effect of agricultural education and scientific research in agriculture or the study of the role of the owner's personality in organizing a farm. The Institute's report mentions 29 publications, of which 6 are major works and the rest are articles.

Of equal, if not greater, interest is a completely new similar institute in Aberystwyth. Its leader, the student and former assistant of Prof. Orwin, Prof. A. W. Ashby, in his programmatic article on research work, distinguishes two directions in agricultural economics — household economy and national economy. He proposes to use for the former the accounting, statistical, experimental method of stationary observations, and to study the social economy of agriculture as a national-economic phenomenon with the geographical, statistical, descriptive method. Within each direction, Ashby and his colleagues published a significant number of works in the thick *Welsh Journal of Agriculture*, which, despite its 'local level' and due to its reputation, can claim one of the first places in agrarian-economic sciences.

The third English center of agricultural economics is the University of Reading: its group of economists is currently preparing a regular three-month bibliographic journal specializing in agricultural economics and related disciplines.

We know nothing about Ireland, because after the death of Prof. G. H. Oldham in 1926 we are not aware of his successors.

To continue our review of the English-speaking countries, we should move from England to North America.

The United States of North America

Certainly, in a short review, it is difficult to present in detail and in full the work of four dozen universities and many large experimental stations conducting research in the field of agricultural economics. V. Osinsky in his book *On the Agricultural States of North America* (Moscow, 1926) provides a very detailed overview of agricultural America, and we advise the interested researcher to read it. Thereby, we will focus on the most important centers which founded scientific directions.

In first place we should put Prof. G. F. Warren in New York and the venerable scholar Prof. R. Ely in Wisconsin. Prof. Warren, the author of the basic manual on farm organization and of the textbook on laboratory classes[18] on farm organization, the editor of a number of journals and books, heads a department at the Cornell University and can be considered the teacher and leader of many dozens of economists and agronomists in the eastern states. In most cases, the works of Prof. Warren's circle present an analysis of the object under study in both economic and technical perspectives, and economic tables are placed next to photographs.

In addition to the works of Warren, who is increasingly focusing on the market influence on farm organization, we are very interested

18. Warren G. F., Livermore K. C. (1910) *Laboratory Exercises in Farm Management*, New York — Ed.

in the works of E. G. Misner, the professor of farm organization at the Cornell University. His works on cattle breeding and the cost of milk, based on the accounting analysis of hundreds of farms, are classic in the field of farm organization, despite a certain paucity of methodological techniques (there are almost no groupings). The works of another Warren's colleague, W. J. Myers, on territorial organization are also of great interest, just like the collective work on the six-year development of accounting records for the State of New York.

The second center is the oldest American school of agricultural economics of the venerable Prof. R. T. Ely, whose Institute in Wisconsin trained a galaxy of economists and agronomists in the central states. According to Osinsky, Ely is a supporter of small family farms. Recently, his Institute has been transferred from Wisconsin to Chicago and joined by three leading agricultural economists in America (H. C. Taylor, E. Morehouse and B. Hibbard), which makes this Institute the most powerful scientific center of the American agricultural economics in terms of personnel. Taylor is the newest theorist and the author of *Agricultural Economics*, one of the most classic books on the theory of agricultural economy. Morehouse and Hibbard are younger but have already received well-deserved fame: the former — for his works on the theory of agricultural economics, the latter — for his course on organizing the economy.

In addition to these two major centers, we should mention the huge statistical and economic research of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, especially the works of O. E. Baker *Geography of the World's Agriculture*[19] and *World Wheat Production* and of some other employees.

Among the agrarian economists working in other American cities, the following ones are of great interest: 1) Prof. K. Butterfield in Massachusetts, the founder of the World Agricultural Society; 2) Prof. E. Nourse in Ams, the author of the book on American agriculture, which was published by our Institute[20]; 3) Prof. T. Carver from the Harvard University, the oldest theorist of agricultural economics; 4) Prof. E. Moore in New York, the author of the book on yield cycles[21]. All works of these authors are very detailed and very original.

Other American states

We have even fewer scientific connections with Central and South Americas, whose center of science and culture is the central South

19. Finch V. C., Baker O. E. (1917) *Geography of the World's Agriculture*, Washington — Ed.
20. Nourse E. G. (1924) *American Agriculture and the European Market*, New York (in 1925 was published in Russian in Moscow) — Ed.
21. Moore H. L. (1923) *Generating Economic Cycles*, New York — Ed.

America Gulf with neighboring Buenos Aires, La Plata and Montevideo. In Uruguay and Argentina, there are professors of economics and agronomy (Prof. T. Amadeo, Prof. E. Acevedo, Prof. T. Arano); however, according to the available data, only Prof. Arano in Buenos Aires has an excellent scientific reputation. Among his works, his attempts to develop a theory of agricultural cooperation are of particular interest to us.

As for Central America, we can mention only Prof. E. Martinez López in Tegucigalpa (Honduras) with some interesting treatises on the economic geography of his little-studied country[22].

In the Pacific Ocean, we should mention first the University of Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands, whose Head of the Department of Economics is Prof. R. Adams, conducting primarily sociological rather than economic analysis of agriculture and focusing on the village and everyday forms of rural life. The depth of his analysis is evidenced by his good knowledge of the foundations of our land community.

Other countries

Unfortunately, we have not yet established any permanent relationship with other Pacific countries. From the academic directory Minerva we know about large scientific centers in Australia, on the island of Java and even in Bangkok (Siam), but we achieved nothing else than the formal exchange of letters.

Therefore, we will focus on Japan. There are two large centers of economic science — at the universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. At the University of Tokyo, mainly general economic issues and problems of industrial economics are studied. Last year the University published a special collection of works of its Faculty of Economics in English, apparently for distribution abroad. The Kyoto University is much closer to us: for three years there is the special Research Institute of Agricultural Economics which has done very little yet but attracted a significant group of scientists (Prof. D. Hashimoto, Prof. H. Tanahashi and young scientists C. Isobe and T. Sugino). This University's journal published a review of our Institute's works, a detailed critical essay on the family theory of peasant economy and an article on our theory of cooperation. Unfortunately, we do not know Japanese and cannot read Japanese works sent to us through book exchange.

At the end of this review, I would like to mention India and South Africa. In India, there are some universities, agricultural schools and experimental fields. The directory Minerva provides a number of names associated with teaching economics and agronomy; however, we have a more or less complete impression only about Prof.

22. See, e.g.: Martinez López E. (1919) *Geografía de Honduras*, Tegucigalpa — Ed.

K. M. Shah in Bombay, who published articles on agricultural economics in English journals, and about Prof. P. Banerjes, who heads a department in Calcutta and published a detailed description of Indian agriculture as a book in the above-mentioned series on post-war agriculture, which is edited by Prof. Sering.

In South Africa, there is a modest scientific center at the University of Johannesburg: its Prof. R. A. Lehfeldt sent us his works on the economics and cost of corn.

Certainly, this is not a complete list of large and small centers of scientific thought, studying agricultural economics in foreign countries. We had neither time nor space to tell our readers about the basic ideas, issues and methods of the listed agronomists and economists — this would require writing a book. However, in general, there are two main traditions: on the one hand, the German tradition coming from the Goltz' school and the historical school of German economists, which focuses primarily on the economic analysis of the phenomenon under study, also describing its historical genesis. This approach is based on the methods of the classic Betriebslehre's studies of large capitalist-oriented economies, which under the influence of E. Laur were later applied with some changes in the studies of peasant economies. On the other hand, there is a completely different tradition in the Anglo-Saxon countries, which fundamentally combines technical and economic analysis, almost ignores the genesis of the object under study and strives to make its works highly specialized, goal-oriented and applied. In other countries, there are different combinations of these two traditions.

Краткий обзор центров экономической мысли в области сельского хозяйства в Европе и других странах (по материалам книгообмена и научной переписки Института сельскохозяйственной экономии)

Александр Васильевич Чаянов

Публикатор — *Владислав Олегович Афанасенков*, старший научный сотрудник Московской высшей школы социальных и экономических наук, младший научный сотрудник Научно-исследовательского центра экономической и социальной истории Российской академии народного хозяйства и государственной службы при Президенте РФ. 119571, Москва, пр-т Вернадского, 82. E-mail: erpaison@gmail.com

Аннотация. В 2024 году исполняется 125 лет с учреждения при Петровской сельскохозяйственной академии Высшего семинария сельскохозяйственной экономии и политики, из которого впоследствии вырос знаменитый Научно-исследовательский институт сельскохозяйственной экономии (НИИСХЭ). Широкую известность Институт получил благодаря А. В. Чаянову, руководившему им в 1920-е годы. Впервые для англоязычного читателя публикуется перевод его статьи «Краткий обзор центров экономической мысли в области сельского хозяйства в Европе и других странах», вышедшей в «Бюллетене Научно-исследовательского института сельскохозяйственной экономии» в 1927 году. Чаянов дает краткую характеристику важнейшим

центрам аграрно-экономической мысли, в том числе тем, с которыми Институту удалось наладить переписку и обмен литературой. Обзор завершается условной классификацией направлений науки об организации сельскохозяйственного производства в 1920-е годы. Очевидно, предполагалось, что столь длинный перечень научных учреждений и исследователей-партнеров будет свидетельствовать о принципиальной важности и полезности НИИСХЭ для укрепления престижа советской науки и Советской России на международной арене. Однако судьба распорядилась иначе: в 1928 году Чаянов был отстранен от руководства; в 1929 году Институт был реорганизован и объединен с Институтом крупного хозяйства в Институт организации крупного хозяйства и сельскохозяйственной экономии; в 1930 году, после окончательного устранения Чаянова из штата научных сотрудников, Институт был преобразован в Колхозный институт, и все международные контакты были оборваны. Чаяновский институт, объединявший представителей разных подходов и взглядов на предмет и задачи сельскохозяйственной экономии как научной дисциплины, был фактически уничтожен, а материалы Чаянова о международных связях по злой иронии легли в основу будущего репрессивного сценария карательных органов (судя по материалам допросов Чаянова начальником секретного отдела ОГПУ Я. С. Аграновым).

Дискуссионным является вопрос о переводе на английский язык используемых Чаяновым применительно к области научного знания понятий «сельскохозяйственная экономия» и «экономия земледелия». Полемика со специалистами по истории экономической мысли и творчеству Чаянова выявила два возможных варианта: agricultural economics и agricultural economy. Высказывалось предположение, что agricultural economy позволит точнее передать разнообразие подходов в советской аграрно-экономической мысли 1920-х годов, включавшей и общую экономическую теорию (в приложении к сельскому хозяйству) в современном для мировой науки 1920-х годов смысле; и технико-технологические (агрономические) подходы к организации хозяйства; и теорию и практику аграрной политики с акцентом на ее социальной стороне; и счетоводство и таксацию. Не нужно понимать «экономию» как нечто большее, чем исторический, устаревший к концу XIX века синоним экономической науки, от которого в конце XIX — начале XX веков начали отказываться в пользу «экономики» по всему миру, в том числе в России (Б. Д. Бруцкус, Н. Н. Кажанов, А. И. Скворцов, А. Ф. Фортунатов и др.). Заголовок известной работы Г. А. Студенского, изданной в 1925 году, был продублирован издателем на английском языке как «Outlines of Agricultural Economics». Иными словами, economics — не более чем обозначение экономической науки в целом и не сводится к фигуре А. Маршалла, и использование слова «economy» воспрепятствует правильному пониманию текста Чаянова англоязычным читателем, создавая неверные коннотации с реальными экономическими явлениями — отраслью и хозяйством.

Текст снабжен примечаниями, уточняющими и дополняющими факты, изложенные Чаяновым.

Ключевые слова: А. В. Чаянов, Научно-исследовательский институт сельскохозяйственной экономии (НИИСХЭ), центры аграрно-экономической мысли, советская наука, международные связи

Utopias of Alexander Bogdanov and Alexander Chayanov: The choice of rural-urban development and its consequences for rural human capital and social differentiation[1]

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Abstract. A science-based conversation about the current state of rural areas, prospects for rural human capital and trends in rural differentiation is impossible without the conceptual approaches and futuristic projects of great Russian agrarian scientists. The article presents an attempt of comparing such ideas of two outstanding social thinkers of the early 20th century — Alexander Bogdanov and Alexander Chayanov, focusing on their utopias as representing the essential features (proletarian and peasant) of their social-economic and cultural-ethical views. Bogdanov and Chayanov had extensive encyclopedic knowledge and brilliant organizational skills; they wrote original works on social philosophy and political economy; both were prominent leaders of alternative social-political directions of the Russian Revolution. Moreover, Bogdanov and Chayanov wrote several famous utopias: Bogdanov's utopia develops Marxist ideas of proletarian revolution and construction of socialism not only on earth but also in space; Chayanov's utopia of moderate cooperative socialism defends the new revolutionary significance of the peasantry. The proletarian ideologist Bogdanov was skeptical about the political potential of the peasantry, arguing that opponents of proletarian revolution would use peasant conservatism against socialist revolution. The peasant ideologist Chayanov was skeptical about the creative potential of the working class, predicting that in the coming social revolution it would be used to build authoritarian-bureaucratic socialism. However, both thinkers sought prospects for rural-urban development through the analysis of possible ways of interaction between man and nature. Despite the ignorance of the positive revolutionary potential of the proletariat (Chayanov) and the peasantry (Bogdanov), both thinkers made huge contributions to the theory and practice of the Russian Revolution, and their utopian ideas still inspire the search for a new just, humane and happy world.

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Key words: Chayanov, Bogdanov, utopia, proletariat, peasantry, Marxism, corporatism, colonialism, human capital

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"I've often wondered if I wouldn't have turned out different
if I'd took the other road".
"Oh, I reckon you'd have ended up about the same...
It ain't the roads we take; it's what's inside of us
that makes us turn out the way we do".
O. Henry. The Roads We Take

Two prophets — of the proletariat and of the peasantry

Alexander Alexandrovich Bogdanov (1873–1928) and Alexander Vasilyevich Chayanov (1888-1937) had incredible encyclopedic knowledge and combined it with the ability to be not only theorists but also practitioners in diverse areas of scientific and social activities. Bogdanov put his extensive scientific interests in the field of philosophy, political economy, technology, biology, culture, education and futurology to the service of the active (in the Marxist sense) transformation of the surrounding world and creation of a new social system based on the principles of collectivism and comradeship as inherent (according to Bogdanov) mainly in the working class — the industrial proletariat (Biggart, 1989).

Chayanov realized his diverse interests in interdisciplinary research at the intersections of economics, geography, history, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies and not only in relation to agriculture. This highly professional agrarian was also an original urban sociologist, writer, art critic and utopian realist. Like Bogdanov, he both dreamed of and in his own active way strived to create a new social system — a diverse and comprehensive cooperativism that would overcome contradictions between the city and the village, providing opportunities for material and cultural development for all social strata. Unlike the orthodox (in his own way) communist Bogdanov, who relied in his social projects primarily on the cultural and political transformation of the young industrial class of his time — the proletariat (Bogdanov, 1924), the moderate socialist Chayanov believed that the achieved level of the technical-economic progress provided no less unique opportunities for the successful development to one of the oldest social classes on earth — the peasantry (Chayanov, 2020a; 2020b).

Both scientists, albeit at different times, tried hand at politics. At the beginning of the 20th century, Bogdanov, like Lenin, was one of the key leaders of the Bolshevik Party; he took an active part in the first Russian Revolution of 1905. However, before the World War I, due to the ideological and organizational party conflicts with Lenin, Bogdanov left politics to focus on scientific and literary activities until

the end of life (Sharapov, 1997). Chayanov's star was shining brightly on the political horizon from February to October 1917, when he became one of the founders of the League of Agrarian Reforms, which developed plans for the agricultural reorganization of revolutionary Russia, and one of the leaders of the political association of Russian cooperatives; two weeks before the October Revolution he was appointed the Comrade (Deputy) Minister of Agriculture in the Provisional Government. After the 1917 Revolution, Chayanov took an active part in solving many key issues of the Soviet economic policy: under the war communism, as a member of the cooperators delegation, he met with Lenin to defend (unsuccessfully for the Russian cooperative movement) a certain autonomy for cooperative finances in the centralized Soviet economy. Under the NEP, the scientific developments of Chayanov and his colleagues-agrarians formed the basis of the Soviet agricultural policy plans, while Bogdanov's ideas of socialist planning were used by politicians and scientists of the State Planning Committee and other highest government bodies of the Soviet power.

In the 1920s, Chayanov and Bogdanov proved to be talented organizers of the most advanced and productive research institutions in the USSR: Chayanov was the Head of the Research Institute of Agricultural Economics, and Bogdanov — the Head of the Research Institute of Blood Transfusion. However, since the first months of the Soviet state, both Bogdanov and Chayanov also became its insightful critics: Bogdanov's criticism of the Soviet military communism (Bogdanov, 1918; 1990) and Chayanov's criticism of the Soviet state collectivism (Chayanov, 1920) are still relevant for understanding historical and logical paths of the communist authoritarian economies.

Certainly, in the era of political and ideological wars and revolutions (at the beginning of the 20th century), such bright and critically thinking scholars had many opponents, including very insidious and envious ones, the most influential of whom organized their political persecution — Bogdanov as an "idealist-revisionist" (Shcheglov, 1937) and Chayanov as a "petty-bourgeois neo-populist" (Proceedings.., 1930), which led to the tragic death of both. Bogdanov, being constantly criticized politically and ideologically, in the 1920s focused on medical research at the Institute of Blood Transfusion and died in 1928 during the blood self-transfusion experiment (White, 2018). In 1930, Chayanov was arrested and imprisoned on charges of the anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary activities. In the mid-1930s, he was exiled to Central Asia and in 1937 executed on charges of spying for England (Nikulin, 2011).

There are many works on the intellectual, including utopian, legacy of both thinkers (see, e.g.: Biggart, 1989; Yassour, 2017) but only one scientific comparison of Bogdanov's and Chayanov's utopias (Gloveli, 2004). In one interesting study, Bogdanov's proletarian utopia was compared with the ruralist utopia of William Morris (Ferns,

1999), and in another work Chayanov's peasant utopia was compared with the ideas of urbanism and ruralization in the populist utopias of Ignatius Donnelly and Frank Capra (Brass, 1996). Therefore, further we present an attempt to compare Bogdanov's proletarian and Chayanov's peasant utopias.

Industrial Mars and rural Moscow

Let us compare Bogdanov's utopias about industrial Mars (Bogdanov, 1908; 1912) and Chayanov's utopia about the journey to peasant Moscow (Chayanov, 1920) to identify their imagined prospects and alternatives for the possible future rural-urban development of Russia and the world. In Bogdanov's utopia, Mars has the most advanced technical and social organization in the solar system; thereby, already at the beginning of the 20th century, Martians make interplanetary flights to Earth and Venus. In his utopias, Bogdanov repeatedly argues that the laws of natural and social evolution are universal, which is why Martians' comparative studies of Earth, Mars and Venus reveal similar and consistent stages of natural and social development. On Mars, the collectivist system of the communist type has long been established and continues to improve, while on Earth capitalism still prevails, albeit shaken by workers' socialist movements, but there are also rudiments of pre-capitalist formations — various feudal, peasant and other archaic enclaves. On Venus, there are still dinosaurs and no signs of intelligent life. Bogdanov notes that once upon a time, several hundred years ago, in the era of the great Martian canals, Mars also presented a composition of labor-capital struggle, patriarchal alliances of feudal lords and peasants, and so on. But all this was left in the individualistic-chaotic past due to the steady growth of the organizational-comradely collectivism.

Today, Martians, having long discovered the possibilities of nuclear energy, use it in spaceships for interplanetary flights and observe closely the life on Earth: their representatives pretend to be people and live among earthlings to carefully study their social and human nature. Moreover, Martians succeeded in finding a "sustainably" intelligent earthling to open up to and send to Mars to study their advanced civilization. Such an earthling is presented in the novel *Red Star* as its main character and narrator Leonid, one of the imaginary leaders of Russian revolutionaries, a consistent supporter of the positivist scientific worldview and social theory of Karl Marx.

Having been brought to Mars, Leonid carefully and diligently studies the social and technical organization of this planet, observing industrial production, parenting, museum collections, and so on. This study is very difficult for Leonid as he sometimes feels himself a primitive savage forced to learn the higher civilization's science and culture. Leonid discovers (and Martian colleagues agree with

him) that the main difference between earthlings and Martians is the more spontaneous, impulsive, diverse nature of people and societies on Earth compared to the more rational and less emotional one on Mars. Bogdanov explains this difference between two planets primarily by their natural features: the cosmic body of Earth is larger than the cosmic body of Mars, and our living and inanimate natures are richer and more diverse than those of Mars. Therefore, our history is also more variable and "stubborn" compared to the more unilinear and "flexible" Martian social history — from primitiveness through feudalism and capitalism to socialism.

According to Bogdanov, once upon a time, many hundred years ago, the population of Mars was mainly peasant, but with the steady growth of capitalism and industrialization, the importance of the peasantry came to naught. In general, in utopias and social-political writings Bogdanov speaks about the peasantry (be it Martian or earthly) casually and briefly, often with hostility, strictly following the logic of orthodox Marxism which insists on the petty-bourgeois hopelessness of this archaic class that tends to gullibly support all kinds of conservative authoritarian leaders and is doomed to be only the raw material and foundation for the progress of urban civilization. Bogdanov mentions the peasantry of Mars only in the historical perspective (300 years ago, i.e., in the 1600s on Earth), during the construction of the great Martian canals that rationally transformed landscape and agriculture: this "great turning point" destroyed the remnants of the Martian peasant mentality and transformed it into the contemporary industrial mentality — in the 20th century, there is no longer any peasantry on Mars. The planet is described as a realm of the highly developed industrial-urban civilization that easily provides itself with food and raw materials — partly due to the highly mechanized cultivation of gigantic and long-socialized agricultural land, partly due to the production of chemically artificial products that were once outputs of agricultural raw materials.

Chayanov's utopia describes a completely different situation. Its main character Ivan Kremnev, the prominent Soviet party member and administrator, living in Moscow in 1921, after the triumph of the world communist revolution (the utopia was written in 1919), suddenly finds himself in Moscow in 1984 — the capital of the triumph of the all-Russian peasant civilization. Kremnev, who suddenly found himself in the Moscow family, out of fright pretended to be American traveler Charlie Men, whom the family was expecting. Thus, the reader learns about books, conversations and views of residents not only of peasant Moscow in 1984 but also of other regions of Earth at the described time.

Chayanov's utopia convinces the reader that the life on Earth is much more diverse than the phlegmatic Martian life in Bogdanov's utopia. Moreover, Chayanov mentions that the world communist revolution, having socialized everything and everyone, won by 1921. How-

ever, when considering the past from 1984, the main character discovers that the socialist world unity did not last, and centrifugal forces destroyed the reigning social harmony (Chayanov, 1920: 5). These various forces in different regions of the world include nationalism, selfish ambitions of political leaders, oligarchy and corruption, which led to bloody wars and social upheavals. In 1984, the world consists of five fairly autonomous social-political systems (Russian, German, Anglo-French, American-Australian and Japanese-Chinese), whose cultural-economic foundations are the most historically inherent to them. In Germany, the centralized, Soviet-style socialist system continues to dominate. In the Anglo-French and American economic systems, different types of capitalism dominate, while in Japan-China — a kind of state feudalism.

It should be noted that before the World War I, Chayanov identified two polar types in world agriculture: "American agriculture is based primarily on the labor of the farmer who personally works physically on his farm together with two or three wage workers. His economy is medium in size, extensive, highly mechanized, and firmly engaged in the capitalist system of the national economy in the form of so-called vertical concentration. Various banks of land credit, elevator, land-reclamation, and trade companies tightly control this economy and extract a significant capitalist profit from it. Cheap land, expensive labor, extensive low-labor-intensive farming with large capital investments and wide mechanization are foundations of this type of economy. There are exact opposites of such American forms in the eastern countries — China, India, and some others. In these countries, excessive agrarian overpopulation with a persistent, feudal, social order determines the development of family forms of economy, exceptional labor intensity of farming, and widespread enslaving relations in the fields of rent, credit, and employment. Expensive land, cheap labor, hyper-intensive and very labor-intensive farming, lack of both cars and horses, and feudal relations instead of capitalist ones are the national, economic basis of the Chinese forms of agriculture. Paradoxically, the pre-war Russian agriculture seems to be a zonal mixture of these two types, or rather a mixture of trends of these two types. On the eve of the war, the Russian village was at the brutal turn that accompanies the transition from the feudal system to the commodity one. Only a few decades ago, the village managed to get out of true feudalism and had not yet got rid of many of its elements" (Chayanov, 2018a).

At the heart of Russia's mixed economy, peasant cooperativism is combined with the powerful state and partly with capitalism: "In rural life, there are many cases, in which cooperation is a true helper to the working man... Great cooperative principles can help a lot in handicraft industry, in land issues, and in soil improvement. Thus, almost all aspects of life can take advantage of cooperation... There are tens of thousands of cooperatives in all regions of the Soviet Union,

which unite millions of members — peasants, workers and townspeople... Agricultural cooperation is nothing else than a form of economic organization of 1.5 million peasant economies that make up its basis. All this represents a strange and unprecedented economic power and promises a bright future to the Russian peasant... Certainly, today's cooperative undertakings will develop further and further, seizing new and new branches of agriculture to organize new forms of social cooperative production. These cooperative undertakings in the form of auxiliary enterprises will gradually and powerfully develop into the main form of agricultural production, which will introduce the large-scale production and mechanization principles wherever they can be advantages. Thus, we will see a new and unprecedented form of agriculture based on socialization, perfect technology and scientific organization of production... And this future makes us totally agree with the idea of Lenin's deathbed article that the development of cooperation in many respects coincides with the development of socialism" (Chayanov, 2019a).

One of the key features of the Russian social-economic system is the dramatic struggle and decisive victory of the village over the city in the mid-20th century and the creation of peasant society with the prevailing rural household economy. Chayanov, like other ideologists of this peasant utopia, argues that the basis of this economic system, just like the basis of ancient Rus, is the individual peasant economy as the most perfect type of economic activity: man is opposed to nature, and labor is creatively in touch with all cosmic forces, producing new forms of being — every worker is a creator, and every manifestation of his individuality is the art of labor (Chayanov, 1920: 29). Bogdanov argues that the industrial society on Mars won due to the long-term plan for the construction of canals that transformed the economy and ecology of the planet in the rational socialist way; Chayanov insists that peasant Russia was created through the total destruction of cities and their transformation into unique social nodes of the peasant-cooperative society.

Chayanov describes utopian peasant Russia as the country that overcame fundamental contradiction between the city and the village through the rural expansion. The utopian village no longer looks like usual rural settlements as the whole country for hundreds of *versts* around Moscow turned into one huge agricultural settlement interrupted by public forests, cooperative pastures and climatic parks. In areas of farming settlements with family plots of 3–4 *desiatinas*, peasant houses stand almost next to each other for many *versts*, and only dense curtains of mulberry and fruit trees block one house from another. Chayanov argues that in such a utopian future, we would abandon the old-fashioned division between the city and the village as there would be only more or less concentrated settlements of agricultural population. Certainly, there would be groups of high buildings ("hillforts") — small social hubs (local school, library, theater,

dance hall and other public facilities) that are larger than cities as the same social nodes of rural life at the beginning of the 20th century (Chayanov, 1920: 31).

Engineer Manny and economist Men

Let us continue the description of two utopian countries with the analysis of the images and destinies of their main characters. It should be noted that the roots of these heroes' names — Martian-Earthly Manny and Moscow-"American" Men — linguistically and semantically remind of the English word "man", i.e., both authors seem to emphasize the humanistic traits of their main characters, focusing on their significant historical and psychological transformations.

In Bogdanov's utopias, the main characters are Manny in the *Engineer Manny* and Manny Jr., his great-great-grandson, in the *Red Star*, i.e., Bogdanov seeks to trace the psychological transformation of the Mannys, whose history presents a bizarre interweaving of aristocratic, bourgeois and working-class roots. Manny, the great-great-grandfather, is a brilliant engineer and major manager, who initiated and led the great construction of Martian canals at the peak of Martian capitalism. Manny has typical features of the authoritarian capitalist liberal, reminding of the first honest, stern, stingy early Protestant capitalist described in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber, 2001). Having successfully started his work, stern and honest Manny became a victim of conflicts (between workers and capitalists) and intrigues of insidious and greedy capitalists, who pursue only their own benefit, use corrupt methods of enrichment, and in every possible way save on the environmental and labor safety of Martian canal builders. Being outraged by the insidious cynicism of the leading capitalist-schemer, Manny killed him and was convicted of murder. However, as a valuable and highly qualified specialist, he continued to monitor and even manage construction works from prison. Due to his strong personal principles, Manny refused to leave prison when the authorities wanted to release him. At the end of the novel, Manny committed an ideological suicide which symbolizes the decline of the era of the individualistic capitalist genius. The novel ends with his illegitimate son's coming to power to continue the great works of his father, but this no less talented engineer and organizer is guided by other, more perfect and humane collectivist-socialist ideas that inexorably-progressively replace the bourgeois individualism of the bygone era.

In the novel *Red Star*, two and a half centuries later, the distant descendant of the great individualistic engineer Manny and no less outstanding but communist engineer and scientist, great-great-grandson Manny is a leader of the Martian expeditions to Earth and Venus, who in many ways has the final say in choosing strategic di-

rections of Martians' expansion to other planets of the solar system. In this novel, Bogdanov focuses on the threat of exhaustion of planetary resources, given the steady growth of population and the rapid development of productive forces on Mars. In fact, he admits that the future communist society may face both overpopulation and the lack of natural resources; to get out of this Malthusian trap, it would need to colonize its closest planetary neighbors (Grigoryan, 2015). Thus, one of the main final intrigues of the *Red Star* is the Martians' strategic choice — to colonize Earth or Venus to satisfy the coming hunger of their highly developed but resource-greedy industry.

In the rational choice perspective, Earth is preferable for colonization: it has more resources than Venus and is more comfortable for living than hot-humid Venus located closer to the Sun. The only serious obstacle for colonizing Earth is the species Homo Sapiens as impulsively emotional and ethnically diverse compared to the phlegmatic and ethnically unified (in the communist sense) Martians; thus, according to the influential Martian expert, earthlings would not want to share their resources with the highly organized Martians even on the most favorable terms. Compared with the progressively developed Martians, earthlings are wild and uncivilized, most of them are full of powerful nationalistic, patriotic and class prejudices, which makes the same expert argue that they would fiercely resist any Martians' attempts to peacefully agree on the possible redistribution of Earth's resources in the interests of Mars: wild but smart earthlings would probably try to grab formidable Martian weapons to damage Martians.

That is why the rationally consistent Martian expert finally proposed to mercilessly and quickly destroy all earthlings, justifying this plan of earthly genocide by the higher value of the scientifically, technically and socially organized Martians compared with the poorly organized "savages" — earthlings. However, the expert was in the minority as reasonable Martians preferred the more humanistic but strategically more risky and costly approach of Manny and Natty, earthling Leonid's sweetheart. They emphasized the value of the social-cultural diversity of Earth as potentially providing unexpectedly new directions of progress, certainly valuable for the further interplanetary evolution of the solar system, and mutually beneficial for Martians and earthlings. Thus, Martians decided to colonize dangerously hot Venus with its lizard kingdoms (dinosaurs living in jungles among swamps and volcanoes) and without any intelligent Venusians.

Unlike the "real Martian" Manny, Chayanov's utopia presents the experienced communist revolutionary Alexei Kremnev as fictional American Charlie Men. Unlike Bogdanov's "stone-hard" Manny, Chayanov's Kremnev-Men is reflexively dual and internally uncertain, although he comes across as a "stone-hard" political figure consistent with his surname ("Kremnev" is formed from the Russian word for flintstone — the strongest stone for striking fire). Ration-

ally Kremnev believes that centralized communism is the highest social system in which history finds its end, but emotionally he is an old Moscow intellectual, constantly remembering the fascinating cultural diversity of different styles and eras. Unexpectedly having found himself in the world of peasant utopia, Kremnev enjoyed the diversity, pluralism and tolerance of Moscow in 1984 and started to feel certain sympathy for this world. He diligently studies the history and present state of this amazing peasant civilization, which stopped the expansion of both urban capitalism and centralized socialism to combine the archaic and the modern, statehood and anarchism, and identifies diverse and whimsical opportunities in the Russian and world history. In Chayanov's utopia, Kremnev-Men and humankind are described as following more complex and varied paths than the general evolution of the living, non-living and social worlds of the interplanetary generations surrounding Manny: from Venus' "dinosaurism" through Earth's capitalism to Mars' communism.

Certainly, Bogdanov's utopia is not absolutely dominated by unilinear paths of human and social development: he mentions some disturbances and reversals in the progressive historical evolution of Earth and Mars (counter-revolutionary uprisings or opportunistic intrigues); however, these mentions intended only to emphasize the inevitable victory of communism on Mars, Earth, and anywhere else. Bogdanov also mentions some depressive doubts and suffering of earthlings and Martians, which sometimes lead them to suicide. As a rule, the main causes of suicides in Bogdanov's utopias are extreme overwork and unhappy love.

The descriptions of personal life most clearly show differences in the worldviews of Bogdanov and Chayanov. Bogdanov's utopia is characterized by the primacy of progressive comradely collectivism in social life, which steadily pushed individualism and traditional private family life into the background. Comradely collectivism eliminated even the eternal gender differences: in the Martian Museum, there are many images of naked bodies; their historical transformation shows that the differences between the tender-attractive femininity of women's bodies and the brutal-expansive masculinity of men's bodies gradually combine into the averagely beautiful female-male body image. On Mars, there are no decorations in architecture or sophistication in fashion: architecture is functionally constructivist like unisex clothing in which gender differences are insignificant. Moreover, the comradely-collectivist overcoming of gender difference led to the overcoming of the family institution: there are still families raising children, but they are considered outdated and sentimental social relationships and are massively replaced by giant kindergartens-boarding schools for children of different ages.

On the contrary, Chayanov's utopia insists on the enduring and irreducible value of the family institution: even the final decree of the utopian world communist revolution on the complete abolition

of the family household failed to destroy it. Moreover, in the spirit of moderate enlighteners, Chayanov admits that human nature may be changing for the better but at the speed of geological processes, which probably explains why cooperative-market rather than comradely-communist collectivism dominates in his utopia.

In Chayanov's utopia, women are beautiful and charming in body and dress, like ladies of the Renaissance and unlike Bogdanov's Martian women similar to men in figure and clothes. It is no wonder that Kremnev-Men was instantly captivated by two beautiful girls — well-educated sisters who also cooked deliciously according to the recipes of the traditional Russian cuisine for their large, friendly, intelligent family.

The role of women as guardians of love and men's fate seems quite identical in the finale of both utopias. At the end of Bogdanov's utopia, Martian Natty, the sweetheart of earthling Leonid, cured him of some serious illness and inspired him to further revolutionary fight. In Chayanov's utopia, Muscovite Katerina, having fallen in love with Alexei Kremnev, warned him about doubts that he was American Charlie Men and about suspicions that he was a German spy who showed up in Moscow on the eve of the German sudden invasion. Chayanov seems to foresee the future expansionist (revanchist and colonization) plans of warlike Germany in relation to Russia and presents the future German economy as an inert, bureaucratically centralized and nationalized system of the Soviet-style socialism. In Chayanov's a utopia, Germany experiences a permanent food shortage due to inefficient state farms, invades the food-rich peasant Muscovy but immediately suffers a crushing defeat due to peasant Russia's miracle weapons — devices for the precise and powerful climate regulation for both peaceful (to get a scheduled amount of rain on fields) and military (to cause destructive tornadoes and hurricanes and send them at enemy armies) purposes.

Paradoxes of proletarian and peasant utopias

Certainly, in their utopias, both Bogdanov and Chayanov sought to present their understanding of prospects for the development of their main social heroes — the worker and the peasant. For Bogdanov, the drama was that initially, at the stage of manufacturing capitalism, the proletarian was only a fragmented piece of personality but in the further capitalist industrialization managed to develop, self-organize and self-know one's personality. Therefore, Bogdanov defines the proletariat is a partnership of collective labor, which creates a new harmonious personality. For Chayanov, the peasant is a completely different social phenomenon: unlike the young industrial proletariat, the peasantry is an ancient social class. Thereby, while Bogdanov sets the task of developing a proletarian culture, the peasant culture has ex-

isted since time immemorial: the peasant is primarily the family man in the middle of nature, and the peasantry is a community of family economies.

Bogdanov and Chayanov are prominent representatives of two powerful rival ideologies of their time — urbanism and agrarianism. At the beginning of the 20th century, urbanism was an undoubtedly dominant trend expressed in the belief that industrial urbanization would completely transform productive forces of the planet, and in the near future the city industry would finally conquer rural life. At the same time, in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe, especially in Germany and Russia, agrarianism became an influential direction that defended values of the rural way of life under the ever-accelerating technological progress (Bruish, 2014). Agrarianists criticized urbanism for smoking factories, urban crowds, strong social differentiation, and emerging environmental problems. Agrarianists argued that with the development of science and technology, the rural way of life, agricultural sciences and the peasantry would find their second wind in the previously unprecedented opportunities. Chayanov was such an agrarianist.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Bogdanov, who was interested in everything in the world, remained indifferent to the agrarian question and rural development (Alexander Bogdanov.., 1998), being skeptical about the cultural and revolutionary potential of the peasantry: "...in the highly capitalist country, a feudal reaction is sometimes possible, and the large peasantry, lagging behind in culture by an entire historical period, often serves for the upper classes as a weapon for suppression of the proletariat" (Bogdanov, 1924: 165). "As Bogdanov put it: the struggle for socialism is not by any means to be equated with an exclusive war against capitalism. It involves the creation of new elements of socialism in the proletariat itself, in its internal relations and in its conditions of everyday life: the development of a socialist proletarian culture. Bogdanov also paid attention to male–female relationships as problematic, as needing to be transformed by the proletariat. Consequently, a genuine revolution is not something that could be achieved by one gigantic act of will in which power is seized but is a transformative process involving many levels. Only when the proletariat can oppose the old cultural world with its own political force, its own economic plan and its new world of culture, with its new, higher methods, will genuine socialism be possible" (Gare, 2000: 347).

In turn, Chayanov, despite his tireless interest in the most diverse aspects of social development, was very critical of the growing factory districts. In his peasant utopia, Chayanov described the worker, his aspirations and dreams no less derogatory and superficially than Bogdanov the petty-bourgeois essence of the peasant class. According to Chayanov, in the socialist period of that utopian history, the peasant economy was considered a kind of proto-matter for some higher forms of large collective economy. Such a view was

rather genetic than logical: socialism was conceived as the antithesis of capitalism, born in the dungeons of the German capitalist factory, nurtured by the psychology of the urban proletariat exhausted by forced labor and the lack of creative work or thought; which is why the proletariat could think of the ideal system only as a negation of the existing system but also based on hired rather than creative labor (Chayanov, 1920: 45).

In addition to the social types of the worker and the peasant, Bogdanov and Chayanov developed the foundations of sociology of organizations. In his social-philosophical treatise *Tektology. The Universal Organizational Science* (2023/1925), Bogdanov anticipated many provisions of cybernetics with its systems approach. In his works, Chayanov developed a system of organizational measures and methods not only for the peasant economy and agricultural cooperation but also for many other social institutions.

Chayanov's and Bogdanov's methodological approaches to system organization are different. Bogdanov provides a comprehensive, total concept of organization to explain any of the most complex and varied phenomena (love, God, beauty, and so on). He defines the essence of social evolution and progress as the improvement of general and specific organizational principles that would achieve their unifying perfection in the future collectivism of socialist and communist societies. According to Bogdanov, "the experience and ideas of contemporary science lead us to the only integral, the only monistic understanding of the universe. It appears before us as an infinitely unfolding fabric of all types of forms and levels of organization, from the unknown elements of ether to human collectives and star systems. All these forms, in their interlacement and mutual struggle, in their constant changes, create the universal organizational process, infinitely split in its parts, but continuous and unbroken in its whole" (Gare, 2000: 349–350).

Chayanov's pluralistic understanding of the evolution and progress of institutions is fundamentally different from Bogdanov's monism as Chayanov emphasizes the fundamental diversity of organizational forms. He admits that all social institutions have some universal organizational principles, but these general principles are so abstract that cannot be used in the analysis of specific social institutions and everyday principles of their functioning. He argues that "the devil is in the details", i.e., to study specific social institutions we need specific organizational categories and concepts; in the functioning of various social institutions, some organizational categories will be the same and others will be different, and even the same concepts can be filled with different organizational content.

For Chayanov, unlike Bogdanov, the historical evolution of social institutions is not clear and unambiguous. Chayanov rejects history as an abstract, unilinear progress ladder of the orthodox Marxism, on which all pre-capitalist formations are replaced by capitalist ones and

in the end by communism, albeit at different speed, with different success and with different efforts. Such pure and isolated organizational forms exist only in theory, while in real life social institutions interact and form various conglomerates with the most incredible symbiosis of the conventional "new" and "old", "archaic" and "modern" organizational forms, i.e., progress is not obvious and is very problematic (see, e.g.: Nikulin, Trotsuk, 2016).

Bogdanov's favorite concept is "organization"; Chayanov does not have such a favorite term for explaining any issue, but his key concept for the analysis of social organizations is "optimum" — the most optimal solution to a certain social, economic or cultural problem (in the political perspective — a compromise). Bogdanov considered if not "optimums" as such then at least "compromises" they lead to in politics as general signs of petty-bourgeois liberalism and philistinism. As a politician, Bogdanov agreed with the need to sometimes resort to compromises but only as temporary and tactical measures. He never recognized the art of compromise as a fundamental principle of social life, referring to his main idol, Karl Marx, who was a rather uncompromising person. On the contrary, for Chayanov, finding optimal compromises (between the city and the village, between different economic and social structures, between traditional and modern worldviews, etc.) is the essence of solving social problems (Shanin, 2009).

Thus, Bogdanov's utopia is generally uncompromising and unidirectional, while Chayanov's utopia is rather a compromise conglomerate of possible alternatives for social and personal development. Bogdanov's favorite social type is someone devoted to the all-encompassing technocratic-engineering idea, who can sacrifice love and glory for a great engineering goal and is indifferent to bullying and slander; all this is difficult but solely due to overwork to the point of nervous exhaustion (Bogdanov, 2017). This idea justified the creation of Bogdanov's Institute of Blood Transfusion that was to improve the health of Soviet citizens overstrained from administrative, engineering, teaching, party, scientific and other works. Bogdanov was interested only in this type of nervous exhaustion — from excessive mental and social efforts (Klementsov, 2011). And Chayanov's heroes often teeter on the brink of madness but not due to hard mental work, rather the opposite. As a rule, heroes of his romantic stories are young aristocratic slackers or people of free creative professions (today we would call them "the creative class"): being tormented by idleness, having a lot of free time, they become interested in some strange mystical and phantasmagoric phenomena that captivate them to the point of mental and spiritual exhaustion (Gerasimov, 1997). Both thinkers considered the relationship between social reason and social madness, especially during great social revolutions.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that despite such differing social-philosophical foundations of their scientific and utopian con-

cepts, there is something remarkably similar in Chayanov's and Bogdanov's understanding of the true social progress — as the broad and deep development of humanistic culture for and among all social classes and strata. In fact, long before the concept of human capital was introduced, both Bogdanov and Chayanov had insisted on the primacy of high culture for a comprehensive, activity-based personal development that could take either proletarian or peasant path either on Earth or on Mars but would ensure the sustainable and variable social development.

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Утопии Александра Богданова и Александра Чаянова: выбор пути сельско-городского развития и его последствия для сельского человеческого капитала и социальной дифференциации[2]

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Аннотация. Научно фундированный разговор о нынешнем состоянии сельских территорий, перспективах сельского человеческого капитала и тенденциях сельской

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

дифференциации невозможен без опоры на концептуальные разработки и футуристические проекты великих российских аграрников. Статья посвящена сравнению футуристических воззрений двух замечательных социальных мыслителей начала XX века — Александра Богданова и Александра Чаянова, выраженных в их утопических произведениях, которые в художественной форме запечатлели особенности (пролетарские и крестьянские) их социально-экономических и культурно-этических взглядов. Богданов и Чаянов отличались энциклопедическими познаниями и блестящими организаторскими способностями, опубликовали оригинальные работы в области социальной философии и политической экономии, были яркими социально-политическими лидерами альтернативных направлений русской революции, а также писателями-футурологами. Богданов в своих утопиях развивал марксистские идеи пролетарской революции и построения социализма не только на земле, но и в космосе. Чаянов в своей утопии умеренного кооперативного социализма отстаивал новое революционное значение крестьянства. Пролетарский идеолог Богданов скептически относился к политическому потенциалу крестьянства, опасаясь, что противники пролетарской революции могут использовать крестьянский консерватизм против социалистической революции. Крестьянский идеолог Чаянов скептически оценивал творческий потенциал рабочего класса, полагая, что в грядущем социальном перевороте рабочий класс может быть использован для построения авторитарно-бюрократического социализма. Оба мыслителя стремились через анализ альтернатив взаимодействия человека и природы оценить перспективы глобального сельско-городского развития. Несмотря на игнорирование положительного революционного потенциала пролетариата (Чаянов) и крестьянства (Богданов), оба внесли огромный вклад в теорию и практику русской революции, а их утопические идеи по-прежнему вдохновляют на поиски нового справедливого, гуманного и счастливого мира.

Ключевые слова: Чаянов, Богданов, утопия, пролетариат, крестьянство, марксизм, корпоративизм, колониализм, человеческий капитал

International typologies of rural areas[1]

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Abstract. The article presents international, mainly European, typologies of rural areas, focusing on the features and differences in the criteria for identifying 'rural' territories in the European Union. The author explains the reasons for the need for more comprehensive typologies based on the transport accessibility of the territory, trajectories of its transformation, and macro-regional characteristics. The article considers the main methodological difficulties in developing a universal typology of rural areas for all regions of the world and emphasizes differences in the indicators and their threshold values used for typologies and in the levels of administrative-territorial analysis. The author provides references that reflect the methodological foundations of contemporary national typologies and mentions scientific innovations used in such research works. Finally, the article identifies the main common features of the presented typologies, focusing on their methodological limitations.

Key words: rural areas, international typologies, spatial differentiation, types of rural areas, assessment methods, rural-urban continuum, transition zones, identification criteria

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Methodology for the typologization of rural areas is of particular interest for rural geography due to the high diversity and heterogeneity of its object. Typologization can serve various research purposes: to monitor the development of 'genetically' identical rural areas, to improve the efficiency of rural and regional policies, to support spatial planning, and to scientifically identify distinctive features of regions/countries (Kotomina, 2019).

Approaches to the definition of the 'rural' vary greatly by region and country, which leads to disputes about the correct definition of rural areas and to extensive lists of works in different countries. At the international level, there is no unambiguous or universal definition of rural areas (Antonova, 2015); therefore, international organizations, countries, regions and researchers develop their own methods for identifying rural areas, which determines methodological problems for comparative analysis of rural areas in different regions. Moreover, the lack of a general theoretical framework for the study of rural areas gives researchers freedom of choice, which, provided the specificity of

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the object, raises doubts in the objectivity of dividing rural areas into separate structural elements. Other barriers to developing a unified typology of rural areas are the lack of homogeneous and comparable statistical data at the subregional level and significant differences in demographic, social-economic and environmental conditions in rural areas of different countries (Naumov, Rubanov, Ablyazina, 2021). These factors hinder the adoption of a general statistical definition of rural areas.

The article is based on foreign works on the methodology for typologization of rural areas. Such works focus on the features of typologies based on the available national statistical data, problems in the qualitative cross-country comparison of the resulting typologies, new mathematical methods for processing statistical data, and potential directions for improving the representativeness of data for the final typological selection. For the Russian science, the research experience of European countries is of greatest interest due to the similarity and high heterogeneity of rural territories, which provides opportunities for applying foreign experience in the heterogeneous Russian countryside.

Foreign approaches to the typology of territories

European countryside varies greatly by region, representing a wide range of different types of rural areas: from the Low Countries' countryside closely connected with urban agglomerations to the remote resource peripheries of Fennoscandia; there are different types of spatial transition from urban to rural areas and differing transitional types (Khalaf, Michaud, Jolley, 2022). Moreover, even in the European Union, there is no unified typology: the choice of final parameters and criteria for identifying 'rural' territories remains with governments of the member countries, which becomes an obstacle to a unified regional policy due to disproportions in the financial needs of different types of rural areas and limits the representativeness of a cross-country comparative analysis.

Table 1 presents the criteria and threshold values used for identifying rural areas in the EU countries, which allows to conditionally consider about 18% of the EU citizens as villagers and more than 80% of the total EU territory as rural areas (Khalaf, Michaud, Jolley, 2022).

Table 1. Rural areas in the EU countries

Country	Administrative-territorial level	Criteria	Threshold values
Austria	Communes	Settlement size	>2000
Belgium	Communes	Sectoral structure of employment	20% employed in agriculture

Country	Administrative-territorial level	Criteria	Threshold values
Bulgaria	Municipalities	Population density Population size	<150 people per sq. km <30000 people in the largest city
Cyprus	–	Population size	Not cities
Czech Republic	Municipalities	Resident population size	<2000
Germany	Districts	Population density Settlement size	Population density <150 people per sq. km or <100 near a large urban core (with 100 thousand residents)
Denmark	Separate residential areas	Settlement size	<200
Spain	NUTS 5	Population size	<2000
Estonia	Municipalities	Population size	<2500
Finland	NUTS 5	Many	–
France	NUTS 5	Population size Number of workplaces Spatial patterns	<2000
Greece	NUTS 5	Population size	<2000
Hungary	NUTS 4	Population size Population density	<10000 <120 people per sq. km
Ireland	Electoral districts	Population size	<1500 people outside the urban influence
Italy	Communes	Population density	<100
Lithuania	Postal districts	Population size Settlement features	<3000 Weak urban features
Luxembourg	Communes	Population size	<2000 in the commune's administrative center

Country	Administrative-territorial level	Criteria	Threshold values
Latvia	–	Not cities	–
Malta	–	Settlement size	<1500, not cities
Netherlands	Submunicipal level	Population density	<500 people per sq. km
Poland	Municipalities/ their parts	Population density	<150 people per sq. km
Portugal	Communes	Population density	<100 people per sq. km
Romania	Villages/ Municipalities	Settlement size Employment in agriculture	–
Sweden	Districts, separate residential areas	Settlement size	<1000 <200 people per sq. km
Slovenia	Municipalities	Population size Population density	<5000 <100 people per sq. km

However, since the mid-1990s, the UE has taken measures to develop a unified definition of 'rural areas', and some general, limiting criteria were introduced by the typology of urban and rural areas, which was developed in 1994 by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and in 2004 by the Eurostat typology (Champion, 2008). Both typologies use a similar simple approach based on the population density analysis which divides the EU subregions (NUTS 3 level) into three types: mainly urban, intermediate, and mainly rural. The OECD typology estimates the share of population in rural municipalities: the types are identified as 15% and 50% respectively. The Eurostat typology is based on the population size and density: all areas with more than 50 thousand residents and over 500 people per square km are classified as mainly urban, and areas with less than 50 thousand people and less than 100 people per square km — as mainly rural.

This methodological description reveals a serious limitation of the approach on which these typologies are based: as classifications they measure 'rural areas' using a single indicator — population density. Such an approach is too rough to reflect the apparent and increasing polymorphism and diversity of natural, social and cultural characteristics of the contemporary rural areas. Therefore, the OECD and Eurostat typologies no longer correspond to the new scientific concepts of 'new rurality'/postindustrial rural areas due to not showing

their heterogeneity and multidirectional development. To overcome this limitation, many researchers developed typologies based on multivariate statistical approaches — a wide range of variables, ranging from social-demographic and sectoral to territorial (land use, remoteness, integration with urban space, etc.).

The main reasons for the development of new typologies and for the improvement of old ones with more complex types are as follows: growing diversity of rural areas; growing complexity of development policies in rural regions; growing interdependence of rural and urban economies; a better understanding of the mathematical modeling advantages and limitations for the development scenarios for each type of rural areas. Moreover, in the 2000s, the basic ideas of new economic geography ('path dependence', agglomeration effect in rural areas) were introduced. Many works tried to adapt new concepts to the existing needs, and the OECD (in 2007) and EU (in 2012) typologies were supplemented with an indicator of remoteness from urban cores, which is an example of the center-periphery concept. The list of the most valuable research typologies is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. International typologies of rural areas

Name (year)	Country	Administrative territorial level	Indicators, method	Purpose
OECD Typology (1994)	OECD	NUTS 2/3	Population density	Political
Austrian Spatial Development Concept (2001)	Austria	Municipalities	Territorial development	Political
Slovenian Typology (2002)	Slovenia	NUTS 5	Population density and dynamics, natural conditions	Scientific
Pan-European Typology (2003)	EU	NUTS 2/3	Availability zones, economic indicators and their dynamics	Intermediate
Eurostat Typology (2004)	EU	NUTS 3	Population density	Political

Name (year)	Country	Administrative territorial level	Indicators, method	Purpose
Rural and Urban Areas Classification (2004)	UK	NUTS 5	Population density	Scientific
New Rural Typology (2005)	Spain	NUTS 4	Territorial division, cluster analysis	Scientific
Rural-Urban Classification (2005)	India	Districts	Employment	Political
Spatial Structure (2005)	Germany	Raster of 1*1 km	Accessibility zones	Intermediate
Typology of Localities (2005)	France	'Localities'	Cluster analysis	Scientific
Finnish Typology (2007)	Finland	NUTS 5	Principal components method	Scientific
Improved OECD Typology (2007)	Belgium, France, Poland	NUTS 5	Accessibility criterion and cluster analysis were added	Political
Serbian Typology (2008)	Serbia	NUTS 3	Social-economic indicators, cluster analysis	Scientific
Urbanization of Postal Districts (2009)	Netherlands	Postal districts	Housing density	Scientific
Typology of Rural Centers (2009)	Belgium	Municipalities	Weighted average social-economic indicators	Scientific
Typology for the Strategic European Policies (2012)	EU	NUTS 3 + raster	Division into regions, accessibility and economic density	Intermediate

Name (year)	Country	Administrative territorial level	Indicators, method	Purpose
Czech Typology (2016)	Czech Republic	NUTS 4	Demographic and economic indicators и экон. показатели	Scientific
Brazilian Typology (2016)	Brazil	Subregions	Population density (Eurostat)	Scientific
Swedish Typology (2016)	Sweden	NUTS 5	Social-economic indicators, cluster analysis	Scientific
Chinese Typology (2020)	China	Villages	Social-economic indicators, neural model	Scientific
'New Rural Typology' (2021)	USA	Counties	Social-economic indicators, unsupervised machine learning	Iintermediate
Evaluation of SME under spatial heterogeneity (2021)	Canada	Municipalities	Social-economic indicators, assessment of heterogeneity	Intermediate

Main features of the typologies under study

In most examples in Table 2, rural typologies are simple dichotomies identifying a gradient border between rural and urban areas. The standard number of types varies from 3 to 9: the number of intermediate types between 'truly urban' and 'truly rural' depends on the distance from the urban core (dependence on the city), manifestation of urban features (urbanization) and population density. When making a typology, the EU countries tend to conduct analysis at the level of subregions and below to better identify the heterogeneity of rural areas and to further aggregate data and get a more general picture at the regional or national level.

In fact, the typologies under study can be divided into two large groups: 'spatial' and 'social-economic'. The first group is largely a form of zoning (its methods are not widespread in foreign countries) which reflects the spatial structure of relations between rural and urban areas. Such typologies include many categories, varying from urban to rural. The second group is based on the division of rural areas according to similarity of social-economic indicators (employment in agriculture, share of pensioners, gender and age structure of the population, etc.). It should be noted that many typologies are largely hybrid: they identify types by both spatial (transport accessibility from the center, belonging to a macro-region) and social-economic factors (population density, per capita economic indicators). In other words, functional typology is combined with the center-periphery concept: the position of the type depends on both spatial location and social-economic development.

The main limitation of most typologies is problems of scale and scope. The problem of scale occurs when aggregating selected types to a higher administrative-territorial level — the representativeness of the existing rural-urban differences and the degree of spatial heterogeneity decrease; therefore, urban types begin to prevail, and the features of rural areas are lost. The problem of scope is determined by the poor comparability of statistical regions in different countries and, accordingly, by the difficulty of using one typology for all countries. For instance, about a half of the typologies based on the EU member-states' specific indicators cannot be applied to the entire EU at any NUTS level. For a greater scope, a compromise is needed, which means less demanding statistics. Although national typologies usually do not imply a broader scope, they can provide innovative conceptual/methodological insights as reflecting specific knowledge about rural areas.

Most European typologies under study were developed for scientific rather than political purposes, i.e., are mainly used for research. The development of typologies for political purposes was funded by the EU government departments and Commission. Political purposes prevailed in the early 2000s, while in the 2010s, such works focused on scientific purposes — the need for typologies for management purposes was lost. Today, among typologization methods, aggregation for identifying types prevails over disaggregated methods: the quality and scope of statistical data ensures typologization 'from below'.

Ideas potentially useful for research

Let us consider in more detail those typologies that can provide conceptual ideas and methodological experience for research. Many works are based on innovations that can be used for developing a research typology for Russia's heterogeneous rural areas. Thus, the

OECD typology updated in 2007 was supplemented by the distance criterion — an estimated travel time from the rural area to the nearest city with more than 50 thousand residents (Van Eupen et al., 2012), which allowed to identify two subtypes for 'mainly rural' and 'intermediate' types: 'close to the city' and 'remote'. The criterion for identifying each subtype is the ability of 50% of the population to reach a large city within a specified time interval. In European countries, this interval is 45 minutes, in North America — 60 minutes. This typology applies different criteria for each region, depending on population density and infrastructure development; therefore, it can be used for typologization based on the center-peripheral concept for European/Asian Russia, Black-Earth/Non-Black-Earth regions.

Typology for the Strategic European Policies, which was developed after the OECD typology, aimed primarily at taking into account the diversity and differences of the EU regions, which is necessary for a correct comparative analysis of rural areas in different parts of the EU (Van Eupen, 2012). This typology divided the EU territory into 5 geographical zones based on the similarity of environmental conditions and improved the standard set of accessibility and population density by multiplying population density by per capita GDP (economic density). Thus, the idea of the economic development of rural areas allowed to assess their sectoral transformation and the changing role of agriculture. Moreover, this typology is to be supplemented with a time variable to assess the dynamics of rural development.

Among works on national typologies, one can identify a group of countries that, like Russia, have undergone post-socialist transformations both in society as a whole and in rural areas: Slovenia, Czech Republic, and Serbia. The former socialist bloc countries show similar features of changes, which can be used for typologization. The Slovenian typology is based on the following division of rural areas (Perpar, 2002): suburban areas with the population density above 200 people per square km and the share of employed in agriculture above 10%; typical rural areas differing by local geographical conditions (lowlands, hills and mountains); depopulation zones divided into three subtypes depending on the depopulation — intensive (loss of more than 2.5% of the population per decade and the average age above 72 years), controlled (similar rate but the average age below 72 years), and potential (no depopulation, the average age above 72 years). To ensure a higher internal homogeneity of regions for analysis and further implementation of regional policy, the lowest statistically available administrative-territorial division was used — local community.

The Czech typology is based on the principles similar to Russian works: the typology aims at identifying those rural areas that suffered the most from aging and those depressed villages that lost their economic specialization. Thus, the identified types represent a scale of depression and stagnation in rural areas (Hrabák, Čapkovičová, 2015): steadily developing rural areas, stable, non-developing rural areas,

'non-core villages' with economic problems, 'aging/retirement villages'. The next level above this typology is the division of rural areas by the historical past, which is a dichotomy of the border areas, on which Czechs settled after the World War II, and the internal Czech core. There are still statistical differences in their development — in characteristics of their social and human capital. This typology also reflects the social-economic transformations determined by the Velvet Revolution of 1989 (transition to the market economy, changes in economic relations with the countries of the socialist bloc) and the Velvet Divorce of 1993 (with Slovakia), which affected rural areas. Thus, there is an indirect impact of the economic-geographical location (position in relation to the long-term growth centers) of rural areas on their development.

Unlike most others, the Serbian typology uses cluster analysis to initially divide rural areas into groups on the basis of similar social-economic problems for further regional planning. The typology identifies the following types of rural areas: the most lagging in terms of health care, with demographic problems, and specializing in some economic activity; then factor analysis of the main problems/characteristics is conducted (Martinović, Ratkaj, 2015).

In general, new ideas for the study of rural transformations through territorial typologization are proposed mainly in developed countries. Among the most advanced and interesting typologies are those adopted in the Netherlands, German-speaking countries, Sweden, and the United States (extremely specific). The Swedish typology does not focus on the urban-rural continuum but aims at identifying functional types of rural areas (looks like the functional typology proposed by A. I. Alekseev and S. G. Safonov). This typology describes how global rural trends affect the Swedish reality: development of tourism and recreational areas in the countryside, organization of retirement villages, etc. This typology is based on microdata (statistical areas do not correlate with administrative ones) and does not include geographical characteristics in cluster analysis (Hedlund, 2016), which allows to better understand the mosaic nature of rural Sweden.

The Netherlands has unique characteristics for the formation of distinctive rural types due to its high population density and lowland, uniform settlement: the high density of connections between urban and rural areas leads to a wide range of intermediate forms. There are many new ideas and concepts of rural areas in the country due to the highly developed research, complete and extensive statistical data, and in many ways unique research object. Many works aim at identifying suburban areas and their subtypes. According to the geographical theory, suburban areas are largely characterized by the classic hierarchical model, in which mobility within the municipality and between it and the central city is the most significant factor. However, in the Netherlands, there are clear de-

viations from theoretical models of mobility: while the north-east regions show the traditional hierarchical mobility, in the densely populated areas of Randstad and Limburg, the role of inter-district connections, movements from one suburban zone to the central city of another region and its suburban zone are more significant (Hornis, Van Eck, 2008).

Thus, in the polycentric, densely populated systems, suburban areas can be independent from the central city and become regional centers due to the connections with other areas. In other words, such suburban areas can be considered a part of the urban network at the regional level, and rural areas achieve the similar level of centrality to cities. On this basis, the typology of rural areas divides them into four types: classical (few connections with suburban areas of other regions), city-dominated (low mobility to cities in other regions), intermediate (weak external and internal connections), and compressed (Randstad and Limburg with high connections with other suburban areas and cities). The multidirectional development of suburban areas can be explained by differences in the economic-geographical position and historical factors of spatial development, which determined the spatial decentralization of the country under the 19th-century urbanization. A favorable location close to other central cities or other attractive suburban areas is a prerequisite for more polycentric development.

In developing countries (Brazil, India and China in Table 2), there are no widely used, specific national typologies of rural areas with methodological innovations and new approaches. In Brazil, the development of its own typology is hampered by the lack of statistical data (Braga, Remoaldo, Fiúza, 2015). Therefore, for censuses and regional development projects the country uses the OECD typology.

Thus, typology is one of the most practical methods for assessing the dynamics of changes and differences between rural areas. However, this method has many disadvantages such as the problem of scale (losing details when aggregating to a higher level), the problem of scope (poor comparability of the regional data sets), difficulties with taking into account regional characteristics of rural development (many national typologies are not reducible to a single base), the quality of the initial data and its representativeness (secondary data cannot reflect specific processes and historical trajectories of each region). Foreign typologies can be divided into two large groups: spatial ones are based on the analysis of the spatial position of rural areas, their place on the center-periphery scale (analogue of the Russian zoning); the social-economic ones apply an extensive list of social-economic and demographic indicators (cluster analysis is an analogue of the Russian typologization). The main criteria for identifying different types of rural areas are as follows: population density, accessibility of territory, settlement size, employment, gender and age structure of the population. In recent decades, this list was supple-

mented by indicators reflecting the dynamics and trajectory of territorial development and the connections between rural areas and cities, which is determined by the mass dissemination of the new economic geography ideas about 'path dependency' and agglomeration effect in development. The impossibility of a 'rigid' single typology of rural areas made many countries identify subregions as a more homogeneous basis for typology (subtypes within separate geographical zones). Therefore, today the number of the identified types is quite large — 3 to 9 not to mention many intermediate forms between rural and urban areas. In each developed European country, there are national concepts for assessing and identifying suburban areas, focusing on the national features of rural areas to improve national programs for regional development.

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Зарубежный опыт типологизации сельской местности[2]

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Аннотация. В статье рассмотрен зарубежный, преимущественно европейский, опыт типологизации сельских территорий. Описаны особенности и различия критериев выделения «сельских» территорий в странах Европейского Союза. Объясняются причины формирования запроса на комплексные типологии, учитывающие транспортную доступность территорий, траектории их трансформаций, а также макрорегиональные особенности. Конкретизируются основные методологические трудности в разработке универсальной типологии сельских территорий для всех регионов мира. Отмечены страновые различия в используемых для типологизации показателях и их пороговых значениях, а также в уровне административно-территориального анализа. Представлен справочный материал, отражающий методологический фокус современных страновых типологий и научные новации, характерные для этих исследовательских работ. Подчеркиваются основные общие черты представленных типологий и их методологические ограничения.

Ключевые слова: сельская местность, зарубежные типологии, пространственная дифференциация, типы сельских территорий, методы оценки, сельско-городской континуум, переходные зоны, критерии выделения.

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Class differentiation in contemporary rural Galiza: A first approach

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Abstract. The article aims at making a first approach to the study of class differentiation in rural communities of contemporary Galiza. First, the author reconstructs the debates on the 'agrarian question' in the history of the Spanish state — from the reformist thought of the late 19th century to the present, focusing on how this question was discussed in the Galizan context, in the field of Galizan agrarian historiography. This field of research developed mainly from the study of the peasants' access to land ownership in relation to various disentailments introduced by the liberal capitalist state. The author pays particular attention to the consequences of the land tenure regime that prevailed in Galiza — *foro*, a long-term lease: the increasing number of peasants were becoming owners, which agrarian historiography considered a key element of social-economic changes from the late 19th century to the first third of the 20th century. Another interrelated processes were the *antiforal* agrarian mobilization, growing commercialization of agrarian production, remittances of Galizan migrants from Americas, and technical development of production. The author emphasizes how social inequalities have changed in rural communities, focusing on the consequences of the liberal capitalist state in social structure and referring to different studies that prove the intensification of social inequalities. Finally, the author describes social changes at the last stage of the Franco dictatorship. Thus, this article is a first step in the study of how class inequalities have transformed contemporary peasant communities.

Key words: class differentiation, rural history, Galiza, agrarian question, peasant communities, 19th — 20th centuries

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Introduction: questions about inequality[1]

The article reconstructs explanations of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, i.e., the end of the *Ancien Régime* and the bourgeois revolution in Galiza. This article is based on the Galizan agrarian historiography placed in the context of discussions of the agrarian question in the Spanish state from the 19th century to the middle of

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the 20th century, in which different stages can be identified. The *fin-de-siècle* agrarian crisis and the modernization under Franco's dictatorship seem to be two milestones, although 'borders' of certain social processes are difficult to set. The paper starts with the debate on the bourgeois revolution in Galiza, especially on the transition to the capitalist mode of production as affecting social inequality in peasant communities. Thus, the question is what type of social structure the bourgeois revolution created; what changes it determined; and how social inequalities evolve in rural communities before, during and after this long transition.

The article begins with the debates on the agrarian question in the historiography of the Spanish state, which became more intense in the 1980s — the 1990s, when the fragmentation of knowledge affected the development of historical science. The article focuses on the Galizan agrarian historiography explaining the 19th century's effects of disentailments (*desamortizaciones*) for the social agrarian structure and the consequences of agrarianism movement, partial commercialization of the agrarian production, technological advances in peasant households[2] and remittances from Galizan emigrants. Special attention is paid to the subjects of changes, participation of different peasant groups, and the impact of these transformations on subaltern groups and ruling classes. Thus, the transition to the capitalist system aggravates social inequalities in peasant communities and leads to a dependent and subordinated integration of peasant economies.

'Agrarian question' in the historiography of the Spanish state

For the Spanish state, the starting point would be the reformist thought of the late 19th century, in which the 'agrarian question' was understood as the 'social-agrarian problem'. Intellectuals of the Regenerationism movement criticized the liberal 'individualist revolution' of the 19th century and the unifying model of the French Revolution. The radicalism of the Spanish revolution, imitating the state centralization and the French legislative uniformization, determined the double-sided agrarian problem: peasant proletarianization and rural *caciquismo*[3] which led to the decadence in Spain. Thus, this was a break from the national past, against which the reformist project was proposed 'from above' — nationalist, ethnical, based on the Spanish political traditions and customary law — for the regeneration of the nation based on the organicist conception (Ruiz Torres, 2004: 189–190). One of the main representatives of this movement was Joaquín

2. I use 'peasant households' instead of 'peasant farms', because peasant economies had a very limited market orientation throughout this historicalperiod.
3. *Caciquismo* — a distorted way for local leaders to exercise power on a patronage basis.

Costa, whose understanding of the 'agrarian question' in Spain was highly influential during the first third of the 20th century. During the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1936), this reformist movement had diverse allies in contrast to other proposals to address the agrarian problem through the social revolution (Ruiz Torres, 2004: 170–195).

After the Franco's counterrevolution (1936–1975), the influence of Regenerationism was determined by the renewed interest in the 'agrarian question' from 1950s, opposing the organic and evolutionist interpretations of the nation as the main historical subject (Ruiz Torres, 2004: 194–196; 2020: 60–61). Researchers considered the extent to which the *Ancien Régime* had been abandoned, compared to other parts of Europe as a reference and model. Thus, it was declared an unfinished change (agrarian reform) cut off by the military coup. Furthermore, there was a clear image of the 'dual' reality: on the one hand, an advanced capitalist industrial sector; on the other hand, a backward agrarian sector as a burden (Ruiz Torres, 2004: 197, 227–231; Villares, 1999: 223).

The historical research of both regional or local character contributed to "diversifying the understanding of the 'agrarian question' in the Spanish state, opened new sides of the issue and provided new plural interpretations according to the territorial agricultures (Ruiz Torres, 2004: 209; 2020: 66–67). In the last years of the dictatorship, the historiographical renewal of this field was determined by the contributions of the Annales School, British Marxism, development of the economic history and other social sciences contributing to the peasant studies (Villares, 1999: 229)[4]. Although under general influences, there is no uniform perspective (Ruiz Torres 2020: 64–65) but a progressive discussion space for diverse issues, which contributed to the creation of the agrarian history in the Spanish state.

Different access to the property rights was considered the main factor of social relationships. The starting point of many studies was an assumption (quite debated) that the development of agriculture would involve land concentration and expropriation. The research results were diverse, although many studies revealed the strengthening peasant property rights from the second half of the 19th century to the first third of the 20th century. Garrabou warns that this statement does not mean that capitalism implied a certain rural egalitarianism: in fact, a greater access to property for a part of the peasantry was only possible due to the expulsion of many other peasants. On the other hand, the strengthening peasant property did not imply the disappearance neither of the unequal land distribution nor of

4. In the 1970s, in this field, the unknown Marx's texts such as *Grundrisse* were discovered and the re-edited Chayanov's works were published. From the 1970s to the 1980s, there was an influential debate on the transition from feudalism to capitalism — 'the Brenner debate' (Brenner, 1982; Hilton, 1982).

large properties, although in some cases inequalities were mitigated (Garrabou, 1992: 13).

In the most representative case of the agrarian question in the Spanish state, the *latifundio* or large estate, the new research proposed that the key to the agrarian structure was not in the large estate but in its dialectical relationship with small holdings (*minifundio*). In the historiographical perspective, this explains the capitalist large estates' penetration in the Andalusian countryside, although combined with the 'peasant way'. Despite the assumption of peasant proletarization, the sources show a consolidation of peasant households (peasantization) as a result of the liberal revolution. However, the re-definition of the peasant reproductive strategies deepened an increasing formal subordination of peasant households to the capitalist market (Gonzalez de Molina, 1993: 267-308).

Some representatives of the agrarian historiography of the Spanish state opposed perspectives which, by identifying the 'agrarian question' through structural elements, diluted or denied the action of the peasant subject (Millán, 2020). To highlight the peasant capacity for action, their interpretations can be considered in terms of confrontation or adaptation: the peasant response to the pressures of the capitalist market and the peasant resistance capacity to these pressures and their consequences are non-exclusive options and can accompany dissimilar or opposing historiographical interpretations. The Galizan agrarian historiography is based on 'adaptation' as a conceptual tool that stresses the role of the peasantry in the capitalist mode of production, not excluding structural limitations. In the Galizan case, the agrarian problem was not determined by large estates, quite the contrary — by the most exacerbated small holdings (*minifundio*).

Peasantization vs proletarianization in Galiza

The Galizan agrarian historiography proceeds largely from the study of peasant access to land ownership. The question of this article is whether the peasantry has access to land, which peasantry and when, and how the answers to this question contribute to the interpretation of class inequality in rural communities. Before answering these questions, we must consider the Galizan agrarian historiography in context. It is based on dialogue with other historiographies of the Spanish state, the Annales School, British Marxism and other social sciences. Thus, unlike the studies of the 1960s — 1970s, which focused on the permanence of agriculture (limited changes and a prevailing orientation to subsistence), since the 1980s, historiography aimed at providing a more dynamic interpretation of the Galizan rural areas, paying attention to different processes of a subtle adaptation to new social relations. From the late 19th century to the first third of the 20th century, there was a configuration of the smallholders' agricul-

ture, its growing integration into the Spanish capitalist market, and its progressive technical transformation (Quintana Garrido, 1990; Artiaga & Baz, 1993: 289–290; Fernández Prieto, 2000: 15–16; Villares, 2000: 61). Moreover, an increasing number of peasants were becoming owners, which was accompanied by the *antiforal* agrarian mobilization, growing commercialization of agrarian production, remittances of Galizan migrants from Americas, and technical advances in production (Villares, 1982: 361–415).

In the study of the peasant access to the full land ownership, various disentailments of the liberal state throughout the 19th century were considered. First, it is necessary to explain what were the mechanisms that regulated land relationships. In Galiza, a large part of the peasantry had access to land through the *foral* contract. It is not easy to define the *foro*[5], but we can consider it as a long-term land tenancy. During the modern period, *foro* became a core of the agrarian social structure: proprietor of the direct domain (often the church), owners of the useful domain (peasants who cultivate land and pay *foro* taxes), and a noble class acting as an intermediary and often having a *foral* contract with the church through the *subforo*. This intermediary class is *fidalguía* or rural gentry. While *foro* is the predominant form of land relationship, there are also areas in Galiza with the prevailing *arrendamiento* (short-term tenancy) or *aparcería* (sharecropping) — of a shorter duration and lesser stability for peasant households[6].

The study of the effects of various disentailments shown the limited impact of the liberal reform and of the transformation of the legal system of land ownership. At the end of the 19th century, the *foral* regime persisted as the organizational framework of agrarian social relations and of communal lands that had not yet been privatized (Artiaga & Baz, 1993: 280–281). What the liberal state nationalized and transferred to private individuals was not land or its full ownership but rather the right to get rent, i.e., the direct domain was transferred, but not the useful one. In other terms, the beneficiaries of the rent changed, but the system was maintained. In other words, one of the main modifications was that after the disentailment of Mendizábal in 1836, the Catholic church was no longer the main holder of the cultivated land in Galiza, and the right to collect rent was bought by nobles, merchants, professional or civil servants (Balboa, 2005: 450). In some cases, rents were redeemed, and redeemers become full owners. This trend intensified after the disentailment of Madoz in 1855, with the increasing sales of free properties, which was another way of turning buyers into owners with full ownership rights.

5. *Foro* or chartered tenancy, — a long-term contract of the medieval origin with a division of domains, hereditary in practice; the tenant, or *foreiro*, would pay rent annually.

6. *Foro* — long-term tenancy, *arrendamiento* — a short-term tenancy.

During the First Spanish Republic (1873–1874), the *Foral* redemption law of 1873 contributed to the conditions for the *foro;* unfortunately, the enforcement of this law lasted only for half a year. The financial crisis' impact on cereals' prices reduced the income of collectors of *foral* rents mostly paid in kind, which could have affected the sale of *foral* rents. This process was stopped by the Decree of Redemption adopted by the dictator Primo de Rivera in 1926, which stipulated the redemption in favor of the payer that was to pay a compensation the average value which multiplied by twenty times the rent paid annually (Balboa, 2005: 452–453; Artiaga, 2000).

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the peasantry was the group with the highest share of redeemers; however, it is not easy to identify which type of peasants this was. According to Artiaga (2000: 464), in 1873–1874, the affluent peasantry prevailed (or peasant-owners). Then the number of peasant redeemers increased, partly due to redemptions. However, unlike buyers of rent, peasants' redemptions did not start a process of accumulation as they aimed at tax liberation (Artiaga, 2000: 464). Rodríguez also confirms this for *foral* redemptions in Lugo during the First Spanish Republic. In fact, redemption entails decapitalization of most peasant economies that participate in it (Rodríguez, 1985: 247–248; Bouhier, 1996: 383–384; Villares, 1982: 236). Fernández Prieto argues that the subject of the action was not the entire peasantry but rather the peasantry with the full land ownership, which was a diverse group. In general, this was the affluent peasantry that had managed to keep the core of the agricultural holding under *foros* as more favorable than short-term tenancy or sharecropping and more beneficial due to economic contributions from immigrants or commercialization of a part of the surplus. Other groups of the rural community, such as *caseiros* (tenants with houses and land owned by the rich), day laborers or servants, did not have access to the full land ownership (2005: 149–150).

However, in the central moments of foral redemption, there was also a purchase of rent. The purchasers of *foral* rents were mainly landowners, free professionals, merchants and sometimes affluent peasants, i.e., the same social groups that sold rents. According to Artiaga, this can be understood as a transfer of rents within the same social sectors. In the process characterized as "the end of the rentier", there would be an intermediate stage in the transition from beneficial ownership to full ownership. At this stage, new receivers joined the rentier group, reinforcing the situation, while then there was a decline in the same social groups. In other words, the decline of the rentier would benefit peasants (a part of them) due to redemptions, and new people (from dominant groups) joined the rentier group by the purchase of *foral* rents. After this intermediate period, new receivers would probably make the last redemption in the 20th century (Artiaga, 2000: 467; Artiaga & Baz, 1993: 289). However, the end

of the *foral* regime does not completely explain the access to the full land ownership by a part of the Galizan peasantry as a large part of plots was accessed through short-term tenancy or sharecropping.

In explaining the access to land ownership for a part of the peasantry, it is important to mention the role of agrarianism — an important social movement that deeply affected the Galizan peasantry, although it was a rather diverse combination of organizations and orientations of different ideologies. Thus, among thousands of agrarian societies that were created in most Galizan parishes since the end of the 19th century, at the time of the expansion of the suffrage and the rights of association (Act of Universal Male Suffrage of 1890, Act of Associations of 1887, Act of Agricultural Unions of 1906) (Cabo, 1998: 20–24), there were agrarian societies from anarchists and socialists to catholic or non-denominational. The agrarianist movement can be interpreted as a tool of the peasant groups interested in the capitalist market, a means of the social-political awareness or a defensive and counter-revolutionary instrument (for the Catholic agricultural unionism) (Cabo, 1998: 101; Artiaga & Baz, 1993: 293). One of the main struggles for agrarian societies was the fight against *foros* (Cabo, 1998: 57; Hervés, 1993; Villares, 2000: 75). In this sense, there was a transfer from the redemptionist views to the abolitionist ones (Cabo, 1998: 119, 125–127).

Still the question is who belonged to these societies. The answer is not easy: community and households played a role as societies were created at the parish level and the membership was not individual. In general, agrarian societies represented the community microcosm of parishes, but the wealthier strata of the peasantry was overrepresented, while agricultural proletariat and marginalized groups of the rural society were underrepresented (Cabo, 1998: 49). Both Cabo and Durán argue the more demanding agrarian societies (anarchists, socialists, communists) tended to exclude the peasantry that hired workforce (Cabo, 1998: 50, 193–197; Durán, 1977: 149). The coup d'état of 1936, which started the Spanish Civil War, put an end to this complex movement, allowing only some of the livestock societies to survive.

In addition to the agrarianism mobilization, the access to the full land ownership for a part of the peasantry depended on other contemporary processes such as the growing orientation towards the capitalist market, in particular in the beef cattle export. It is worth mentioning that the liberal state shaped the life of people through three main elements: repressive apparatus, military service (recruitment), and fiscal pressure. The growing tax pressure and the increasing demand for its payment in cash (payment in kind was more frequent in the past) added to the demand for payment during the times of the agricultural wage, forcing an initial orientation of peasant economies towards the market to cope with these burdens (Alonso Álvarez, 2005: 42; Cardesín, 1997: 411–412).

After the industrial revolution, the industrialization of some led to the deindustrialization of others. Thus, the increase in fiscal burdens on peasant economies coincided with the loss of support activities used to compensate for their scarce agricultural income, such as linen industry and fish salting, over which they no longer had control (Alonso Álvarez, 2005: 43). The recourse to these complementary activities was greater in areas with the greater demographic pressure on land (more single women and harder earning a living) due to the fact that the peasant economy was more heavily taxed (Saavedra, 1985: 353). Moreover, the competition of cotton fabrics first from the English industry and later from Catalonia with the corresponding legislative measures contributed to the decline of the linen industry without the development of other industrial activities. It is no coincidence that at this time the emigration to the peninsula and Americas intensified (Alonso Álvarez, 2005: 43; Artiaga, 2005: 75-76; Vázquez González & De Juana, 2005).

The need to send a part of produce to the market was manifested in the export of live cattle. First, in the 1840s, exports were directed to the United Kingdom and determined by to previous traditions of cattle commercialization in local markets. With these exports, Galiza was partially integrated into the economic area of northern Portugal, which traditionally exported primary products to England in the situation of semi-colonial dependence (Carmona, 2000: 326)[7]. All the above explains that this market orientation does not result in capital accumulation. By the end of the 19th century, in Galiza, there were no cattle farms as such. Cattle breeding was a part of the peasant economy which, in certain areas, after being used for work, was stabled and used for fattening. No reorientation of the crops production was observed, only a small advance in the extensive use of pastures with no productive specialization (Carmona, 2000: 345). Given the small size and division of lands to which peasant households had access, specialization was not possible for the majority. Among few having such a possibility, the transformation entailed did not offer any guarantee of survival as most lands

7. This idea has several reasons. First, fattening of cattle was oriented almost exclusively to the foreign market. The consumption of beef was a privilege forbidden for the Galizan peasantry. Furthermore, the exporting group acted as a buying bourgeoisie, which in the final years of this business English commission agents joined. Unlike other areas as Denmark, in the Galizan-Portuguese area, there was no agricultural industrialization that would allow to stop exporting live cattle and start exporting processed products. Upon completion of the exports to England, it was necessary to find another market for the same product (Carmona, 2000: 326–327). The competition with American meats under the fin-de-siècle agricultural crisis forced reorientation to the Spanish market with its railroads, which strengthened the integration of Galiza in the Spanish market in a subordinate position and as a supplier of primary products (Carmona, 2000: 338).

were not their own, in many cases even cows were owned by the *amos* (masters) by either thirds or halves[8]. Thus, only the moderately supplied peasant (who could have some cattle stabled and freed from work) could maintain the mixed system of work and fattening. In addition, this demanded a greater intensification of the agrarian work, since additional resources were needed to maintain the cattle, which were obtained either by reducing fallow areas or by focusing on crop rotation to forage and demanded a greater workforce (Carmona, 2000: 348).

The commercialization network of cattle exports to England was small but significant. From 1860 to 1885, the average exports to England were about 33,000 heads of cattle. Given this data and the fact that very few peasants sold more than two heads of cattle per year, at least 15,000 peasant households were involved (Carmona, 2000: 348). Concerning all peasant households with bovine cattle in Galiza, about 10% of them were involved (Martínez, 2000: 355). The commercialization of the state market increased in the next decades, reaching more than one million heads of cattle exported in the 1920s (Villares, 2000: 80). This would have led to minimal modernization of the Galizan production, but in the first third of the 20th century, peasant economies continued to use their workforce mainly for self-consumption, and it took decades, till the middle of the 20th century, for some signs of what could be considered an agrarian bourgeoisie to appear (Villares, 2000: 74–75). This process was not so much important quantitatively as initiating transformations that would be carried out in the last years of the Franco dictatorship (Villares, 2000: 81).

In short, for those strata of the peasantry, for which participation in the cattle trade could have implied a relative improvement in the availability of liquidity, this could be oriented to the redemption of *foral* rents or to the purchase of land, cattle and livestock. On the other hand, families continued to suffer the increasing tax pressure of the liberal state, which forced commercialization and a resort to usury. Failure to make payments in time meant that many peasants lost their social status (Cardesín, 1997: 411–412). It is not by chance that there was a correlation between an increase in fiscal pressure, decline of the linen industry, intensification of the marketing of goods, and increase in outflow from the countryside (Alonso Álvarez, 2005: 42–45). Finally, migration remittances also played an important role in the redefinition of the *foros*, but this was not their only purpose — to pay travel expenses, rescue the *gando posto* or, if possible, to get land and houses (Villares, 2000: 77).

8. The *gando posto* was a system of cattle sharecropping — the master owned the animal, the peasant took care of it and could work with it, giving the master a part of the produce.

Who is the subject? Proprietarization and accentuation of inequalities

How did the above-mentioned processes affect the structure of rural society? Which rural society was produced by the intensification of capitalist social relations? Some authors stressed the need to examine differences within rural communities (Fernández Prieto, 2000: 35; Artiaga & Baz, 1993: 286), and such studies revealed an increase (Domínguez, 2005: 462–465) or consolidation (Villares, 2000: 74) of social inequalities. In the previous, modern period, Saavedra identified a strong 'peasant civilization' in which neither the ruling gentry nor the subordinate peasantry were homogeneous due to the generalized impoverishment — the differences were both considerable and relative (Saavedra, 1985: 567–623).

According to Cardesín's studies based on oral history, the elders recalled the time between their grandparents' life and their youth (1860–1930) as represented by four main social groups. The '*ricos*' (rich people) or '*propietarios*' (owners) had a property to work with and organized others in '*lugares acasarados*' (bourgeoisie, noble or gentry with a family of tenants taking care of the household), in which the family of '*caseiros*' (a kind of tenancy) lived and worked the land. Peasants worked their own or '*aforada*' ('*foro*' contract) land. Not all peasants had the same resources: the prosperous ones had an ox or six cows, some had only two cows in '*aparcería*' (kept cows and shared meat or calves with the cow's owner). The '*camareras*' were women servants who lived alone or with their child, worked for a daily wage and had a pair of sheep. Several studies from the last quarter of the 19th century to the first third of the 20th century in different regions of Galiza confirm this typology (Vicenti, 1875–1879; Rovira, 1904; Tenorio, 1914, Durán, 1983; Cardesín, 1999: 133–135; Velasco, 1987).

Cardesín explains how in the long 19th century the reproduction of families was subordinated to "the needs of the state and capital. For him, the market and the state defined the position of *propietarios* with respect to the subordinate social groups and, to a lesser extent, the position of *labradores* with respect to *caseiros* and *camareiras*". Thus, such management promoted a double process of social differentiation. On the one hand, not all domestic groups had the same production capacities and were limited by the family cycle: in families of *caseiros* and *labradores*, the capacity would be higher when the new generation prevailed and lower when the older and the younger dominated, and the household resources were produced by the intermediate generation. On the other hand, marriage and inheritance affected productive and reproductive possibilities, even more so since the liberal legislation distinguishes between legitimate and illegitimate children and the peasantry practice aimed at transferring the inheritance of legitimate children to one child (Cardesín, 1997: 434).

Cardesín mentions the asymmetric relationship of interdependence between subordinate groups. Thus, the reproduction of *labradores* was based on the continuous generation of sons and daughters who became *caseiros* and *bodegueiras*. The affluent *labradores* would coincide with the *ricos* in closing the gap between their consumption needs and production capacities by the exploitation of *caseiros* and *bodegueiras*. These subordinate groups provided workforce such as day laborers in moments of special need, servants (sometimes living with masters) or sharecroppers (Cardesín, 1997: 434): "The kinship ideology legitimates the reproduction of social differences, transferring to each peasant family a previous contradiction between growers and dominant groups. Thus, the market and state disclaimed responsibility for proletarianization and impoverishment of a part of the Galician peasantry, including for the overseas emigration, since it is the family that is in charge of processing the effects of state policies: those affected were to find responsible in their own family, and the literate bourgeoisie pointed accusingly at the peasants' ignorance as making them to have more children than they could support (Cardesín, 1997: 436)[9]. This reminds of Marx' *Communist Manifesto* — his ideas about the origin of the word proletarian.

It would seem that the long construction of the liberal capitalist state increases social inequalities, which led in the territory under study to the proliferation of poor houses of single women, sharecroppers and day laborers working at the households of other peasants. The reproduction of all these classes was determined by the production needs of a new system of social relations between the old and the new rich. "*We were seven, we worked in the household... And I didn't go to school much because I had to work... Then there was a war, and the time of the war was bad... many people died... There were three years of war... We didn't go hungry, we worked hard. We had a place to work... We lived well, the well-off peasants [labradores] lived well.*

9. According to Cardesín, "the modern state legitimizes the peasants' stratification as it redefines the literate conditions for production and reproduction. A large part of the elements in the social structure I analyzed already existed in the 18th century: land titles (common property, leasing, *foros*, etc.); alternative forms of reproduction (celibacy or marriage); 'major landowners' that managed their lands in an enterprising manner... But the liberal legislation, by creating a very clear distinction between individual and collective property, contracts of *foro* and leasing, legitimate and illegitimate children, ...established new bases for a distinction between *labradores* and other two groups — *caseiros* and *camareiras*. The recognition of *labradores* as citizens and property owners allowed them to control the reproduction of subordinate social groups. The 'rich' obtained, through the monopoly on local bodies, control over the application of new laws and the productive and reproductive process of *labradores*, *caseiros* and *camareiras*. The patronage, or the holding of the curates, turned the 'rich' into administrators of the peasants' production and reproduction and of the doctrine legitimizing the social order thus renewed (Iturra, 1991). That doctrine would be the ethics of work, social relations and social hierarchy (Cardesín, 1997: 436).

Those who did not live well were poor peasants [bodegueiros], who had no bread to eat during wartime, did not have anything to eat"[10].

We should also mention changes brought by the Second Republic (1931–1936), the Civil War (1936–1939) and the fascist dictatorship to the class differentiation system. In the post-civil war period, in the 1940s, and then in the "developmentalism period" of the 1950s– 1960s, there were new changes in social differentiation. The oral memory of the postwar period allows to validate a four-strata differentiation that we outlined earlier, referring to the last decades of the 19th century — the first half of the 20th century: "*Landless peasants were known as bodegueiros, and the large ones were called labradores grandes or xente rica [rich people] had money and grew crops to eat... And little people, the bodegueiros, had no cattle, they had a pig or maybe a calf and nothing else, and they worked for whoever would hire them... they were called to reap, to plow, to go to the forest, and all that... when I was a child, there was less of that, in my parents' household, and it was the same for everybody... there were households with three cows and others with six, depending on how many they could raise*"[11].

The social memory of the post-war years is the memory of hunger — houses and roads full of poor people: "*Long ago poor people were welcomed. Many poor people came to beg, and we gave them dinner and they slept on some blankets or grass given to cows. They slept and in the morning left... There were many poor people every day, it a rare day without a poor man sleeping at home*"[12].

Collective memory (in this case of women) allows to see both social differences and their temporal transformations. Land access, cattle property or availability served as a criterion of social differentiation during the 19th century and centuries before. We believe that in the second half of the 20th century, cattle property or availability continued to be a social marker but in a different way. In 1961 the Civil Governor of Lugo wrote in his annual report: "In this regime of self-sufficient economy... the unit of exploitation is the '*lugar acasarado*' composed of a house and land, sometimes of thirty and more plots per place. Of these plots some are for cereals, potatoes and turnips — *labradíos*, others for meadows — most natural, and still others are in high and low mountain and gorse. The *labradíos* are worked by peasants [both men and women] helped by the animals; the cattle is fed on meadows, turnips and even potatoes; from the gorse space and the common forest, peasants get charcoal and firewood that are used for the 'bed' of the cattle, the basis of organic fertilizer for land. All these constitute an economic self-sufficiency to the extent that an exploitation of our days can be autarkic. The

10. Interview with Rosa, peasant. She was born in 1925. Interview in Galizan. The name modified to preserve anonymity.
11. Interview with Luisa, peasant. She was born in 1934. Interview in Galizan.
12. Interview with Concha, peasant. She was born in 1928. Interview in Galizan.

farm is estimated by the number of cattle it can keep. The average farm — of the so-called 'ordinary farmer' — keeps 4–6 cows; a number of less than 4 means a 'poor farmer', of more than 6 cows — a 'rich farmer'. Except for some very rich and very progressive farmers that have rationalized their economies and have new stables (very few), the richest farms do not usually have more than 10–12 cows"[13].

The number of cows that indicates the wealth or poverty of the peasant household depends on the area and time. Changes in cattle property as a social marker were determined by the productive specialization in Galiza in the 1960s — dairy production. Until that time, animal husbandry and mixed farming were integrated strategies. The sale of milk was an income resource for households, although that was not the only or the main reason to keep the cow — it was a multipurpose animal that gave work, fertilization and warmth to the household, provided the family economy with income from the sale of limited amounts of milk in nearby markets (by women) and of calves (by men) at fairs or to dealers. The former income was considered supplementary whereas the latter as the main one. Thus, in the second half of the 19th — first third of the 20th century, some households participated in the limited market activities by selling cattle for meat. The dairy specialization of the 1960s developed in a different context, thus, determining other social markers.

Agrarian historians often mention that the Minister of Agriculture in 1951–1957 Rafael Cavestany gave a speech "Less farmers — better agriculture" on October 8, 1955, to summarize the agrarian policy reorientation since the 1950s. Old policies (such as colonization) were based on many small working units, and either large estates or microplots were to become a focus of the state agrarian transformation policies. To achieve agricultural modernization, agrarian technicians had to vanquish what they considered ignorance and traditional cultivation systems. During the 1950s, some new policies were turned into the Law of Land Consolidation (1952) and the Agrarian Extension Service (1955) under the Stabilization Plan (1959) that aimed at overcoming the previous autarchic strategy and at promoting liberalization measures of the capitalist market, entry of the dictatorial regime in international organizations, and integration of new mechanisms necessary for the expansion of the consumer society.

Agrarian policies focusing on productive and reproductive specialization helped to reconfigure community internal hierarchies. According to Cardesín, modification of the social structure intensified after the adoption of the Stabilization Plan in 1959, which promoted the national and international integration of the Spanish economy and triggered the outflow from rural areas to Spanish and European cities, or to more urbanized villages in Galiza. Day laborers were the first to move; thus, the masters could not find *caseiros* and began to sell their land (see

13. Civil Government of Lugo, 1961 (IDD (08) 003. 002 Box 44/11320), AGA.

also: Soutelo 1998). Sons and daughters of wealthy owners migrated to cities, hoping to find jobs as civil servants or in other positions. *Labradores* had fewer children and compensated for the lack of workers by changing theirs crops and introducing machinery in the 1960s. During this period, the memories of these social strata began to fade, which benefited Francoism: the regime could claim that it had solved the 'social question' in the countryside (Cardesín, 1999: 135, 146–148).

So, the peasant differentiation established by the civil governor according to the number of cows persisted during the 'developmentalist' phase of the Franco dictatorship which attempted to modernize agriculture following the guidelines of international institutions such as the World Bank. The gradual productive specialization promoted in the next decades create differences between households — some became small businesses, while others could not and were forced to migrate or abandon their agricultural activities. The number of cows still had a differentiating meaning but not the same as before: since the 1960s, greater or lesser number of cows distinguished not peasants but small farmers on the market as increasingly dependent on external inputs. This does not exclude either the continuation of inherited farming practices or the survival of peasants maintaining self-subsistence patterns complemented by jobs outside agriculture.

From the 1960s to the 1970s, Colino identified 'agrarian bourgeoisie', 'capitalized peasantry' and 'subsistence peasantry'. There is a correlation between these three strata and the farm's size: less than 5 hectares for subsistence, 5–50 for capitalized peasants, and more than 50 for the agrarian bourgeoisie. The first stratum was hardly represented in the 1960s, and the 1972 agrarian census showed only some seventy farms with more than a hundred cows in Galiza. The capitalized peasantry was growing faster — from 29% to 35% — as share of their cattle. The share of 'subsistence peasantry' was decreasing, including due to aging (Colino, 1978: 27–30).

By the end of the 1970s, Díaz distinguishes:

1. Traditional marginal farms not being able to adapt to the market demands (subsidies and emigration remittances).
2. 'Transitional' farms in the process of productive specialization, but with a high degree of self-sufficiency due to both custom and limited income. Such farms relied on family workforce; did not follow the strict capitalist rationality; preserved (as the traditional marginal ones) the workforce reserve of international capitalism.
3. Few modern family farms that completed modernization of production, sometimes with the support of the 'viable' public aid. Their dependence on the market was greater than of the previous types, they followed capitalist logic, although inherited some survival elements, such as food self-consumption.
4. Capitalist farms, generally private industries with wageworkers, benefitting to a greater extent from public aid.

5. Cooperative farms — either community managed or capitalist companies (Díaz, 1979: 81–90).

Thus, the number of cattle or hectares is only a part of the picture — to understand the ways in which the forms of social inequalities in rural communities were changing, we need to examine how the patterns of differentiation were transforming among those who remained, among those who left, and in the relationship between these two groups.

Rupture as built into reproduction

We started the paper with how the agrarian historiography of the Spanish state defined the 'agrarian question'. Then we focused on how the Galizan agrarian historiography studied the changes in the Galizan rural society — from the end of the *Ancien Régime* to the first third of the 20th century — in the dialogue with other agrarian historiographies and with different social sciences that studied the end of the Galizan peasant world. These studies highlighted the relevance of the access to full land ownership by a part of the peasantry for understanding the increase in the commercialization of animal husbandry, the role of the agrarian movement and the help of remittances from the mass migration overseas. The end of the *Ancien Régime* exacerbated the already existing social inequalities in peasant communities as their reproductive strategies became subordinated to the demands of the liberal capitalist state. Most of the peasantry with the full land property got it already in the middle of the 20th century when the family histories were supplemented by the American migration and the European urban migration. When rural houses were abandoned, those that remained tried to survive in a process of always insufficient specialization or in a symbiotic strategy that has more of parasitism on the part of the new capitalism, social-democratic or neoliberal, with respect to the permanence of that old peasant civilization. Although we are offered the image of an apparently homogeneous rural area, we believe that inequalities were renewed. We should look for them in the itineraries of daughters who work in urban houses of the old rural rich and follow them in the future of granddaughters. We ask ourselves also what happened to those old rich, to their children and their granddaughters.

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Классовая дифференциация в современной сельской Галисии: первые результаты исследования

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Аннотация. Статья представляет собой первую попытку исследования классовой дифференциации в сельских сообществах современной Галисии. Сначала автор реконструирует дискуссии по «аграрному вопросу» в истории испанского государства — с реформистской мысли конца XIX века по настоящее время, сосредоточившись на том, как данный вопрос преломлялся в галисийском контексте и в галисийской аграрной историографии. В значительной степени это исследовательское направление оформилось благодаря изучению доступа крестьян к собственности на землю, в частности, различных инструментов либерального капиталистического государства, посредством которых оно ущемляло крестьян в правах. Автор уделяет особое внимание последствиям того режима землевладения, что доминировал

в Галисии, — *«форо»*, или долгосрочной аренде. Все больше крестьян становились собственниками земли, что аграрная историография считала важнейшим фактором социально-экономических изменений с конца XIX века до первой трети XX века. Другими взаимосвязанными трансформациями этого периода стали: аграрная мобилизация против режима долгосрочной аренды земли, возрастающая коммерциализация аграрного производства, денежные переводы галисийских мигрантов из двух Америк и технологическое совершенствование производства. Автора особенно интересует, как социальное неравенство меняло сельские сообщества, и акцент сделан на последствиях либерально-капиталистической государственной политики для социальной структуры, для чего привлекаются данные многочисленных публикаций об усилении социального неравенства. В заключении автор описывает социальные изменения в последние годы диктатуры Франко. Таким образом, статья представляет собой первый шаг в исследовании того, как классовые различия трансформируют современные крестьянские сообщества.

Ключевые слова: классовая дифференциация, сельская история, Галисия, аграрный вопрос, крестьянские сообщества, XIX–XX века

Peasants and agricultural wageworkers in Argentina in the 20th — 21st centuries: Some paradoxes of the dichotomy 'rural–urban'

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Abstract. The article proposes an unusual starting point to consider the peasantry in Argentina — the concept of rurality. This paper is based on the already highly debated conceptualizations of the rural–urban question in dichotomous terms; the author develops an analytical approach that implies a complex perspective of spatiality in non-binary forms. Such a task involves the integration of other variables in the study of societies connected with the agrarian worlds, already stripped of obsolete univocal characteristics. To solve this task, the author revises some of the discussions of peasant decomposition and wage earning in Argentina. These debates have renewed the understanding of the present peasant and agricultural wage-earning in Argentina, given that historically there were only peasants in the 'non-pampean' area (outside the Pampas region). It was not until the 1960 that the peasant self-perceptions and organizations emerged under the slowing demand for labor in the industrial sector. After the analysis of documentary sources in various regions of the country, the author argues that there are rural workers of non-peasant origin, which can be empirically proved. They depend on subsistence activities with the classic peasant features. Agricultural workers and inhabitants of rural worlds are not necessarily the same subjects mobilized daily and being the result of the agro-industrial activities since the 1980s. Since then, they have acquired typical characteristics of the globalized capitalist mode of production. Thus, paradoxically, in the transition from the 20th to the 21st century, in some regions of Argentina globalization creates the peasantry.

Key words: peasants, agricultural wageworkers, rural societies, urban societies, Argentina, 21st century

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I will start with the concept of rurality to consider the peasantry in Argentina. To avoid confusing misinterpretations, this is a reflective, conceptual work with the qualitative empirical evidence collected in field studies during the last 17 years. In no way this work is conclusive or seeks to close the discussions on the relevant issues. On the contrary, this article aims at reconsidering and revitalizing such debates based on the challenges of the postmodern Western society for social researchers. In my case, these are highly debated sociologi-

cal conceptualizations of the rural and urban questions and their traditional references in the agrarian and industrial questions, i.e., the same dichotomous terms that modernity added to the social question. Therefore, I begin with the complex perspective that includes spatiality in non-binary forms, forms of social action and configurations of actors that constitute these spatialities.

The first issue that transforms traditional visions is the dimension of people's spatial mobility; the second one is the construction of territories and territorialities as a product of these mobilities; the third one is the agency with which subjects construct their personal, family, community and societal lives on a daily basis. Then other elements such as age, gender, origin, class, place and their intersections and current manifestations are highlighted. Another crucial dimension is the destination of production: internal market, external market, demanding and non-demanding, which refer to new ways for segmenting labor markets and building career paths that are no longer restricted to a single productive activity or branch. This situation is central to the new generations of workers, whose trajectories increasingly involve participation in rural labor markets or in agricultural activities with or without residence in rural areas.

The empirical data that supports the presented conceptual reflections was collected in non-Pampas regions of Argentine. This clarification is important since there are diversities between the agrarian social structures of the Pampean zone and of other agricultural economies due to the radical differences in history, characteristics, production practices, territorial construction, subjects and social actors participating in the national economy. All these elements require separate work to understand the processes involved, which are profoundly heterogeneous.

As an empirical basis, I included brief mentions of the surveys conducted in Patagonia — an area that specializes in production of stone fruits — and in the southwest of the province of Buenos Aires, which specializes in fruit and vegetable production — the city of Batán close to Puerto Mar del Plata, the only space in the Pampas region studied by my research team. It is the typical fruit and vegetable producer present in different areas of Argentina, close to intermediate cities or provincial capitals for the supply of fruits and vegetables at the local and regional levels. Therefore, its incorporation into the article is possible. In this group, the history of the Pampas region does not affect its development.

This framework allows to understand the ways in which the peasantry of Argentina is engaged in the wage work of agricultural production. Could it be that the key to the difference between actors is longer in off-farm work? Have the previously sectoral labor markets been assimilated? How does all this affect the traditional dichotomous spatiality? How should we approach it under the transformations of social relations? How should we understand the local in the global

social-economic dynamics? How do the peasants survive in the 21st century with its unemployment, modernization of production and traditional labor practices under the high qualification requirements and the many other conflicts? What are the actors of our time? Who are the peasants of Argentina in the 21st century?

Some persistent discussions: Rurality redefined

When thinking about the transformations of rural societies and their impact on spatiality, it is important to start with the classic debates on the rural-urban relationship. The advance of capitalism in the agrarian world constituted the central theme of such classics as Marx, Lenin and Kautsky with the discussions about the persistence or disappearance of the peasantry; as Weber, Parsons and Tönnies who recovered the features of rural societies, basically agrarian, their growing secularization and urbanization, developing new ways of living and working. In both aspects, rural families with agricultural work for subsistence and/or products exchange accompany the advance of capital (or modernization) by entering the labor market as demanders or suppliers of labor (Crovetto, 2012; 2019). This was interpreted as a peasant decomposition.

However, the growing modernization and technologization of agriculture implied differences to what was proposed in classical studies. On the one hand, various works questioned the relationship between agricultural work and place of residence as in some markets the workers employed in agriculture are not always of peasant origin. On the other hand, intensive labor has created various ties between workers and employers: various hiring methods, significant differences in wages and working conditions, and 'secondary' markets (households' members helping the head employed in the seasonal harvest). These ideas were presented in the conceptions of off-farm work of the traditional peasantry, especially when it was considered as a social class, which did not always take place in Argentina, at least not in all its regions. It is vital to clarify that after the restructuring of agriculture, changes in the production of the non-Pampean agrarian economies were diverse (see, e.g.: Aparicio & Benencia, 2001). Likewise, several works on the female agrarian work question the relationship between it and place of residence, and the peasant origin of wageworkers in non-pampean economies. Some works question the activities of children and adolescents — their employment in general and in agriculture in particular (Aparicio, 2007; 2009; Crovetto et al., 2015; Macri & Uhart, 2012; Macri et al., 2005; Forni, 1979).

Regarding the daily spatial mobility, first I analyzed the circulations through the 'rur-urban' spaces of the Lower Valley of the Chubut River (VIRCH) — an irrigated valley in Patagonia — to show the growing daily spatial mobility between rural and urban

areas (Crovetto, 2010; 2012; 2014; 2015). In 2021, I focused on a more conceptual level by considering the advances in the field and the corresponding theoretical reflections (Crovetto, 2021). The team I am a part of prepared a book on spatial movements between rural and urban areas in different regions of the country (Patagonia, NEA, NOA). This book shows the coexistence of urban and rural jobs in the annual occupational cycles and in the biographical trajectories of agricultural wageworkers, and a significant difference between the branches of the first job and the current one. More recent works on forms of learning and occupation have identified changes that migrations and annual mobility between branches bring to labor markets in the perspective of both workers and employers (Crovetto, 2018a; 2018b; Crovetto et al., 2020).

Argentina and the peasantry: An inconclusive debate

In Argentina, the discussions about the decomposition of the peasantry and its incorporation into the wage labor markets of the 1970s changed the understanding of the peasant groups in the 1980s — 1990s. Moreover, these discussions clarified the characteristics of these social actors in Argentina today, considering that only the 'non-pampean' area was peasant historically, and with great force and presence, organized or not northern Argentina was more peasant than other regions. This was in addition to a stronger ethnic component of the original peoples.

It was not until the 1960 that peasant self-perceptions and organizations emerged under the slowing labor demand in the industrial sector. According to the data from documentary sources in various regions of the country (especially qualitative), the current existence of rural workers of non-peasant origin can be empirically proved. Their subsistence activities are one of the classic features of the peasantry. Agricultural workers and inhabitants of rural worlds are not necessarily the same subjects, are mobilized daily and are the result of the agro-industrial demands that since the 1980s have acquired the features of the capitalist mode of production — globalized and deepening its mechanisms.

But this repositioning of discussions would not make sense without focusing on the earlier debates of classical theorists — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Kautsky, Luxemburg, Chayanov and Russian populists, whose works helped to understand the positions and conceptualization that were made in Argentina. I will start mapping the trajectory of these discussions with some ideas of Murmis (1999), referring to Marx' contributions to the analysis of agriculture, especially its key function in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and its strength as a sustainer of this mode of production, despite having been displaced from the economic center by industrial activity

once the transition was completed. Murmis considers "the society in which wage exploitation, accumulation and the market are generalized" (Murmis, 1999: 81). He emphasizes the careful reading of the social structure, its actors and their positions: "We found a systematic approach that combines the study of the internal structure of the sector with the general functioning of the capitalist system, when Marx analyzes the subsumption of agriculture and the operation of income and introduces figures of the landowner, tenant and rural proletariat, of the sharecropper and peasant, although granting them marginal or transitional positions" (Murmis, 1999: 50).

Besides the political role of the peasantry as a social group making a path for the anti-capitalist revolution, Marx also considered the peasantry as a social group impoverished and marginalized under capitalism. According to Murmis, this is the key for sociological analysis, for understanding great social processes and their local features: Marx was quite methodical in his know-how for seeking social transformation even before globalization of society, world economy and its permanent acceleration: "He developed a systematic theory as a theory of a moment in the historical process, situated that moment in history as a whole, including the future and the steps to be taken in the present to bring a desirable future, used theory to define social agents and consider their actions in specific situations, taking advantage of existing knowledge and fighting with it with what the nascent economy, history, biology, agronomic science, classical literature and philosophy could offer; all this was a part of Marx' daily work and is present in his works on agriculture, its structure, history, and place in society" (Murmis, 1999: 53).

This affected the theoretical-methodological discussions in Argentina about the local peasantry and its characteristics. However, at first the most outstanding, classical theoretical ideas of the 20th century were debated. Thus, in 1985, Giarracca focused on the peasantry subordinated to the agro-industrial complexes such as tobacco in Mexico, but her examination of the theoretical peasant question is invaluable. She reviews and discusses the 'functional dualism' of the peasantry in relation to small agricultural exploitation presented by de Janvry in the Latin-American and European (Thomas, Znaniecki, Galeski, Servolin, Vergopulos, *Journal of Peasant Studies*) directions.

It is essential to delimit the analysis historically to define the peasantry, since there are different compositions in different historical moments and even different modes of production (Giarracca, 1983: 1–15). Thus, some interpret the peasantry either as a mode of production or a class or part of it. For Giarracca (1983), the most influential voices in Latin America on the peasantry as a mode of production were those of Servolin and Vergopoulos in 1976, of Meillasoux in 1978, of Bartra in 1974. Giarracca disagreed with de Janvry that "Marx and Chayanov considered the lack of gain in the peasant behavior as a result of the objective situation and not of premeditated behavior" (Gi-

arracca, 1983: 28). She argues that this reflection is associated with the initial appearance of labor markets. Then she proceeds to the debates of Chayanov and Lenin with Russian populists, especially on peasant differentiation that triggered the penetration of the capitalist mode of production in agriculture. Giarracca defines the peasantry "as a social class that cannot be characterized as a mode of production... This class or a class fraction (in general a social sector) has special characteristics within the capitalist social formation, and the most important is transience... The issue of peasant differentiation is crucial in the debate on the agrarian question... it has not been given due importance, especially since the explanatory model of peasant 'functionality' has been applied (in most cases supposes a homogeneous peasantry)" (Giarracca, 1983: 34–35).

Seven years later, Giarracca (1990) proposed to resume the discussion about the peasantry in Argentina, considering the text published in 1988 by Manzanal, who wrote about the mini farm in Argentina without defining the peasantry and taking it as a synonym, according to Giarracca's criticism. The 1990s' text highlights that Argentina could not participate in the 1970s' debates on the peasant decomposition, among other reasons due to censorship and repressions of the civil-military dictatorship that made up the de facto government in the country. In this work, Giarracca refers to works of Archetti and Stölen (1974) on the differences between the producers who rely on family labor and peasants, of Bartolomé (1975) on the missionary settlers and of the Group of Rural Sociology of the Ministry of Agriculture on the small sharecroppers of Corrientes as 'minifundistas': "The definition 'peasants' was reserved for some groups of small farmers with strong cultural or ethnic identities or typically peasant demands. Today, this consensus seems to have broken: several studies generalize the category 'peasant' for any agricultural producer who does not use the labor of others or for any rural inhabitant who works on land. Thus, almost a half of agricultural producers in the country are peasants or smallholders" (Giarracca, 1990: 332).

In a detailed analysis of the problems to survey this type of actors, of the shortcomings of official surveys and of regional situations, Giarracca presents a variety of actors based on different measurements and corresponding theoretical and operational definitions. She also warns about the risks of the assimilation of the smallholder to the peasant in an agriculture like Argentinian, which was always eminently capitalist and modern and in those years was undergoing structural and technological transformations that left population in the labor market in power of employers, without land or with it but in deep impoverishment (whether residing in the countryside or having migrated to urban centers, increasing the scale of the Argentinian rural poverty).

Thus, wage-earning processes have been the basis for the transformation of the peasant-type social formations. On the data of the

first national censuses, Tasso (2000) shows the evolution and disappearance of activities related to agriculture and peasant formations in northern Argentina, particularly in the province of Santiago del Estero — area with the highest share of peasant population and culture in Argentina to this day. Tasso emphasizes that scales and concepts are no less important than definitions to understand the agrarian social structure of each historical moment, its transformations, appearance and disappearance of actors, technification and growth of agroindustry, decrease in the women participation in some tasks and increase in others. The transition to commercial and business agriculture is essential to understanding some key transformations, especially for the formation of labor markets for the peasant wage labor in the region. In short, it is fundamental for the development of adequate action programs.

Agricultural wage earners, peasants, and globalization in the non-pampean Argentina in the 21st century

From the 20th to the 21st century, paradoxically, the peasantry appears in numerous regions of Argentina together with the local impacts of the highly globalized capitalist mode of production, which includes the circulation of values and intangible goods.

In the areas under study, with the interview method, we found out that workers, whether or not they are small producers, are employed in other productions and do not perceive themselves as peasants or linked to the countryside and agricultural production in the past. An exception is Bolivian producers and their descendants who do not perceive themselves as peasants but are family producers. In fact, they organize due to the idea ‘workers of the land’ or the national identity ‘Bolivian horticulturists’. In both the Lower Valley of the Chubut River (VIRCH) and in Batán they keep such features and behaviors.

In many cases, it is a ‘saving’ occupation in times of the high demand for seasonal labor that provides income in long working hours, especially when women pack cherries for export in the Patagonia. However, identification of agricultural work is an intellectual operation of researchers and not an identity that constitutes a collective. As Aparicio and Gras (2000) stress, access to knowledge about the behavior of actors is essential to broaden knowledge about the types of groups implied by the traditional structural characteristics of the typologies of actors. Such typologies become an instrument and a product. The perspective that includes the behavior of social actors is the key to understanding multiple territorialities in the purely rural physical space, which fade in a metamorphosis that absorbs postmodern and urban practices.

The Lower Valley of the Chubut River (VIRCH) was selected as the main area of the study in the Patagonian region, which

since the end of the 1990s has shown a significant growth of enterprises specializing in cherry production and demanding the largest number of workers for one month a year. Here too the low-scale diversified productions stand out (Crovetto, 2014) as requiring a constant occupation of labor, mostly the family one. For instance, among the fruit productions of the Lower Valley of the Chubut River, cherry production is indicative, since in the start and expansion phases of this production, which started just twenty years ago, women employed in packaging are not a part of the agrarian tradition, not of peasant origin, do not live in rural areas and are not engaged in other tasks during the rest of the year, as was recorded in other non-Pampas Argentinean productions such as citrus export in Tucumán. Adolescents and younger people participate in harvesting, although with less possibility of registration due to the widespread prohibition of child labor and the protection of adolescents. The latest field work at the VIRCH in 2019–2022 showed that the cherry production reached the consolidation phase, registering farms working for export or for domestic market, which differ in the need in temporary labor and in search of women for packing. Women interviewed are residents of urban centers of the Valley, some are employed in harvesting, while the majority works almost exclusively in classifying and packing the fruit for a brief period from October to January (summer in the southern hemisphere). They do not identify with agricultural work and even less with the peasantry, study at the university, are mothers and have other jobs during the rest of the year (mainly self-employed). The location of packing facilities is not random — it is a business choice based on the possibility of quickly hiring workforce that can complete long work shifts in rotating time slots, which transforms the pace and direction of the daily spatial mobilities of these territories. In high season, the fruit packing sheds work until the day's harvest is fully classified and packed or in long shifts of 24 hours a day.

Men interviewed on the farm are mostly from other provinces, young men from urban residences who are engaged in summer harvesting in different productions. During the rest of the year, they work in other branches, mainly in construction. The transformation of the labor market from dichotomous to mixed is evident: labor markets are increasingly rururban, and their participants in agricultural activities have access to services that were previously exclusive to industry or service sectors, especially those linked to telecommunications. They build communities from social networks, which allows them to maintain communication with families and employers and among themselves during the rest of the year. In the middle of the harvest, they compare employment conditions at different farms, sing and listen to music while harvesting to alleviate the hostility of a dry and extremely hot climate in summer.

The transformations of agricultural production and new links between the countryside and the city demand new explanatory models for understanding labor markets and new forms of the peasantry. The daily mobility of actors and their alternation in branches of activity was traditionally considered an exclusive today evidence of the formation of mass workforce engaged in different activities with relative ease and finding a refuge in agricultural activity for daily reproduction. But such workers do not identify with peasant groups, probably due to the strong association with work on peasants' own land.

My approach proceeds from the definition of labor markets that includes structural positions, symbolic resources and social practices, which affects the transformation of rural spaces and landscapes, the spread of packing sheds, the alteration of the local population each summer, which attracts harvesters and determines hundreds of women's daily activities during the rest of the year — they define themselves as local, but their families come from other Argentine provinces, and they work for international capital (of which they are unaware of and for which they do not express displeasure).

The relevance of cases is justified by the possibility to observe regularities and particularities in territories that differ in terms of agrarian social structure, technological development and access to differentiated commercialization circuits, all of which affect the organization and constitution of labor markets and their segmentation. Identification of such 'segmentations' contributes not only to the traditional conceptual frameworks for the study of labor markets, but also to the development of policies for the population that can no longer be thought of as 'rural' (at least not in terms of the agrarian world, peasant and small production) under the agro-industrial food production policies that displace populations from the city to the fields to survive with what they can, including rural residence. What tools are needed to address these highly challenging situations in sociology? What criteria are needed for non-agrarian ruralities that are not exclusively residential? The first step is to refuse the dichotomous vision of the world. The second step is search for ways for grasping the characteristics of postmodernity and for conceptualizing new spatialities and new social actors.

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Крестьяне и наемные сельскохозяйственные рабочие в Аргентине в XX–XXI веке: некоторые парадоксы «сельско–городской» дихотомии

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Аннотация. Статья предлагает непривычное основание для изучения крестьянства в Аргентине — понятие сельскости. Статья опирается на давно обсуждаемые концептуализации сельско-городской дихотомии, но автор разрабатывает аналитический подход, который предполагает комплексную трактовку пространства вне его бинарных форм. Такой подход включает и иные переменные в изучение общества, связанного с аграрным миром, который давно избавился от устаревших однозначных определений. Для разработки такого подхода автор реконструирует ряд дискуссий о разложении крестьянства и наемном характере сельского труда в Аргентине. Такие споры обновили понимание современного крестьянского и наемного труда в Аргентине с учетом того, что исторически крестьянство было сосредоточено за пределами Пампасов. Лишь в 1960-е годы здесь оформилось крестьянское самоопределение и крестьянские организации — под влиянием сокращающейся потребности промышленного сектора в рабочей силе. Проанализировав документальные источники из разных регионов страны, автор утверждает, что сельские работники сегодня не имеют крестьянского происхождения, и это можно подтвердить эмпирически. Их трудовые практики характеризуются классическими крестьянскими чертами. Сельскохозяйственные рабочие и сельские жители сегодня — это необязательно одни и те же субъекты, которые трудятся на ежедневной основе и являются результатом агропромышленных трансформаций, запущенных в 1980-е годы. С того периода сельский труд обрел типичные черты глобального капиталистического способа производства. Парадоксальным образом на рубеже XX — XXI веков в некоторых регионах Аргентины глобализация порождает крестьянство.

Ключевые слова: крестьяне, наемные сельскохозяйственные рабочие, сельские общества, городские общества, Аргентина, XXI век

The rise of the peasant land ownership as a driver of social-spatial differentiation in contemporary rural Veneto and French Flanders

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Abstract. The growth of peasant ownership in peasant societies is usually associated with a reduction in social hierarchies due to the improvement of social-economic conditions, decline of large-scale land ownership and development of small-scale agriculture. When qualifying such assertions, scholars have proved that the peasant ownership's impact on the evolution of agriculture and social differentiation are highly variable depending on the social-historical contexts. The article aims at contributing to this debate by showing how the rise of peasant ownership may lead to contradictory dynamics in terms of social-spatial differentiation due to the so-called differentiated 'relationship with land and kinship' or 'reproduction patterns' of peasant families. To test this hypothesis, the paper examines two European rural areas located in Northern France and Veneto, focusing on the evolution of land ownership, tenancy, kinship and social-professional features in a sample of municipalities in these two areas from the mid-19th century to the end of the 20th century. In addition to the analysis of aggregated data at the municipal level, the author also considers the evolution of smaller areas in each municipality under study with the qualitative approach based on the 'biography' of some properties and holdings, individuals and families. The research relies on both public sources (population census, property cadasters, agrarian surveys, etc.) and private archives.

Key words: ownership, tenancy, agricultural holdings, kinship, family, space, social reproduction, mapping, industrialization

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The rise of peasant land ownership — when peasants acquire the land they cultivate — is often associated with the rise of small-scale agriculture and the decline of large-scale land ownership (of nobles and wealthy landowners). Moreover, peasant ownership is usually considered to contribute to the reduction of social differentiation by allowing peasants to accumulate wealth and improve their social standing. Scholarly research has qualified such assertions, proving that the impact of peasant ownership (of land and other means of production) on social differentiation and the evolution of agricultural holdings depends on the specific historical-social context. Some scholars highlighted the decisive impact of such factors as peasants' access to credit, markets and education (Krantz, 1991). Other studies empha-

sized the significant role of government policies and of the overall level of economic development (Martínez Valle & Martínez Godoy, 2019). This paper contributes to this debate by focusing on the crucial influence of the peasant 'relationship to land and kinship' or 'social reproduction patterns', examining research data on the evolution of land ownership, land tenancy, kinship and social-professional categories in Northern France and Veneto (mid-19th century — early 21st century) (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022). The study is based on the analysis of aggregated municipal data for two areas of 50 by 50 km (Fig. 1)[1] and on the 'microanalysis' of the evolution of samples of territories of 1 km2 in four municipalities located in each area (Fig. 2).

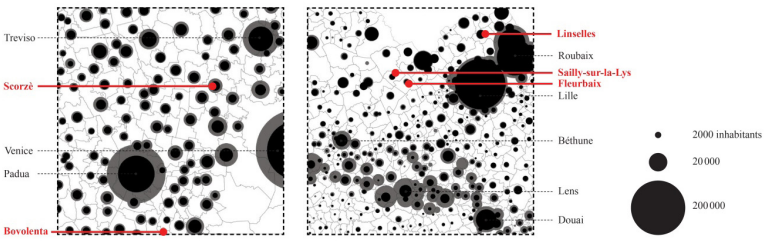

Fig. 1. Two areas of 50 by 50 km in the Veneto region and French Flanders. The names of municipalities studied are in red; the map shows the population of each municipality in 1871–1951 (Italy) and 1872–1954 (France); black circles refer to the 1970s and the grey ones to the 1950s (Source: INSEE and EHESS–CNRS for France; ISTAT for Italy)

Peasant land ownership and the evolution of agricultural holdings and social hierarchies

In the mid-19th century, the agricultural population was quite heterogeneous, and the number of farmworkers and day laborers was high in most rural municipalities of Veneto and French Flanders under study[2]. At that time, the share of peasant ownership was great-

1. There are 336 municipalities in the French area and 126 in the Italian one. The difference in sample sizes is determined by the smaller size of French municipalities.
2. Although in both Veneto and French Flanders agriculture was mainly supported by small and medium-sized family farms held by tenants, there were significant local differences determined by the stratification of rural society in each region. Roughly speaking, in the French case, the areas located closer to the Lille conurbation were less homogenous than those located in southern and western parts of the square (Fig. 1). In Veneto, social differentiation increased from north to south and from west to east of the square (Fig. 1). In the less socially homogenous areas, the share of farmworkers and day laborers could reach high thresholds, e.g. 40% of the ag-

er in French municipalities[3]. Moreover, French municipalities had a higher property fragmentation and were characterized by a 'dissociation' of land ownership and tenancy. This can be proved by the available cadastral data on land property and tenancy (Fig. 3–4). In fact, French *fermiers* did not necessarily own plots of lands at their farms.

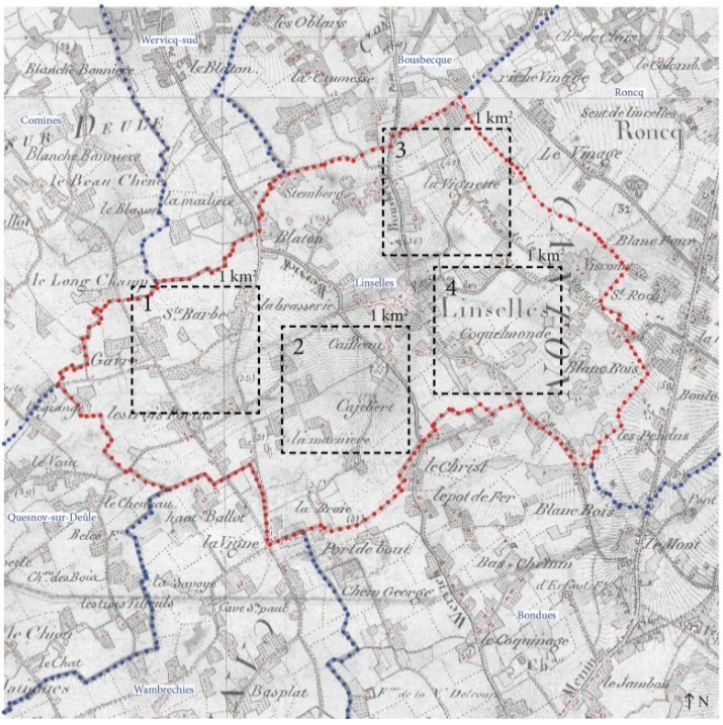

Fig. 2. Samples of territories of 1 km2 in the municipality of Linselles (France) (Source: Carte d'État Major of 1824, IGN, France)

ricultural population in the French municipality of Linselles and even more in the Italian municipality of Bovolenta.

3. It is difficult to estimate the share of peasant ownership based on the municipal property cadasters as owners' professions are not systematically recorded. Even after cross-referencing the landowners' data from land registries with the data from civil registries (or population census), the difficulty remains since not all landowners lived in the municipality. According to my imperfect calculations, peasant ownership often accounted for more than 40% of the area in French municipalities and for no more than 20% of the communal area in Venetian municipalities.

Fig. 3. Land ownership in French Flanders: distribution of property in Linselles square no. 1 (Fig. 2) according to the 1831 cadaster
(Source: Archives Départementales du Nord 31P 250 and 33P 736)
On the left side: properties with at least one building (56; the biggest property is marked in red); on the right side: properties consisting solely of plots (50)
Each property has a number according to its size; this number is followed by letters when the property is not made of contiguous plots; the letters indicate the position of the plot (in terms of area) in relation to all the plots that make up this property

Fig. 4. Land tenancy in French Flanders: 10 largest agricultural holdings in Linselles square no. 1 according to the 1831 cadaster (Source: Archives Départementales du Nord 31P 250 and 33P 736). French *fermiers* did not necessarily own plots of land only in their farm; they often rented plots from several big or small landowners; *fermiers* who owned some plots are marked in red

Additionally, each farmer rented some land from several landowners. The only farms with 'overlapping' land ownership and tenancy were small farms of those who probably did not live only on income from land (Fig. 5) — retired farmers, farmworkers, day laborers or farmers-weavers[4].

Fig. 5. Land ownership and tenancy in French Flanders: farmers with overlapping ownership (black lines) and tenancy (red lines), Linselles square no. 1 according to the 1831 cadaster

Not only property was more compact in the Venetian area but, unlike French Flanders, property and tenancy 'overlap' was more common (Fig. 6), i.e., Italian *affittuari* were often tenants to one or rarely to two or three landowners[5].

4. This is particularly the case of the areas such as the Lys Plain, where the rural textile industry was important (see, e.g.: Kasdi & Terrier, 2008). In the municipalities of Fleurbaix and Sailly-sur-la-Lys located in the Lys Plain the share of farmers-weavers (including their family members) was about 40% of the municipalities' population in 1850.
5. This somewhat 'frozen' property pattern in the Venetian region was the result of a long historical process (see note 15).

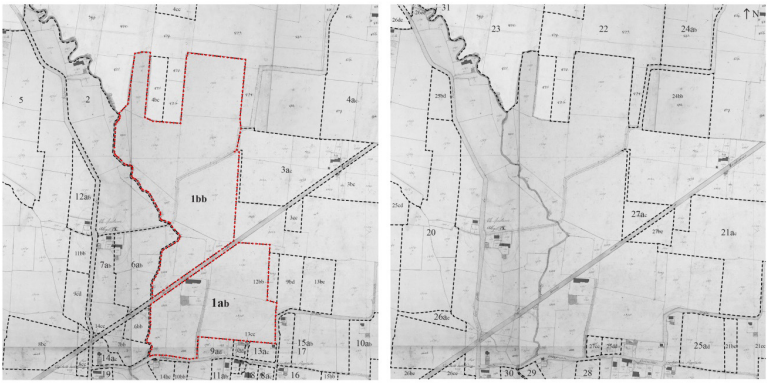

Fig. 6. Land ownership in Veneto: distribution of property in a square located in the municipality of Scorzè according to the 1846 cadaster
(Source: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Censo stabile attivato 60, 362 and 371)
On the left side: properties with at least one building (12; the biggest one is marked in red); on the right side: properties consisting of plots (19)
Each property has a number according to its size; this number is followed by letters when the property is not made of contiguous plots; the letters indicate the position of the plot (in terms of area) in relation to all the plots that make up this property

In both Northern France and Veneto, the share of peasant ownership increased during the second half of the 19th century. This growth was even more significant in the Venetian area especially in 1880–1910 and after the two world wars (Khorasani Zadeh, 2021; Celetti, 2014; Brunello, 1984; Giorgetti, 1974; Ronchi, 1936). This growth in peasant ownership had, at least initially, opposite results in two regions: in the Venetian area, it contributed to the reduction of social differentiation in the agricultural sector due to a net decrease in the number of farmworkers and day laborers and a corresponding increase in the number of small farmers-landowners. During this period, the number of (numerous) farms with less than 1 ha of land (often held by farmworkers and day laborers for their own subsistence) and of farms with more than 10 ha decreased, while the share of farms with 1 to 10 ha and the share of land farmed by peasant landowners increased[6].

6. In the Veneto square (Fig. 1), the share of farms from 10 to 20 ha was already low (about 10% of all farms, representing approximately 20% of the municipal areas at best) in the mid-19th century. The share of farms from 20 to 50 ha was even lower (5%, representing approximately 10% of the municipal areas at best). Farms larger than 50 ha were only found in municipalities close to the coast and in the southern part of the Veneto square. In 1920, the share of farms of 10–20 ha was around 5%, representing approximately 15% of the municipal areas at best, while the share

Unlike the Venetian area, in French municipalities, peasant ownership's growth did not immediately weaken social hierarchies. In fact, in most rural municipalities under study the number of permanent farmworkers and day laborers even slightly increased during the second half of the 19th century[7]. Studies of the evolution of territories of 1 km2 in Northern France show that not all peasants but only those who worked on 5–15 ha farms (and did not necessarily own plots of land at their farms) strengthened their land ownership. Most smallholders, especially farmers-weavers (who often owned their small farms), did not benefit from the growth of peasant ownership. The profound crisis of the rural, diffused, home-based linen industry challenged by the emerging textile factories concentrated around Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing[8] forced many farmers-weavers to emigrate, causing a decrease in the number of inhabitants in many rural municipalities[9].

Thus, the number of farms decreased while their average size increased. This happened in both municipalities losing inhabitants and municipalities affected by the industrial and population growth: almost everywhere farmers of medium-sized holdings consolidated their land ownership, and this profound change in social hierarchies was accompanied by the increasing spatial differentiation at regional and local levels. At the regional level, on the one hand, there were municipalities with decreasing population and increasing economic dependence on agriculture; on the other hand, there were 'industrialized municipalities' with agriculture becoming a marginal activity. At the local level, even in the industrialized municipalities, entire ar-

of farms of 20–50 ha fell to less than 1%, representing approximately 5% of the municipal areas.

7. The growing share of permanent farmworkers and day laborers in the agricultural population affected all municipalities regardless of their situation at the beginning of the 19th century (see note 2) and their specific demographic and economic evolution (growth or loss of population, industrialization or deindustrialization), and varied from 3% to 10%. The highest shares were recorded for municipalities losing inhabitants due to the demise of rural and crafts industries.
8. A limited number of towns along the Lys also benefited from textile factories. The development of mining in the southern part of the Lille region is another remarkable change that contributed to the spatial polarization in the region.
9. From 1860 to 1890, the number of farms fell from 144 to 110 in the municipality of Linselles (which was attracting workers due to the arrival of textile production) and from 184 to 90 in Fleurbaix (which was losing inhabitants due to the demise of the linen domestic industry). Land concentration and the corresponding decrease in the number of farms and inhabitants became evident after the First World War, which had disastrous consequences for most Northern France municipalities on the war front (Jessenne & Rosselle, 2008; Béaur & Vivier, 2001).

eas lost their 'non-agricultural inhabitants'[10], becoming purely agricultural spaces, while a growing working class was concentrating around factories often located in the municipalities' center (Fig. 7). While social differentiation of the agricultural population 'softened' in the first half of the 20th century (due to the technical progress and the shift to less labor-intensive crops), the spatial differentiation persisted (Fig. 1).

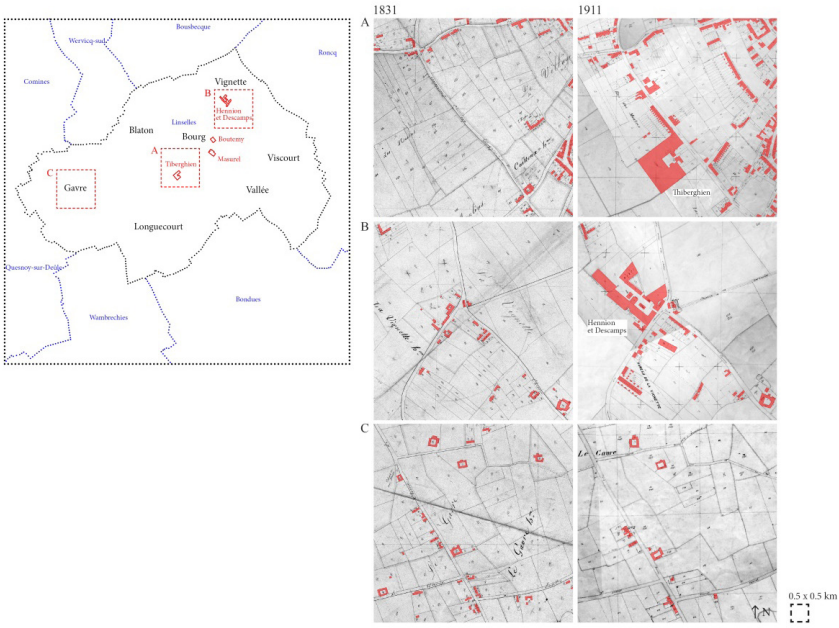

Fig. 7. Spatial differentiation in Linselles (France): from 1850 to 1950, the population increased only in areas with the developing textile industry (Bourg and Vignette), while in hamlets like Gavre (populated as Vignette in 1850s), the population decreased, and many building were destroyed (Source: Linselles's 1831 and 1911 cadasters — Archives Départementales du Nord 31P 250)

In the Venetian municipalities, not only social hierarchies but also spatial differentiations were somewhat 'softened' due to the spread of small farms of less than 5 ha (Fig. 8). To ensure the viability of these farms was not a simple task. It was solved by introducing new crops with high-

10. Besides farmers-weavers living close to their plots scattered across the territory, these were also artisans and retailers who lived not only in the village center' but also in numerous hamlets. Most of these hamlets disappeared in the second half of the 19th century.

er added values[11] and incipient industrialization in the countryside, which allowed many small farmers to supplement their agricultural income with industrial revenues (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022; Celetti, 2014; Roverato, 2009). This process was supported by local elites, Catholic Church and (later) Fascist regime promoting a decentralized economic development both in agriculture and industry in order to contain rural outflow and concentration of workers (De Benedictis, 1992; Fuman, 1984; Bellicini, 1983; Bianche, 1978). Policies sustaining the development of agricultural cooperatives and credit funds for farmers (*Casse rurali*) kept small holdings viable and helped peasants to get access to land.

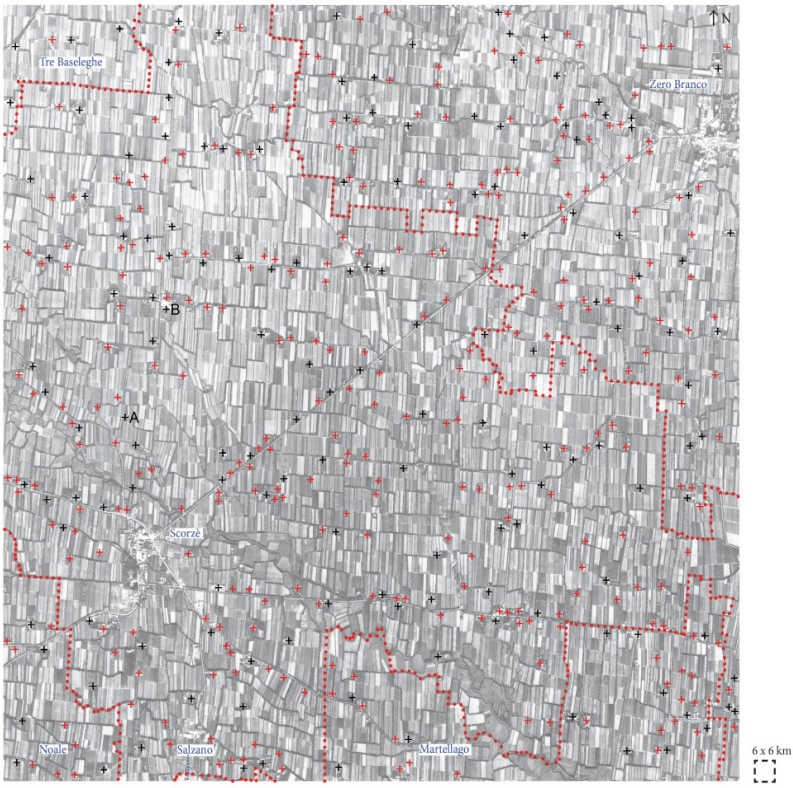

Fig. 8. Spatial differentiation in Scorzè (Italy): from 1850 to 1950, the population grew in almost all hamlets of the municipality. The map shows new farmhouses

11. E.g., the introduction of crops such as flax and hemp in certain regions, the growing share of vineyards and fruit trees, particularly peach and mulberry trees. The introduction of sericulture allowed the peasants to combine spinning and weaving with agriculture and, according to some scholars, paved the way for more contemporary forms of peasant pluriactivity (Celetti, 2020; De Benedictis, 1992).

(*case coloniche*) built from 1880 to 1940 (in red) and those already existing in 1880 that persisted (in black). With the massive industrialization from the 1950s, the spatial distribution of population changed to a certain extent, but not as drastically as in French municipalities: most industrial workers with peasant backgrounds remained in or near their paternal farmhouses and practiced agriculture as a part-time job. Farmhouses of Bruno and Ermenegildo Scattolin and of Alberto Beggio are marked respectively with the letters A and B (Source: IGM maps of 1887 and 1940; the background map is an aerial photo of 1954)

Reconsidering property/tenancy interactions and peasant-family reproduction patterns

Veneto and French Flanders with an overall rise of the peasant land ownership in the late 19th — early 20th centuries present two different development paths. In Northern France, peasant ownership was already notable at the beginning of the 19th century, but its rise did not benefit all peasants and did not mitigate the existing social hierarchies. In the Veneto region, peasant ownership was marginal at the beginning of the 19th century, and its growth 'smoothed' social hierarchies and led to the rise of small-scale agriculture. In each case, industrialization played an important role. In French Flanders, the advent of textile factories concentrated around few towns determined a marked rural exodus that contributed to the agricultural sector restructuring and family farms' growth in size. On the other hand, the decentralized industrialization based on small enterprises in Veneto allowed a small-scale agriculture to survive by enabling peasants to combine agricultural and industrial revenues. In addition to the industrialization paths and development policies pursued for ideological or economic reasons, a close examination of the 1 km2 areas and of biographies of French and Italian farmers highlight the determining role of two patterns of the peasant families' social reproduction. The already mentioned interaction between property and tenancy (their overlap in the Venetian area and their dissociation in French Flanders, notably for medium and large-scale farms) is a result (and at the same time a key component) of two different social reproduction patterns. In Northern France, the dissociation of property and tenancy can partially explain the success of farmers who managed to enlarge the size of their farms and properties. These farmers had a clear tendency to bequeath the farm to only one child (regardless of gender) while respecting an egalitarian sharing of land property between heirs (Fig. 9).

At the same time, farmers tried to reduce the number of heirs through a birth control strategy. A systematic analysis of plots that the heirs of each generation inherited shows that, to a certain extent, farmers usually favored heirs who were also successors on the farm by providing them with compact shares of land located as close

as possible to the farmhouse, while other heirs were given dispersed plots[12] (Fig. 10). On the other hand, the marriage of two successors offered the possibility of combining two farms and parts of property.

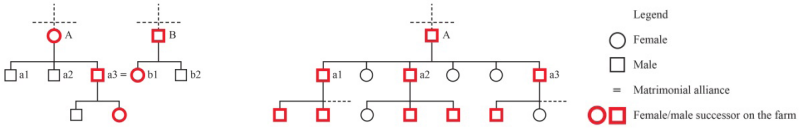

Fig. 9. Ideal-typical succession patterns among peasant families in Northern-France (left) and Veneto (right) for three generations (born from 1850 to 1920). For the second generation, the children who inherited land are marked with a letter (see also Fig. 10)

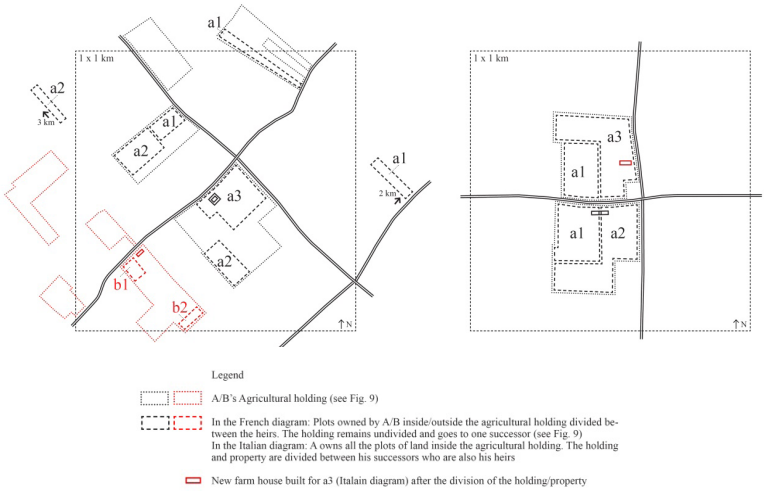

Fig. 10. Ideal-typical property and farm divisions in Northern France (left) and Veneto (right). The diagram refers to the second generation shown on Fig. 9

The life trajectory of farmers who abandoned agriculture for full time jobs in the textile industry during the second half of the 19th century shows that the nuclear structure of the Northern France peasant households also fostered the emergence of working-class neighborhoods around textile factories. In a nuclear household, children leave their parents' house after marriage. Thus, the generations of

12. The plots of land inherited by 'non-successor' siblings were almost always leased to the successor sibling. These small advantages granted to the only successor did not mean that parents were not interested in the fate of non-successor children. Those wishing to continue farming were helped by their parents through social contacts (marriage to another farmer's successor) or financial support (buying or renting land on another farm).

Northern France farmers, who abandoned agriculture, left their retired parents' farmhouses even when the latter were owners of these houses and even in 'industrialized' municipalities. These 'abandoned' farmhouses were often bought by farmers consolidating their land, who usually destroyed them to increase the agricultural function of the plots (Fig. 11). In this way, they contributed to the spatial differentiation mentioned before: entire areas lost both their inhabitants and settlements.

Fig. 11. Erasing traces of settlements: French farmer destroys farmhouses after buying them (1850–1900, Linselles)

In the Veneto region, the access to property improved peasant households' living conditions, 'uncovering' some features of their lineage structure[13] (Fig. 9). Thus, Venetian peasant families' inclination to constitute 'multiple households' (Laslett 1972) (parents and all or some married sons living under the same roof) (Fig. 12) became a statistically important phenomenon[14].

13. The existence among farmers of lineage structures in Central and North-Eastern Italy has been documented since the Middle Ages (Augustins, 2002; Barbagli & Kertzer, 1992; Barbagli, 1984; Kertzer, 1984; Klapisch, 1978; Conti, 1965).
14. The multiple household was already a diffused pattern among tenants and sharecroppers working on the medium- and large-scale farms (Kertzer, 1984).

Fig. 12. Francesco and Eugenico Barduca multiple household (Borgoricco, Veneto, 1929). The two brothers' separation, shortly after this photo was taken, resulted in the division of the farmhouse (Fig. 13) and of 7 ha of family-owned land (Source: Barduca family private archive, courtesy of Alessia Barduca)

During the period of cohabitation of parents and married sons, the household worked on an undivided farm and property, trying to increase the size of property/holding, which, due to the specific Venetian overlap of property and tenancy, was not an easy task. The (cyclical) dissolution of multiple households was inevitable and often created new farms and farmhouses. Shortly before the wedding of the eldest married brother's eldest son, the former used to 'uncouple', dividing first the farm and later the family property[15] (Fig. 10).

15. Such divisions were particularly problematic during periods of a significant population growth or in rural economies based on crops that were cost-effective only if cultivated on large areas. According to some historians (Derouet & Goy, 1998; Augustins, 1989; Derouet, 1989), these structural issues affecting lineage systems facilitated the decrease of peasant property during the modern period in some European regions. This is, for instance, the case of Veneto in the 17th — 18th centuries, when Venetian nobles and bourgeois started to invest in land and agriculture. This movement, which the Italian historiography calls '*appoderamento*' (Bevilacqua, 1989; Romano, 1971; Conti, 1965), is not only characterized by a change in the property structures but also by an attempt to constitute compact properties and holdings. However, *appoderamento* was somewhat an 'incomplete' process — there was always a marginal peasant property to ensure land for small peasant owners employed at larger farms. *Appoderamento* was also an 'unstable' process as any change in property relations (sales, purchases, hereditary shares) could compromise the integrity of these autonomous compact properties-holdings. However, in the 18th — 19th centuries, in the regions with an advanced state of *appoderamento*, compact properties-holdings were often circulating in the market without their integrity questioned (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022; Conti, 1965).

Wealthier families could build a new house for each household separating from the family farmhouse; other families could literally divide the parents' house[16] (Fig. 13).

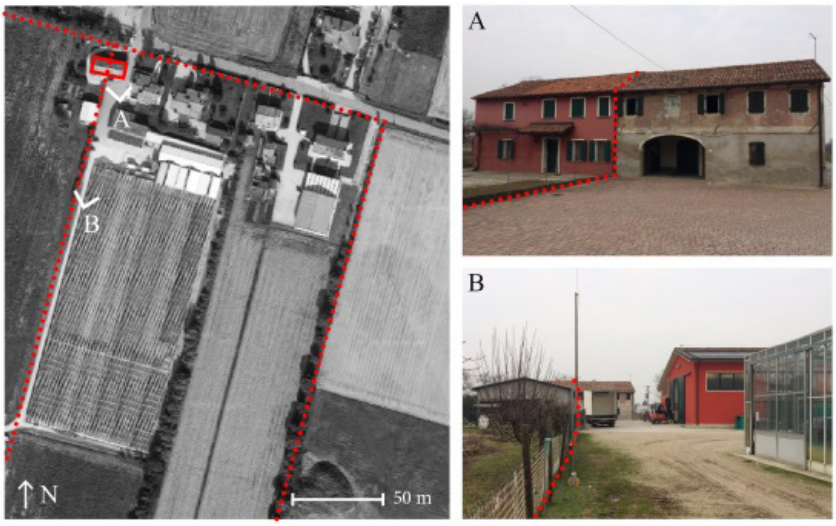

Fig. 13. Dividing the family farmhouse after the separation of two brothers in Veneto (see Fig. 12). Houses located on the right side of the separation line were built by three generations of successors and heirs of Francesco Barduca; his two great-grandsons still work in agriculture (Source: photos by the author (2018); Google Maps (2020))

The increasing share of multiple households in the 19th — early 20th centuries is reflected in the growth of households' average size at the regional and municipal level, which corresponds to the growing share of peasants working exclusively on their own land and to the decreasing share of farmworkers and day laborers (Fig. 14).

The Venetian case is a clear example of how the rise of peasant landownership in the context of a specific peasant-family reproduction pattern may mitigate social differentiation, contain the expansion of agricultural holdings while sustaining an alternative to agriculture through a specific industrialization pattern, in which ex-farmers were not only future industrial workers but also entrepreneurs. The regional industrial take-off, especially after the Second World War, was due not only to investors from major cities (who built factories in rural municipalities, taking advantage of the available and cheap peasant workforce that already had a house and a partial agricultural income)

16. More often, the preferred solution was a combination of the division of the parents' farmhouse between two or three siblings and the construction (or purchase) of new farmhouses for others (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022).

but also to peasant initiatives. Two examples from the municipality of Scorzè can illustrate this point (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022). First, the bicycle and later motorcycle factory Aprilia (now a part of the Piaggio group) was founded by Alberto Beggio from a peasant family living in Scorzè for generations, who began by repairing and then manufacturing bicycles in the early 1940s (Fig. 8)[17]. Second, the factory of Acqua San Benedetto (one of the largest producers of bottled mineral water in Italy) was founded in the early 1950s around a spring on a farm owned by two brothers — Bruno and Ermenegildo Scattolin (Fig. 8)[18].

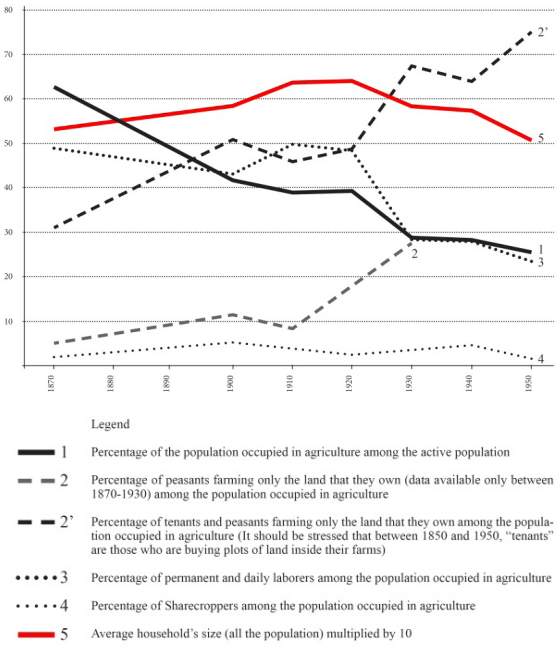

Fig. 14. Population engaged in agriculture and the household average size in the Province of Padua based on population censuses from 1870 to 1950 (the data for 1880 was not considered due to a different structure of the available census results; in 1890, there was no census) (Source: ISTAT historical data)

17. Combining self-sufficiency and openness to the market, Venetian farms were labor intensive and required different types of agricultural, commercial and maintenance tasks. Many historians have stressed the importance of manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills of Venetian peasants, partly acquired due to the specific forms of farming in the take-off of local industry (Celetti, 2020; De Benedictis, 1992).
18. The expansion of Acqua San Benedetto took place after 1960 due to the Scattolin brothers' partnership with Augusto Zoppas, son of Ferdinando Zoppas and founder of the household appliances company Zoppas. In 1971, Augusto Zoppas' grandson and his son-in-law took advantage of San Benedetto's financial difficulties to buy out the Scattolin brothers' shares.

To grasp the decisive impact of peasant families' reproduction patterns on the development of an economic model based on small and medium industries and farms, one needs to consider that the Fascist regime and even the Italian post-Second World War policies spent significant resources to promote a similar type of development in several regions of Southern Italy. However, these policies yielded mixed results (Bellicini, 1998).

In the 20th century, the agricultural population decreased, and since the 1970s, cohabitation of married brothers has become rare. At the same time, agriculture was industrialized and specialized, but the share of small farms in Central Veneto remains high[19], and the peasant population maintains such practices as long phases of undivided ownership and tenancy, division of parents' houses (or, more often, building new houses close to them) and excluding women from farm's succession and land inheritance[20].

Being concerned about the overall rise of peasant landownership in the late 19th — early 20th centuries, French Flanders and Veneto followed two diverging paths in terms of agricultural development and social-spatial differentiation. Industrialization patterns played an important role in the path taken in each case. The previous paragraphs invite also to consider the interactions between property/tenancy dynamics and peasant families' reproduction patterns. These patterns are not immune to economic or environmental changes[21], but their evolution is not fully determined by these factors, especially in long time intervals.

19. For instance, the average size of the farm in the municipality of Scorzè remained the same from 1850 to 2010 (around 3.3 ha). This is particularly due to the significant number of farms exploiting only owned land (74.8% of farms and 57.1% of land in 2010) of the average size of 3 ha. In the French municipality of Fleurbaix, where the average size of farms was even lower than in Scorzè in 1850 (2.4 ha), the average size of farms was 8.1 ha in 1930 and 31.7 ha in 2010.
20. The Veneto's agro-industrial society with weak social-spatial differentiations (between industrial workers and peasants, cities and countryside), was a fertile ground for the development of the identity-based and independence movements demanding decentralization and promoting such values as work, family and property (Fuman, 1984; Lanaro, 1984; Anastasia, 1981).
21. For example, it seems that the specific industrial model of Veneto, based on the decentralized work and low added value products, strengthened the Venetian multiple family model that needed to stay united as long as possible to remain competitive. This is also true for other European contexts characterized by the presence of multiple families (Lorenzetti, 2010: 213–219).

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Рост крестьянского землевладения как движущая сила социально-пространственной дифференциации в современных сельских районах Венето и французской Фландрии

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Аннотация. Рост крестьянского землевладения в аграрных обществах обычно связан с сокращением социальных иерархий вследствие улучшения социально-экономических условий, снижения доли крупного землевладения и развития мелких хозяйственных форм. Исследователи подтвердили, что воздействие крестьянского землевладения на развитие сельского хозяйства и социальную дифференциацию крайне вариативно, поскольку зависит от социально-исторического контекста. Статья призвана внести вклад в соответствующие дискуссии, показав, как рост крестьянского землевладения может порождать противоречивую динамику социально-пространственной дифференциации вследствие неоднородной «взаимосвязи земли и родства» или «воспроизводственных паттернов» крестьянских семей. Для проверки этой гипотезы автор рассматривает два европейских сельских региона — в северной Франции и Венето, сосредоточившись на развитии землевладения и аренды, систем родства и социально-профессиональных характеристик населения в выборке муниципалитетов с середины XIX до конца XX века. Помимо анализа совокупных данных на муниципальном уровне, автор рассматривает также развитие небольших районов в каждом изучаемом муниципалитете, используя качественный

подход — «биографическое» описание некоторых видов собственности, землевладений, конкретных крестьян и их семей. Исследование опирается на такие открытые источники, как переписи населения, кадастровые записи и аграрные опросы, включая интервью и обращение к частным архивам.

Ключевые слова: собственность, аренда, сельскохозяйственные владения, родство, семья, пространство, социальное воспроизводство, картирование, индустриализация

Tatarstan: rural-urban development under the spatial trends of 1990–2020[1]

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Abstract. The article examines the main trends in the economic development of the Republic of Tatarstan from 1990 to 2020 and identifies some consequences of the 2022 sanctions for these trends. The author stresses the role of Tatarstan in the life of European Russia, showing the spatial structure of its settlements and economy. The article outlines the differences in the Tatarstan industrial production, trade and agriculture by district and presents the key trends in their changes over thirty years on maps and figures. The author identifies the features of rural areas under study based on the ethnic composition of their population, distance from cities and economic transformations in agriculture. The author pays special attention to agroholdings that play an important role in the social-economic development of Tatarstan and provides examples from the history of some agroholdings to prove their impact on the economic development of rural areas. However, the role of small business in the development of rural areas is also explained, and the issues of rural development in some areas are examined in detail. The author concludes with a list of main problems in the development of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Key words: Republic of Tatarstan, settlement, agglomeration, ethnic composition of the population, industry, agriculture, agroholdings, small business

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The Republic of Tatarstan compared to other Russian regions

The Republic of Tatarstan has been one of the key Russian regions: its share in the national industry and agriculture significantly exceeds the share in the country's population and territory (Fig. 1); its gross regional product per capita is comparable to the leading Moscow, Leningrad, and Belgorod Regions (Fig. 2). Tatarstan has its own source of income — oil, attracts foreign investments, for instance in the auto industry, its agriculture is one of the most advanced in the country due to the increased federal support for programs for the development of the agro-industrial complex and social development of the village. Ta-

1. The article was written on the basis of the state assignment for the Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). Project No. AAAA-A19-119022190170-1 (FMGE-2019-0008)

tarstan's specific feature is its authorities' ability to reach agreements with the federal center on redistribution of taxes and attraction of investments. A striking example is the new IT-center built in an open field — the city of Innopolis near Kazan, founded in 2012, still with 4 thousand residents but already with a university, a special economic zone, residential buildings, driverless taxis and robots.

Even during difficult years at the turn of the 20th — 21st centuries, Tatarstan remained attractive to the population, although in the 2010s its migration balance per one thousand people began to decline as in the country in general. Tatarstan case, including transformations in agriculture compared to national changes in economy and its territorial structure, allows to understand many Russian problems in the past thirty years.

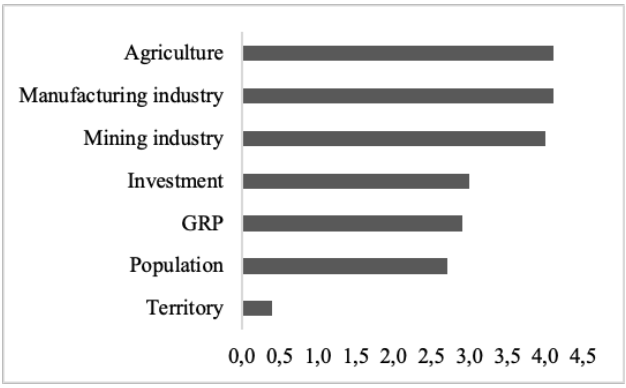

Fig. 1. Share of Tatarstan in the territory, population and economy of Russia in 2020 (in %)

All calculations and figures in the article are based on the data from the statistical collections for municipal districts for 1990–2020, published by the State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Tatarstan. The author participated in the development of the express diagnostics as a part of the Development Strategy of the Republic of Tatarstan until 2030 (Express Diagnostics, 2013), which allowed to get access to the data for the 1990s — 2010s and to conduct interviews with the heads of districts and enterprises when traveling around Tatarstan. Calculations were continued until 2020, which is reflected on the presented maps and figures. New trips to some regions of Tatarstan were made in 2023[2] — to conduct interviews with the heads of enterprises and population, to see and explain the latest trends.

2. The author expresses gratitude to Svetlana Khusnutdinova, Associate Professor of the Department of Theory and Methodology of Geographical and Environmental Education at the Kazan Federal University, for organizing trips to the Arsky and Alekseevsky districts of Tatarstan in 2023.

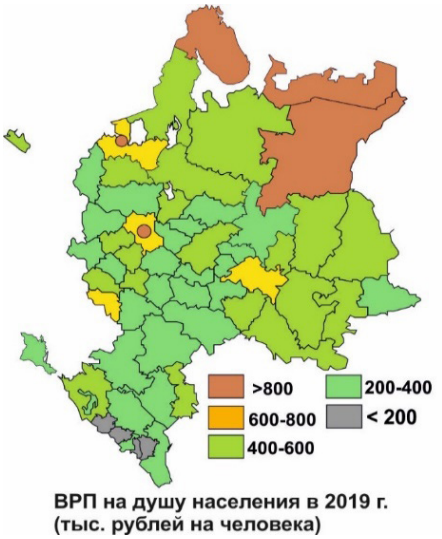

Fig. 2. GRP per capita in 2019 (thousand rubles per person)

Spatial settlement structure and economic transformations of Tatarstan

Tatarstan has a polycentric spatial structure of the economy with a metropolis (Express Diagnostics, 2013) consisting of three agglomerations — Kazan, Kama and Almetyevsk, in which the industry is concentrated (Fig. 3). During the economic crisis of the 1990s, the Kazan agglomeration, especially city Kazan, and the Kama agglomeration (cities Nabererznye Chelny, Nirznekamsk, Elabuga) practically did not lose population, and later it constantly grew, concentrating in the capital. The Almetyevsk agglomeration survived in the 1990s but in the last decade began to lose population (Fig. 4). Even greater outflows to Kazan or other regions of Russia were typical for non-agglomeration areas.

In the Strategy for the Social-Economic Development of the Republic of Tatarstan until 2030, more than 44% of investment are planned for infrastructure, primarily for Innopolis near Kazan (Strategy, 2015), then comes the petrochemical complex and the machine-building complex, primarily the auto industry, while the agro-industrial complex ranks fourth in the strategic investment portfolio.

Tatarstan remains an important industrial region producing 30% of Russian polyethylene, 46% of synthetic rubber, 56% of tires and 37% of trucks. There are three industrial nodes (Fig. 5): the first and the oldest one is the Kazan chemical and machine-building hub, which in 2020 accounted for about 16% of the regional industrial production (Summary Report, 2021). It consists of many enterprises — from the oldest Powder Plant and the Vakhitov Plant (now Nefis Cosmetic)

to KazanOrgSinez, TatchemPlast, leader in polymer production, and many others. However, the role of Kazan in industrial production has gradually decreased in recent decades (Fig. 6), especially in 2022 due to the negative consequences of sanctions.

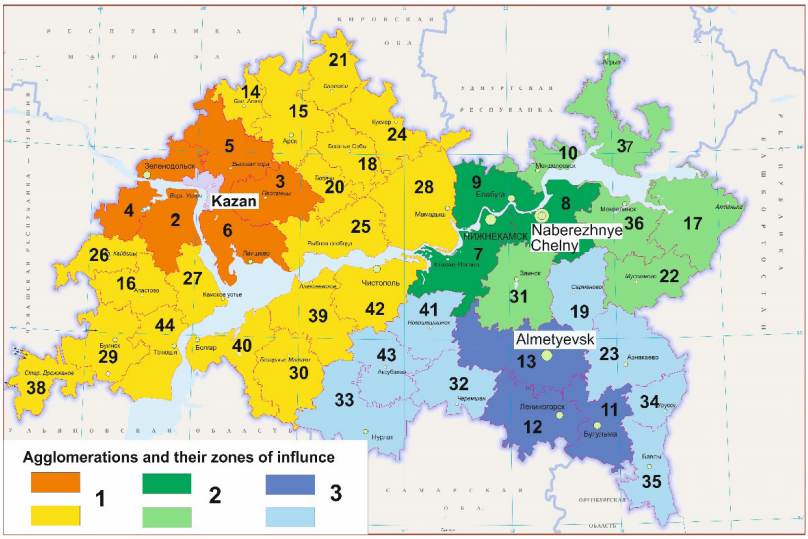

Fig. 3. Three agglomerations of Tatarstan:
1 — Kazan (number of dictricts 2–6),
2 — Kama (districts 7–10), 3 — Almetyevsk (districts 11–13) and their zones of influence (Strategy, 2015).

The second industrial hub — Kama Machine-Building and Chemical — concentrated 36% of industrial production in 2020 and, on the contrary, has been on the rise in recent years, although in 2022 the most famous KAMAZ with 15 thousand employees experienced a shortage of components. At the same time, sanctions led to the departure of foreign competitors and to the entry of China into the Russian market and in the production of electric vehicles. The same applies to the Yelabuga Sollers-Ford Plant that, after being idle, switched to the Sollers-Alabuga production, but continued to produce the traditional Russian UAZ car.

The third industrial hub is formed by the TATNEFT Oil Company in Almetyevsk, which in 2020 accounted for about a third of the industrial output of Tatarstan, although in per capita production this hub exceeds the other two by two–three times. In addition to oil production which increased by 5% in 2022, there are also petrochemical and tire enterprises.

In recent years, significant organizational changes have been taking place in the industry, leading to a redistribution of financial and physical flows. Since 2023, TATNEFT has been on the sanction list, which has led to a change in export flows of oil and petroleum products and to

a greater focus on the Russian market and oil refineries. On the other hand, after the withdrawal of the Finnish company Nokian Tyres from the Russian market, TATNEFT became the owner of a 100% stake in a tire plant in Vsevolozhsk in the Leningrad Region.

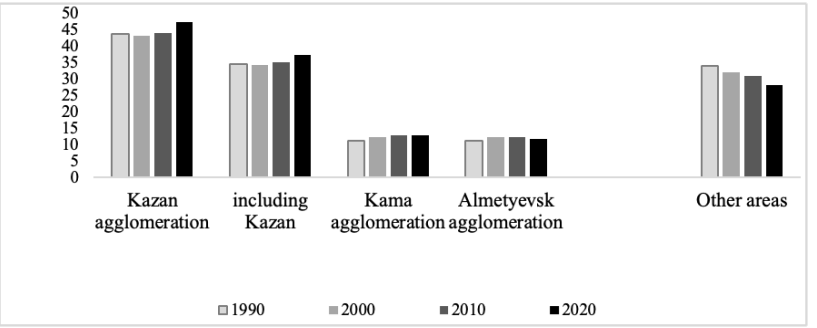

Fig. 4. Changes in shares of population in three agglomerations and other areas from 1990 to 2020 (in %)[3]

Since 2005 in Tatarstan, there are more than 100 industrial-technology parks in different districts, including those providing alternative types of employment in villages, although such leading districts (in terms of number of parks and wages) are suburban areas of large cities.

A noticeable increase in Kazan's trade turnover, while the shares of other regions decreased (Fig. 7–8), indicates gentrification of the capital, which literally catches the eye when visiting the city — there are construction sites, shops, improvement of public spaces, cafes and restaurants everywhere. The same partly applies to the Kazan agglomeration, although the differences in trade volumes between Kazan and its suburbs are still large. The shares of other two agglomerations in trade turnover have decreased; however, a greater dispersion of industry and relatively high wages contributed to the increased trade turnover in a much larger territory.

The expansion of trade to the suburbs of large cities is also determined by the growing popularity of *dachas* in rural areas for summer vacations of city dwellers. Such zones of noticeable excess of the summer *dacha* population over the permanent rural population are typical not only for the suburbs of Kazan but also for the Kama agglomeration (Fig. 9). For instance, in the Verkhneuslonsky district the average increase in summer population is 2.5 times, while in places with concentrations of seasonal garden, *dacha* and cottage settlements — more

3. Figures 4–8 and 10–12 are based on the data from the statistical collections "Republic of Tatarstan", "Cities and Regions of the Republic of Tatarstan in Numbers" and "Agriculture of the Republic of Tatarstan" published by the State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Tatarstan.

than 5 times. In terms of the number of *dacha* settlements, the Laishevsky district (several dozen villages, from 100 to 700 plots each) and the Zelenodolsky district stand out, especially along the Volga banks. However, suburban areas receive little but garbage from city-dwellers. Even the trade turnover in the suburbs of Kazan is less than it could be, since there are large supermarkets at the outskirts of the capital.

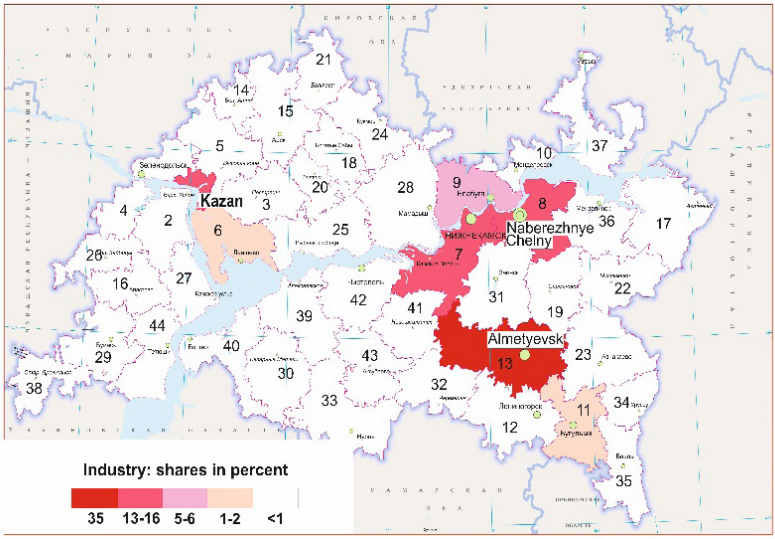

Fig. 5. The shares of Tatarstan districts in industrial production in 2020 (in %)

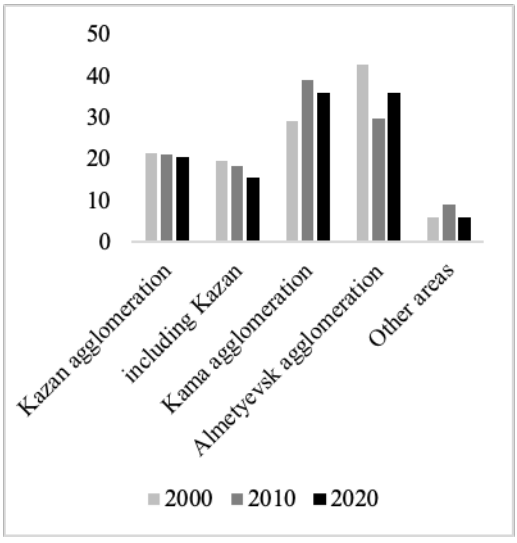

Fig. 6. Changes in shares in industrial production (in %)

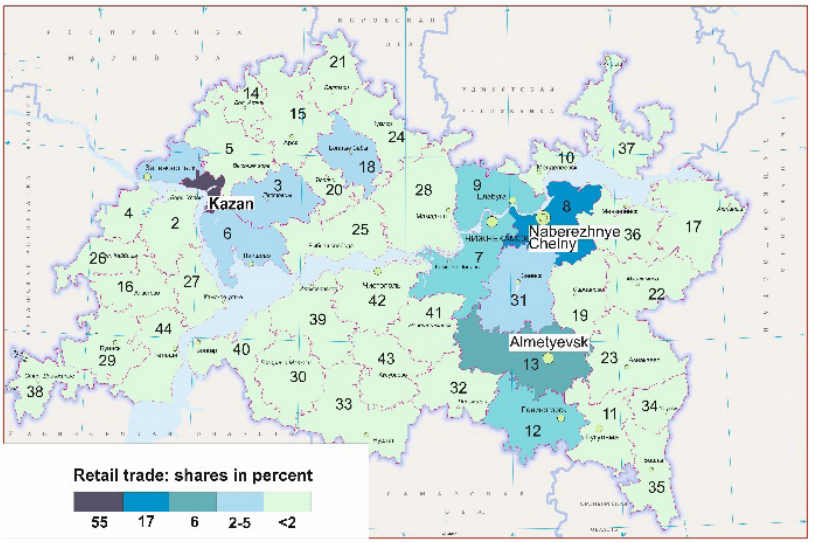

Fig. 7. The shares of Tatarstan districts in trade turnover in 2020 (in %)

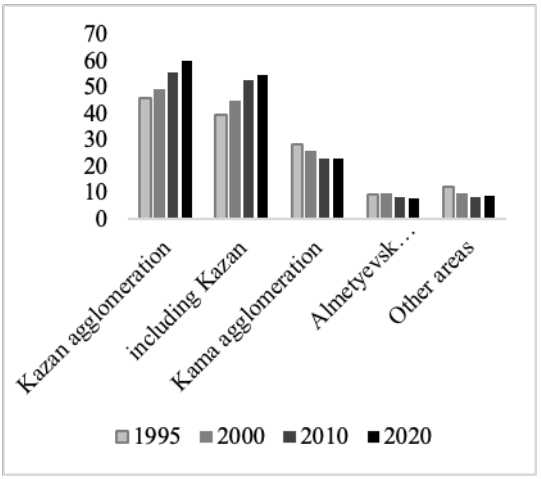

Fig. 8. Changes in shares in trade turnover (in %)

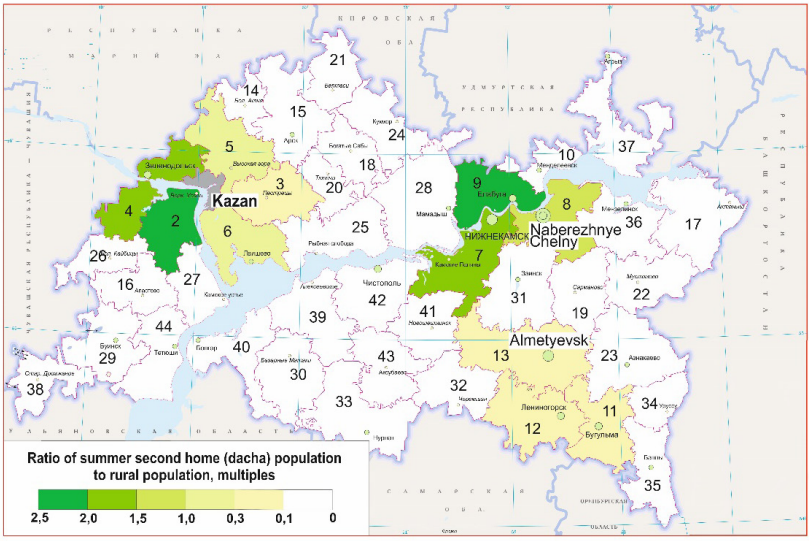

Fig. 9. The ratio of the summer *dacha* population to rural population (times) (according to the 2016 agricultural census on the number of plots in garden and *dacha* associations, based on the average of two people per plot in summer)

Changes in rural settlement and agriculture in Tatarstan in 1990–2020

Tatarstan is located in a zone of mixed and deciduous forests with a forest-steppe in the south, which are not the most favorable natural conditions for agriculture; however, its agro-industrial complex is one of the most promising and priority for regional development. In 1991, Tatarstan ranked only 7th in Russia in terms of gross agricultural output, by 2009 took 2nd place after the Krasnodar Region, and in 2020 — 4th place after the Krasnodar, Rostov and Belgorod Regions (Agricultural Production in 2020). If we compare the livestock dynamics in Tatarstan with its neighbors, its situation is much more stable. In terms of the dynamics of sown area, Tatarstan is also comparable to southern regions with the most favorable natural conditions and a powerful grain business. All this became possible due to the three main factors characterizing the specifics of Tatarstan: (1) a high level of financial and organizational support for the agro-industrial complex; (2) the increased role of large modernized agroholdings; (3) features of rural population.

In the 1960s–1970s, urbanization in Tatarstan was lagging, but subsequently its rural population declined rapidly. Moreover, the growth of cities, including Kazan, did not stop even in the 1990s,

which happened to many large cities in Russia, and accelerated in the 2000s. Thus, urbanization in Tatarstan is not complete, it is more active than in many other regions of Russia, which is reinforced by the rural population's desire to get education, and the rural youth, as a rule, do not return to villages after graduating from universities. Nevertheless, compared to many other regions of Russia, especially to the Non-Black-Earth ones, Tatarstan looks better in terms of rural depopulation — like southern regions (Nefedova, 2022). We should also mention consolidation of the Tatar population in the region since the 1990s.

However, the migration outflow damaged the system of rural settlement, although there are fewer abandoned and pensioner villages than in neighboring regions (except for Bashkortostan) and much less than around the Moscow Region. The distribution of rural population depends largely on its ethnic composition: according to the 2020 census, in cities the share of Tatars was only half and of Russians — 45%, in rural areas two thirds are Tatars, about 10% — representatives of other Volga nationalities. Tatars predominate to the northeast of Kazan, outside the agglomeration, and in the east (See Fig. 11). Russians usually predominate in rural areas close to the rivers Kama and Volga. In the south and southwest, the share of Chuvash is higher, in the northeast — the share of Udmurts.

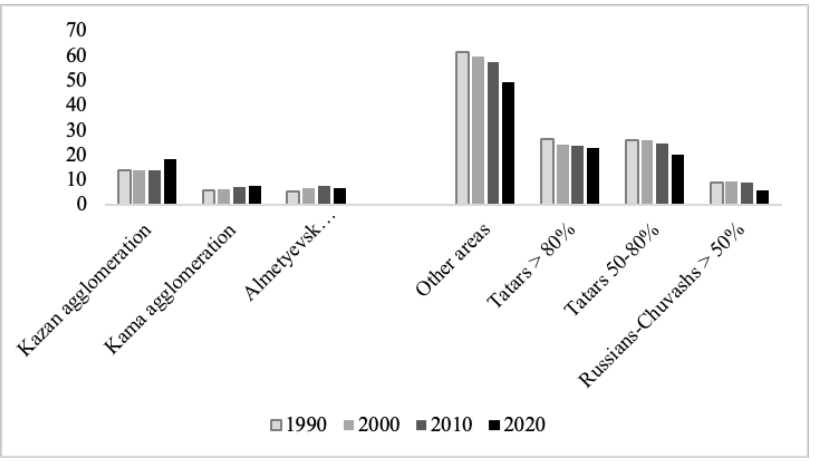

Fig. 10. Changes in the share of rural population in agglomerations and other areas; depending on ethnic composition (1990–2020, in %)

Ethnic composition determines the density and dynamics of rural population (Fig. 10). The aging of rural population, the reluctance of the youth to work in agriculture and their desire for education and the outflow to cities are widespread in Russia (Karachurina,

Mkrtchan, 2018; Nefedova, Mkrtchan, 2018), and Tatarstan experiences a severe rural population decline outside the Kazan and Kama agglomerations. However, the traditional Tatar areas remained more stable, while the Russians areas, even located in favorable natural conditions (Fig. 11), suffered the greatest migration losses. In general, the advantages of human capital in Tatarstan are as follows:

- less depopulated rural areas, especially inhabited by Tatars and Chuvash, better preservation of rural communities and traditions of farming in Tatar villages, readiness for self-employment and less alcoholism;
- the diversity and neighborliness of different ethnic groups, the positive example effect, various occupations;
- regional support for entrepreneurial initiatives and rural development, contributing to the preservation of rural population, including with social programs.

Thus, in addition to agglomerations, the Tatar-dominated areas in the north and northeast stand out for the increased density of rural population; the share of such areas in the gross agricultural output of Tatarstan is higher and has increased recently (Fig. 11–12).

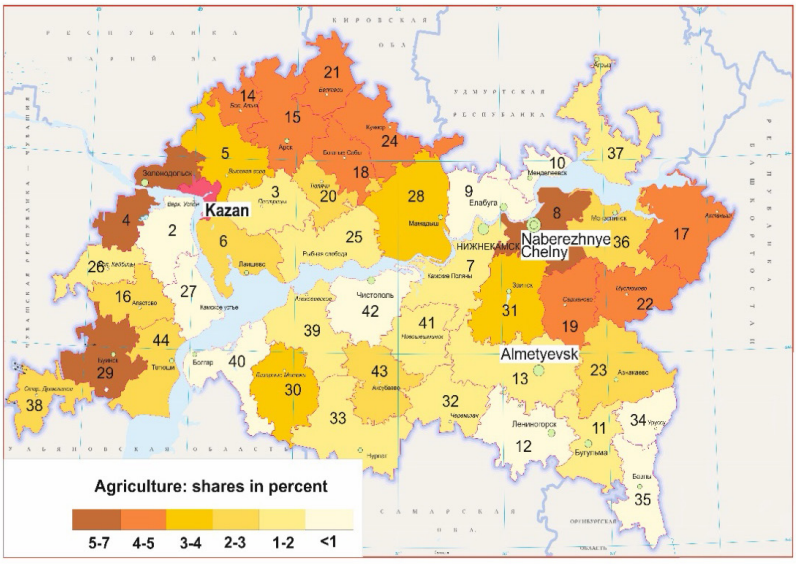

Fig. 11. Shares of Tatarstan districts in the gross agricultural output (2020, in %)
Ethnic composition of population in districts outside of agglomerations: 14 — 24 — Tatars are more than 50% of the population; 25 — 38 — Tatars are 50-80%; 39 — 44 — more than 50% are Russians and Chuvash

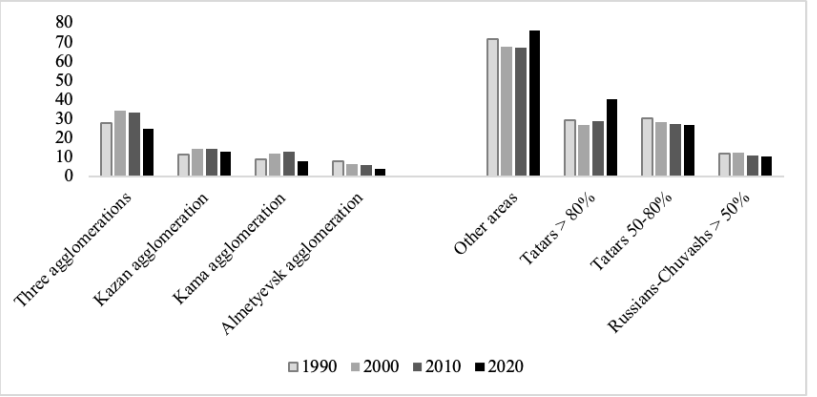

Fig. 12. Changes in shares; depending on ethnic composition (1990–2020, in %)

Concentration of capital and agricultural holdings in Tatarstan

The imbalanced institutional reforms of the 1990s and a sharp decrease in government support for agriculture required the concentration of capital to reduce risks and to improve organization of production and management. The most important reasons for the concentration of production were the accumulation of capital by private structures and individuals, the need to maneuver costs and profits, which is possible only with diversified production, the standardization of food demands and the need to compete with food imports. Moreover, by the end of the 1990s, there was a class of new highly qualified managers at large food enterprises, while the former Soviet agricultural enterprises, the number of which had decreased in all regions of Russia, had mainly weak management.

The specific feature of Tatarstan is a combination of large agroholdings and small commercial farms. By 1990, there were more than 300 state farms and about 700 collective farms. By 2010, due to the financial (loans from the banks of Russia and Tatarstan, subsidies) and administrative support of the regional government, 70% of agricultural land were controlled by 20 agroholdings, and the three largest ones — VAMIN Tatarstan, Ak Bars-Agro and Red East-Agro — controlled 30%. Former Soviet enterprises were either absorbed by agroholdings or disintegrated into commercial farms which were also supported by the regional government. The regional support of agroholdings slowed down the reduction of land and livestock and increased the productivity and reliability of supply to cities but 'washed out' the middle management of even relatively capable enterprises. Agri-

cultural employment decreased under the higher mechanization in large agroholdings. In other areas, without the majority of rural population willing to start commercial farming, this increased the outflow to cities and their suburbs. Regional authorities focused on preserving animal husbandry at both large enterprises and small farms: Tatarstan, like the Belgorod Region, became a leader of livestock production by 2020. Today in Tatarstan agroholdings control 37% of agricultural land, provide 46% of the regional revenue and jobs for 39% of those employed in agriculture (Uzun et al., 2022).

Some cases of problems and successes in agricultural development

In Tatarstan, regional autarky and protectionism had negative consequences, and agroholdings were not a panacea (even successful poultry factories). The problems of super-concentration of animal husbandry in Tatarstan became clear in the history of the largest agroholding VAMIN-Tatarstan which collapsed in 2012–2013. In 1994, the former Soviet association *Tatmolagroprom* was transformed into the Tatarstan Sete holding under the leadership of Vagiz Mingazov. By the 2000s, he controlled about 500 thousand hectares, his family owned the controlling stake, and the holding was renamed after the first syllables of his name. With the support of the regional government, the holding bought up dairies and agricultural enterprises, increasing its debt load and pushing out 'foreign' business (owned by representatives of neighboring regions). Problems with creditor banks began before 2010, because the payback period for dairy production is 8–10 years, and debts kept growing. There were also new challenges under the changes in the structure of support for the national agro-industrial complex such as the federal deregulation of prices for fuel and fertilizers. Russia's accession to the WTO and the milk expansion of Belarus increased cheap imports, which kept prices for Russian dairy products down. In addition, there were difficulties in managing agricultural giants and the lack of competition between units of agroholdings. Working capital shortage and the desire to make a profit at any cost made agroholdings increase the sale of grain. As a result, there was not enough feed, milk quality and yield began to decline. The last straw was the drought of 2010, which affected many areas of European Russia and aggravated problems with feed for livestock: agroholdings wanted to slaughter 'extra' cows, but were stopped by the powerful administrative resource — the strict control over livestock in Tatarstan.

VAMIN's problems with creditor banks began in 2010, but the regional authorities helped. In 2012, the debt was about 20 billion

rubles, which did not stop Mingazov from building two huge castles — in Kazan and in the Arsky district (Fig. 13). Five banks, including federal ones, filed lawsuits, because money and property had been withdrawn from VAMIN. In 2013 there was a trial, then a bankruptcy and the sale of enterprises, the remaining part of which was transferred to the new company "*Prosto Moloko*" ["Just Milk"] (Nefedova, 2013). This was very painful for Tatarstan since its stores were filled with VAMIN products, and some districts depended fully on one or two VAMIN divisions (jobs, salaries, etc.). This example shows that over-lending, gigantism and 'pupation' can lead to the collapse of even such a giant supported by the authorities.

Fig. 13. Castle of Vagiz Mingazov in the Arsky district of Tatarstan (photo by the author)

However, the story continued. In 2014, Vagiz Mingazov's son Mintimer, having got a financial-economic education abroad during the VAMIN's heyday, decided to restore the family business. He leased two former VAMIN dairy plants and an agricultural enterprise in the Arsky district and opened a new company to restore the name VAMIN in Tatarstan. In 2017, he bought out the Arsky and Baltasarsky dairy plants (the former VAMIN's dairy plant in Kazan was bought by another company) and added milk collection sites in these and other districts of Tatarstan. Mintimer Mingazov admits that his father's mistake was republican autarky and specialization in low-profit milk and tries to diversify his business. The 2014 countersanctions sharply reduced the import of milk products, which stimulated the new owner to master the production of butter and various types of cheese for the Russian market.

As a rule, there is rather competition than cooperation between large agricultural enterprises. For instance, in the Arsky district in the north of Tatarstan, in addition to the reviving VAMIN, there is Ak-Bars holding that has poultry farms, pig farms and cattle breeding sites in four other districts. The supply and delivery channels of two agroholdings do not overlap — each enterprise has its own chains.

Moreover, there are six other independent agricultural enterprises in this district, each with 2–3 thousand heads of cattle, two dozen Ltd companies and farms, and many family economies that keep livestock. To process milk from agricultural enterprises and numerous small producers, the Arsky Industrial Park was opened to clean and cool milk and send it to dairy plants in Tatarstan and in neighboring regions (the park does not work with the Arsky dairy plant of VAMIN); the park also processes potatoes.

The third large agroholding "*Krasny Vostok*" ["Red East"] also operates in several districts — in crop, milk and meat production. In the Alekseevsky district to the south of the Kama River, it keeps 6 thousand heads of cattle in three agricultural complexes, builds feed shops and has a dairy plant. This agroholding sells its production not only in Tatarstan but also in the Samara, Ulyanovsk and Voronezh Regions. In the Alekseevsky district, there are two other agricultural enterprises (former collective farms) and farms, including several large ones.

The main problem of the Alekseevsky district on the other bank of the Kama River opposite Kazan with a mixed Russian-Tatar population (Russians dominate) is that there are not enough workers in agriculture. The population is aging, the youth leave for Kazan and other cities, which makes owners invite workers from Central Asia; however, old machines and equipment do not allow to increase productivity. A significant part of income came from the sale of grain, but in 2022–2023 its cost was higher than the purchase price, and the cultivated area decreases. The construction of a cargo port on the Kama in the Alekseevsky district and of a road hub between Kazan, Nizhnekamsk and Samara (there is no railway) will give the district a new impetus for development but hardly agricultural due to the nonagricultural employment of a significant part of rural population.

There are other giant holdings in Tatarstan: the "*Agrosila*" ["Agro-Power"] holding owns the Chelny-Broiler Ltd. and Naberezhnye-Chelny dairy plant; the suburban Zelenodolsky plant processes a fifth of all milk in Tatarstan; there is the well-known Kamsky bacon, the "*Maysky*" ["May"] greenhouse plant in the suburbs of Kazan, one of the largest producers of closed-ground vegetables in Russia, agroholding "Food Program" in Yelabuga and others. Some of them are in one way or another connected with representatives of the regional government agencies or their relatives.

Despite the regional support for agricultural organizations (subsidies per liter of milk, subsidies for crop production and construction of storage facilities, joint federal-regional subsidies for purchase in livestock); in Tatarstan, as in Russia in general, agroholdings have become extremely vulnerable under the 2022 sanctions due to the strong dependence on imported seeds, plant pro-

tection products, genetic material in animal husbandry and poultry production, equipment and parts for it (Nefedova, 2023). In Tatarstan, as in other regions, some contracts for the supply of seeds and equipment were broken due to sanctions. In 2022, some workarounds were found, but the supply of sunflower seeds, sugar beet and corn seeds remains in question. In 2022–2023, young animals and spare parts were purchased through third countries, which increased the delivery time and the price of goods by 30%–40%, thus, increasing the cost of agricultural products. Regional authorities strive to ensure at least the production of spare parts for foreign equipment, but their shortage makes local products more expensive. Foreign markets for Tatarstan's agricultural products changed to Asia, Persian Gulf and China, and today their key consumers, albeit for lower prices, are Kazakhstan, Belarus and Uzbekistan. As a result, the disparity in prices for agricultural products and for their inputs has increased, which is the main problem of the last two years (What was 2022 like..., 2023).

Social-economic development of rural areas in Tatarstan

Having bought out land shares of rural population (one share is 4–6 hectares), agricultural enterprises maintain the system of relations with employees that developed in the 1990s (Pallot, Nefedova, 2007): for renting out land shares villagers receive feed for livestock and bull-calves at reduced prices, and veterinary care from the district. However, in 2021, the salary of more than 70 thousand workers in the agro-industrial complex was 32.5 thousand rubles, which was a quarter lower than the average salary in Tatarstan (Field pocket, 2022).

As a rule, large agroholdings have no interaction with farmers; moreover, there is a struggle for land shares. Although Tatarstan lagged behind many regions of Russia in the development of grain production, it stands out for the active development of family livestock farms, being second only to the North Caucasus and Siberia (Agricultural Production, 2021). These farms are supported in the construction of premises and with annual subsidies. The share of households in livestock production in Tatarstan is 37%, the share of farmers — 9%, while in the Belgorod Region, known for the highest share of agroholdings in gross agricultural output (76%) (Uzun, Shagaida et al., 2022), farmers produce less than 1% of livestock products and households — 3.7% (Agricultural Production, 2021).

The program for the development of family livestock farms was launched in 2010, and in 2012 it reached the federal level (Russian Government Decree No. 165 of February 28, 2012). By 2012, there were about 300 farms (each with at least 24 heads of live-

stock), and their number was growing. Those willing to engage in livestock farming applied for and received grants and additional support from municipalities which supplied farmers with building materials almost for free (often they counted as district taxes of brick factories) and, what is more important, built asphalt access roads as farms are usually located far from villages. At the same time, cooperation of farmers 'from below', as cooperation of commercial farms, develops in Tatarstan and in Russia in general with great difficulty.

It should be noted that an increased support for family farms is not always a panacea. In the Arsky district, with a predominance of Tatars (higher population density and preserved traditions of animal husbandry), villagers have a lot of livestock, their houses look neater and richer. This is largely the result of certain national patterns and of the reverent attitude towards one's home (every respected man should maintain his household with dignity and have a beautiful house), which affects the appearance of Tatar villages and even houses when the village consists of the Russian and Tatar parts. In the Alekseevsky district (large outflow and mixed population), villagers have less livestock and half-abandoned houses are more common.

In addition to agriculture, the most widespread small business in rural areas is trade rather than household services, and crafts are even more rare (for instance, the hand-made artistic weaving factory in the Alekseevsky district, which is 85 years old). There are many regional social programs that received a lively response in the countryside, such as a social mortgage for public sector workers: on the outskirts of small towns, urban-type settlements and some villages, cottages or low-rise houses are built with a social mortgage based on an affordable first payment and regional subsidies. The same applies to the housing programs for veterans and for relocation from dilapidated houses. There is also the regional program "Housing for young families with children": in the 2010s, families received money to buy a house. Unlike many other Russian regions, 100% of rural areas in Tatarstan are gasified. There are renovation programs for schools, kindergartens, clubs, paramedic stations and sports complexes; even in the depopulating Russian villages small primary schools are not closed, as in many Non-Black-Earth regions (which makes parents take children to schools tens of kilometers aways, thus, forcing families to leave for cities) (Old-Developed Regions, 2021: 68–78). In the villages of Tatarstan, if it is impossible to maintain empty school buildings, small houses with several rooms are used for primary schools, even if there are only two or three children left. However, in recent years there has been an increasing shortage of teachers and doctors in rural areas.

Conclusion: features and key problems of spatial development in Tatarstan

Tatarstan is a striking example of the temporal-spatial development according to the idea of the equality–efficiency tradeoff (Okun, 1975). However, not so much the concentration of population and production is dangerous (centers grow, but the periphery remains relatively stable) as the spatial polarization, when an increase in one place is accompanied by a decline in another (Treivish, 2022), which is typical for many Russian regions (Old-Developed Regions, 2021). Due to such factors as the availability of natural resources, preservation of human capital, specific management and relations with the federal authorities, Tatarstan managed to avoid strong contrasts in its social-economic development. Its economic engines are still the oil and gas complex, auto industry and its capital Kazan, despite the single-industry status of its industrial centers (except for Kazan). However, Kazan does not have strong advantages compared to other million-plus cities, including the nearby ones (Nizhny Novgorod, Samara, Perm, not to mention Moscow and Yekaterinburg). At the same time, except for large cities, the most important development factor in Tatarstan is still agriculture (more broadly, the agro-industrial complex).

The long-standing strategy of a 'closed' system (except for specialized enterprises like KAMAZ) and the focus on self-sufficiency in the region with high internal competition have consequences. As the role of oil gradually declines, Tatarstan needs a wider access to the Russian market and, perhaps, to the international market for other industries, including agriculture. A high level of social trust with the partial preservation of clan relations, on the one hand, contributed to the success of individual entrepreneurs. On the other hand, it hindered the comprehensive economic development and reduced the diversity and competitiveness of business compared to neighboring regions, which seems to be admitted by entrepreneurs much faster than by the regional government.

In addition to the oil and chemical-engineering complex, Tatarstan can position itself as a major Russian producer of dairy and agricultural products due to its powerful agro-industrial complex and rural population that preserved national traditions and experience in animal husbandry. Regional authorities should not support agriculture only in its extreme manifestations (large agroholdings and family farms) but should increase the diversity of producers and promote the expansion of their connections and various types of cooperation both in Tatarstan and other regions.

The increased regional support for agroholdings led to their seizure of land and accumulation of debts and to the closure of sometimes capable medium-sized farms. A decrease in the diversity of enterprises affects the sustainability of agriculture when market con-

ditions fluctuate. Regional support for both enterprises and family farms, including in marketing, contributes, on the one hand, to an increase in economic activity, on the other hand, to the habit of waiting for instructions and help 'from above'.

The specific feature of Tatarstan is its better preservation of human capital in rural areas compared to many regions of central Russia, which can be explained by the ethnic factor that increases entrepreneurial activity in agriculture. Variations in the ethnic composition of population together with the location in relation to large cities influence both the rural outflow to cities and the outputs of agriculture. To keep the youth in the village, agricultural support is not enough — it is necessary to stimulate non-agricultural types of employment in rural areas to preserve the unique human potential that is already lost in many rural areas of the Non-Black-Earth region (except for the suburbs of large cities).

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Татарстан: сельско-городское развитие республики в контексте пространственных трендов 1990–2020 годов[4]

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Аннотация. В статье рассмотрены основные тенденции экономического развития Республики Татарстан с 1990 по 2020 год, отмечено влияние на эти тенденции введенных в 2022 году санкций, показана роль республики в жизни европейской части России с учетом пространственной структуры ее расселения и экономики. Автор обозначает различия промышленного производства, торговли и сельского хозяйства по районам республики, а ключевые тенденции их изменения за тридцать лет отражены на картах и в графиках. Специфика сельской местности охарактеризована в статье, исходя из особенностей этнического состава населения, удаленности от городов и экономических преобразований в сельском хозяйстве. Особое внимание автор уделяет агрохолдингам, которые играют важную роль в социально-экономическом развитии Татарстана, и приводит примеры из истории отдельных предприятий, чтобы показать их воздействие на экономическое развитие сельской местности, однако охарактеризована и роль малого бизнеса. Статья заканчивается перечнем главных проблем в развитии Республики Татарстан.

Ключевые слова: Республика Татарстан, расселение, агломерации, этнический состав населения, промышленность, сельское хозяйство, агрохолдинги, малый бизнес

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“Fairyland”: Kin’s domain as a place of utopia and experiment

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Abstract. The article focuses on kin’s domains — plots of at least one hectare, which became so called since the early 2000s, after the publication of the series of books by Vladimir Megre — *Ringing Cedars of Russia*. Megre described his meeting with the Siberian hermit Anastasia and her nostalgic stories about the kin’s domain settlements of the Vedic Russia. Readers, inspired by this narrative of the ‘golden age’, tried to create this utopia in different Russian regions — according to the followers, there are more than 500 such settlements. Kin’s domain is usually organized on agricultural land and needs the entire infrastructure, so practical skills, technical knowledge and creativity are valued by the participants. In many ways, such settlements follow the global trend of ecovillages as laboratories of sustainable development, autonomy, harmonious coexistence of man and nature, spiritual development and healing. The author shows how the economic and ideological crisis of the 1990s determined the rise of alternative teachings and the enthusiasm of builders of a bright future. At the same time, many active participants of first ecovillages and kin’s domains followed the Soviet discourse, emphasizing the significance of Soviet morality and creative self-activity. The article is based on the field studies conducted in 2008–2021 in kin’s domain settlements and at the meetings of Anastasians, and on the Internet sources.

Key words: kin’s domains, ecovillage, *Ringing Cedars*, intentional communities, leadership, utopia, experiment, commune, New Age, do-it-yourself

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The article focuses on the territory far from the usual interpretation of the ‘rural’. Certainly, contemporary village is not a standardized settlement. Even when it is considered not just as a geographical concept, a certain location on the map, but as a social representation — how a certain settlement is perceived and inhabited by individuals and groups, old-timers and newcomers (Horáková, 2018: 15), ecovillages form a separate category. Both the internal view of the insider and the external interpretation of the outsider make the kin’s domain project stand out and opposed to the city and the village.

Kin’s domain is an idea of the writer and entrepreneur Vladimir Megre, which was proposed in his series of books *The Ringing Cedars of Russia* published in the mid-1990s — 2000s. The books were reprinted several times in large numbers and translated into many languages. Their main message is the need to leave the city and urban lifestyle and

to create kin's domains (Space of Love) and a new healthy society as a settlement of kin's domains. These settlements are sometimes called 'Anastasian' after the name of the main character of the books, who told the author about the mysterious estates of Vedic Russia[1]. Such settlements were established en masse in the early 2000s, when those parts of the book series were published that describe the steps of kin's domains' construction and an alternative history of the past.

According to Megre, kin's domain is a plot of at least one hectare, which ensures a family a full and preferably as autonomous existence as possible. A settlement of kin's domains consists of different number of them — less than ten or several hundreds. In addition to the family project, such resettlers emphasize their environmental orientation — they take care of land, forest and animals, limit the use of plastic and other artificial materials, use a variety of alternative farming techniques; therefore, kin's domain settlements are often put on a par with 'ecovillages' and 'intentional communities'[2] that spread in Europe in the 1990s (Liftin, 2012: 130).

Famous Western ecovillages were established in the 1960s — 1970s on a wave of counterculture, many of them were created by hippies and followed the ideals of a communal lifestyle. The New Age ideas made the interested move to ecovillages which often applied strict selection of future neighbors based on the ideological conformity: sometimes it was a multi-stage process (Farkas, 2017: 70), including probation and compliance with various conditions. The most famous projects are Findhorn in Scotland, Auroville in India, Damanhur in Italy, Tamera in Portugal. One of the most famous communities, the Findhorn Foundation, was created in the 1960s in Scotland as a center of the New Age movement. From the very beginning, founders of this community were 'guided from above' to build 'heaven on earth'. Over time, the original plan was modified as followers of theosophy, spiritualism and UFOs joined the pioneers. In the 1990s, the community's core consisted of the highly educated women aged 30–50 from the UK, USA and West Germany, and there was a clear shift from the alternative approach to the mainstream ideology (Sutcliffe, 2000: 216–217). Such a transition happened in many intentional communities: they gradually adapted to capitalist values that initially rejected (Meijering, 2012: 37).

In Russia, first ecovillages were established in the late 1980s — early 1990s: initially they were based on religious ideas that were

1. Here Vedic means the imaginary past, so to speak the 'golden age' of all humanity (Andreeva, 2021: 25–42).
2. The concept of intentional community is applied to various historical groups (Shakers, Pietists of Amana, Oneida commune) and to contemporary Hutterite communities, Israeli kibbutzim, Findhorn settlement in Scotland. Most of them are religious communities. Almost all declined and disintegrated over time (Andelson, 2002: 131–132).

later supplemented by an interest in native nature and careful use of resources. Pioneers of ecovillages were organizers of educational communities and small groups passionate about yoga, neo-Hindu religions, neo-Sufism and Slavic paganism (Sokolov, 2004). Later initiators of many ecovillages supported the Anastasian ideology. Locals and the media note the ideological commitment of ecovillagers and interpret it as 'sectarianism', referring to the refusal of medical (including vaccination and obstetrics) and educational services (Ivanova, 2021: 21).

Today, there are more than 500 kin's domain settlements[3] in Russia but mainly in its central part and the Krasnodar Region[4]. The idea of kin's domains spread abroad, and its followers inspired by the books make attempts to bring it to life[5]. Kin's domain settlements look like territorially extended cottage settlements; however, such projects' participants, as a rule, resist this identification ideologically. Moreover, kin's domain settlements have a significant distance between plots, lack infrastructure and differ in buildings; they are usually located on agricultural land with legal restrictions on its use (often buildings with foundations are prohibited (Pozanenko, 2020: 151)). Certainly, those who plan to live here permanently somehow adapt to the changing land legislation as they need to interact with the rural administration, at least on land issues when registering the plot (Ivanova, 2021: 13), and in most cases, there is peaceful coexistence.

In general, any conversation about kin's domain settlements implies inconsistencies as features of one settlement differ from another. One of the founders of the settlements explained to me, "*As I have already told you, today all settlements are unique... So, when we started to register them, we wanted to create a standard, repeatability, so to speak, according to the law"* (2008). This situation is determined both by the absence of the legal unit 'kin's domain' or 'ecovillage' and by the fact that in many ways each settlement is a project of a separate initiative group and of its efforts to bring its ideals to life. This does not mean that there was no interaction between initiative groups: their leaders often visited settlements both in Russia and abroad to gain experience and organized 'circles of representatives of existing ecovillages'. However, many leaders considered their kin's domain settlement as life's work, an opportunity to change if not the whole world, then at least one community. Certainly, among such 'landowners', there are examples of the pragmatic attitude towards the kin's domain as a *dacha*, a country house or a place of residence, but the

3. Readers of the *Ringing Cedars of Russia* still debate on which term is correct: ecovillage, kin's domain or kin's domain settlement. I use them as synonyms.
4. URL: http://poselenia.ru/statistic.
5. For instance, in the USA, Canada, Romania, Lithuania, etc. (Davidov, 2015: 2–13; Mardache, 2016: 97–104; Pranskevičiūtė-Amoson, 2018: 285–302).

kin's domain movement is still characterized by the utopian ideals of creating 'heaven on earth'.

According to its creators' intention, the kin's domain settlement is largely a utopian project: it aims at restoring the past and at recreating the 'golden age'. I will not consider such issues as the formation, functioning and stability of such a community (Gemeinschaft) held together by informal rules, since they need a separate study. As I have observed in my fieldwork, many initiative groups at different stages divide or break up. However, most people passionate about the ideas of kin's domains stand out for their enthusiasm (at least initially), experimental spirit and desire to do something new and unknown. Especially leaders — initiators of ecovillages — were ready not only to face something unknown but to make it, and I will consider ideology and motivation of such projects. I will not describe the typological features of these experimenters of the late 20th century but will focus on a small part of the very diverse 'back to nature' trends in post-Soviet Russia. I will talk about settlements in general focusing on several cases — leaders of ecovillages organized in the early 1990s, when books about Anastasia had not yet been written, and initiators of the first Anastasian settlements in the 2000s in the North-Western and Central Russia, which represent the first and the second waves of such settlements[6]. Certainly, experiments with ecovillages in this period were not limited to these examples. The article is based on my 2008–2021 field observations in kin's domain settlements and at city events, on interviews with members of such settlements in different regions of Central and North-Western Russia, Internet sources and published memoirs. One interview was kindly provided by E. A. Melnikova, for which I am very grateful to her.

"Fairyland"

Dreams of creating a world-changing community are not new for Russia. As a rule, such projects are associated with the ideology of communitarianism and appear during transition periods. Multiple attempts of intellectuals of completely different beliefs to create agricultural communities for spiritual improvement and building a world without violence are described in the book by Irina Gordeeva: these communities did not search for an image of an ideal society in the distant future but sought 'here and now' to unite with other like-minded people pursuing good and ambitious goals for the salvation of all hu-

6. According to one classification, there are three waves in the ecovillage movement: (1) initiatives before Megre's books were published; (2) kin's domain settlements; (3) a greater variety of projects based on the ideology of a healthy lifestyle (Zadorin et al., 2014: 68).

manity (Gordeeva, 2003: 228). Such projects represented both grassroots initiatives and planned actions of the intellectual elite.

'Intentional communities', which usually include ecovillages, are founded for a specific purpose and are often called 'utopian' as people strive to realize their ideals through them (Brown, 2002: 5). Although these communities are often presented as a segregated social element, they interact with different social strata, being in the continuum between the mainstream and the marginal (Brown, 2002: 8–9). Thus, resettlers are driven from the city to the kin's domain by environmental motives, the desire to get rid of the urban noise and bustle, and the desire to find a right society for themselves and their children. This project is not always successful, and some families return to the city or move to more lively areas. However, ideological component is a significant part of this movement. Ideologists and supporters of kin's domain movement consider their project not only a personal activity but also a world task. By creating paradise on earth, they want to change the global consciousness and, in some cases, to achieve the rebirth and formation of a new humanity and a new society — free from injustice, aggression and selfishness (Panchenko, 2013: 471). A 60-year-old settler described his path to the settlement this way, "*Somehow it happened that the guys and I — three families — decided: there's no point in sitting in kitchens, reading samizdat, and beating the air about various philosophical issues. If we are so smart and cool, let's try to build the world that we consider right*" (2021).

The names of kin's domain settlements usually reflect their creators' idea, the so-called 'image of the settlement'[7], for instance, "Native", "Beloved", "Living Fairytale", "Free World", "Ark", "Grateful", "Fairytale Land", "Vedic Russia", i.e., the names often imply the mission to save, to show the right path, to come together to a happy future: "*Well, that is... included on the name — 'With pure love, a jointly created image', i.e., this love guides, a kind of shows a direction, like a lighthouse... and it was important to find a name that seems to show the path... from the current state, mostly twilight, that allows to move on without distorting the space too much. That is, it is not easy to find a name that would correspond to what you do*" (2008). Members of kin's domains say that they were attracted to these projects, because, unlike the traditional village, there were 'people with fiery eyes': "I wanted to create a different society based not on sys-

7. The concept of image is also taken from Megre's books: "An image is an energetic essence invented by the human thought. It can be created by one person or several people... An image created by man can live in space only as long as man (one person or several people) represents it with his thoughts. The more people feed the image with their feelings, the stronger it becomes" (Megre, 2002: 147).

temic principles but on mutual trust, mutual assistance, healthy lifestyle, common attitude to the family, friendship, children"[8].

In various online communities of Anastasians who dream of founding their kin's domains, there are many fiery speeches about purity of thoughts, awareness, and the fight against selfishness. Timothy Miller, a researcher of American 'intentional communities' and alternative religious movements, emphasizes that such communities usually start with a burst of idealistic sentiments, when pioneers are ready to sacrifice a lot to ensure a bright future. Certainly, such ardor dries up over time and communities inevitably undergo changes (Miller, 2016: 213). This is exactly what happens to many members of kin's domains: over time, the initial categorical and literal interpretation of Anastasia's ideas comes to naught. High proneness to conflict, which is often determined by too many tasks, leads to the atomization of families; they stop interacting with most of their neighbors and maintain connections with a small circle of like-minded people (Pozanenko, 2020: 146).

Utopian ideas of building a new world are often combined with an idealization of non-urban natural space as embodying purity and authenticity (Pic. 1). The discourse of rural idyll is extremely attractive: popular essentialized images attract those who come to 'consume' the locality with their own ideas of what rural life should look like (Horáková, 2018: 18). The village is exoticized as a space, a product of city dwellers' admiration (Brednikova, 2013: 36), and becomes in the initiatives of 'new peasants' an object of nostalgia for the past they did not have (Sallustio, 2021: 60–83). In the religious doctrine of the post-Soviet new movement "Church of the Last Testament", there is also a strong motive for moving not just to the "Abode of Dawn" but necessarily to the countryside as promising closeness to nature, physical and spiritual safety (Urbańczyk, 2017: 93).

Stories about leaving the city are extremely important for the biography of members of kin's domains. Such stories are almost always based on the division of the life path into before and after, and a certain stage which was necessary to 'reach' or 'grow to' is emphasized. Ekaterina Melnikova notes that such stories allow the narrator to describe himself as a person who "has done some work on himself and 'has become himself' as a result of this path and such work" (Melnikova, 2020: 91). In her opinion, the similarity of resettlers' rhetoric to narratives about self-realization and self-discovery is a part of the ideology of self-improvement and independence (Melnikova, 2020: 97). The very move from the city to the kin's domain is presented as a religious conversion that led to a transition, a change not only in lifestyle but also in thinking: "*When a person lives on earth... he always has different reactions based on... his values, changes, etc., that*

8. The documentary "Earthlings" is about life in the kin' domain (2021, directed by E. Shadrin). URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edirVMy_hbg.

is, he thinks differently, completely differently... Naturally, the crowd control, as I call it, is immediately lost... if the level of awareness increases, most settlements will be successful, and controllability will eventually go to zero over time, that is, by and large, someone says something, everyone analyzes it and have their own opinions" (2008).

Creativity and experiment

It is hard to imagine an average 'landowner' as there are people of different professions, educations, genders and ages — retired engineers and young workers, seamstresses and IT specialists. Such a community values skills in construction, repair and taking care of plantings, but at the same time is always happy to accept lawyers, doctors and teachers. It is assumed that the new social organism will be able to exist autonomously: "*Well, to put it simply... when people in cities pay utility bills, they are not free, if you don't pay, you'll have problems... while one of the ideas in the books is complete autonomy. And this complete autonomy provides a person with complete freedom and complete realization*" (2008). Each member of such an ideal community is to fill some gap and to play the assigned role: "*It's not a matter of foresight, but simply a matter of luck... so that exactly those who need you and those whom you need gather*" (2010).

Megre's books and their readers emphasize the idea of creativity and freedom of self-expression through creativity. One book is entitled *Co-Creation* (2005) that means not only cosmogony but also the meaningful creation of anything, mainly a kin's domain. When designing a kin's domain settlement, Anastasians usually try to apply

certain principles of Megre's books, supplementing them with information from other sources. For example, members of kin's domains, like residents of ecovillages all around the world, are permaculture enthusiasts, i.e., believe that everything is right in nature, thereby, to ensure a yield, it is necessary to minimally interfere with natural processes, to breed the maximum variety of species, and to practice integration rather than segregation (Liftin, 2012: 132–133). In general ecovillages are not only laboratories of an ecological lifestyle, but also 'experimental sites for radical democracy'. They often try to solve common problems if not by unanimity, then by consensus, i.e., the minority's views are not suppressed but integrated into the common decision (Liftin, 2012: 134). However, many settlements with no legal entity do not have any regulated ways to influence neighbors; therefore, when discussing issues of self-government and self-organization, they often face intractable conflicts (Vilkov, 2021: 135).

The ability to do everything as a generalist is one of the most important qualities of the ecovillager, which is determined by the fact that for comfortable living he needs to build a lot from scratch without significant support from the local authorities and without sufficient funds. This call for freedom, independence and creativity of every resettler is combined with the late Soviet practices of technical experiments and self-improvement of the urban intellectual. Therefore, both villagers and external experts treat buildings and plantings of eco-villagers with disdain, as unprofessional and of poor quality. Resettlers' houses can be of different shapes — domed, pentagonal, round, 'fox holes'; can be made from materials nontypical for the region — adobe houses, dugouts (Pic. 2). Many former city dwellers try alternative agricultural approaches (like permaculture), use nontypical tools (like Fokin's subsurface cultivator), plant family trees and exotic plants, make unusual 'high beds' and combine different plantings in one flower bed (Pic. 3). Such a rejection of everything 'traditional' applies to education: ecovillagers advocate homeschooling, prefer Waldorf and Montessori principles, consider any institutional knowledge lifeless and leading away from the 'improvement of environment'.

Zinaida Vasilyeva, who studies do-it-yourself practices of late-Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, notes that they were perceived not just as a hobby, but as a state matter that allowed all involved citizens to create a new society of technical progress and prosperity. The interpretation of labor as allowing a person to create himself as a subject and to contribute to the common cause was generally accepted. The Soviet 'handy man' treated any object as a potential material for making something useful. According to the official Marxist-Leninist ideology, people lose themselves in the capitalist production when the product of labor is alienated; thus, ecovillagers support the idea that 'one who makes it owns it' (Vasilyeva, 2012: 30–31).

My informants mean this broad outlook when note that manual labor is less profitable but ensures 'working with soul'. Amateur performances were important for the social-economic project of late socialism: "Self-development, mastering new skills or, as they wrote then, 'the growing cultural-technical level' at leisure was considered a way to counteract the rapid obsolescence of qualifications and pro-

fessions under the scientific-technological progress with no market incentives. The man of the future was to be a universalist" (Kasatkina, 2019: 106). This is what the founders of ecovillages strive for, saying that resettlers need to master different specialties — build a house, plant a vegetable garden, understand the Land Code, install electricity, and much more. Making things had utilitarian functions and was a part of the Soviet subjects' constitution. Individualization was achieved through 'do-it-yourself' practices, and the Soviet amateur performances were an important field for the decentralization of subjectification practices, since the official discourse defined the Soviet person as a creative subject (Golubev, Smolyak, 2013: 539–541). Thus, the culture of amateurs opposed the mass market and capitalist standardization. In Russian ecovillages, national traditions, religion, patriotism and family values are opposed to the Western consumerism, soullessness, genetically modified products, American corn, and advertising (Bolotova, 2002: 52).

It should be noted that ecovillagers' experiments — in agriculture, self-government, community formalization, conflict resolution, and organization of leisure — have clear limits. For instance, gay relationships and LGBT are still marginal issues for members of kin's domain settlements. They are open to the new in most fields but remain conservative in family and sexuality issues, while European ecovillages often demonstrate complete freedom, including in this sphere.

Founders of ecovillages

Life trajectories of leaders of the first ecovillages in the 1990s — early 2000s are quite similar. As a rule, these men grew up in a big city, had a higher education, were interested in esotericism and alternative medicine. Their dissatisfaction with the prospects offered by the metropolis made them conquer the unknown, and the most prominent ones sought to change not only their destiny but also the destiny of the world. Thus, the biography of the leader of the "Ark (Kovcheg)" settlement, Fyodor Lazutin, is presented as a heroic path (Polsky, 2022). The "Ark" has long been a role model for almost all kin's domain settlements; many came to the "Ark" to gain experience and avoid mistakes in their projects. For several years the "Ark" hosted "Settlement Circles" — the conference of resettlers from different regions of Russia and abroad, who discussed urgent problems they faced. However, some participants pursued quite pragmatic goals: settlements provided them with an opportunity to earn money or with a spacious country home with like-minded neighbors.

Funders of settlements sought to implement different projects and to realize their professional skills, but they all were interested in the collective good: "I want more. The task is to build a new culture" (Fedotova, 2018). One active member of the settlement said

that after severe fires in the Moscow Region and smoke in its entire territory, she realized that even on one hectare it was impossible to be happy among like-minded people — everyone should be happy (2021). Almost all settlements try not only to improve their territory but also to develop 'republican' rules[9], to have a common area (common house, workshops, school, bathhouse, etc.) and joint activities mainly with their own efforts, to a small extent using the existing infrastructure. 'Landowners' are also responsible for constructing and cleaning roads, installing electricity, organizing transport links and purchasing goods.

Leaders, who are less represented in the media and seem more pragmatic and counting on worldly blessings, still see a mission of salvation in their activities. They do not hope for salvation here and now but expect changes from their children and grandchildren growing up in a different environment: "*I believe that children who will grow up here... will have greater freedom of thought. It seems to me that they will do much more. Because we're still kind of like this... We still fuss about — this way or not*" (2019).

Russian pioneers of alternative communities usually know each other and started in the late Soviet era with yoga and Eastern philosophy, alternative medicine, vegetarianism, Nicholas and Helena Roerich, Carlos Castaneda, Helena Blavatsky, Leo Tolstoy, Henry Thoreau's *Walden, or Life in the Woods*[10]. They were inspired by the rich foreign experience of alternative communities and artistic images, and some made attempts to create communes. For instance, in the first half of the 1990s, the above-mentioned Fyodor Lazutin founded near Troitsk a carpentry *artel* (7–8 people), also making iconostases for churches; this *artel* had a garden (Fedotova, 2018). In the 2000s, after Megre's books were published, Lazutin tried to organize a new settlement in the Kaluga Region. In 1986–1987, the leader of the ecovillage "Nevoekovil" failed in creating a community based on the ideas of Roerichs (Living Ethics or Agni Yoga) in the Leningrad Region (Bolotova, 2002: 48), and in the 1990s, after living on Valaam, he took part in organizing settlements in Karelia.

Many leaders of first settlements unsuccessfully experimented with communal living: "*We wanted to make a community... the City of the Sun! We laughed at this, we were creating a community, almost an ashram... And we managed for a year. We shared a budget; we lived in the same old house... In such harsh living conditions with such a strict routine... we couldn't stand it for long... the spring compressed too much*" (2021). This failure is explained as follows: "*Well... we were not ready... it wasn't easy, let's say... And the same applies*

9. On veche (town's meeting) see: Andreeva, 2012: 101–128.
10. Nikolai Mitrokhin describes the diversity of the late Soviet, informal, religious landscape (Mitrokhin, 2020: 51–78). Registered as foreign agent by the Russian Ministry of Justice.

to today... people are so inspired, they go to earth, start working, and then the spring straightens... This is the effect of reality. People are out of touch with reality... this is true for all times... and in the 20th–21st century, we are unfortunately cut off from our roots" (2011).

When speaking about community, resettlers often refer to the 'ancestral knowledge', being nostalgic for the glorious old times. References to the wisdom of ancestors are combined with references to esoteric works, in particular by Roerich, whose followers create communities experimenting with lifestyle (Pozanenko, Pozanenko, 2021: 163–171): "*The way our ancestors lived... they lived in communities that were big families. Indeed, people felt like a family, and... their relationships were of family type, and children grew up in such an environment... this way of life can still be found among... the indigenous peoples... Indians, tribes... And our ancestors lived like this... I think Roerich wrote a book entitled Community*" (2011).

Vissarion's community "Church of the Last Testament" in Siberia gradually abandoned the socialized property. They began with strict dietary restrictions and communitarian projects of 'united families', but later these radical demands were relaxed in diet, individual households and monetary relations were introduced, i.e., the transformation of humanity was postponed until future generations. Such a refusal of strict requirements can be explained by the decline of eschatological expectations determined by the social-economic crisis of the late 1980s — 1990s (Panchenko, 2013: 481). Practices of the Vissarionists largely repeat the Soviet type of public interaction, like Komsomol or party meetings to discuss 'Marxist-Leninist' texts and members of the 'cell'. The utopia proposed by Vissarion to his followers in many ways reminds communist ideals in the 'lands of new promise' (Panchenko, 2003: 314–322). Both the head of the religious community Vissarion and one leader of the "Ark" settlement explain the failure of their projects and the unpreparedness of their participants by 'selfishness' (Panchenko, 2013: 478–479).

Certainly, such accents differ from similar projects in other parts of the world, which also often criticize capitalist values: "*The present-time idea is the idea of ownership: "I can afford it". This idea pins us to the ground because it is based on fear of losing this property. Any movement, development implies energy of freedom. Energy of freedom, development, creativity arises from a new consciousness, primarily from new priorities: taking care of nature; conscious minimalism; priority of the spiritual over the material. Feeling of unity, family, team is the main priority, while the community's basis is formed by common goals; distribution of duties; common space valued higher than individual goals*" (Fedotova, 2018). Many ecological, utopian and moral ideas of the first wave of the ecovillage movement were a legacy of their organizers' Soviet experience. Some leaders admit that the idea of community and collective values is in many ways close to the Soviet ideology: "*My dad is a communist, he was a sec-*

retary of the party organization. For many of our parents, our movement was a kind of continuation of the communist movement" (2021).

Thus, ecovillages remain a marginal phenomenon: despite their growing numbers and media coverage, they still attract relatively few people. Ideologists of this movement say that ecovillages are a kind of laboratory for models of sustainable development, autonomy and harmonious coexistence of man and nature (Liftin, 2012: 129–130). Russian kin's domain settlements/ecovillages borrow and develop ideas of ecovillages in different parts of the world: environmental technologies, conscious minimalism, cooperation for reasonable consumption (for instance, one tractor/car for several families), spiritual development and healing, meditation and self-expression in art, communication with nature and recognition of the earth's sacredness, deep ecology and so on. However, Russian builders of the new world recognize their distance from the global movement as their utopian project are often rooted in the Soviet past and in the economic-ideological crisis of the 1990s. The turning point of eras gave impetus to the implementation of the most unexpected ideas, although many ecovillagers follow the Soviet discourse: Soviet morality (self-development, priority of collective interests) and 'do-it-yourself' practices; in general, the same activities to create a liberating community acquire additional meanings in different parts of the world. In the late USSR, an interest in esoteric literature and spiritual practices was limited to a narrow circle of those with access to the alternative literature. At the same time, the discourse of the 'incredible' implied an interest in psychics, yoga, Tunguska meteorite, Bigfoot, Bermuda Triangle, etc. among the urban intelligentsia of late socialism (Konakov, 2022: 7–14). Many religious beliefs that clearly manifested themselves after the collapse of the USSR are of earlier origin; although they were specific, they were not unique, since many processes in the Soviet society were similar to the Western ones (Mitrokhin, 2020: 51–78). First ecovillages were organized by representatives of the last Soviet generation, being euphoric with *perestroika* and ideas of significant public projects. Many such initiators were formed on the 'occult' ideas of the late Soviet Union, which they put on a par with the views of the global ecovillage movement. The boom in ecovillages construction occurred in the mid-2000s — 2010s, when their ideas became recognizable and attracted more diverse groups, passionate about the ideas of spirituality and ecology.

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«Сказочный край»: родовые поместья как место утопии и эксперимента

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Аннотация. В центре внимания статьи находятся родовые поместья — участки земли не менее одного гектара, которые стали так называться с начала 2000-х годов, после выхода в свет серии книг Владимира Мегре «Звенящие кедры России». Мегре описал историю своего знакомства с сибирской отшельницей Анастасией и ее ностальгические рассказы о родовых поселениях Ведической Руси. Читатели, вдохновленные повествованием о «золотом веке», принялись воссоздавать эту утопию в разных регионах России — сегодня существует более 500 таких поселений. Родовое поместье чаще всего обустраивается на земле сельскохозяйственного назначения и требует создания всей инфраструктуры, поэтому среди участников ценятся практические навыки, технические знания и креативность. Во многом такие поселения следуют мировой тенденции экопоселений, которые считаются лабораторией устойчивого развития, автономности, гармоничного сосуществования чело-

века и природы, а также уделяют немалое внимание духовному развитию и целительству. В статье показано, как экономический и идеологический кризис 1990-х годов повлиял на расцвет альтернативных учений и подпитывал энтузиазм строителей светлого будущего. В то же время отмечается, что многие активные участники первых экопоселений и родовых поместий были ориентированы на советский дискурс, в частности, подчеркивали значимость советской морали и творческой самодеятельности. Статья основана на полевых материалах, собранных в 2008–2021 годы в поселениях родовых поместий и на встречах анастасийцев, а также на Интернет-источниках.

Ключевые слова: родовые поместья, экопоселение, «Звенящие кедры», идейные сообщества, лидерство, утопия, эксперимент, община, нью-эйдж, «сделай сам»

Rural gentrification: City dwellers in rural areas of Russia's Non-Chernozem Region

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Abstract. Under the long-term rural outflow to cities, urban migration to rural areas, especially of those not changing urban registration or staying in the countryside seasonally, is almost invisible. However, the influx of new residents affects rural areas greatly since city dwellers have rich social capital and other resources to transform the countryside. Foreign researchers suggest the term 'rural gentrification' to describe such processes. On the example of the Verkhovazhsky district of the Vologda oblast, the author shows how city dwellers participate in different spheres of the rural economic and social life or introduce new types of activities that could be characterized as sprouts of rural modernization if not for their close connection with the traditional rural life. The paper is based on the field studies conducted from 2019 to 2023, combining in-depth and expert interviews with participant observation. In the villages of the Vaga valley, there are guest houses, a center for wood-fired ceramics, a base for restorers of wooden architecture and other facilities created by city dwellers. At the same time, former city residents work in the rural social infrastructure — schools, cultural centers, shops, administrations, offering rural residents new, urban practices (public lectures, book crossing, separate waste collection, second-hand stores). On the one hand, former city residents contribute to changes in certain aspects of rural life; on the other hand, they adopt elements of rural lifestyle, which is manifested in clothing, everyday practices, and way of thinking.

Key words: countryside, migration from the city to the village, rural gentrification, cultural initiatives, Vologda oblast, Non-Chernozem Region

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What is rural gentrification?

Russian authors, primarily sociologists, anthropologists, economic geographers and demographers, have been increasingly concerned about city dwellers moving to the countryside. Such interdisciplinary attention determines terminological confusion increased by journalists presenting cases of resettlement in rural areas. Thus, economic geographers (Nefedova, Pokrovsky, Treyvish, 2015) and some sociologists (Townspeople..., 2016) have long used the term 'disurbanization'; sociologists collaborating with foreign colleagues and relying on the European tradition (Zhdanova, 2014) more often

use the term ‘counterurbanization’. Many researchers (Pokrovsky, Makshanchikova, Nikishin, 2020; Zvyagintsev, Neuvazhaeva, 2015) use the term ‘reverse migration’, which could be justified for those who in the recent past had moved to cities and now returned to the countryside. However, the study presented in this article, like the research of other colleagues, shows that often outflows from the village and from the city run in parallel and consist of different social groups.

Moreover, other terms are introduced such as ‘ruralization’ (Ovchintseva, 2021) which does not fully reflect the essence of the phenomenon under study due to emphasizing not the migration as such but that something, including territories, acquires rural features. In publications about the movement of city dwellers to rural areas, the term ‘rurbanization’ is also used to denote the appearance of urban elements in some rural environment. This term was often used by geographers to describe the state policy of ‘rural-urban linkage’, which was implemented in the 1960s–1980s in the multi-apartment comfortable housing in rural areas — instead of village huts with personal subsidiary plots. However, this term does not describe the relocation of city dwellers to the countryside, even if it is accompanied by urban comfort, since the term was introduced to define urban conditions imposed ‘from above’ in rural areas and not the rural grassroots self-organization. One can also meet neologisms not accepted in science, such as ‘anti-urbanization’[1], which apparently emphasize the rural-urban opposition to show how the new rural way of life of city dwellers differs from the previous urban one. In any case, terminological disagreements highlight the growing scientific interest in the phenomenon which is almost impossible to study quantitatively (many resettlers keep their city registration not to lose access to certain benefits) but can no longer be ignored.

The same applies to the study of *dacha* migrations and *dacha* residents — for a long time seasonal migrations not covered by official statistics were not studied scientifically. But gradually *dachas* began to interest an increasing number of researchers — the history of this extremely widespread Russian phenomenon (Malinova-Tziafeta, 2013), its spatial distribution (Makhrova, Medvedev, Nefedova, 2016; Shchepetkova, 2018), and influence on territories. Many economic-geographical studies of *dachas* were presented as a book (Between..., 2016) with the quantitative assessments of the distribution of *dachas* and with the detailed descriptions of the interaction between *dachas*

1. See, e.g.: From the capital to the village: Why so many Muscovites move to the rural wilderness. URL: https://moskvichmag.ru/gorod/iz-stolitsy-v-stanitsu-zachem-moskvichi-massovo-pereezzhayut-v-derevenskuyu-glush/?fbclid=IwAR2nOd1Bx7qSYbUXFMt6rra3HJVpGD-_LUPl_y59nck83A87Vo5eWNAa4wI.

and permanent population and of the influence of seasonal population on local territorial systems.

Contemporary studies of urban-rural migration often focus on the impact of new resettlers on rural residents or on the countryside, which was also the issue of foreign research about 10–15 years ago, when articles on rural gentrification followed articles on counter-urbanization. Some authors (Phillips, 2010) even argue that these two concepts can be used as synonyms as the transfer of the term 'gentrification' (known to all urbanists as referring to the social transformation of urban neighborhoods due to the replacement of local residents with low incomes by representatives of the middle class, which often leads to such neighborhoods' revitalization (Stockdale, 2010)) into the study of rural areas is appropriate and even necessary, since city dwellers moving to rural areas usually have a higher financial status than local residents and gradually change rural areas, making them more comfortable and attractive for new resettlers.

Thus, the following processes accompany and shape rural gentrification:

1. secondary settlement and/or replacement of the local population by those moving from the city;
2. rising prices for rural real estate;
3. improving quality of housing and improvement of rural areas;
4. strengthening de-agrarianization of rural areas;
5. changing rural lifestyle.

Both the term and the phenomenon of rural gentrification are discussed in foreign studies (Nelson, Oberg, Nelson, 2010; Solana, 2010), often mentioning class differentiation and a conflict between the conditionally 'indigenous' population and newcomers, although an increase in financial well-being and an improving rural environment seem to be positive phenomena. Russian researchers of urban migration to rural areas also search for the most adequate terms and assessments. Thus, anthropologists (Melnikova, 2020) discuss whether this process can be defined as colonization or neocolonization — appropriation of the countryside by city dwellers. The terminology of colonization was also used by economic geographers (Averkieva, Nefedova, 2016) to describe the *dacha* expansion of capital residents in the Kostroma Region as the seasonal residents of Kostroma villages called themselves colonists and their villages colonies.

In this study, I explore how the above-mentioned processes manifest themselves in reality, and what the secondary development of rural areas looks like — rural gentrification or neocolonization.

Methodology and area of the research

This study is based on a set of approaches and methods of social-economic geography, focusing on the territory, its characteris-

tics and geographical location. The study combines field observations and expert semi-structured interviews with representatives of the administration of the Verkhovazhsky municipal district and with employees of four administrations of rural settlements. Six semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with urban resettlers in rural areas, and their publications on social networks and in the media about various projects and events initiated by new rural residents were analyzed.

The chosen Verkhovazhsky district does not stand out too much among other districts of the Vologda oblast and the old-developed Non-Chernozem region (Old-Developed..., 2021). Like many others, this district experiences a gradual decline in population and a transformation of the economy based on agriculture and forestry. Both industries are being gradually modernized, which leads to a slight increase in production and to a reduction in the number of employees. In agriculture, there are 22 farms and enterprises of different ownership, which is quite a lot for one rural municipality. In the Vologda oblast, the Verkhovazhsky district is known as one of the last flax growers, while in general it has a dairy specialization as most Non-Chernozem regions. There are many small entrepreneurs in the forestry sector, engaged in logging and primary woodworking. Most rural districts have small sawmills, and there are few entrepreneurs engaged in wooden house construction.

The geographical feature of the Verkhovazhsky district is the federal highway M8 that crosses it from south to north. Highways often complicate the life of rural areas, since they have a barrier function, reducing the quality of life in settlements located on the road and contributing to an increase in the number of crimes related to the transit flow. In the Verkhovazhsky district, such negative aspects of the highway are almost insignificant: the new route is far from the main settlement zone in the valleys of the rivers Vaga, Pezhma and Kuloy; there are almost no villages located on the highway. Each rural municipality has a several-kilometer unpaved part of the road, which does not attract transit transport. At the same time, such a road increases the accessibility of the area, being year-round and providing easy access both to Vologda (and from there to Moscow or Saint Petersburg) and to neighboring Velsk in the Arkhangelsk oblast — a lively, small, 'southern capital' of the vast northern region.

The Slavic colonization of these lands began in the 10th century, until the mid-15th century they belonged to Veliky Novgorod, later to the Duchy of Moscovy. The economic rise of the Verkhovazhsky lands had been determined by the active use of the White Sea ports for trade with Europe, before Saing Petersburg became the window to Europe. One of the branches of the Volga–White Sea trade route was the Vaga River. After Arkhangelsk had lost its status as the main export port, the lands along the Vaga River retained their economic

importance due to rich forest resources and transit trade. Most local villages and hamlets, except for six Soviet logging stations, can be called historical — they are a harmonious part of natural landscapes in river valleys. Rich history and a picturesque location with good transport accessibility are important factors attracting city dwellers to the Verkhovazhsky district.

Is there gentrification in the Verkhovazhsky district?

If we consider processes identified by foreign researchers as rural gentrification, the Verkhovazhsky district presents a complex picture. In some form, there is the first process — 'repopulation' — which is almost impossible to assess quantitatively as new rural residents, like seasonal summer ones, do not always have even a temporary registration in rural areas. Even if they had had it, the influx of city dwellers would not have replenished the ongoing natural and migration decline. At the same time, city dwellers come to the countryside with its specific migration trends. Russian and foreign scholars know little about intra-rural migrations, although today rural areas are as mobile as always (Bell, Osti, 2010). Therefore, under the general mobility trends, at least in the Verkhovazhsky district, former city residents do not always stand out: representatives of different generations come here in families or individually from capitals, from the North, primarily the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk Regions, from cities and districts of the Vologda Region and neighboring areas, and even from more remote regions. There are rural areas experiencing higher repopulation, for instance, in the vicinity of the village Ivanovskoe in the Borisoglebsky district of the Yaroslavl oblast. Here, the teacher Vladimir Martyshin, who moved from Moscow, created in a small rural school the School of Holistic Development which attracts students not so much from the surrounding countryside as from cities, primarily from Moscow, and parents move to Ivanovskoe-on-Lekhte with their children. The ideologist of this movement estimates the number of resettlers during twenty years at about 400 people: "in this village, locals have four houses — the rest left. About twenty houses were built anew. In the neighboring village, seven houses were built... Children's playgrounds are improved, trees and alleys are planted, i.e., villages are being transformed" (Ovchintseva, 2021: 305).

The impact of city dwellers on the rural real-estate market is controversial. On the one hand, the maternal capital program has already led to an increase in house prices ("*although we are a village, we do not sell houses for less than the maternal capital*" — the head of the Chushevitsky rural settlement). On the other hand, prices for rural houses vary greatly, while the supply is very limited. Despite depopulation, there are few vacant houses in rural areas:

some are used seasonally, some are used occasionally or not used at all but remain family property. Even rural residents often have several houses: in the center and on the outskirts of the village — for different purposes. In general, the interest of city dwellers in rural areas determines small changes in the real estate markets: in villages with urban resettlers, as a rule, there are more registered houses[2], and the heads of rural settlements make lists of empty houses to find owners or heirs.

In Western Europe, the improving quality of housing and improvement of rural areas under rural gentrification were determined by the changes in the rural population composition: villagers were replaced by former city dwellers — representatives of the middle class with higher incomes, who could invest in housing and environment. However, the concept of the middle class in Russia is vague, so it is not clear whether city dwellers moving to the countryside can be classified as the middle class. New rural residents have very different incomes and ideas about the improvement of housing. According to the field observations in the Verkhovazhsky district, the newest and most comfortable houses are not owned by former city dwellers, who often (although not always) treat with great respect the cultural landscape of the Vologda village, therefore, preserving log huts or building new houses from timber. While the rural elite (primarily those engaged in the forestry business, less often farmers and those engaged in agriculture) prefers the newest and well-equipped houses, sometimes quite discordant with the typical rural housing.

The third process accompanying rural gentrification in Western Europe is the strengthening deagrarianization of rural areas, their post-agrarian transition (Shepanskaya, 2021). In the Verkhovazhsky district, urban resettlers are also rarely engaged in agriculture. However, some authors (Zvyagintsev, Neuvazhaeva, 2015), based on the interviews with resettlers, argue that many wanted to develop subsidiary farming (the question is whether non-commercial subsidiary farming can be considered as agriculture in terms of employment or economic activity) or become farmers. In the Verkhovazhsky district, not every former city dweller has even a simple vegetable garden not to mention the idea of becoming a farmer or getting a job at the local agricultural enterprise. Even those who try to keep bees or geese look for a new experience or solve urgent financial issues rather than strive to get a main source of income. On the one hand, in rural areas of the infertile Non-Chernozem region it would be strange to look

2. Not all houses of rural residents are registered. Many pay utility bills but not land or property taxes due to not having ownership documents (they did not register houses in the 1990s being sure that no one would evict them even if they have no documents). As a rule, houses are registered to formalize an inheritance or to sell the house.

for agricultural employment. On the other hand, agricultural activities of former city dwellers are hampered not only by the objective natural restrictions: new rural residents are as heterogeneous as the 'old' ones who are often not interested in agriculture even to satisfy their personal needs.

Nevertheless, the most controversial issue is still the influence of new villagers on the general course of rural life as different from the urban one, since the line between the village and the city has been erased all over the world due to the so-called 'cellular globalization' (Pokrovsky, Nefedova, 2013) and other factors. Moreover, not only former city dwellers change rural life, but also rural residents influence the life of former city residents. Some resettlers (primarily religious escapists) initially wanted not to transform the village but to archaize their everyday practices. The revival of traditional culture (folklore, folk paintings, ceramics, weaving) by former city dwellers is difficult to define as the introduction of urban elements into the countryside. Moreover, many respondents mention that they unwittingly brought their lifestyle and even appearance closer to their ideas about the rural (women began to wear skirts and dresses more often, men grew beards), which, however, does not lead to a rejection of any civilizational benefits or to strong personal changes.

Certainly, former city dwellers bring new skills to rural life. Thus, in the Lipki rural settlement, there was a rural driving school founded by the 'young pensioner' from Severodvinsk; in the Morozovsky settlement, there is a yoga studio opened by the former resident of one of its villages, who returned from the city. Urban resettlers help rural residents master software (for example, "1C Accounting" for store sales) and develop websites for rural settlements. A very interesting example is from the village Pezhma in the Velsk district close to the Verkhovazhsky district (in the Arkhangelsk oblast): Galina Nikulina[3], who moved from Saint Petersburg, helped the villagers equip the main public space of the village — its bus stop. This cozy stop with a lampshade, a carpet, sockets, a wi-fi router and a signboard "Come Home" was the first village improvement project. Later Galina became the initiator of grant projects to create new public spaces for the rural youth. The same applies to the village Sheloty in the Verkhovazhsky district: urban resettlers help the head of the settlement to apply for grants — the central park was improved, and the navigation elements were made for village guests. Further, I will consider in more detail the mutual influence of rural and urban principles on the example of several families who were the first and main object of the study.

3. "Village Development Headquarters". URL: https://tass.ru/arktika-segodnya/14217373.

Initially, the Verkhovazhsky district attracted my attention with an extraordinary annual event in one of its villages — a rural all-around competition with the touching name "Lympiyad in Lipki" [4], which was suggested by the Vologda writer and journalist Anatoly Ekhalov and members of the Lipki folk ensemble in response to the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi. At first, it was the day of the village in the 'Olympiad' format; then it became a major district event — teams from different rural settlements and even the center of the Verkhovazhsky district (although it has recently acquired the features of a small town, it is still a large village) competed in chopping wood, mowing, throwing haystacks, starting the *samovar*, carrying water with a rocker, baking pancakes on a fire and so on. In 2020, the "Lympiyad in Lipki" was to be the central event of the all-Russian festival "Village is the Soul of Russia" but was canceled due to the covid-19 pandemic. The organizers of the Lympiad are residents of Lipki, who moved to the Verkhovazhsky district from Murmansk after retirement (albeit being relatively young)[5] and organized the folk ensemble "Radonitsa" [Day of Rejoicing], in which many other former city residents with an active life position participate. During the study in the Verkhovazhsky district, I discovered that many cultural events, especially related to folk traditions, were organized not by rural residents, but by those who moved to the Verkhovazhsky district from different cities (due to the connections with these places or by accident). Thus, the reconstruction of folk traditions turns out to be an integral part of rural gentrification — it is no coincidence that villages with a certain number of former city dwellers become centers for reviving folk crafts, holding events and making documentaries.

Pioneers of rural gentrification in the Verkhovazhsky district.

Zhigalov family in the village of Rogachikha

Not far from the district center, the village of Verkhovazhye, there is the village of Rogachikha. If Verkhovazhye was a small town, then Rogachikha would be its suburb, and many of Rogachikha's features (replacement of its rural population by visitors, many seasonal houses and two hotels) would be considered manifestations of suburbanization. Since these are rural areas far from urban centers, the more appropriate term is rural gentrification which was start-

4. URL: http://cultinfo.ru/news/2018/7/limpiada-in-lypky-promises-to-become-the-brightest.

5. Depending on the length of service and some other parameters, residents of the Far-North regions can retire 5–10 years earlier (in certain professions even 15 years earlier).

ed in Rogachikha by the Zhigalovs — city dwellers with the Siberian–Moscow–Saint Petersburg roots, who for some time became adherents of the traditional peasant culture in the Verkhovazhsky district. In the early 2000s, V. V. Zhigalov bought in Rogachikha an old peasant house built by the local peasant Vasily Mekhaev more than a century ago. Zhigalov preserved all interiors, lived in this house with his family and used a part of it as a rural guest house and a museum of the peasant life, which is an example of a very careful attitude to the cultural heritage and its presentation to both guests and locals.

The Zhigalovs received their acquaintances, school groups from all over the district, high-ranking guests from the regional administration, and foreign tourists. This guest house became famous in the Vologda Region as a landmark of the Verkhovazhsky district, but in 2016 it burned down. Neither the owners nor their guests were injured, and, surprisingly, the fire did not make the Zhigalovs return to Moscow or Saint Petersburg, although they have friends and even apartments in both cities. They did not rebuild the peasant house, but together with the local entrepreneur built a rural hotel and a small guest house (painted using the free brush technique by T. V. Gorbatova[6] and her students). The Zhigalovs built a new house for themselves, still live in Rogachikha and, unlike many resettlers from large cities, have not only temporary but also permanent registration in the Verkhovazhsky district.

In addition to the active revival and popularization of the Russian North folk culture, the Zhigalovs play another important role for this territory — due to their extensive social connections, they attract new resettlers and help the hesitant ones make up their minds, since the Zhigalovs prove by their example that moving to the village does not mean giving up all urban benefits. Thus, in Rogachikha, several houses were bought by religious escapists[7], who moved from Moscow to create a small community, but they still

6. T. V. Gorbatova is a ceramicist and artist, teacher at the Center for Traditional Folk Crafts. Like many other resettlers mentioned in the article, she moved to the Verkhovazhsky district from the city (Vologda) after retirement and took a very active life position, participating in various projects initiated by former city dwellers.

7. There are religious escapists in many other villages of the Verkhovazhsky district. The most striking example is the Old Believer Theodosius Travin, a former Muscovite, remarkable not only for his deliberately archaic appearance but also for his carpentry and saddlery skills almost lost even in the Russian North. He builds houses and bathhousess, solves complex construction tasks, works as a blacksmith, keeps horses, collects ancient horse harnesses and carts, restores and makes sleighs and various types of carriages. However, like other representatives of religious movements, he does not create a special environment around himself — he affects more the cultural life of the Verkhovazhsky district than the course of rural gentrification.

wait for like-minded people. Thanks to Zhigalov, several families from the community of German Sterligov moved to other villages of the Verkhovazhsky district. The Zhigalovs keep in touch with most former city dwellers in this area and with their eldest children in two capitals; their youngest son married a local woman and in 2020 opened the first pick-up point of one federal marketplace in the district center.

Today Rogachikha is a village with almost no natives — in most of its houses live people who moved here from other places, there are no more houses for sale, and those who move to Rogachikha build new ones. At the entrance to the village, there is a wooden temple built by the initiative of the former city dwellers and a stone in memory of those peasants who developed these lands and were the first settlers of Rogachikha. In general, elements of the agricultural landscape — mowed slopes of local hills, several grazing cows, geese and an apiary — are not so much relics of agriculture as decorations for the new rural tourism facilities (two hotels built jointly by the Zhigalovs and a local businessman).

Art residence in Shelota, or potential of social capital

One of the new attractions in the Verkhovazhsky district is the Vaga wood-fired ceramic kiln, one of the few in Russia, which was built by resettlers from Saint Petersburg in 2020 and partly resonates with the ideas of reviving the local Somov ceramics. In 2016, Svetlana Stepanova moved from Saint Petersburg to Shelota, a separate and smallest rural settlement of the village cluster in the south of the Verkhovazhsky district. In 2015, she was very impressed by the folk festivities on Trinity Day, when many Shelota residents and guests in folk clothes danced in circles, listened to a concert, and talked. Svetlana's decision to move was also facilitated by the meeting with Vologda potters, since ceramics is her favorite hobby (far from her education at the Mining Institute or her work as an accountant).

After moving to Shelota with her youngest son, who went to the local school, Svetlana got a job at the administration of the rural settlement. In addition to her participation in traditional rural events, she introduced her own holiday — an annual ceramic festival — and invited not only her friends-ceramicists from Saint Petersburg and Vologda, but also foreign guests. Moreover, all residents of Shelota were invited to master-classes and the feast — an evening outdoor dinner near the temple, which made the holiday common and rural. Over time, it became impossible to accommodate all participants of ceramic festivals in the huts of organizers, since the festival expanded and became somewhat international (in 2017, guests came from Germany, in 2018 — from Lebanon, in

2019 — from the USA). Therefore, in 2018, on Svetlana's initiative, a guest house was opened in Shelota. However, later Svetlana's work in the rural administration together with her own projects ceased to bring the expected results, since local budget funds are scarce even provided various initiative budgeting. In 2019, Svetlana left the village council and created the NGO "Festival" to expand her activities related to ceramic festivals, especially applications for grants.

Initially, the NGO "Festival" received small funds to host the pottery festival. In 2020, Svetlana won a grant for the construction of a wood-fired ceramic kiln that attracted ceramicists from all over Russia and led to the idea of creating an art residence. In 2021, with the new grant funding, a deck for tent camp and infrastructure were built, which provided the minimal living conditions for ceramists-guests (sauna, shower, summer kitchen). In 2022, with another grant funding, a workshop was built so that craftsmen could come not only for ceramic firing but also for making new products and exchanging experiences. On the second floor of the workshop, there are guest rooms. Since 2021, the art residence has collaborated with the Saint Petersburg Stieglitz State Academy of Art and Design, its students come to Shelota for summer practice, including making objects for rural improvement.

In 2021, the art residence started its full-time work; in 2021, it hosted 6 shifts of ceramists, in 2022 — only 4. Each shift is 6 days, during which the kiln is prepared, heated, used for firing, and then cooled. During this time, craftsmen monitor the heating and firing day and night. They all live in Shelota — in guest houses (there are several in the village) or tents not far from the kiln. They can organize meals on their own but often prefer 'village catering' — food from the rural canteen or prepared by locals who are ready to cooperate with the art residence. In addition to providing food for ceramists, residents of Shelota give masterclasses on birch-bark weaving, weaving on a wooden loom, belt weaving on planks or working on a potter's wheel.

Ceramists revive the village not only with the consumption of services and space: guests of the art residence and of Stepanova are often ready to give masterclasses or open lectures for interested villagers. Thus, Saint Petersburg geologists made a paleontological exhibition in the Shelotsky Museum of Local History; in 2021, guests gave a lecture on geology and paleontology in the village cultural center. Svetlana's social capital allowed to find volunteers and philanthropists to repair the roof of the Trinity Church, purchase bells for a small belfry, and make stained glass for the western window. Another team of volunteers created a logo and printed booklets about Sheloty, made a page about this rural cluster for Wikipedia and printed a series of postcards with paintings by artists who live in Shelota or came here for plein air.

Another ‘spin-off’ of the art residence and/or a result of Svetlana’s social capital is the village-film festival “Pechka”[8] organized by directors from Saint Petersburg and held in Shelota three times — from 2021 to 2023. In 2020, the diploma project of the director Ekaterina Pavlyukova (Ivanitskaya) was filmed here, and residents of Shelota and the Verkhovazhsky district starred in it. The idea of holding this film premiere in the rural House of Culture turned into the idea of a festival of films about rural areas, which was supported by feature-film and documentary directors from Russia and neighboring countries. In 2022, the film campus “Northerners” was opened to unite aspiring documentary directors of the Vologda Region under the guidance of Saint Petersburg specialists in making a full-length documentary “about villagers as guardians of the traditions and culture of northern villages”[9].

In addition to cultural projects, Svetlana and her family from time to time solve the pressing problems of Shelota. Thus, at the end of 2019, the rural ‘district consumer society’ store was under threat of closure due to a shortage of workers with the “1C Accounting” skills. Svetlana’s eldest son moved to Shelota from Saint Petersburg to work in the rural store and taught several locals electronic accounting so that to gradually transfer this workplace to them. Since 2020, he lives in Shelota, having a remote job in Saint Petersburg. When working in the rural store, he organized a book crossing, a separate waste collection point (Svetlana took wastes to the collection points in Vologda in her car) and a rural second-hand store (clothes are supplied by their Saint Petersburg friends).

Svetlana’s initiatives do not contradict the traditional rural practices and are organically included in the social life of Shelota. At the same time, her friends and acquaintances began to buy houses in the village. She also bought a house not far from hers to organize a second guest house. Another house was bought by Saint Petersburg directors for their events, and two more houses were bought on the periphery of the Shelotsky cluster. Can this be considered the beginning of the urban colonization of Shelota? Hard to say, but this looks like gentrification — rural population is not replaced but expanded by new residents. Prices for houses in the village closest to the art residence increased (usually a rural house is sold at the price of the maternal capital, about 500 thousand rubles, but here similar offers start from 800 thousand rubles).

City dwellers had bought houses and had moved to the village even before the art residence was opened. Thus, in Shelota, there is an artel of restorers of wooden architecture: craftsmen mainly came from cities and want to settle in the village by buying or building a house.

8. URL: http://cultinfo.ru/news/2021/10/pervyy-v-rossii-kinofestival-derevenskogo-kino-pechkafest.
9. URL: https://northernpeople.ru.

In this village cluster, live both an artist from Moscow (owns several houses) and religious escapists who moved from other large cities; the border between locals and resettlers regularly changes and becomes vague. It is noteworthy that one local craftswoman, who sews folk costumes, shirts and sundresses, moved to Shelota in the 1990s from Central Asia, i.e., she is a representative of a different ethnic group.

Thus, in the villages of the Verkhovazhsky district, there are rather signs of rural gentrification than its clear course. Rising real-estate prices and the influx of urban population can be considered quantitative indicators of new processes, but gentrification is a qualitative process identified to a greater extent by qualitative parameters. However, its qualitative parameters are the most ambiguous upon closer examination: modernization of certain aspects of rural life by former city dwellers is combined with archaization of their personal practices, and technical innovations do not contradict the revival of traditional crafts. No attempts to describe the influence of former city dwellers on the countryside in terms of the existing approaches provide a holistic picture of the contemporary rural-urban interactions. In the rural Non-Chernozem, so vulnerable and losing inhabitants for decades, any new processes are ambiguous. The example of the Verkhovazhsky district shows that city dwellers not so much contribute to modernization of rural social life as revive and preserve folk traditions, striving not to oppose themselves to the rural world of the Russian North but to become a part of it. Former city dwellers in Verkhovazhsky villages, like under rural gentrification in Europe, create a new environment that attracts new resettlers and sometimes keeps locals from moving to the city.

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Сельская джентрификация: горожане в сельской местности российского Нечерноземья

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Аннотация. На фоне продолжительного миграционного оттока сельских жителей переезд горожан в сельскую местность, особенно тех, кто не меняет городскую прописку или проживает на селе сезонно, почти не заметен. Однако на сельские территории приток новых жителей оказывает большое влияние, поскольку горожане имеют богатый социальный капитал и иные ресурсы для преобразования сельской местности. В зарубежной науке для описания таких процессов стал применяться термин «сельская джентрификация». В статье на примере Верховажского района Вологодской области показано, как горожане включаются в разные сферы экономической и социальной жизни села или предлагают новые виды деятельности, которые можно было бы охарактеризовать как ростки модернизации сельской жизни, если бы не их тесная связь с традиционным укладом сельской жизни. Статья опирается на полевые исследования последних пяти лет (2019–2023), которые сочета-

ли глубинные и экспертные интервью с включенным наблюдением. В селах долины Ваги расположены гостевые дома, центр дровяного обжига керамических изделий, база реставраторов деревянного зодчества и другие объекты, созданные горожанами. В то же время бывшие горожане работают и в объектах сельской социальной инфраструктуры: школах, домах культуры, магазинах и администрациях, предлагая сельским жителям новые, принятые в городах практики (публичные лекции, бук-кроссинг, раздельный сбор мусора, секонд-хенд). С одной стороны, бывшие горожане способствуют изменению отдельных сторон сельской жизни, с другой стороны, сами перенимают элементы сельского образа жизни, что проявляется в одежде, повседневных практиках и образе мышления.

Ключевые слова: сельская местность, миграция из города в село, сельская джентрификация, культурные инициативы, Вологодская область, Нечерноземье.

Casus Pyalmiae: A city dweller and his village

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Abstract. On the example of the Karelian village Pyalma, the author considers the construction of the image of the Russian traditional Northern village by former city dwellers. Based on their own ideas about the rural authenticity, they represent rural traditions to urban tourists, whose knowledge of the rural is determined by popular culture and is not supported by practical skills. By comparing the history of Pyalma with other examples of the contemporary public work with natural-cultural heritage in North-West Russia, the author shows that the typification and museumification of traditional rurality in many villages are determined by the individual desire to preserve them and ensure their development by attracting tourists and introducing activities of the 'economy of impressions'. The author notes that for most 'seasonal' residents (local and urban summer residents), the historicity of the place is not as important as the natural-infrastructural features of the village location. Thus, today urban projections of rurality in historical settlements are clearly divided into general and private, commemorative-tourist and personal economic practices, which together form a post-productivist 'new rurality' of historical villages in the Russian North.

Key words: new rurality, rural tourism, Russian village, Russian North, heritage, natural-cultural landscape

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'New rurality' (ruralization, rurbanization, etc.; see: Melnikova, 2020a: 7) has become a characteristic feature of the contemporary social landscape. This phenomenon in its diverse forms is typical not only for Russia but also for other postindustrial countries (Gorakova et al., 2018), which makes researchers reconsider the status and functions of rural areas — primarily in their urban perception but also in the perception of villagers (Bogdanova, Brednikova, 2013). New ideas and meanings of the terms 'village', 'countryside', 'rural' and their derivatives, which were identified in case studies, make the research optics 'post-productive', i.e., the village and the rural are reasonably defined not so much as places of agricultural production as spaces of leisure and loci of natural and cultural heritage (Nikiforova, 2012; Selivanenko, 2015). The late Soviet version of the 'village myth' remains partly relevant (Razuvalova, 2015), but the concept of 'rural' changed its content to the fundamentally different from the ethnographic studies of the 19th — 20th centuries.

One of the consequences of the new public understanding of the village and rurality is a change in the direction of migration flows between the village and the city. In the industrial era, under the active colonization of the countryside, there was a mass outflow to cities; since the 1980s, there has been a gradual change — city dwellers increasingly choose the village as a place of temporary or permanent residence (Vinogradskaya, 2018; Prilutsky, Lebedev, 2020), which is typical for both 'former villagers', who for some reasons did not fully adapt to urban life, and for 'hereditary city dwellers', who choose the village due to various circumstances and values. This reverse migration contributes to the revival of the village and to the preservation of the rural way of life due to new economic options — from purely traditional to technologically advanced, when rural life seems only an external manifestation of the location ('a house in the village'), while in all other features the resettlers' modus vivendi and modus operandi are predominantly urban. Such a reverse migration and efforts of 'new villagers' (city dwellers who left urban agglomerations for the benefits of rural life, albeit often imagined and idealized; see: Rodoman, 2011; Darieva et al., 2018; Ilbery, Bowler, 1998) lead to a rebirth of some villages that have recently looked doomed to extinction but now are strongholds for the development of surrounding territories[1].

Perhaps, the clearest example is villages of the Russian North — a vast cultural and geographical space from the northeast of the Leningrad region (Lodeynopolsky and Podporozhsky districts) to the coast of the White Sea (Karelia and Arkhangelsk Region) and to the eastern borders of the Vologda Region (Shabaev et al., 2012; Melnikova, 2019). In 2018–2022, I visited many villages in this area and watched how some (not all) previously semi-abandoned settlements (along the Pinega River in the Arkhangelsk Region or along the shore of the Onega Lake) were coming back to life by the efforts of 'new villagers', striving in every possible way to develop villages and areas around them (Habeck, 2019). It should be noted that the same applies to the Yaroslavl Region (Kupriyanov, Savina, 2020) and partly to the Tver Region as neighbors of 'northern' regions, while in the Pskov and Novgorod Regions, unfortunately, the extinction of villages only accelerates (Panchenko, 2021). Such a difference seems to be determined by both geographical proximity to Moscow (as a main source of 'new villagers') and 'cultural prestige' of Yaroslavl and Tver in comparison with Novgorod and Pskov (Manakov, 2002.)

1. Certainly, it is too early to evaluate the success of such project (in each case and in general); however, the very fact that there are so many deurbanization initiatives attracts attention (Steshin, 2020, referring to the statistical data of the Center for Sectoral Expertise of the Russian Agricultural Bank for 2020).

The article focuses on the revival of one village in the Russian North — the historical village of Pyalma in the Onega region: since the early 2000s, the local 'migrant' community has worked to restore and develop this rural settlement. The first part of the article presents a short history of Pyalma and a general description of methods used for its revival; the second part — personal story of a former city dweller and now a rural resident, a native of Pyalma, who played a key role in the transformation of the village space. Thus, the article considers the features of the transformation of 'rurality' into 'new rurality' in Russia.

Two Pyalmas

If you drive from Pudozh to Medvezhyegorsk along the Lake Onega, not knowing local geography but trying to get to the ancient Onega village of Pyalma, you risk missing the right turn: at first, there is a not-catchy brown sign (for cultural objects), and a few kilometers later a blue one; if you miss the first one and turn at the second one, you will be disappointed as the 'blue' Pyalma does not look like a candidate member for the Association of the Most Beautiful Villages and Towns of Russia (https://krasaderevni.ru[2]). You will have to return to the highway and drive back to the right turn (there is no direct road between two Pyalmas) or even postpone your visit to the 'genuine' Pyalma. The risk of missing the right Pyalma increases significantly if you move from Medvezhyegorsk to Pudozh, since in this case you see the blue sign first (and car navigators lead you to the 'big' Pyalma). Thus, it is not easy to find the 'right' Pyalma, which may partly explain a relatively small number of tourists here (about 2,000 in 2020). However, for such a small village, even this number of visitors is considered by locals excessive; therefore, Pyalma has practically stopped its advertising.

The historical, 'right' Pyalma is located on the banks of the Pyalma River, at a kilometer distance from the Lake Onega, and forms a 'cluster' of three settlements — Novinki, Zarechye and Pyalma founded in the 14th century. According to the Pudozh local historian A. G. Kostin (2017; Nilov, 2000), Pyalma was mentioned in 1375 as a part of the possessions of the Novgorod *boyar* Grigory Semenovich and his sons Obakun and Savely; during the church schism, there were numerous monasteries of the Vygoretsk Hermitage around the village; in the 18th century, Pyalma with 1,000 villagers became the fishing, industrial

2. According to the newspaper *Karelia* from March 2019: "Today in Karelia only one village — Kinerma — is officially included in the list of the most beautiful villages of Russia. We believe that several more villages of the Republic can claim the title: Sheltozero in the Prionezhsky district, Pyalma in the Pudozhsky district, and Khaikolya in the Kalevalsky district" (Sheltozero was added to the list).

and commercial center of the Onega region[3] and established economic and trade relations with settlements around the Onega Lake, including Shuya near Petrozavodsk. However, the preserved buildings date back to a later period — the second half of the 19th century[4].

The main attractions of the historical Pyalma are three houses: of the peasant N. P. Sokolov and of the representatives of the local family of fishermen and merchants — A. F. Potashev and E. L. Potashev (according to the museum website, another Potashevs' house — the one-story "house-purse of the peasant Potashev" — was transported from Pyalma to the Pudozh sector of the Kizhi Museum-Reserve in 1978.) Near the village cemetery, there is Ilyinskaya Chapel in the honor of Elijah the Prophet with a carved fence (the local church holiday is Elijah's Day[5]); its iconostasis was removed during restoration in the late 1970s, now some of its icons are kept in the State *Museum* of the *History* of *Saint Petersburg*, some — in the Hermitage storerooms, and 12 icons are exhibited in the Fine Arts Museum of the Republic of Karelia in Petrozavodsk (Platonov, 2018; Catalog, 2017). The black baths in Zarechye are also conditionally historical buildings, although they have been renovated, restored and remodeled after construction.

In terms of its heritage preservation and attractiveness, Pyalma is inferior to many historical settlements in Russia, be it the Karelian, relatively close (350 km around the Onega Lake) village of Sheltozero, villages of Kimzha and Karpogory in the Arkhangelsk Region or the village of Vyatskoye in the Yaroslavl Region (see, e.g.: Druchevskaya,

3. "Having traveled 12 *versts* from the village of Myatosova, for a change of rowers we stopped at 6 p.m. near the Pilma cemetery. In this churchyard, there is a wooden church of the Transfiguration of the Lord and Barlamius of Khutyn. Here, on the Pilma river flowing into the Svir river, at the very mouth, there are two saw barns or mills of the Olonets merchant Pataр Terentyev Svisnikov; in these sawmills, there are two machines, one barn saws from 60 to 65 logs per day, and planks are sent on large barges to Saint Petersburg and Olonets" (Chelishchev, 1886: 16).
4. The 'blue' Pyalma was founded on the site of the Soviet labor settlement: in 1938, the 2nd Onega branch of the White Sea-Baltic Combine of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs "Dry Stream" was opened in the historical Pyalma with 7 camps and 3 labor settlements in the surrounding area (Kostin, 2017). Today, the 'blue' Pyalma has nothing attractive for tourists, except for the fact that it borrowed the name of the historical village and misleads some visitors. One can get additional information on the history of Pyalma at the local museum of the history of Pyalma and on the Pyalma Timber Industry Enterprise — at the Pyalma Rural Library (URL: http://pudozhlib.krl.muzkult.ru/pyalma).
5. According to the website of the Karelian Republican Center for the State Protection of Cultural Heritage Objects (URL: https://monuments.karelia.ru), the tradition of the patron saint day was revived in Pyalma "with the assistance of the Pyalma House of Culture", but local informants did not confirm it.

Avilova, 2014). However, Pyalma's natural-cultural ensemble, which is formed by the river, bridge across it, buildings on both banks, chapel and surrounding forests, creates a bright and memorable landscape attractive to tourists and in many ways contributing to the preservation of the village, since the local community appreciated the potential of such a landscape and began to promote it.

Revival of the village

Since the late 1960s, Pyalma had experienced an outflow of its residents — the younger generation with their families moved to cities (Petrozavodsk, Leningrad, even Arkhangelsk), the older generation died. In the mid-1990s, no more than 10 people permanently lived here (the same number as today in winter). At the very end of the 1990s, there was a turning point in this 'exodus' — those who had left began to return, and in 2001, in Pyalma, for the first time in Karelia, a territorial public self-government[6] was formed — the Pyalma community. Today there are about 70 people; not all live in the village permanently, but, according to the Karelian media, take part in the village improvement.

There are almost no natives of Pyalma in the territorial public self-government; its members are mainly city dwellers attracted by the local beauty. As the village chief P. A. Potashev says, "*those who wanted to help out of friendship, those who simply liked it with us, they stayed, and some bought land and built a house*". As the note about Pyalma on the website of the Karelian Republican Center for the State Protection of Cultural Heritage Objects states, over the past seven years in Petrozavodsk there were annual meetings of the Pyalma community — natives of the village, who left their small homeland in the late Soviet years, do not want to return but feel nostalgic[7]. The note mentions that at one meeting at "the Petrozavodsk Pedagogical University, people of different ages and professions gathered[8]... to

6. See the information of the Office of the Head of the Republic of Karelia on municipal development: URL: https://www.pudogadm.ru/assets/page-files/0021/2054/PrezentaciyaO.A.Burak.pptx.

7. There are different types of nostalgia: "nostalgia from a safe distance" (Oushakine, 2007); rural nostalgia (Paxson, 2005); local rather than temporal nostalgia (Starovoitenko, 2021, referring to the works by A. Giddens). On the features of 'rural nostalgia' in the rural areas of the Russian North see, e.g.: Arkhipova, 2018.

8. The not dated note (URL: https://monuments.karelia.ru/napravlenija-dejatel-nosti/populjarizacija/stat-i-ob-ob-ektah-kul-turnogo-nasledija/pudozhskij-rajon/istoricheskaja-derevnja-pjal-ma) states that "this year" (?) representatives of the committee attended a meeting of the community. The Karelian media often mentions the Pudozh community, meetings of fellow countrymen and activities of this organization, but there is practically no information about the Pyalma community except for a video report from 2016 (URL: https://tv-karelia.ru/ lyudey-malo-no-delaetsya-mnogo-tradit-

meet their classmates, acquaintances and relatives since most Pyalma's residents are descendants of ancient families: Potashevs, Sokolovs, Svetovs, Mostakovs. For many years, community activists have been collecting materials about residents of Pyalma and its history: documents, household items, tools for fishing and economic activities".

With the community help and financial support of regional authorities, the old bridge over the Pyalma River was repaired using the 'people's construction' method[9]. The grant from the Republican Ministry for National Policy and Relations with Religious Associations allowed to start the restoration of the chapel iconostasis: "*I talked in Petrozavodsk and went to Saint Petersburg, asking for permission to make copies of our icons... They wanted so much money for a copy that I immediately understood that it would be easier to redraw icons from pictures* [reproductions][10]. *We found artists, we slowly set up our chapel*"[11].

The community also tries to repair the dirt road from the A–119 highway to the village, adding gravel as needed ("*the guys were*

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sii-pyalmskogo-zemlyachestva). Perhaps, the Pyalma community is an integral part of the Pudozh community that also meets annually in Petrozavodsk; therefore, when the Pyalma chief speaks confidently about "more than a hundred of participants" (Meshkova, 2011), he means the larger community of the 'Pudozh land' rather than the Pyalma community.

9. Even after repairs not every driver will dare to cross the river on this bridge.
10. "*I went to the Museum of Fine Arts a long time ago and asked if it was possible to make copies of the icons. They said that students could do this for free, but the materials cost 5,000 rubles per icon. For comparison: at that time, for 6,000 we managed to concrete a bridge cage — we bought 2 cars of concrete; we bought a picket fence to completely replace the fence around the cemetery, 2 cars of soil and 1 car of crushed stone. And here 5,000 for one icon! We couldn't afford it. We decided to make photocopies for 500 rubles per piece. But in the museum, they charged us 200 rubles for each photograph of our own icons! And there are 12 of them. I said: "These are our icons, we don't demand them back, but at least let us photograph them for free!". And the museum employee answered: "I have an order from the Ministry of Culture, we have no right". Of course, I objected to her: "Even in Saint Petersburg in the Hermitage one can pay 200 rubles and click all day long, but here it's 200 rubles for each icon!". I only had 200 rubles with me. We took a photo of one icon and left. On the other hand, every cloud has a silver lining. We made copies of the icons, which is much better. How? Representatives of one branch of the Academy of Sciences came to us several times; they even wanted to hold a government meeting and finally held a board meeting of the Ministry of Nationalities* [of the Republic of Karelia]. *The minister arrived with his retinue, we told him about our problems, and he advised us to take part in a project competition. I submitted the project "Historical Memory", we won this competition and received a grant. The Ministry of Nationalities allocated us 50,000 rubles, and we ordered 5 icons from an icon-painting workshop. Then, in the same way, through the Ministry of Culture, 5 more icons were made*" (Kurakina, 2016).
11. Unfortunately, the chapel is open only on religious holidays and for memorial services; when I visited Pyalma, it was closed.

repairing the highway, I agreed with them that I would let them go to the bathhouse to wash and they would give us some gravel") and cutting down bushes along roadsides, and monitors the condition of village houses. According to the website of the Karelian Republican Center for the State Protection of Cultural Heritage Objects, such works are carried out by locals under the supervision of the Center[12]; however, the village chief did not mention this Center participation in the preservation of the village ("*we do everything ourselves, with our own hands we build and restore everything, we find or make construction materials*"[13]). In 2014, in Pyalma environmental activists and locals organized the Forest Festival — an educational event dedicated to caring for forests and to protecting nature reserves. Due to the pandemic restrictions, the festival was cancelled in 2019–2021, and its future is in doubt: the festival group on the social network VK (200 participants) is inactive, there is no information in local news, and locals answer evasively, talking mainly about past festivals. Nevertheless, the festival raised an information wave about Pyalma (especially in 2015, when the second festival was held; see, e.g.: Gavrilova, 2016), which helped to 'promote' the village: since that time, there has been a relatively stable tourist inflow.

The village preserves and develops masterclasses for organized tourists and local activists: for instance, as a part of the project "When Villages Were Big" (in the summer of 2020, in the Pudozhsky district, with the support of the Presidential Grant Foundation[14]), a 'craft' section was organized — "Traditional crafts and handicrafts of Pudozh", and its masterclasses reminded participants of the pre-modern way of life — "Weaving from pine shingles", "Bath construction in the old days", "The old way fishing" (Bulletin..., 2020). Moreover, there is a museum of rural life in the village, which is sometimes opened for visitors: its exhibits are typical for the provincial local-history museums (Golovin, 2019; Kupriyanov, Savina, 2020; see also the analytical network project "New Museon" presenting a number of rural museums in North-West Russia[15]).

12. URL: http://monuments.karelia.ru/napravlenija-dejatel-nosti/popul-jarizacija/stat-i-ob-ob-ektah-kul-turnogo-nasledija/pudozhskij-rajon/istoricheskaja-derevnja-pjal-ma.
13. Perhaps, such discrepancies in interpretations are determined by the 'politics of memory' which the village chief adheres to and which, as far as one can judge from his stories, implies a considerable exaggeration of his (and his community) role in the revival and improvement of the village.
14. See, e.g.: Enthusiasts try to save the preserved villages in Karelia. URL: https://ptzgovorit.ru/news/my-est-entuziasty-pytayutsya-sohranit-ostavshiesya-derevni; URL: https://moyaokruga.ru/vestnikpudozha/Articles.aspx?articleId=395008; https://xn--80afcdbalict6afooklqi5o.xn-- p1ai/public/application/item?id=E0DE22E6-4D1B-4320-A380-946370E38A4F.
15. URL: https://www.vk.com/newmuseon.

In general, as far as I can judge from my observations, rare publications in the regional and republican media and in travel blogs[16], in recent years, the rural community of Pyalma has refused wide publicity of its project in favor of the 'event' strategy in public field and purely local efforts for developing the village. This is hardly surprising, provided the fact that the village revival and its current fame were achieved by the efforts of one person, and his powers are not limitless.

Personal story in the contemporary history of Pyalma

When you look through articles about Pyalma in the media and travel blogs, after 2001 you cannot help noticing in literally all articles the surname Potashev: this man tells guests about the village, gives masterclasses and rare tours of the local museum, participates in the village improvement, is responsible for communication with the 'external world' (represents the community interests in contacts with the authorities and organizes economic relations like the above-mentioned gravel exchange), participates in public events, i.e., he is a kind of 'personal brand' and personification of Pyalma[17]. To a certain extent this is explained by his position in the community as the village chief; however, reducing his activities to 'noblesse oblige' would be wrong. All Potashev's activities after returning to Pyalma in the first half of the 1990s to take up farming (he left the village in the 1970s, graduated from university and settled in Petrozavodsk) may look like a conscious attempt to 'take over' this place by right of birth and virtue of belonging to a local family of fishermen, lumbermen and merchants, and due to the entrepreneurial spirit that encourages him to put forward new initiatives for the village development and to take advantage of opportunities offered by the current social-political and social-economic agenda (for instance, the Forest Festival grew out of the 'folk' environmental project to create the Pyalma River reserve; Yarovoy, 2015[18]) in order to make Pyalma a 'hotspot of rural tourism' (Panzer-Krause, 2019).

When Potashev left Pyalma in the 1970s, the village was already unpromising, i.e., doomed to destruction (Fates..., 1995; Mazur, 2005; Kalugina, Fadeeva; 2009). Therefore, the decision of the young

16. See, e.g., the blog "Beyond Everyday Life". URL: https://holiday-trips.ru.
17. Less often the media mentions another native of Pyalma — T. P. Kerimova, who gives masterclasses on Karelian embroidery.
18. See the page of the festival and the reserve on the website of the project "Forests of the High Environmental Status" implemented by the Russian branch of the World Wildlife Fund. URL: https://hcvf.ru/ru/news/events/starosta-derevni-pyalma-petr-potashev-mechtaet-sohranit-netronutuyu-karelskuyu-taygu-dlya.

man (Potashev was born in 1953) to settle in a large city seemed logical; however, he always wanted to return but "was afraid of becoming known as a parasite, because there was no work in the village: the local sawmill was moved to the neighboring village" (Yarovaya, 2015). This is a typical late Soviet life trajectory of the villager (see, e.g.: Kovalev, 2009), but *perestroika* and the announced state support for cooperative and farmer movements changed this trajectory: Potashev rented agricultural lands around his native village. It may seem that under other circumstances Potashev would have remained in the city, and historical Pyalma would have shared the fate of many disappeared villages of the Russian North. Potashev's story about the dying and reviving Onega village is the story of the personal and direct participation of the former Soviet employee in its saving. Such a 'romanticized version' of the village revival (which to a certain extent corresponds to the actual course of events and to the intentions of their participants) raises some doubts as the current status of the historical village is rather a result of the territorial public self-government efforts (and perhaps of the Pyalma community) and a consequence of the complex impact of social-economic factors. Thereby, the village chief's 'politics of memory' can be explained by his goal setting and by the tacit approval (or indifference) of other villagers, primarily engaged in organizing their personal leisure time.

According to Potashev, when he returned to the village, he occupied the most livable and advantageously located empty house (his kin but not his family house) and spent several years restoring it at his expense. Then the owners of the house, who had not visited Pyalma for years, unexpectedly arrived, thanked Potashev for taking care of their house and "*offered, as they say, to vacate the premises, they showed the papers, everything was as it should be*". Today Potashev settles in and renovates his family house which is also the village museum. Travel blogs (see, e.g., the blog "Beyond Everyday Life" or the LiveJournal blog of the user Vikni[19]) may give a funny impression that Potashev is always the first person the visitors of the village meet[20]. I also met him right on the bridge over the river, while other villagers (in Pyalma but not in Novinki or Zarechye) did not show. Probably, when Potashev is in the village, he considers it his duty to wait for tourists, 'pretending' to be busy (in my case, he was hauling gravel in a wheelbarrow from the far bank). This is only an assumption, and in response to a direct question the village chief laughed off, saying that it was just a coincidence, "*as*

19. Personal blog "Evening in the Karelian village of Pyalma". URL: https://vikni.livejournal.com/176039.html.

20. My friends, who traveled around the Onega Lake in the spring of 2022 and visited Pyalma, said that the first person they met was none other than the village chief.

you see, I'm working". A kind of intrusive presence of Potashev in the village public space, be it physical or virtual (in the media), suggests that over time, due to bureaucratic obstacles, he became disillusioned with farming but discovered the benefits of rural tourism for preserving the village and local landscape. Thereby, his presence is an integral part of rural development through the promotion of rural tourism. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Potashev is the 'face' of Pyalma (it is not clear whether self-appointed or approved by the community), and his personal story of leaving his small homeland and return fits well (perhaps, is deliberately inserted) into the constructed history of the village as a revival of almost lost traditions and way of life.

Unfortunately, I did not talk to other villagers (they avoid communication); therefore, the article is based on the media materials and research. It should be noted that almost all publications (Sources; Morozova, 2006; Mironova, 2010; Permilovskaya, 2011, etc.) refer to Potashev as the 'voice of Pyalma'. On the contrary, in the Karelian village of Tolvuya (Medvezhyegorsky district), the 'voice' and 'face' of the community is not a person but a public council; in the village of Velikaya Guba in the same district, there is a group of local activists (Morozova, 2006: 168–169). In Pyalma, there seems to be 'nothing but Potashev' or the Potashevs, since another representative of this family lives in Petrozavodsk but writes a poetic chronicle of the village, thus, indirectly participating in constructing the history of Pyalma (this chronicle is not publicly available even on the author's page on the social network VK, and she ignored my request[21]). It would not be an exaggeration to say that anyone interested in the life of Pyalma would get the feeling of its 'potashevization'. Certainly, any more or less thorough field research would show that there are many other attractions in historical Pyalma and around it, but I did not get a chance to talk to other locals. Thus, today the story of the village revival is presented to any outsider from Potashev's point of view, and in this story, he is the main character.

Pyalma in the old and new spaces of the Russian village

Since the mid-2000s, there have been many public initiatives that can be considered the 'grassroots' politics of memory[22]: numer-

21. See, e.g.: Morozova, 2010: 175: "One of the Potashevs... wrote poems describing the life in Pyalma in chronological order".
22. Politics of memory is a type of symbolic (or historical) politics that aims at introducing in the present certain ways for interpreting the social reality of the past (retrospective reconstruction of the past for the needs of the present; see, e.g.: Bourdieu, 2007).

ous private/'folk' museums (Korolev, 2018; 2021; Cherkaeva, 2019; Shekhvatova, 2021), popularization of reconstruction movements and events (Koloskov, 2021; Testov, 2019), and other practices of the 'spontaneous' commodification of memory: local and regional branding through the public 'folklorization' of local history (see, e.g.: Akhmetova, Petrov, Baiduzh, 2018; Petrova 2013), memorialization of natural and cultural landscapes through public environmental and local-history projects (see, e.g.: Prokhorovich, 2017; etc.). There are also attempts of local communities and activists to museumify and commodify rural heritage (Rural Russia..., 2019; Nefedova, 2013): former city dwellers move to the countryside and try to 'culturally renovate' it (as one official in the Leningrad Region put it), being guided by a complex of mercantile, nostalgic, cultural and even patriotic considerations (Melnikova, 2020b). Such attempts turn village buildings and rural landscapes into tourism sites, thus radically changing the function of the village: rural labor loses its agrarian character (albeit not completely, given the inevitable infrastructural and economic costs of rural life) and becomes largely 'service', i.e., urban (Petrikov, 2020).

This transformation has become so widespread that there is a need to somehow systematize such grassroots initiatives. For instance, there are non-profit partnerships (like the Association of the Most Beautiful Villages of Russia created in 2014) and other public organizations (like associations of local private museums) which aim at promoting the Russian rural hinterland in an organized way, including in cooperation with the state (see, e.g.: Mozganova, 2021), at increasing its tourist attractiveness (through commodification of the rural way of life; Osipov et al., 2019) and at contributing to the preservation and revival of Russian villages, even if the concept of 'village' gets some new interpretation, different from the traditional one.

In the Russian North-West (and other regions), 'rural transformation' is uneven since settlements close to federal and regional highways are the first to gradually become tourist attractions due to their transport accessibility for the average traveler or proximity to regional and local urban centers (for instance, the village of Vyatskoye near Yaroslavl is the 'headquarters' of the Association of the Most Beautiful Villages of Russia; the village of Lozhgolovo near Slantsy in the Leningrad Region hosts the annual festival "Big Christmas Festivities"[23]). Sometimes such a tourist transfor-

23. On the other hand, this factor is not always decisive: for instance, the Karelian village of Kinerma or the Arkhangelsk village of Kiltsa are located far from main highways and urban centers, but this only increases their attractiveness for experienced tourists travelling by car, who go to the hinterland for 'genuine antiquity' and are ready to overcome bad roads (as one of my informants, a Saint Petersburg guide, explained). This seem to be

mation is so large-scale, primarily in terms of the number of visitors, that locals suffer from the consequences of 'over-tourism' (Milano et al., 2019). Thus, in January 2017, villagers of Kinerma (the first Karelian village included in the list of the most beautiful villages of Russia) complained to the Karelian Ministry of Culture about the excessive influx of tourists: "*in the village only 5 people live, but there are 16 houses, 6 of which are architectural monuments. In 2016, about 300 tourists visited the village... It physically cannot accept all visitors if they don't apply in advance*" (Lysenko, Semenova; 2017). However, such tourist development of the rural Russian North continues (in this area), and many dying villages in Arkhangelsk Region create local 'points of interest' in order to be saved from final destruction through by former city dwellers (Drannikova, 2017; Ivanova, 2019).

Historical Pyalma in its current state is a clear example of such touristic development. As an economic entity, the village 'died' in the late Soviet period, and the farming projects of the 1990s did not change situation[24]; the revival of the village is the direct result of the promotion efforts of the local community and of the village chief Potashev to attract tourists. All public initiatives of the last decade, including the Forest Festival, aimed at popularizing this settlement as a 'depositary' of rural traditions and a focal point of the local natural-cultural landscape (for instance, an art object in mandala form, presented at the Forest Festival, according to its creators, was to show the need to preserve the 'Karelian *taiga*' around Pyalma, endless "love for its lands and forests, and the coexistence of man and nature"; Potashov, 2015). Even in the implicit confrontation with the neighboring village of the same name, authenticity as a 'stronghold' of tradition is emphasized: "*They are new, while the real Pyalma is here, with us;* [in the other village], *there was a forestry enterprise, the taiga was cut down recklessly, such beauty was destroyed, although our people have always lived in harmony with nature*". Today this rural tradition in its tourist representation is the key to the preservation of Pyalma as an independent settlement (at least according to the village chief), and tourists, as far as one can judge from blogs and reports, come to Pyalma exactly for the tradition (as they understand it).

As a rule, local activists transform rural landscape or its elements into a tourism product, based on their ideas about the village beauty, features and values of rural life. Such ideas are largely determined by popular culture that imposes certain stereotypes of rurality

an effect of the presentations of some city dwellers, who want to 'know the true Russia', like a part of the late Soviet intelligentsia called to go "to the village, to the people" (Razuvalova, 2015' Neplyuev, 2020, etc.).

24. See, e.g.: Nefedova, 2019; today the village chief considers his past attempts to become a farmer as an 'adventure'.

through the 'landscape patriotism' of school textbooks with excerpts from classical 'village' texts, through the media and its visual images (Shtyrkov, 2016; Zhelamsky, 2018). Thus, activists (and the local authorities supporting public initiatives) become both producers of a generalized, conventional rurality and consumers of collective knowledge about the rural (Panzer-Krause, 2019: 7). Thereby, even provided original ideas and solutions for transforming the rural, activists have to adapt their original ideas to mass demand (images of popular culture) — "everywhere we see traditional spinning wheels, spindles and cradles" (Golovin 2019; this is not a purely Russian phenomenon; see, e.g. Deitch, 1987 on the similar impact of tourism on the vernacular Indian culture). Tourists go to the village for a rural idyll as they imagine it under the influence of popular culture and are disappointed if their expectations are not met, as far as I can tell from conversations with several groups of organized tourists and with local activists in the Arkhangelsk Region in 2019 (Kargopolye) and 2020 (Pinega region, Mezen).

In general, local representations of rurality and tourist expectations can be called 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1976) due to being determined not by rural but by urban culture which acts today as popular culture (Korolev, 2019: 92–101, 157–211) and cannot but affect ideas about the authentic rural 'idyll' that both sides try to imagine, represent and 'preserve'. The producer of such 'canned' rurality is mainly a former city dweller, who offers visitors of the rural location a tourism product that can hardly be considered truly rural but corresponds to the common ideas of what rurality is.

Today historical Pyalma is an example of such widespread views: the dirt road from the highway to the village, the bridge without railings across the river, the river itself, the chapel partially hidden by willows, the solid, albeit slightly dilapidated ancient peasant houses — this village fully corresponds to the popular image of the traditional rural settlement in the Russian North (see, e.g.: Permilovskaya, 2011; Usov, 2021; etc.). Excursions, masterclasses, communication practices and social activities of the local village chief organically complement this urban image of the Russian Northern village and aim at the potential tourist whose visit (with the subsequent spread of impressions via word of mouth and the Internet) can attract new visitors to Pyalma[25], thus extending its existence as a historical settlement and the main highlight of this natural-cultural landscape. Such a tourist can stay in the vicinity of the village for several days (there is a

25. From my recent conversation with the guide who made a car tourist route around the Lake Onega: "*After Medvezhyegorsk and Sandarmokh, you cannot help but stop in Pyalma. Everyone knows that this is a historical village*". The generalization 'everyone' can be explained by the interested guide expressiveness which emphasizes and reflects the undoubted fame of Pyalma in the 'space of rumors' (P. Shchedrovitsky).

guest house near Pyalma; see, e.g.: Averkieva, 2020) and get a deeper understanding of the local 'rural idyll' without experiencing the truly traditional village life hardly acceptable for the contemporary city dweller. 'Staged authenticity' combined with city amenities (hot water, indoor toilet, etc.) provides the picture that the travelling city dweller wants to see in the countryside, which means that the 'new rurality' proposed by Pyalma would be reproduced. However, Pyalma is unlikely to face over-tourism, given its remoteness from local urban centers (the nearest large city Petrozavodsk is 250 km away[26], Vologda — 530 km, Saint Petersburg — almost 700 km); the influx of tourists is unlikely to become massive; only those purposefully going to the village will get here.

What is next?

Today in many ways Pyalma is the village chief Potashev. But what will happen if for some reason he loses interest in his brainchild[27] (which seems unlikely, based on his words and his activities) or retires due to age?

In his interview for the video series "Private Museum: A Young Fighter Course" (a part of the analytical network project "New Museon"), the director of the Road of Life Museum in the village of Kobona (Leningrad Region) S. V. Markov said that he is most worried about the fate of the museum in the relatively near future (in 10–

26. Approximately the same distance is between Vologda and Totma which is also located far from the main routes (Moscow–Vologda–Arkhangelsk highway) but in recent years Totma, through the efforts of local activists, has become a role model for the effective work with historical heritage and natural landscape if not for the country, then for the European part of Russia. However, the status of the settlement should be kept in mind: Totma is a regional center, once a district center and a merchant city, a center of trade routes, while Pyalma is a village that lost its economic significance long ago. Moreover, in Totma, there is a team of like-minded people passionate about developing and enhancing its heritage, while in Pyalma a lot depends on one person. Therefore, it would be incorrect to compare Pyalma with Totma based on the distance from large cities. About Totma and local projects, see, e.g.: Novoselov, 2019; Mastenitsa, 2020; Chernega 2020.

27. It is interesting that in September 2022, when discussing the next interregional conference "Development of forms of the local self-government in the North-Western Federal District" on the social network VK, the Association of the Territorial Public Self-Government of the Republic of Karelia stated about the Pyalma community: "We have little information about the results of this TPS work, since it practically did not participate in regional competitions. This TPS participated in the competition of socially significant TPS projects in 2018 but not in the recent republican competitions such as the Best TPS, the Best TPS Practice, the Best Village Holiday, the Most Beautiful Village" (URL: https://vk.com/wall-169034427_1349?w=wall-169034427%1349).

15 years), when he will no longer be able to work due to age: "*Children do not show interest, and not only my children. They say that they are not interested. So, the question is whether anyone would pick the fallen banner, so to speak. That's what I am worried about*" (Markov, 2019). These are concerns of many creators of private museums in the northwest, with whom I had the opportunity to talk. I guess the Pyalma chief must feel the same way as he has not found a successor for his public activities among his fellow villagers (see, e.g.: Lebedev, 2007). Moreover, other villagers — both the larger 'summer' or *dacha* population and the small 'winter' population — do not seem to strive for any active participation in the preservation of historical buildings and natural landscape, focusing on their households and leisure time. Such a way of rural life is typical for many Russian villages[28]: most villagers are former city dwellers, who bought houses and moved to the countryside, and summer residents; they are engaged mainly in farming (gardening) and fishing, less often in hunting, and their everyday life becomes increasingly similar to the urban one (water supply, dry closet, etc.).

Thus, the fate of the historical Pyalma and its heritage depends on the village chief and his 'politics of rural memory' (quite conventional). (Certainly, this does not mean that the loss of the historical status (if this suddenly happens) would deprive Pyalma of its status of the rural settlement, but it would be a different Pyalma — not a historical or tourist location but a place for fishing trips or a '*dacha'* village with vegetable gardens.) This 'politics of rural memory' seems to come down to the implementation of a commemorative-tourist scenario for the preservation of the village, implies typical (as far as one can judge from the research in this field) urban projections of 'rurality': preservation and presentation of the village landscape with a slope and birch trees[29] (for instance, in 2021, the Russian list of the World Tourism Organization included the Tula village of Bekhovo due to such a landscape[30]); local chapel as an integral part of landscape; indispensable (and traditional in contents) village museum; reproduction of popular economic and everyday practices that are already alien to the rural life in the form of masterclasses and 'games' for outsiders.

28. See the recent study of the way of life in several historical settlements of the Leningrad Region (Alekseev et al., 2020).

29. See, e.g., views of rural spaces from the recently reconstructed (or built) river embankments in small towns — from Velsk in the Arkhangelsk Region to Vyazma in the Kaluga Region (small towns with the embankment located relatively far from the river); it seems that the visitor gets a representation/projection of 'rurality' in the form of the surrounding nature which is to be admired as one of this location attractions (Vandyshev et al., 2022; Ponomareva et al., 2022).

30. And to some paintings by V. D. Polenov (Polenovo Museum-Reserve is located nearby); see: Gershkovich, 2022.

Such a commemoration of the former way of life is in demand among urban tourists, who want to touch 'peasant antiquity'. In full accordance with the principles of popular culture, rurality becomes a clichéd imaginary product presented in 'natural' conditions (compared with local-history museums or such reserves of rural architecture as Arkhangelsk Malye Korely, Novgorod Vitoslavlitsy or Tver Vasilevo), thus being perceived by consumers as the 'authentic rural' (both historical and contemporary[31]). The producer and the consumer of this experience (both city dwellers; one in the past but does not lose ties with the city; both reproduce models of urban popular culture) speak the same cultural language, which significantly facilitates communication and contributes to the strengthening and popularization of this conditional, popular print image of the 'living Onega village'. This approach may be adopted by other historical settlements of the Russian North (and other regions) to preserve and 'revive' the village: a historical core is identified and as if secured in its 'postcard' form; commemorative and economic practices are developed/organized to bring income for the preservation of this form; rural space is gradually built up in accordance with the wishes of its 'seasonal' residents — this is the current situation in historical Pyalma. This type of 'new rurality' is in demand among those city dwellers who choose the village as a place of residence, provided they are interested in preserving the historical core of this settlement rather than in organizing personal leisure)[32].

Certainly, it would be an exaggeration to say that without its chief the village of Pyalma is doomed, but the development of its riverbanks seems purely of the '*dacha*' type: only the riverbank with the chapel and three old houses retained its former appearance, while the rest of the village gradually loses its originality. 'After Potashev', if the Karelian Ministry of Culture, management of national parks or federal bodies (or museums) do not take measures, these ancient buildings would disappear. And the natural area around the village would also be damaged, since the Pyalma River Reserve, for which environmentalists and the village chief fight, is still in the list of the specially protected natural areas of Karelia only as 'promising' (since 2007). Meanwhile, according to Potashev, the local forest is regularly encroached upon; he even calls himself "*the only local defender of the Karelian taiga*" (let's leave this statement on his conscience). Thus, in Pyalma and its vicinity, almost all attempts to preserve the histor-

31. In Malye Korely, I heard from visitors of the ethnographic park that "*certainly, everything is beautiful but looks artificial, kind of lifeless, and only nature saves the situation*". In Vitoslavlitsy, a local guide said (in 2016) that the collected houses were undoubtedly interesting, but it would be better to look at them in their natural environment, if possible.

32. See the story of the former city dweller about getting used to rural life and adding urban features to it (Kupriyanov, Savina, 2020: 18–21).

ical appearance of the village take place with the direct participation of the village chief, and his role in caring for the local rural heritage as the totality of nature and culture is extremely large, which is necessary to remember when analyzing the current state of the village and the image of 'new rurality' it produces.

For an outside observer/tourist/seeker of antiquity familiar with the local landscape only from 'pictures on the Internet', Pyalma in its contemporary form would look like an open-air museum exhibit rather than a living village (despite the fact that in summer it is quite crowded[33]). In such a 'perception' (of the potential urban tourist, who wants to see 'real' rural life with his own eyes), the village typifies the imaginary traditional rurality of the Russian North in its Onega 'version', and this type of amateur museumification seems to be in demand. In today's Karelia, Pyalma is not the only case: for instance, in the Onega village of Lelikovo, which was almost deserted in the 1960s and later was preserved through the efforts of city dwellers and summer residents (mostly former villagers), there is independent and amateur museumification of the area in order to preserve the settlement that has not been considered an administrative unit for more than half a century (Nagurnaya, 2019). This imagined 'true rurality', constituted by city dwellers and combined with *dacha* leisure by most 'seasonal' residents, can certainly preserve the historical Pyalma for some time (even for a long time); however, one can only guess about its margin of safety, if there is no active development with the preservation of landscape.

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33. According to the village chief, not long ago the second squad of the Zenit football club (Saint Petersburg), in whose administration one of the village natives works, came to stay and 'play a ball' at the local sports ground (behind the historical houses).

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Карельская деревня Пяльма: горожанин и его деревня

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Аннотация. В статье на примере карельской деревни Пяльма, расположенной в Поонежье, рассмотрено характерное для нынешней социокультурной ситуации конструирование образа традиционной северорусской деревни бывшими горожанами. Опираясь на собственные представления об аутентичности сельского, они репрезентируют сельскую традицию для туристов-горожан, чьи знания о сельском опосредованы массовой культурой и не подкреплены практическими умениями. Сопоставляя историю Пяльмы с другими примерами общественной работы с природно-культурным наследием на Северо-Западе России, автор показывает, что типизация и музеефикация традиционной сельскости, характерная для многих деревень региона, во многом обусловлена индивидуальным стремлением сохранить их, обеспечить их развитие за счет привлечения туристов и деятельности в пространстве «экономики впечатлений». Автор отмечает, что для большинства «сезонных» жителей таких поселений (местных и дачников) историчность места не имеет принципиального значения, в отличие от его природных и инфраструктурных осо-

бенностей. Наблюдаемые сегодня городские проекции сельскости в исторических поселениях все отчетливее разделяются на общие и частные, коммеморативно-туристические и личные хозяйственные практики, которые вместе образуют постпродуктивистскую «новую сельскость» исторических деревень Русского Севера.

Ключевые слова: новая сельскость, сельский туризм, русская деревня, Русский Север, наследие, природно-культурный ландшафт

A few words about (un)certainty and its management in the rural part of the contemporary uncertain world

Review of the book: Scoones I. (Ed.) (2023) Pastoralism, Uncertainty and Development, Rugby: Practical Action Publishing. 180 p. URL: https://practicalactionpublishing.com/book/2667/pastoralism-uncertainty-and-development

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When considering the contemporary rural life and agricultural activities related to it, pastoralism is unlikely to be anyone's first association. Today (at least in Russia) pastoralism seems to be a very regionally, even locally specific phenomenon of a historical-anachronical nature, associated with the historically sustainable traditional practices of local rural communities, which would be considered by the townspeople majority as an outdated way to earn one's living and an example of hoary antiquity (as today's societies are not communities of foragers and pastoralists). Therefore, the book provides an unexpected (at least for the average reader) analytical perspective of "mobile pastoralism as a crucial livelihood for millions worldwide", "a vital practice, which sustains communities in often harsh and hostile environments", and of pastoralists as "experts in managing uncertainty" and "in adapting to climate change"; thus, insisting on the need for a "far more participatory, context specific analysis" for "reversing the dismal performance of decades of 'pastoral development'".

The book is a collection of articles (presented as nine chapters) by authors who consider special 'cases' to show "how pastoralists make productive use of variability and embrace uncertainty" and to explain "how pastoral systems in marginal dryland and montane systems work"; thus, "offering wider lessons for rethinking development policy and practice in today's uncertain, turbulent world"[1] (climate and

1. See also: Stirling A. (2010) Keep it complex. *Nature*, no 468; Scoones I., Stirling A. (Eds.) (2020) *The Politics of Uncertainty: Challenges of Transformation*, London: Routledge.

environmental change, market volatility and political turmoil). The choice of the book's topic is explained in its preface by the following contradiction: on the one hand, pastoralists are often marginalized in policy debates and development efforts; on the other hand, they are "important guardians of vast rangeland territories that make up over half the world's land surface; pastoralism generates livelihoods for many and provides animal-based products that enhance people's diets in some of the poorest parts of the world. Despite their vital importance, pastoral systems are often deeply misunderstood, with false narratives dominating policy and public discourse alike. The book offers a different set of perspectives (Amdo Tibet in China, the Mediterranean hills of Sardinia in Italy, the savannas of East Africa in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia, the dry plains of Kachchh in Gujarat in India, and the semi-desert and rocky mountains of southern Tunisia), rooted in in-depth research across six countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tunisia, China, India and Italy) in three continents (Africa, Asia, Europe), ...challenging mainstream thinking about pastoral development, offering a new narrative with variability and uncertainty at the center, and a unique lens on pastoralists' own understandings of variable and uncertain contexts through an innovative documentary photography and photovoice project".

Already at this point, the critical reader may question such broad generalizations (pastoralists' successful fight against uncertainty) based on such countries-cases — as not representing the situation on the corresponding continents not to mention general trends of socially-economically diverse rural paths of sustainable development. However, such criticism is not justified as the authors aim only at convincing the reader that the still available paths of (rural) development are much more diverse that we are used (or prefer) to think.

In the first chapter "Pastoralism, uncertainty, and development: Perspectives from the rangelands", Ian Scoones and Michele Nori claim that we can learn from pastoralists "in order to be better at responding to the uncertainties of our turbulent world" as they "confront uncertainties on a daily basis and always have done so[2]... In the drylands and mountains where pastoralists live, negotiating access to resources, navigating volatile markets, making use of varying social relations in times of stress, and responding to conflict and complex political dynamics are all essential if sustainable livelihoods are to be generated". Thus, "pastoralists can help us reframe policies and practices in ways that go beyond a risk man-

2. See also: FAO (2021) Pastoralism — Making Variability Work. Animal Production and Health Paper 185. URL: https://doi.org/10.4060/cb5855en; Krätli S., Schareika N. (2010) Living off uncertainty: The intelligent animal production of dryland pastoralists. *European Journal of Development Research*, vol. 22.

agement and control approach to one that genuinely confronts situations where we don't know what the future holds". The authors argue that we prefer development policy and practice "blind to uncertainty" due to striving for advance planning as ensuring stability and control, and such a standard risk assessment is definitely appropriate for contexts with high level of predictability (for instance, in construction) but not for situations of 'unknown unknowns' — "where we know nothing about the outcomes or the likelihoods (and complex, messy contexts are the norm in development settings, perhaps especially in pastoral areas)".

Certainly, this does not mean that we should stop our studies of critical infrastructures, stop relying on expert assessments and technological and information support and use only 'indigenous knowledge'. The authors argue that "in pastoral areas, well-meaning efforts — such as land governance reforms, insurance mechanisms, market support, and social protection programs — will fail if they don't take uncertainty seriously", which means "temporal and spatial flexibility, with redundancy central to organizational design... and a shift from a commitment to 'control' — and prediction, stability, and planning — to one that is centered on social relationships and institutions that support flexible and adaptive responses to the inevitable uncertainties of today's world"[3].

The thoughtful, interested reader cannot not help but wonder why we have not yet learnt and applied so useful and successful (given pastoralism survival in the contemporary postindustrial world of industrial agribusiness) pastoralists' experience of 'uncertainty management'. The authors give three reasons: the first objective one is that today even the achieved managed uncertainty of pastoralists is under threat due to encroachment and fragmentation of rangelands[4] under the general trend of land grabbing for agricultural, infrastructural or conservation investments. Some of them can benefit pastoralists (jobs, services, and so on) but more often lead to new forms of competition, speculation, corruption and deal-making that undermine local networks and communities. The second reason is that there is "the wider, longstanding, well-entrenched colonial narrative that pastoralists are 'backward', envi-

3. See also: Scoones I. (2021) Pastoralists and peasants: Perspectives on agrarian change. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 48.

4. See also: Lind J., Okenwa D., Scoones I. (2020) The politics of land, resources & investment in Eastern Africa's pastoral drylands. (J. Lind, D. Okenwa, I. Scoones Eds.). *Land Investment & Politics: Reconfiguring Eastern Africa's Pastoral Drylands*, Woodbridge: James Currey; Lind J., Sabates-Wheeler R., Caravani M., Biong Deng Kuol L., Manzolillo Nightingale D. (2020) Newly evolving pastoral and postpastoral rangelands of Eastern Africa. *Pastoralism*, vol. 10; Behnke R. H. (2021) Grazing into the Anthropocene or back to the future? *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems*, vol. 5.

ronmentally destructive, and in need of 'modernization'", and "a strong Western and urban narrative about the dangers of livestock production for the climate and the wider environment". Both narratives derive from "a basic misunderstanding of the dynamics of open ecosystems and the importance of variability in rangelands[5]", while even the insufficient available data from high-intensity industrial systems proves that "pastoral production systems have low climate impacts and can, under the right conditions, have positive benefits for the environment".

The third reason is that "not all is well in the pastoral rangelands... there are many challenges. The adaptive flexibility at the heart of pastoralists' responses to variability and uncertainty may not always work. Strategies developed decades ago may not be sufficient to sustain fast-growing populations and may be unable to confront the more frequent droughts, floods, and compounding uncertainties faced today. Pastoralists must always innovate, adapt, and change to new circumstances. However, things are not always easy as a result of constrained access to resources, terms of trade that penalize pastoral production, and state or donor support that is often lacking or misplaced, given the false narratives that still dominate policy thinking".

Such a focus on the first chapter is determined by its role in the book: it outlines main research and economic policy questions, presents possible ways for finding answers to these questions, clarifying these ways' potential and limitations, explains the choice of case studies sites, and emphasizes that the book "does not attempt to paint a rosy picture of an imagined, pastoralist idyll now long-lost — if it ever even existed. The case studies... provide a flavor of the complex, contested, and highly differentiated realities in different sites influenced by diverse political economies".

Therefore, the next chapters illustrate the conceptual and practical ideas of the first chapter, but the second chapter "Decoding uncertainty in pastoral contexts through visual methods" is methodological. Shibaji Bose and Roopa Gogineni present an overview of approaches and techniques used in case studies "to surface and convey the diversity of pastoralists' experience" as "storytelling through visual methods facilitates an engaged process of building knowledge that can eventually foster positive social change from below": photovoice (pastoralists shared beliefs and perceptions within their own frameworks of understanding and experiences of contending with unfolding uncertainties); social media ethnography; rephotography (visual materials from archival sources allowed for inter-

5. See also: Bond W. J. (2019) *Open Ecosystems: Ecology and Evolution Beyond the Forest Edge*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Vetter S. (2020) With power comes responsibility — a rangelands perspective on forest landscape restoration. *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems*, vol. 4.

pretations of change across time by comparing images from today with those in the past); photo elicitation; documentary photo/video by researchers and other interlocutors; visualizing uncertainty identified through interviews or surveys in group discussions (the book presents many pictures and quotes from transcripts); circulation of visual materials (photographs and their linked narratives were shared through a variety of platforms, including travelling in-person exhibitions, online exhibitions, and photo newspapers). Thus, "to understand uncertainty from the eyes of the pastoralists has always been a challenge to the traditional researcher aiming to build research credibility, give back the results of the research to the communities at the margins, and build knowledge together; participatory visual research methods were able to unearth hidden tensions in uncertain pastoral landscapes".

In the third chapter, Natasha Maru describes the ways for "Engaging with uncertainties in the now: Pastoralists' experiences of mobility in Western India" (case study of the Rabari from Kachchh District in Gujarat). The author defines uncertainty in two ways: "empirically, in the sense of uncertain events and circumstances, and as a strategy applied by pastoralists to adapt to new circumstances", and "sees variability and change as intrinsically temporal, and these temporalities as central to pastoralists' mobile practices, social relations, and institutions. On the one hand, the author emphasizes, providing convincing 'grassroots' examples from the life of Rabari pastoralists, that "mobility and its temporalities are key to pastoral adaptation to uncertainty... the practices, social relations, and institutions of mobility are flexible, prompt, and modular in design to enable the pastoralists to adapt to new and unknown circumstances as they emerge. Being so attuned means that rather than following a linear path, the pastoralists embrace uncertainty as a strategy and act in response to an ever-changing present". On the other hand, pastoralists' capacity to adapt is challenged "as shifts in political economy fail to account for pastoral livelihoods. Despite growing recognition of pastoralism within international development as both economically viable and environmentally beneficial, the 'sediment of nomadism' continues to undermine pastoralism and privilege linear visions of modernity, development, and progress. In Kachchh, such developmentalism has led to the structural oppression and marginalization of pastoralists through adverse policies... The temporal horizon within which pastoral action is oriented is increasingly being disrupted through shifts in political economy".

In the fourth chapter, Palden Tsering considers the "Hybrid rangeland governance: Ways of living with and from uncertainty in pastoral Amdo Tibet, China", providing a table of different responses to uncertainty in the Tibetan context, which is based on the researcher's discussions with local residents. The author ar-

gues that "the fluid processes and connections at the center of interactions between nature and humans enable pastoralists both to live with and from uncertainty, making use of uncertainties as possibilities and opportunities for adaptation and transformation". The author explains "how Amdo pastoralists transform these perceptions into actions on the ground", focusing on the role of Buddhist monasteries in resource governance (both the local authority and intermediator between villages and local government) and on the pluralistic nature of such governance in general: the 'hybrid governance of rangelands' "goes beyond the classic description of private, common, or state-led forms of tenure... especially the process of building assemblages of actors, practices, technologies, and forms of knowledge allows herders both to respond to uncertainties as they arise, as well as make the most of opportunities that emerge from uncertain settings".

In the fifth chapter, Giulia Simula considers "Uncertainty, markets, and pastoralism in Sardinia, Italy" (in Sardinia, pastoralists constitute the great majority of those who work in agriculture) and focuses on two opposing realities of pastoralism in two different settings — a livestock producer engaged in semi-intensive production in the plains area in the south and sells milk to a private industry operator (the developmental techno-managerial control adage 'If you plan ahead, there is no uncertainty'), and a small pastoralist living in the north, who can flexibly respond to uncertainty through a range of adaptive practices. According to the author, "believing that technical, productivist solutions can address the intersecting uncertainties created by markets, climate, and agricultural policy in the context of Sardinia is a sign that the state/expert perspective is far from the realities of pastoralists... In contrast to the assumptions of many policymakers and experts, pastoralists do not live in stable conditions but in highly variable, uncertain, and often harsh and precarious situations... Pastoral farms function within a complex system that is influenced by many elements, so assuming that economic efficiency — and an economic rationality based on a linear understanding of demand and supply and cost and benefit — is the guiding principle is a deep misunderstanding... As a result, pastoralists are very skeptical about top-down programs and incentives[6]. This is not because they are ignorant or 'backward', as they are very often portrayed, but because they know very well that they live and survive in uncertain circumstances. They necessarily work with contingency, always leaving several doors open as there are always multiple futures possible depending on what uncertainties impinge on them".

6. See also: Scott J. C. (1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

In the sixth chapter, Tahira Mohamed describes the ways for "Responding to uncertainties in pastoral northern Kenya (Isiolo County)", asking "whether the state, humanitarian agencies, and development interventions have missed their mark by focusing on predicting and controlling risks rather than embracing and managing uncertainties as part of continuous, everyday practices of generating reliability, i.e., could pastoralists themselves, through their adaptive strategies and redistributive moral economy practices, show us an alternative approach more attuned to dryland uncertainties?". The answer is that "pastoralists should not be seen as passive victims of disaster, forever reliant on external support, but that they have their own agency; their own practices embedded in social relations (moral economy[7]) help them respond to complex, uncertain, and unpredictable events. Living with and from uncertainty is central to pastoral livelihoods, and it should be fundamental to the disaster response policies and development strategies in pastoral areas". Four cases illustrate and confirm the author's idea that "moral economy practices enhance resource redistribution and foster collective solidarities and comradeship to help manage uncertainties, including those due to drought, animal disease, livestock-raiding, and labor deficits".

The seventh chapter by Masresha Taye considers "Livestock insurance in southern Ethiopia (Borana)", comparing responses to drought risk and contrasting the social-economic backgrounds of insured and uninsured households to show "how insurance, if purchased, is always combined with other responses and, in this way, pastoralists are able to respond to uncertainties, not just defined, calculable risks", Thus, "insurance must become embedded in wider social relations (such as gender dynamics), institutional arrangements (such as mobility and pastoral resource governance), economic livelihood strategies, and political dynamics in pastoral systems. As a market-based, individualized approach, insurance is not in any way superior to what are deemed 'traditional coping mechanisms', as is sometimes suggested. Indeed, quite the opposite: it is such embedded local responses that make it possible for insurance to function as a complement to collective, communal forms of response grounded in forms of local solidarity and moral economy".

In the eighth chapter, Linda Pappagallo continues the analysis of the African 'case', focusing on the "Confronting uncertainties in southern Tunisia: The role of migration and collective resource management". For instance, "the harsh context of Douiret — with multiple, intersecting environmental and market uncertainties — dictates how resilience is built through migration, and the rela-

7. According to: Scott J. C. (1977) *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

tionship between presence and absence. This allows for the taking of opportunities for accumulation elsewhere while remaining connected to one's territory of origin through collective pooling mechanisms, such as the *khlata*. Combining migration with collective pooling explains how pastoralists in Douiret navigate the uncertainties associated with such variable socio-ecological landscapes. As the types of uncertainties shift with changing environmental and political-economic conditions, so the strategies and forms of institutions shift to respond to the new conditions. Understanding institutional adaptation and the evolution of the *khlata* thus further highlights the importance of adaptable and informal collective resource management".

In the final ninth chapter, Ian Scoones and Michele Nori summarize the ways for "Living with and from uncertainty: Lessons from pastoralists for development", providing a brief review of pastoral policies in the regions of case studies to identify their common and contrasting features (presented in their regional diversity and similarity). What is most common is that "unfortunately, the majority of existing policies run counter to the principles of pastoralism... acting to undermine pastoral practices rather than support them. Of course, development policies and interventions are not uniform, and there are many projects scattered across the world that do offer a perspective drawing on principles of openness, flexibility, and adaptation to generate reliable, robust, and resilient livelihoods in the pastoral rangelands. But these remain a minority". The authors rightly conclude that today "conditions of uncertainty are faced by many people across the world... If we are to respond to climate change, market volatility, changing environments, migratory flows, more frequent pandemics, and rising conflict, we can and must learn from those who have developed the capacities to live with and from uncertainty. Thinking about how pastoralists respond to uncertainty can be important, whether thinking about pastoral mobility when constructing human migration policies; designing social assistance and humanitarian relief approaches that avoid centralized risk-based approaches; fostering market integration dynamics that build around local practices and networks; supporting knowledge networking and exchange as part of extension efforts to increase reliability; redesigning insurance schemes to support a more varied response; thinking about preparedness for pandemics or disasters more generally; or even rethinking banking, finance, and economic policymaking itself". This list seems too extensive and too promising (on the verge of social utopia), however, one cannot but agree that "in our turbulent world, where uncertainties affect us all, insights from pastoralism can be enormously helpful".

Несколько слов о (не)определенности и управлению ею в сельской части современного нестабильного мира

Рецензия на книгу: Скунс Я. (Ред.) (2023). Скотоводство, неопределенность и развитие, Регби: Изд-во «Практическое действие», 180 с. URL: https://practicalactionpublishing.com/book/2667/pastoralism-uncertainty-and-development

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The beginning of economic reforms in rural China

Book review: Oi J. C. (2023). Rural China Takes off. Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform, Saint Petersburg: Academic Studies Press/Bibliorossika.

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The book by Jean Chun Oi was published in the late 1990s[1] but translated into Russian only in 2023. Today China's economic success is obvious — in many spheres of the real economy China is the undisputed world leader, replacing the UK and the US as the global workshop. In the 1990s, the success of China was also discussed, but it was not as stunning as today. Therefore, the book is interesting, first, for its analysis of the Chinese economic success at its very start. Second, there was no economic or political confrontation between China and the United States at that time. On the contrary, the countries cooperated, including in the educational sphere: sinology in the United States was practically the second Sovietology, and the number of publications about China increased every year; Chinese students were studying at American universities. Thus, the reader may expect the book to be less politicized than many social sciences today.

Let us start with a few words about the author. Despite her Chinese origin, Jean Chun Oi is an American educated in the United States and teaches at the Stanford University[2]. This is a typical situation for American Sinology that researchers are of Chinese origin. Another example is the famous sociologist Victor Nee, whose works Oi refers to and with whom she argues in this book. Oi graduated from the Indiana University in 1971 and received her PhD in Political Science in the University of Michigan in 1983. She worked in many universities before finally choosing the Stanford University in 1997. Oi holds two positions at Stanford: Head of the Stanford Center at the Peking University, which certain-

1. Oi J. C. (1999). *Rural China Takes off. Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
2. Personal page: https://profiles.stanford.edu/jean-oi.

ly ensures an easier access to her research field; Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies known for hosting a number of former US political figures. Thus, the Head of this institute is the former US Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul, and among its employees are the former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and the famous and controversial political scientist Francis Fukuyama.

Oi is famous in academic circles. In 2019, she was included in the list of the 40 most cited political scientists-women at American universities[3]. Oi got interested in rural China as a student and published her first book *State and Peasant in Contemporary China*[4] in 1989, which is based on her PhD thesis defended at the University of Michigan. *Rural China Takes Off* is her second book.

As a political scientist, Oi certainly did not write a book in the spirit of the neoclassical economic mainstream, but it is also far from the classical political economy as describing how political structure affects economic development. However, the influence of the contemporary economic theory on the book is obvious since political science borrows its ideas (for instance, the political scientist Elinor Ostrom received the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences; and the concepts of principals and agents used in the book are directly borrowed from institutional economics). Certainly, the book was also strongly influenced by the Stanford academic tradition and its eminent reviewers (like Barrington Moore). Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the book is a product of the American tradition in political science, economic theory, and Chinese studies.

The book focuses on how the state determines economic development, and it was written in the time when the role of the state in the economy was revised in sociology. In 1985, a book by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol was published under the eloquent title *Bringing the State Back in*[5]. In 1994, Fred Block declared a 'new paradigm' in the analysis of the role of the state in the economy[6]. In 1995, Peter Evans published *Embedded Autonomy*[7] and Victor Nee — his works on China[8]. In the year of the publication of Oi's book,

3. Kim H. J., Grofman B. (2019) The political science 400: With citation counts by cohort, gender, and subfield. *Political Science & Politics*, vol. 52, no 2, pp. 296–311.
4. Oi J. C. (1989) *State and Peasant in Contemporary China: The Political Economy of Village Government*, University of California Press.
5. Evans P., Rueschemeyer D., Skocpol T. (1985) *Bringing the State Back in*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
6. Block F. (1994). The role of the state in the economy, *Handbook of Economic Sociology* (N. Smelser, R. Swedberg Eds.), Princeton: Princeton University Press.
7. Evans P. (1995) *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
8. See, e.g.: Nee V., Su S. (1990) Institutional change and economic growth in China: The view from the village. *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 49,

Peter Evans and James Rauch publish an article on the extent to which the 'weberianization' of the state affects economic growth on the example of developing (i.e., non-Western) countries (for some reasons, China was not included in the sample of these countries, only Taiwan and Hong Kong)[9]. Much later Nee published the *Capitalism from Below*[10] to emphasize the non-state roots of the Chinese economic growth. In general, Oi argues with the ideas of Evans and Nee.

The common basis of the above-mentioned turn to the state was, first, the rejection of the concept of the state non-interference in the economy as unrealistic and dogmatic; second, the questioning of the unconditional direct positive connection between democracy and market growth; third, the analysis of states' specific actions in the economy and of the quality of the state apparatus. Thus, researchers focused on the specific characteristics of states rather than on general features of liberalism and democracy. This theoretical turn allowed to explain the economic growth of socialist China, which, according to the traditional views, was simply impossible, and Oi's reasoning is a part of this turn.

She argues that the Chinese experience prove that economic development is quite possible in the 'Leninist economic system'. Unlike former countries of the socialist bloc, including Russia, China rejected shock market reforms and mass privatization — its private sector emerged much later, when the economic growth became evident. However, this was no longer Mao's China due to small, gradual changes at both economic and political levels. At the same time, China's economic growth was determined not by the rejection of the Maoist economic system but by the changes based on the Maoist foundation. Oi believes that local party officials rather than the central authorities played the key role in the industrialization of China's rural areas as they began to perform entrepreneurial functions and became the main agents of economic development. However, this was not some revolution from below, a rebellion of local authorities or a weakening of the central power of the Chinese Communist Party — local authorities were granted freedom of action and given incentives for proactive local policies, thus, becoming interested in the results of economic reforms. Oi calls such a system (the local party apparatus is the main driver of economic growth) a 'local state corporat-

no 1, pp. 3–25; Nee V. (1992) Organizational dynamics of market transition: Hybrid forms, property rights, and mixed economy in China. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 37, no 1, pp. 1–28.

9. Evans P., Rauch J. (1999) Bureaucracy and growth: A cross-national analysis of the effects of 'Weberian' state structures on economic growth. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 64, no 5, pp. 748–765.
10. Nee V., Opper S. (2012) *Capitalism from Below: Markets and Institutional Change in China*, Harvard University Press.

ism' and declares it the main factor of the large-scale industrialization of rural China.

The key concept of the book is 'corporatism' which has a rather ambiguous interpretation: sometimes it is compared to solidarity or even fascism; in economic terms, it is often associated with an intermediate form of social organization between free market and state socialism. Oi defines corporatism as a way of the Chinese local party officials' actions. This is not corporatism of the central government, which binds society with unity of interests from 'top to bottom', these are separate groups of local officials who act as a single corporation, a board of directors in the economy of their territories. Under the public property regime, such corporatism was implemented directly, and after the emergence of the private sector it began to take more flexible forms in order not to allow private owners to form a class with their own political interests.

The private owner's interest in the development of his enterprise is obvious — his income depends on its economic results. This was the basis of privatization in European post-socialist countries. China created other incentives for local officials to act as entrepreneurs by changing the fiscal system: revenues to local budgets depended directly on economic development, i.e., on the results of industrialization of rural areas, as local authorities were given the right to distribute residual income, while the central government constantly increased this residual income by decreasing contributions to the central budget. Moreover, bonus payments to local officials depended on this system's efficiency. All these measures became an alternative to corruption, which generally worked. Certainly, corruption was not eradicated, it is an inevitable evil in any society, but in China it did not become an obstacle to economic growth.

The author considers the relationship between central and local authorities as a principal-agent connection. By providing local authorities (agents) with greater autonomy, central authorities (principal) automatically reduced control, thus, becoming dependent on agents as ensuring local economic development at their own discretion. The author even mentions that local officials created "the appearance of subordination", which does not mean that the central government lost control. Oi rejects as hasty the assertions that economic reforms would inevitably lead to political changes due to the competing political parties, new interest groups, civil society, etc., since the local-state corporatism is a protection against such changes. In 2023, we can say with a fair degree of confidence that the central power in China has not been weakened by the rapid economic growth.

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that the book is based on two types of sources: statistical data and media publications, and informal interviews conducted from 1986 to 1996 (333 interviews in 10 provinces). Most interviews were conducted with local officials, heads of municipal enterprises and private entrepreneurs.

Начало экономических реформ в сельском Китае

Рецензия на книгу: Ой Ч. Ж. (2023). Экономический взлет сельских районов Китая. Институциональные основы экономической реформы, СПб.: Academic Studies Press/Библиороссика.

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A short note on the 7th International Conference of the European Rural History Organization (EURHO) in Cluj-Napoca (Romania) on September 11–14, 2023

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In September 2023, 385 scholars from 36 countries participated in the 7th International Conference of the European Rural History Organization (EURHO) in Cluj-Napoca (Romania). The program of the conference consisted of 76 panels, some of which combined two or three thematic sessions. Such a thematic variety is a result of the organization's development since the mid-2000s, when two working groups focused on the conceptual and methodological foundations of research on agrarian history. Officially the EURHO started its work in the 2010s, which includes organizing its international conference every second year.

This year, the conference was held at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, the participation fee included a two-year membership in the EURHO and for reasonable additional payment participants could visit the Romulus Vuia Ethnographic Park of the Transylvanian Museum of Ethnography, the "Hungarian village" in the mountains, etc.

26% (almost every fourth participant) of scholars at the conference were agricultural historians from Southern Europe (Spain, Italy and Portugal), about 5% came from Ibero and Middle Americas (Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Peru) and the United States. Given the conference venue, the surrounding East-European countries were widely represented: 23% of participants came from Romania, Poland, Hungary and Slovenia; if we add Slovakia and the Czech Republic, the representation of Eastern Europe will be 29%. About 40% came from the other Central, Western and Northern European countries: France, Germany, Sweden, UK, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands, Czech Republic, Greece, Finland, Ireland, Serbia, Norway, Estonia, Iceland, Ukraine, North Macedonia, and even Turkey, Israel and India, but not from Russia.

The 76 conference panels were scheduled in chronological order — from the Middle Ages, early modernity, 19th and 20th century to the

present time. The collection of abstracts of the papers presented at the panels was distributed among the participants in advance. To give the reader an idea of the diversity of the rural history issues considered at the conference in time and space, further I will present the list of the largest panels (consisting of two-three sessions), mention the selected one-session panels, and finally make some comments on five panels.

Panels consisting of two or three sessions, thus, lasting four-six hours:

- Nature vs Commerce in Times of Crisis, 1200–1800 (6 papers);
- Spatial Pattern of Inequalities in Rural Areas, 1300–1910 (10);
- Organization of Agrarian Production and Labor Relations in the Ottoman Large Landed Estates (7);
- The Actors of Rural Modernization in Late Habsburg Empire and Post-Habsburg Space, 1867–1938 (7);
- Commodity Frontiers in Latin America and the Caribbean, 19th–20th Centuries (9);
- Agricultural Competition in Europe, 19th–20th Centuries: An International Perspective (9);
- Rethinking Innovation, Technological Changes, and Global Agricultural Knowledge Circulations in the 20th Century (6);
- Soy and Agro-Food Change (7);
- Land Ownership and Land Tenancy as Driving Forces of Landscape Change in Rural Spaces (8);
- Agrarian Change, Socio-Ecological Transition and Social-Environmental Impact in the 20th Century Agriculture (7);
- Contemporary Land Grabbing and Colonial Land History (7);
- Representing Property and the Uses of Land: The Use of Imagery in Analyzing Land Relations and Their Changes (9);
- Microcredit as an Economic Rural Resource: Comparing Models in the Historical Perspective (6);
- A Long-Run Approach to Village Communities: Family, Elite and Social Mobility (10);
- Meadows in Europe: Historical Perspectives on Sustainable Agricultural Land Use (7);
- When Rural Historians and Film Makers Meet (5).

My selection of other panel topics is as follows:

- Epidemics and Famine-Related Mortality Crises;
- Urban Landownership and Short Food Supply Chains in Medieval Europe;
- Administering Medieval Rurality (13th–15th Centuries);
- Day Laborers, Well-off Peasants and Social Mobility in Late Medieval Europe;
- Economic Efficiency in Agricultural Economy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Central and Eastern Europe;
- Demographic Crises in Rural Areas;

- The Technical and Intellectual Challenges of Plant and Animal Species during the Colombian Exchange (16th–20th Centuries);
- Access to Property as an Indicator for Living Standards and Social Mobility;
- Changes and Continuities of the Peasant Work Culture after Collectivization in East Central Europe;
- Harvest Failures — Impacts and Consequences;
- Land Ownership and Inequality;
- Animal Health in the Industrialized Stable;
- Property Rights and Social Groups in Context: Overcoming the Individual–Commons Dichotomy;
- Always at the Bare Minimum? The Standard of Living of Rural Households;
- Rural Societies and Climate Change.

The following five panels which I attended might be of special interest to the reader of the *Russian Peasant Studies*:

1. Panel 32: The Impact of the World Wars on the Public Supply Conditions in Europe (1914–1953). What exactly caused the reduction in grain production and marketing during the World War I is still questioned in Russia and other countries. The German case presented by Uwe Müller (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe) seems to be relevant for comparison with Russia, while there were also presentations on Poland and Ireland, and one presentation on Hungary after the World War II.
2. Panel 33: Agriculture in European Socialist Countries: Pattern, Ideology and Pragmatism. This panel focused on the 'scale' of Sovietization in agriculture in Eastern Europe after the World War II. Some presentations considered the work of the Swedish Economic Intelligence during the cold war, others argued that Stalin's "Soviet model" had little to offer as work incentives and that finding reasonable ways for renumeration for work inputs was rather a joint effort of the Socialist countries after the death of Stalin. The results of collectivization were systematized for Slovenia, Hungary and Romania.
3. Panel 36: Knowledge Networks: The Role of Experts and Technicians in Agricultural Modernization (1900–1980). This panel consisted of three sessions and twelve presentations on Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Belgium, Galicia, Italy, Greece and Hungary. However, I would add to this list the Soviet Union as the country joined many agricultural associations after Stalin's death.
4. Panel 56: The Rules of the Common Agricultural Policy and the Waste of Natural and Economic Resources (this topic is also very important for the Soviet Union). Four presentations focused on Italy to show that spending huge amounts of mon-

ey on the regulation of the European Union agricultural market (guaranteed prices for producers) was a waste of subsidies as the welfare and structural goals of this policy were not achieved: farmers' incomes grew due to increased production, but this led to the EU market saturation as the guaranteed prices did not reflect the market dynamics. Thus, resources allowed to produce surplus food, but surplus produce was sold abroad at dumping prices, damaging agriculture of importing countries, and unsold goods with limited shelf-life were destroyed. However, compared with the Soviet Union, the EU agricultural policy was much more successful: by guaranteeing stable prices above the world-market level, the EU made agricultural producers search for more efficient ways of production, which significantly increased agricultural produce and yields, and the USSR could only dream about such results of its agricultural policy. The Soviet Union also kept increasing subsidies for agriculture but failed to increase yields and produce: in the state command economy, farms were never forced or put in a position to improve work efficiency as there were no high quality machinery and equipment.

5. Panel 66: Crossing Micro with Macro: Data to Observe and Transform Agriculture. This was a well-organized panel with an excellent and inspiring commentator, raising important political questions on the use of data. Federico D'Onofrio (University of Vienna) made a presentation on "Averaging Pears and Apples: Farm Accountancy Data on the Eve of the Keynesian Revolution", Beatrice Penati (University of Liverpool) — on "Hitting the Ground: Peasant Household Budget Studies Meet Agricultural Policy in Early Soviet Uzbekistan", Margot Lyautey (Helmut-Schmidt-University in Hamburg) — on "Agricultural Statistics in Occupation: When French and German Ways Collided (1940–1944)", Niccoló Mignemi (National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris) — on "Mapping French Agricultural Potential through the Lens of Its Regional Variety (1940s–1960s)", and Sylvain Brunter (National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris) — on "Controlling Farmers or Controlling Agricultural Administration? A History of the Common Agricultural Policy through Data (1980s–1990s)".

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