



THE PROBLEM OF RURAL YOUTH OUTFLOW IN BELGOROD REGION (RUSSIA)

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In this article, the author is exposing the problem of outflow of rural youth, analyzing the results of a sociological survey conducted in one of Russia's regions. The article focuses on the fact that it is necessary to make the rural areas attractive not only in terms of appearance, but also to develop their infrastructure. In order to make the village an attractive place to live in, it is necessary to fulfill at least three tasks: to raise the material standard of living in rural areas, to improve cultural and living conditions of villagers and to educate them about modern ways of working in the field of agriculture. None of these problems could be solved without the significant support of the state, so it is necessary to focus on the search for additional mechanisms to support the rural youth while taking into account the integrated development of municipalities. A comfortable, modern way of life in the village and good communications could attract young specialists and encourage graduates who got a professional education to return to their native villages.

Keywords: rural youth, migration, rural areas, Belgorod region, Russia

Introduction

The problems and perspectives of socio-economic development of villages and reproduction of rural communities are closely linked to the question of reducing the mass outflow of young people and the changes in the village social structure, which are both mostly determined by living conditions of young villagers. Researching the problematic issue of young people leaving their rural settlements and relocating to cities and other regions as well as moving abroad, (which is typical for all agricultural regions of modern Russia), is especially relevant for the Belgorod Oblast, due to the largely agrarian character of its economy.

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This is a problem that requires an in-depth analysis since it brings into question the prosperous future of the Russian village. It demands an immediate response, an integrated approach to its solution and the development of effective measures of the state's economic and social policy.

In terms of the level of socio-economic development, rural areas are traditionally less developed than urban ones and are characterized by a lower quality of housing stock, less developed social sphere and lower incomes.

Limited possibilities of employment, limited access to good quality education, medical care, housing, and other problems are the reasons behind young villagers' dissatisfaction with their social status, which resulted in mass migration from the countryside, a process that is harmful to any potential socio-economic development of rural areas.

According to the data of the local branch of the Federal statistic service, the population of Belgorod region¹ (as of June 2017) consisted of 32.7% of rural inhabitants and 67.3% of urban inhabitants. From 2001 to 2017, more than 14,500 young villagers have migrated from their rural homes (Белгородская область в цифрах, 2017).

Since the beginning of the 2000s, a number of federal and regional programs have been implemented with the aim of solving some socio-economic problems of rural youth in many regions of Russia including the Belgorod region (Правительство Российской Федерации, 2018; Кодекс, 2018; Губернатор белгородской области, 2018). Such programs included measures for boosting birth rates, supporting the foundation of small businesses, improving the probability of employment, providing housing and others. However, those measures have neither significantly changed the unfavorable position of all rural areas of the region in terms of improving the upward social mobility of young villagers, nor have they substantially reduced their outflow to cities and larger settlements in the region and beyond.

The problem presented in this research is by its nature interdisciplinary. It concerns areas of scientific analysis such as social-labor relations, economic relations, social policy and the social security system, all of which are subjects of research of many different social sciences.

¹ Belgorod region, named after its capital city, Belgorod, is a federal district of Russia located in the south-western part of the country near the border with Ukraine. Formed in 1954, this industrialized region with developed agriculture and just above 1,5 million inhabitants holds almost one third of the country's mining resources and is also a leading livestock producer in Russia (Federation Council, 2018).

Defining the strategic priorities of the modernization of social policy is one of the main factors that determine the dynamics of rural youth's social status and its improvement in the village.

This definition, however, is hampered by the lack of adequate theoretical and empirical studies of contemporary processes that determine the dynamics of the social status of the mentioned territorial – demographic groups.

For the purposes of this study I will be using the definition of O. A Ivanova, who identifies village youth as a socio-demographic group of population of those between the ages of 14 and 30 who permanently reside in rural areas and are characterized by both general traits common to all young people, as well as those specific characteristics of the social status defined by the influence of certain spatial limitations of the local rural environment, the specificities of the rural way of life and the direct connection that most of them have with agrarian labor (Иванова, 2011). The given definition offers the most exact and precise characterization of the object of scientific research in this work since it focuses on both its typical and special features.

It is noteworthy that opting for the scientific term *outflow* is of key importance, since, being a determinant of the social situation, it allows us to understand the full depth of the stated problem in Russia's agrarian territories.

The interpretation of the definition of *outflow* is in complete interdependency with the concept of migrations. However, if the concept of population migration is understood as any population movement related to the change of place of residence (a change of the state, region or settlement in which a person, a family or other, more extensive group of population live), than the term *outflow* couldn't be considered as synonymous to migration. It is, first of all, a qualitative indicator of migrations, which considerably affects the demographic processes, and in particular, the dynamics of the population of certain territories.

The outflow of young population from rural areas is closely linked to their social status. Hence, the classic of the theory of social stratification, P.A. Sorokin, arguing about the existence of fundamental difference between geometrical and social spaces, believed that, to determine the social status of a person or of any social phenomenon in the social sphere, means to determine his (or their) relations with other people, groups or a set of groups taken as reference points (Сорокин, 1992). According to his opinion, in order to determine a person's social status, it is necessary to know not only their marital status, citizenship, nationality, religious beliefs, profession, political affiliation, economic status, origin and so on, but also the position of the person within each of the main population groups.

Having noticed the connection between the phenomenon of rural youth outflow and young people's social status, it is clear that satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's social status can affect the intensity of migrations from villages to other, more *comfortable* areas. In the process of research of rural youth's social status, special attention should be given to dysfunctional strategies of their real and potential territorial activity (including migratory activity) and the crucial attributes of social status that are of key importance to the formation of those strategies. This is necessary especially for the purposes of developing measures of social policy (including those of preventive nature) aimed specifically at reducing the negative impact on the socio-economic development of the relevant rural communities (including their outflow to cities and other regions) by enhancing the characteristics of the social status of village youth and the extent to which their territorial interests are met.

Data and methods

The importance of the research topic lies in the actual and potential demographic problems or rural areas that directly affect the social and economic security of the territory.

In the period from June 1 to July 1, 2016, the Institute of regional personnel policy of the city of Belgorod has conducted a sociological survey named *Studying the causes of youth outflow from rural areas*. Questionnaires were used as the main research tool in this survey.

The results obtained during the sociological survey formed the basis for the analytical part of this work as an analysis of secondary information.

Young people between the ages of 14 and 35 living in the countryside were targeted as the primary object of the research (2 towns and 5 villages were covered in this survey).

The main goal of the study was to identify the causes behind the outflow of rural youth and to determine the factors that regulate this process. The objectives of the study were:

- to examine the causes of migration of rural youth to the cities;
- to analyze the reasons behind the return of young people to their native towns and villages.
- to assess the effectiveness of measures aimed at securing the position of young people in rural areas.

During the survey, 1,200 people were interviewed. The conducted survey included 2 categories of youth:

- students at schools, professional educational organizations and universities aged from 14 to 24;
- working youth between the ages of 18 and 35.

Among those from the first group, 42.4% fall into the category of school-children, 26.2% are students from professional educational organizations and 31.4% are university students.

Results

During the course of the study, it was found that one of the motives that affect young people's decisions to relocate from rural areas to cities is the desire to pursue education. Among young people still in education, 79.4% of the respondents have stated that they wish to obtain a higher education degree, while 19.8% wish to complete middle-level professional education² (Table 1).

Table 1.
Distribution of answers to the question “What kind of education do you plan to get?” (%)

Middle-level professional education	19.8
Higher education	68.8
I plan to continue my education to magistracy and postgraduate level	10.6
I will not continue further education after school	0.8

Thus, higher education is still a priority issue for young people. As practice has shown, a majority of young people, having received an education, try to gain a foothold in the city or go to megacities. Also, this is indicated by the results of studies conducted by the Higher School of Economics (HSE), which had been researching migrations for several years (Правда, 2016).

In their previous research, HSE scientists have concluded that the Russian periphery is depopulated. Namely, from 2003 to 2007, 70% of young people left their small and medium-sized hometowns right after graduation. They resettled in large cities with a population of millions and no longer intend to return to their birthplaces.

It should be noted that the actual level of education of working youth is somewhat lower than what the students have stated as their expectations.

² In Russia's educational system, middle level professional education („среднее профессиональное образование“, СПО) refers to of career-specific, non-university higher education provided mostly by “technical institutions” and “colleges” with the purpose of enabling students to join the labor market as middle-level specialists (nurses, clerks, accountants, etc.), immediately after graduation. Although it is somewhat difficult to categorize, middle level professional education is defined by Russian authorities as a Level 5B according to “International Standard Classification of Education” (NORRIC, 2005).

Hence, only 53.6% of respondents have higher and incomplete higher education (Table 2).

Table 2.

Distribution of answers to the question: “What is your level of education?”(%)

Higher or incomplete higher	53.6
Middle level professional	35.8
Secondary general, incomplete secondary general	10.5
Other	0.1

As it can be seen from the Table 2, obtaining higher education remains an important issue. The possibility of employment is, in the authors opinion, the main reason for that. At the same time, it isn't just about getting a highly paid or prestigious job. As a rule, it is difficult to find a job in the labor market without experience and knowledge, and any competitive advantage will be of significant relevance for finding a vacancy. Clearly, the majority of highly demanded special skills can be obtained only in higher educational institutions.

The next reason would be a decent standard of living, a stable material situation and the possibility to adequately provide for oneself and one's family. Undoubtedly, the reality of modern conditions is such that, getting the skills and specialties that could be obtained at a university is necessary, but far from sufficient for the achievement of the aforementioned goals.

Another important reason for getting a higher education is career growth, which is directly related to the availability of appropriate education. This applies to both public services and organizations, and private commercial companies. Obtaining higher education for the purpose of self-realization is the goal for those graduates who have already defined their interests and preferences and are confident in choosing a specialty. However, making such a firm life decision is in most cases rather complicated, and is done by only a few right after school.

In addition to these reasons for admission to universities, graduates have also noted prestige, the need to please parents and the possibility to avoid military service. Many are attracted to student life as such: to expand the circle of acquaintances, to be able to have a good time, but also to possibly find a suitable marital partner.

According to the results of the conducted study, among the reasons behind young people's decision to choose to continue their education, two motives were identified above all: “I want to become a good specialist (49.9%)” and “education will enable me to make a career (46%)”.

The opportunity to get a high-paying job (36.2%) and the opportunity to have a stable income and to support a family (35.1%) can also be pointed out as significant motives (Table 3).

Table 3.
Distribution of answers to the question: “Why do you wish to get this education?” (%)

It is prestigious and fashionable	11.8
Education will allow me to make a career	46.0
I wish to become a good specialist	49.9
This is what my parents want	10.1
This will enable me to get a high-paying job	36.2
This will enable me to have a stable income and support a family	35.1

However, an important problem here comes to attention – the agricultural education. This kind of education was deprived of meaning in many cases due to the conditions of the administrative-command economy, as it focused the children on a narrow range of agricultural specialties. Also, it was not balanced by sex and didn't provide the opportunity to develop self-sufficiency and creative initiative, which are both very important for the nurture of genuinely farmer qualities.

To a large extent, activities of student labor associations have not only repeated the same production relations as those seen in collective and state farms with all their inherent shortcomings but have also intensified them in terms of a powerless and uncomplaining position of students.

This had a strong influence on many students' persistent rejection of agricultural labor and their negative attitude towards choosing one of the mass professions. This is evidenced by the fact that only about a third of graduates (who also happen to be those less successful at school) have stayed at their rural households.

Getting a career, getting a high-paying job and ensuring a stable income – namely, such objectives of young villagers can, for the most part, be satisfied either in a fairly developed rural territory or in a city.

It can be assumed that a modest number of rural young people who are seeking other, less “prestigious” workplace options, will become a marginal element of the rural population, or, at best, leave in search for more comfortable living conditions.

Adult members of the family, for whom the social transformations have resulted in the loss or decline in socio-professional and financial status, often tend to orient their children towards life strategies and values that are, from their perspective, seen as more reliable. Children are strongly

advised not to “follow the footsteps of their parents”, or “not to repeat the mistakes in choosing a profession”. Consequently, there is a growing reluctance of young people to enter the sphere of material production, especially in the field of agriculture.

In my opinion, modern youth chooses a different style of work. I agree with the opinion of E. N. Sharova, that under the influence of transformational processes that cover practically all elements of vital activities in modern Russian society, the attitude towards work among various groups of population, including youth, is changing (Шапова, 2009).

In comparing the two social systems, the Soviet and the modern Russian one, it is possible to say that the ideology of the Soviet society was essentially labor-centric in nature, with labor as a category that had an almost sacred meaning.

Today, we can notice a process of desacralization of labor as such and its transformation from a fundamental value to an instrumental one, i.e. the work carried out is considered merely as a means of satisfying the needs that lie beyond the sphere of labor. This is, from the author’s point of view, a global trend.

In the value-motivational structure of young people, labor is increasingly losing its independent significance and becoming an instrument of achieving material prosperity and a high level of consumption.

Professional orientation of young people, having been determined by a predominantly financial component, is considered primarily through the prism of achieving a highly competitive position on the job market, which is also associated with higher wages and a higher level of consumer needs (Шапова, 2009).

The instrumental perception of labor, based solely on materialistic values, generates an indifferent attitude to the nature and meaning of labor. The implementation of such a strategy in the labor market blurs a young person’s professional identity and adds to the inconsistency of their orientations and attitudes. This especially refers to graduates from higher education institutions, a category most affected by the problem of employment in the modern labor market. University graduates of a rural background are no exception to this (Шапова, 2009).

The high value that young people attribute to education is also confirmed by the fact that, among the conditions needed for achieving success in life, they highlight “a specialty that is highly valued” (39.8%), and “high qualifications and knowledge” (37.1%). A high rating is also given to “discipline, efficiency, responsibility” (35.2%) (Table 4).

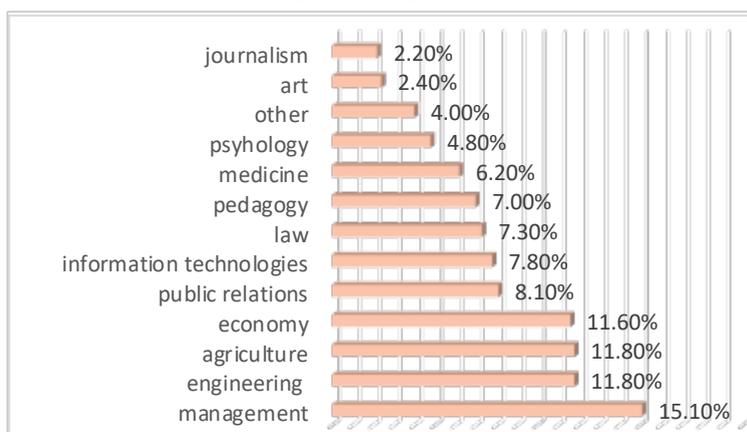
Table 4.
Distribution of answers to the question: “What is, in your opinion, necessary for achieving success in life?” (%)

Connections and acquaintances	32.0
A highly valued specialty	39.8
Discipline, efficiency, responsibility	35.2
The ability to get along with authorities	15.3
A sense of initiative, entrepreneurship	28.0
Willingness to work with full dedication	31.2
High qualifications and knowledge	37.1
Other	0.8

As dominant spheres of professional interest, representatives of young people see the following (diagram 1):

- management (15.1%);
- engineering professions (11.8%);
- agriculture (11.8%);
- economy (11.6%).

Figure 1.
The choice of spheres of professional interest



Choosing a profession from the sphere of agriculture is usually made by young people whose plan is to work in their birthplaces which are rural settlements. In the majority of cases, however, this choice is narrowed down by the desire to occupy managerial positions from the list of agricultural professions.

It is obvious that the pragmatism and rationality in young people's strategies regarding higher education have a pretty one-sided character. Neither the youth themselves nor the higher education institutions include in those strategies the solutions for problems such as the formation of responsibility, high professionalism and civic consciousness, spirituality and morality, gratitude, conscience, and patriotism (Никитина, 2015).

Labeling the individualism, pragmatism, and rationalism of contemporary youth as infantile could hardly be considered an exaggeration, at least if it refers to those among young people who are not ready to engage in regular work while at the same time want to have everything "here, now and in large quantities".

According to the N. E. Tikhonova, young people are not in a hurry to return to their villages after graduation (Тихонова, 2011). There are many reasons for this: low wages, shortages of comfortable housing, an unpopular character of agricultural labor. And yet, the most actual issue for young people lies in another question: is there an opportunity for them to usefully and interestingly spend their leisure time in the village? (Тихонова, 2011: 29).

A correlation of two measured values is presented in the text below – the choice of the professional sphere of labor and the preferable place of residence.

The sphere of agriculture attracts primarily those young people who plan to remain in the villages after completing education (43.8%). In the group of those who would prefer to live in a small urban settlement, a prevalence of interest in engineering professions (14.3%) and economics (12.1%) is noticeable. As for those respondents whose plan is to live in a city, they would predominantly like to work in the field of management (20.4%) (Table 5).

To the question: "where would you like to live in 5 years", respondents answered as follows: 21.5% would like to live in a village, 24.5% in a small town-type settlement, and 54% – in a city.

Considering that only about 21.5% of the respondents would like to live in a village in 5-10 years, it is fair to say that most young people are oriented toward moving to a city.

That practically makes more than a half of all respondents. This is a "warning light" which indicates that roughly the same proportion of young people as in the abovementioned figures are planning to leave the rural areas of Belgorod region upon graduation.

Table 5.
Distribution of answers to the question: “In which sphere of labor would you like to work?” Expected place of residence (%)

Where would you like to live in 5-10 years?	In which field would you like to work?												
	Management	Economy	Public relations	Psychology	Information technologies	Engineering	Law	Agriculture	Journalism	Medicine	Pedagogy	Art	Other
In a village	7.5	7.5	7.5	2.5	0.0	11.3	3.8	43.8	0.0	7.5	7.5	0	1.3
In a small urban settlement	9.9	12.1	9.9	5.5	7.7	14.3	6.6	6.6	2.2	9.9	8.8	4.4	2.2
In a city	20.4	12.9	7.5	5.5	10.9	10.9	9.0	1.5	3.0	4.0	6.0	2.5	6.0

At the same time it should be noted that, when it comes to areas of labor in which the respondents are currently employed,³ agriculture comes first (Table 6).

Table 6.
Distribution of answers to the question: “In which sphere of labor are you employed?”(%)

Agriculture	21.4
Economics	11.0
Management	10.0
Pedagogy	9.6
Engineering	7.7
Medicine	5.3
Other	5.3
I am a housewife	5.2
I am unemployed	5.0
Art	4.3
Public relations	4.0
Information technologies	4.0
Law	3.0
Psychology	1.0
Journalism	1.0

³ The data from a survey of employed youth are presented here.

As a rule, this is a category of employed rural young people who are “deeply rooted” in the village and have no plans on making changes to their lifestyle, work, family or average income.

It should also be pointed out that, within the population of young people who are employed, there is a significantly fewer number of those who would like to move to a city (45.0%), but at the same time, this percentage is significant when it comes to young specialists who would like to migrate from the villages. In general, 55% of respondents do not intend to move to a different settlement.

However, it is noteworthy that the reasons behind migration are the same for both employed young people and for those who are still in education. That is mainly the belief that city life offers better chances of employment and career building, as well as a better quality of life (Table 7).

Table 7.
Distribution of answers to the question: “Why do you want to move to a city/town?”(%)

	Youth in education	Youth in employment
More employment possibilities	63.6	66.4
More possibilities for developing a career	39.2	40.3
Better quality of life	31.6	46.2
More conditions for self-improvement	29.9	34.7
Better conditions for further education and self-development	29.9	28.5
Better and more diverse free time opportunities	29.2	37.6
Comfortable life	13.7	21.2
More possibilities for business	11.0	17.2
Difficult to answer	1.4	0.0
Other	1.0	2.2

Thus, young people living in the countryside are mainly focused on getting an education that can allow them to become qualified and highly demanded specialists, get a job and develop a career. However, according to young people’s opinion, realizing those goals in rural areas is difficult. Reasons behind that were discussed earlier in this paper.

What encourages young people to stay in rural areas is primarily the availability of their own housing, which is a factor that bears greater importance for young people in employment than for those who are still in education. In the first mentioned group 66.6% are homeowners, compared to 57.7% in the latter.

Having the opportunity to participate in programs of rural youth support does not seem to be an incentive that encourages them to stay in the countryside. It is possible that the reason for this lies primarily in the fact that they are often insufficiently informed about the existence of such measures. For example, 31% of young people in employment do not know about programs of state support to rural youth. The percentage of respondents who are participating in the mentioned programs is 27.7%. Secondly, these measures are unattractive to young people – possibly because of their inefficiency or due to overcomplicated application procedures – 46.2% of the respondents are aware of their existence, but do not take part in them.

In the development of rural youth support strategies, it should be taken into account that key determinants in defining young people's quality of life are the following: a stable income (53.7%), having a house or an apartment of one's own (40.1%) and long-term employment (32.7%).

The diversity of leisure time opportunities does not seem to be a contributing factor to the allure of city-life. The reason for this is that young people tend to spend their leisure time mostly in communicating with friends (58.3%), spending time in nature or in tourist activities (43.3%).

Perhaps rural areas need to be made attractive not only in terms of their appearance (although it shouldn't be considered unimportant), but also to develop their infrastructure. From my viewpoint, for villages to become more attractive places to live, a minimum of three tasks should be solved: to raise the material standard of living in such areas, to improve cultural and living conditions of village residents and to educate them about modern ways of working in the field of agriculture.

None of those problems can be solved without the strong support of the state – this is confirmed in practice and by the existing domestic and foreign experiences.

It is believed that economic benefits can attract investments to the village and that only material interest can keep in agricultural production those who would otherwise migrate to cities.

A comfortable, modern way of life and good communications could "lure" young specialists to the village and make graduates who have received a professional education more eager to return to villages where they were born.

But regardless of how well the first two tasks are solved (although their rapid realization is, truth be told, very questionable) introducing modern ways of successful life in the village without the adequate training of villagers isn't very likely to radically change the situation in the countryside.

Practice shows that success is achieved only by those village residents who actively study, master various activities and achieve mastery in their field of expertise, even under most unfavorable economic and social conditions.

A successful life in the village largely depends on the level of rural education of its inhabitants, which is expressed through various agricultural skills and knowledge, mastering advanced technologies for growing plants and animals, improving the skill set necessary in agricultural life, (such as logging, building and maintaining homestead buildings), etc. Therefore, the key problem in the development of rural areas is the revival of true farmer values of dedication and hard work among the people who work on the land.

In reality, however, to make such a skilled village dweller is very difficult. Modestly sized land plots, the absence of modern agricultural equipment along with the impossibility of its rational use under such conditions all lead to a low culture of management in village farming. Unprofitable enterprises go bankrupt while the good farms are, unfortunately, few and far in between (Андрейко, 2004).

Another problem is that modern urbanized village families pay little attention to the agricultural education of their children. As practice shows, modern rural parents are inconsistent in teaching their children the skills necessary for managing a village household, plant growing or operating agricultural and other machinery. Many parents do not consider necessary for their children to acquire agricultural and economic education, believing that it would not contribute to the improvement of their well-being in any way (Андрейко, 2004).

In this regard, much work remains to be done on the agricultural and pedagogical education of the family in order to drastically change its role in guiding the children towards a rural way of life. Nevertheless, just laying the groundwork is insufficient for the achievement of this goal and a much more complex set of government measures is necessary.

Experiences of many countries with thriving agricultural sector have confirmed that the most important place in the curriculum of rural schools should be given to agricultural education. For example, a majority of rural schools in the USA have a school farm of roughly the same size as an average farm in the local community. School farms copy the structure of real farms, allowing training to be organized and fully contributing to the local agricultural production.

For many students, working in such school laboratories offers a first-handed demonstration of the entire cycle of agricultural work, as well as the possibility to conduct various experiments with practical results to the

local agrarian economy, like supplying the school cafeteria and buffet with food.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, educational apiaries, farms, and orchards within schools were a common sight; hardworking and revered villagers were included in the school board of trustees; the Church also exerted a strong influence on the development of spiritual values of rural residents.

Describing the living conditions in villages in general, half of the respondents (50.0%) stated that the life in the village has improved in the past 5 years, while the other 34,8% adhere to the opinion that it practically remained the same.

The majority of young people seem to be satisfied with the availability and quality of provided services. Truth be told, the level of satisfaction with the quality of healthcare is slightly lower, but this isn't typical for rural areas only.

Table 8.
Satisfaction with availability and quality of services in different spheres (%)

	Completely satisfied	More satisfied than dissatisfied	Generally satisfied	More dissatisfied than satisfied	Completely dissatisfied	Generally dissatisfied	Hard to answer
Health care	20.2	40.5	60.7	22.0	13.0	35.0	4.3
Education	28.8	46.8	75.6	14.3	6.1	20.4	4.0
Social services	26.0	44.0	70.0	17.5	5.5	23.0	7.0
Leisure activities	25.6	41.5	67.1	17.8	10.2	28.0	4.9
Conditions for physical education and sport	31.5	33.7	65.2	18.8	10.8	29.6	5.0
Trade	29.2	40.7	69.9	16.6	8.3	24.9	5.2

Attention should also be given to the quality and availability of provision of leisure services, as well as to the improvement of conditions for physical education and sports (Table 8).

Conclusions

Summarizing the above-mentioned, it can be concluded that the necessity to develop social and economic policies for the development of rural areas should be defined as a sphere of mutual responsibility of the state, business, science and civil society with the goal of ensuring a decent quality of life for the people. The quality of life at the same time, should be taken as a criterion for the assessment of management effectiveness.

One of the most important factors that determine the success of solving problems of integrated and sustainable development of rural areas, is to ensure that young people actively participate in processes of social and economic transformation in the countryside.

It is quite obvious that the future of the Russian village will largely be determined by the involvement of young people in the process of integrated development of rural areas. An integral part of the contemporary state agrarian policy is to increase the efficiency of agricultural production. This is possible only through innovative development that involves a large-scale implementation of best resource-saving and cost-effective technologies. To effectively make the most of the achievements of science and advanced experience, modern production technologies require highly-qualified specialists. Therefore, the main task of today's agrarian education should be to improve the quality of personnel in the agroindustry complex.

One of the main problems that require urgent solutions at the state, regional and municipal level is the aging of the economically active rural population and securing the future of young professionals in villages. The priority direction of sustainable development of rural areas should be the stimulation of economic activity and social protection of rural youth and rural residents in general. The historically determined backwardness of villages in terms of quality of life, along with the impossibility to create the conditions needed for meeting social needs (educational, cultural, medical centers, the choice of profession or the sphere of labor) that would be comparable to those in the cities, determine the need for social compensation of negative features of rural life and measures to stimulate youth to stay and live in rural areas.

Therefore, in analyzing the problem of the outflow of youth in rural areas, the following conclusions can be formulated:

1. The discussed problem is typical for all agrarian regions of modern Russia, with Belgorod region being no exception to this due to the agrarian character of its economy. This problem calls for an in-depth analysis since it puts to the question the future of the Russian village which is, under current conditions, on the verge of extinction. This issue thus requires an immediate response with an integrated approach to its solution and the development of effective measures of state social policy that would take into account the attractiveness of rural labor. In this case, we can distinguish two different components of prestige: social acceptability (approbation) of agricultural professions and the availability of decent material compensation. The social acceptance of rural labor can be achieved only if a positive image of the rural worker is developed in the public consciousness.

2. The main problems that rural settlements face are difficult working conditions in agriculture, a deficit of rural budgets, a weak social sphere, poverty, weak rural management, unemployment, and, as a consequence, marginalization of rural youth and a low social and entrepreneurial activity. This and a number of other issues are causing negative migration (outflow) of rural youth, which leads to the problem of the unfavorable age structure of the economically active rural population and the difficulties of keeping young cadres in villages. The reasons why young people would like to move to the city are the same for both students and working youth. This is primarily the belief that city life offers better possibilities for employment, career-building and a better standard of living. Young people living in the village are mostly focused on getting an education that will allow them to become qualified and demanded specialists, find a job and make a career. In the countryside, however, achieving these goals is, in young people's opinion, much more difficult.

3. With the modern changes of the preferable labor style in mind, it is clear that today's view on labor profoundly differs from the way it was perceived in the Soviet Union, as it has been transformed from an essential, sacred value to a more practical, instrumental value. Having labor deprived of its sacred meaning and brought down to the sphere of the material, modern youth's approach to labor is far more unconcerned about its meaning and nature.

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Problem odseljavanja mladih sa sela – primer Belgorodske oblasti (Rusija)

R e z i m e

Ruralne oblasti imaju snažan prirodni, demografski, ekonomski, kulturni i istorijski potencijal, koji bi, ukoliko se njegovoj realizaciji pristupi na sveobuhvatniji, racionalniji i efikasniji način, mogao da obezbedi održivi multi-sektorski razvoj, punu zaposlenost i visok kvalitet života za sve stanovnike ruralnih oblasti, uključujući i mlade.

Unapređenje državne politike za poboljšanje statusa omladine na selu zahteva diferencirani pristup procenama promena u ovoj oblasti, odnosno pristup koji bi uzimao u obzir specifične karakteristike socioekonomskog razvoja ruralnih oblasti.

Jedan od najperspektivnijih pristupa unapređenju politika u ovoj oblasti jeste intenziviranje vertikalne socijalne mobilnosti mladih na selu. Kao prvo, unapređenje vertikalne mobilnosti može doprineti smanjenju socijalne distance između mladih sa sela i drugih demografskih grupa, u prvom redu mladih urbanog porekla. Kao drugo, može pozitivno uticati na privlačnost sela kao mesta stalnog boravka i doprineti umanjenju intenziteta odseljavanja ruralne omladine.

Pored teoretskog materijala, sveobuhvatna analiza socioloških, statističkih i pravnih podataka, pruža, po mišljenju autora, najkompletnije i najpouzdanije saznanje o promenama socijalnog statusa mladih u selima Belgorodske oblasti i razlozima njihovog odlaska.

S jedne strane, jedan od glavnih faktora koji podstiču rešenost mladih da migriraju jeste njihovo nezadovoljstvo svojim socijalnim položajem, prouzrokovano ograničenim mogućnostima zaposlenja, ograničenim pristupom kvalitetnom obrazovanju, medicinskoj nezi, lošim stambenim uslovima i drugim problemima.

S druge strane, ono što dodatno doprinosi migracijama je promena preferencija u pogledu vrste rada i činjenica da za rusku omladinu (i stanovništvo uopšte), rad *per se* više nema „sveto“ značenje, već se doživljava čisto kao sredstvo za ispunjenje potreba bez postojanja neke posebne unutrašnje vrednosti po sebi.

Analiziranje obrazaca migracije ruralne omladine dozvoljava nam da donesemo nekoliko zaključaka. Kao prvo, važno je primetiti da je rešenost mladih da migriraju sa sela neupitna. Ova tendencija je nešto viša među mladima koji se još uvek obrazuju nego među onima koji su već zaposleni. Nastojanje mladih ljudi starosti između 18 i 24 godine da se odsele rezultat je uglavnom želje za daljim obrazovanjem. Kad je u pitanju obrazovanje, kao najpoželjnije profesionalne oblasti označeni su menadžment, inženjerske profesije, poljoprivreda i ekonomija. Istovremeno, sa stanovišta stvarne zaposlenosti poljoprivreda dominira nad ostalim oblastima. Nesklad koji postoji između prioriteta stvarnog zaposlenja i preferira-

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nih oblasti znači da samo mali broj mladih namerava da se po završetku obrazovanja vrati na selo.

Glavni razlog zbog kojeg mladi biraju gradove kao svoja stalna prebivališta jeste ubeđenje da će na taj način imati bolje uslove za edukaciju i razvoj karijere, kao i bolji životni standard. Ovo se u podjednako meri odnosi i na zaposlene mlade i na one koji se još uvek obrazuju.

Seoska omladina je generalno, usmerena na dobijanje obrazovanja koje će im omogućiti da postanu kvalifikovani i traženi stručnjaci, kako bi po diplomiranju mogli da pronađu dobar posao i razvijaju karijeru. Po njihovom mišljenju, taj cilj nije moguće realizovati bez preseljenja u grad.

Ono što pak, podstiče mlade da ostanu na selu jeste dostupnost (sopstvenog) stambenog prostora. Mnogi među njima međutim, nisu upoznati sa postojanjem programa podrške ruralnoj omladini, dok istovremeno, najveći broj onih koji su o takvim programima informisani u njima retko učestvuje.

Pokazalo se da su mladi ljudi generalno zadovoljni organizacijom i raznolikošću aktivnosti u slobodno vreme, kao i dostupnošću i kvalitetom pruženih javnih usluga.

Ispitanici su definisali visok standard života uglavnom kroz parametre kao što su stabilan dohodak, vlasništvo nad kućom ili stanom i trajno zaposlenje.

Imajući ovo u vidu, kao primarni razlozi za odseljavanje mladih sa sela mogu se identifikovati: 1) opredeljenost mladih za profesije koje nisu povezane sa poljoprivredom i nisu tražene u ruralnim oblastima; 2) nedostatak efikasnih mehanizama materijalne podrške mladim stručnjacima, poput obezbeđivanja stambenog prostora, *startup* kapitala i sl.; 3) nedostatak mogućnosti zaposlenja i razvijanja karijere.

Pored podsticanja mladih da učestvuju u implementaciji socijalno značajnih aktivnosti za razvoj ruralnih područja u Belgorodskoj oblasti, ovaj projekat ima za cilj da identifikuje i promoviše najsvrsishodnije socijalne, kulturne, obrazovne i menadžerske tehnologije za ruralnu omladinu kako bi se mlađe generacije podstakle da ostanu na selu.

Ključne reči: *mladi na selu, migracije, ruralne oblasti, Belgorodska oblast, Rusija*