

ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY, DEMOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL ECOLOGY

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UDC 316.334.52

SOCIOLOGY OF SETTLEMENT: THE TYUMEN VARIANT

SUMMARY. The article summarizes the author's and his colleagues' research in the part of the analysis of regional settlement systems. Some issues of native settlement sociology's rehabilitation are considered on the example of the Tyumen Region.

KEY WORDS. Settlement sociology, socio-territorial community, the Tyumen Region, new industrial reclamation, settlement inside logging regions, oil and gas production and transferring, settlement base structure.

The term “settlement sociology” is known mostly through entries and educational texts — in modern scientific sociological literature it is almost not met. In scientific circles, the occurrence and introduction of the term is obliged to the sociologist M.N. Mezhevich. The author designated by it a special branch of sociological knowledge, dedicated to “communication between social development of people and their position in a settlement system” [1; 17]. However, in practice, the author's plan laid claim to more. It was a question of the correlation between the social structure of a society and settlement structures, that is, about the socio-territorial differentiation of the country.

Settlement as a process of distribution of the population over a certain territory and as its result — the steady formation of occupied places — is traditionally studied by geographical science. But the declared sociological aspect also possessed obvious subject content. The new term appears to be adequate to the specificity of the territorial heterogeneity of the country, the features of its economic and social space, therefore it has confidently enough occupied the interdisciplinary niche in the sociological arsenal.

Yet still, as an independent branch of knowledge, the sociology of settlement was not affirmed. However, its separate directions were more or less successfully adopted by various sociological, geographical and economic schools with reference to the content and character of problems solved by them. This concerned first of

all the social factor in the planning of development and placing productive forces, questions of social urbanism, architectural design, etc.

Adjacent to the initial author's plan were three circles of problems. Firstly, there is a problem of socio-territorial units (STU) and their basic focuses — cities considered in the context of social space [2], [3]. In geography, this question was considered from this point of view of interactions of the territorial organization of a society and population geography [4; 34-68]. The second circle of problems is connected with interdisciplinary research by the Novosibirsk Socio-Economic School in cooperation with economist-geographer-ruralists (S.A. Kovalev, A.I. Alexeev, etc.) [5; 499-534]. Here groups of nearby rural settlements were the objects of study, as a rule, and a most important task was considered to be the utopian project of optimization of the scheme of moving by liquidation so-called unpromising villages. As it is known, this has caused negative public resonance. As a result, the perspective of research of a similar subject orientation has been put in doubt. The third circle of problems also had design specificity, but concentrated not around settled schemes of moving, and was caused by large-scale social and economic projects of new industrial developments in large under-settled territories.

In recent years, rehabilitation of the sociology of settlement in all three specified directions was planned. One of the most characteristic examples — expansion of the detailed methodological content of the research project “Social-Cultural Portraits of Regions of Russia”, saturated by its spatial subjects. In the beginning it was concerned with the metaphorical use of popular geographical terms (a landscape, the atlas etc.). Then there was a certain rapprochement and even articulation of sociological and geographical approaches that has essentially enriched the scientific toolkit of the project [6].

The tendency towards similar rapprochement accrues, but its possibilities are far from depleted. An example of another direction of research can be the sociology of regional and city development in which framework questions of territorial behavior, local development and self-development, social-cultural borders, etc. [7] are brought up. As for the third circle of the problems connected with the realization of large-scale projects of new industrial development, it was for a long time in the subject field of historical reconstruction, and only recently has addressed the settlement spread aspect.

On each of the circles of problems specified above, the Tyumen Region is one of the most representative objects of research. The opening of the Tyumen oil and gas fields has caused the present expansion of huge remote territories, has led to their settling during the lifespan of one generation. Industry introduction into the geographical environment directly, without significant social means, was a distinctive feature of such massed development. The people who arrived in the Tyumen North on a wave of a voluntary mass impulse, felt themselves first of all as participants of a labor process, members of a work collective, inhabitants of a departmental settlement ... Technological chains of manufacture and ways of organization of the people involved in the labor process corresponding to them, extended over most of the spheres of their lives. Just like industrial technologies, the system of selection and initial adaptation of the migrants was created, the corresponding shape was obtained by a social infrastructure. Thereby, the demographic factor, despite the massive and in many respects spontaneous inflow of people, was subordinated to

the industrial scheme of development “registered” in industrial co-ordinates. All of this gave a special orientation to the vector of social development of the region: from industrial organization to a generality.

At the same time, industrial development on the basis of extracting industries, in a stationary mode, with the populous character of manufacture has demanded habitation of the territory, so settling on it and then gradual replacement of the formal (technical) bonds of coupling of the population with live human communications. Therefore, the initial strategy of development of the territory of the area was naturally modified. Two tendencies were outlined in the movement from the organization to a generality concerning an independent stage: from personnel of the organizations to resident population, and from this to a generality through the settlement system. So comes the necessity of a special research into the schemes of moving, at a local level where they topologically correlate to manufacture and management schemes, and on a regional level where the developed structure of settlement carries out specific proto-social functions.

Our research has revealed a variety of unique features of the system of settlement of the Tyumen Region. It is first of all the presence of a combination of two topologically different ways of colonization in its genesis: the route-frame development traditional for Siberia, and the territorial (area) frontier characteristic of massed expansion. Finally, as it has already been said, as a result of the powerful industrial approach to the oil and gas capacity of the Tyumen North, a large military operation was planned and carried out. Thus, if, from a socio-psychological perspective and with respect to the ideology of development, both have been almost indiscernible (pathos of trailblazers and pioneers, romanticism of the conquest of inhospitable nature, etc.), in terms of settlement the picture looks different: the route-frame way characterizes the regional level of development as a whole; the frontier, understood in this case as the way of expansion of borders of development, is shown mainly at a local level (area of a separate deposit or groups of deposits).

The systematic character of urbanization of the area was no less important. Unlike the old settled areas where the urbanized systems matured less promptly and, as a rule, on the basis of migration of a rural type, the picture of urbanization of the Tyumen region was different. The picture of settlement here was made out in drafts at the beginning, then by design an image was put on ostensibly pure space, concerning to a greater extent a matrix of geological marking of the territory, rather than the earlier developed settlement scheme. It was connected with involvement in the economic circulation of extensive oil and gas provinces, with their intensive industrial development on which basis there was a placing of the industrial objects designed for deposits of hydrocarbonic raw materials. People were considered as mobilized and a resource distributed in necessary quantity for the erection and functioning of these objects. As a result, in the Tyumen Region the utilitarian system of moving and a basic skeleton corresponding to it was generated. Its basis makes a steady Z — like a skeleton connecting the north and the south of the Tyumen Region, and in relation to Sverdlovsk, Kurgan, Omsk and Tomsk areas possessing the advantages of a median geographical position [8].

Along with the basic skeleton uniting large centers of oil and gas extraction and support objects of the south of the area, in the settlement system are also present rather independent settlement clusters. One of them is presented by the settlements

generated by the active escalating of rates of timber cutting; another — the settlements gravitating to a network of the main transport routes of oil and gas.

As it is known, the Tyumen Region was formed in 1944 as a result of yet another redefinition of administrative-territorial borders in this part of the country. In terms of territory the new area appeared the biggest in the country, but in economic and social relations obviously second to its neighbors. Basically it was an inconvenience, seeming unsuitable for life and economic activities. But it was not so. About half of the territory of the area is entirely covered by woods. The wood stock in them was estimated during that time at more than 6 billion cubic meters. Therefore before the opening of unique deposits of hydrocarbonic raw materials, the industrial shape of the Tyumen Region was defined by wood logging and wood processing enterprises, and migration structure in areas of timber cuttings — working settlements of utilitarian appointment [9; 60-150]. To increase the capacity and therefore the industrial development of area, along with the registration of qualitatively new drawing of migration, the two railroad branch lines of Ivdel — the Ob and Tavda — Sotnik were built. The settlement structure in areas with a wood complex in their basic lines was established over 80 years: locations of more than two dozen industrial forestry enterprises which in most cases were main city-creating enterprises and became their central elements. Thus the period of active industrial re-equipment of wood complexes in the mid 1960s and the initial stage of the industrial approach to oil and gas in the Tyumen North not only coincided in time and in their scene of action, but also to some extent co-operated each other. Building of the railways, the prospecting work connected with it, the development of timber enterprises and their optimum location prepared the territory, so to speak, for active geological marking and the subsequent erection of an oil and gas complexes.

As to the transport of oil and gas, the principle of its development started with a logic of centralized management of the national economy and the developed specialization of economic regions of the country. It was considered that the enterprises for preparation and processing of hydrocarbonic raw materials should be concentrated in places of its mass consumption (separated from extraction places by thousands of kilometers). Besides, in this strategy oil and gas export for neighbouring countries was essential. The accelerated construction of long-distance petroleum and gas pipelines was required. These define the configuration of the network of the main pipeline transport of Russia and the CIS countries to this day. Transport arteries of oil and gas, originating from Tyumen deposits, became the integral line of the industrial landscape of the area, as a considerable part of their path passes through its territory. However, from the point of view of an organizing influence on the regional system of settlement, land objects of the transport network are most significant, first of all petroleum pumping stations and gas compressor stations (PPS and GC).

The practice of pipeline construction recognizes that PPS are preferably placed near settlements, sources of power and water supplies, and an existing network of railroads and highways. Besides, certain requirements exist for such platforms. Thus, in the settled areas their site is set initially. It is clear that in the Tyumen Region appeared to be more difficult. Some settlements of wood processing enterprises were ideally suited for this purpose. However, serious modernization of the majority of engineering networks was needed, buildings, constructions, capacities,

and the whole complex of life-support was required. But in deserted areas, the choice of locations of PPS and GC was connected with the necessity to erect new settlements, to construct there a minimum of objects of an industrial and social infrastructure, again to lay the majority of communications. In some cases it was possible to reach an economy of means, placing PPS and GC in one settlement.

In the middle of the 1990s there were hardly more than one hundred settlements where the land objects of a network demanding constant stationary service were located. Since then their number practically has not changed, but the parity of forming colony factors has changed. However, it almost has not concerned cities, but many villages and settlements, including suburbs, the factor of service by a transport highway becoming prevalent, and at times decisive.

It would seem, these are powerful arguments considering a network of pipelines and near-highway settlements as a linear part and central elements of a uniform basic skeleton of settlement. But, despite the obvious organizing value of the pipelines, the structure does not form a settlement skeleton in its classical understanding. It is impossible to call oil and gas highways means of communication in the usual sense. The roads of technological appointment passing along a line of the pipeline also can't be named so. The passenger and cargo connection between settlements is organized by other roads, and in some cases carried out by air transport. Therefore, central elements of the skeleton are deprived of two basic functions: region-creating and communication (the interaction factor). That is, behind them lies only the exploitation role. It is mainly the expansion of a zone of influence of settlement on adjoining territory, its involvement in economic circulation, and also its use in other purposes, including recreational. In this sense also, all structures of a given cluster are closest in their characteristics to the development of a skeleton. But its appointment is not settled by it. The given structure is unique and unites both generating and conservative mechanisms of influence on population in itself. It is a kind of proto-skeleton. On the one hand, it promotes expansion of the sphere of settling and inhabiting territory, the emergence of new micro-skeletons of settling within an administrative area and at an inter-district level, and on another, keeps and fixes a leading position of near-highway settlements while extending the settling scheme.

A special consideration is also given to the question of the interaction of these clusters among themselves, and of their place and role in social-cultural regional space. Safe near-highway settlements became attractive to the most active part of the ethno-implanted population of the Tyumen North. It negatively influences the structure of settlement of minor nations, and in addition worsens disturbing indicators of their demographic reproduction.

On the other hand, the settlements which have been torn off from the Continent join the category of the unsuccessful, deprived not only of civilizational wellbeing, but also public attention. But they deserve such attention. After all, in these specialized residences, daily activity and a high degree of responsibility for results of work are closely bound. A lot of things depend on the social well-being of these places, including the power and ecological safety not only of concrete region, but also all country.

All the above is fair to all the Tyumen Region as a socio-territorial generality. After all, it unites unique and universal lines stemming from more than half century's practice of active industrial development-settling of a huge territory. It is capable

of becoming an original object-representative of the sociology of settlement, defining a problem axis and prospects of development of this still-neglected branch of sociological knowledge.

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