

## SOME PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION IN RUSSIA

*Daniela Szymańska*

Nicolaus Copernicus University  
Institute of Geography, Toruń, Poland

### ABSTRACT

The paper tries to present the development of urbanization on the territory of the Russian Federation in temporal range: until 1917, and after 1917. Urbanization is understood here in such a narrow meaning as increment of the number of towns and the urban population, growth of the share of the urban population in the total population. Based on statistical material the urbanization coefficient has been analyzed in regional aspect paying attention to the dynamics of urbanization, especially the development of big towns, i.e. with over 100 thousand inhabitants (174 towns – as on Jan. 01. 2002).

**Keywords:** Russia, urbanization, urban settlement system

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of urbanization is undoubtedly the most striking symptom of the contemporary civilization. The rate of urbanization is not the same everywhere and the range of this phenomenon is different in different parts of the world. This is visible especially in countries with large territory where the internal differences geographical conditions and socio-economic development of the particular regions are reflected in different urbanization level. Russia is a typical example. It was an economically under-developed country until the Revolution (1917), but after the Revolution, mainly after the Second World War entered to the way of intensive socio-economic development, and therefore the growth of the share of urban population in the particular periods took place very dynamically and intensively, and was quick.

Urbanization should be understood in double meaning. In a *narrow*, common notion characterizing single aspects of this process urbanization means the rise of the number of towns and the urban population, the increase of the share of urban population in the total population. However, this definition is not satisfactory for the complete characterization of the urbanization phenomenon. For example, the number of towns may increase with the simultaneous decrease of the of the share of urban population. Furthermore, in some developed countries in spite of the non-increasing, stable number of urban population the urbanization coefficient is very high. On the contrary, in developing countries where the

number of urban population grows quickly, the urbanization level is relatively low (sometimes we can even speak here about the ruralization of towns), and the towns (the urban settlement system) are characterized by small modernization, distinct shortage in basic socio-economic infrastructure, etc.

Studies of the expansion of the urbanization phenomena such as urban life style, urban hierarchy of values reveals an intensive penetration of urban life style to the country as well as extremely slow drawing to the orbit of towns rural migrants who keep long their previous life style on the extensive "poverty belts" forming at the edges of towns in many developing countries (phenomenon of false urbanization).

Therefore urbanization should be regarded in *wide* meaning, noticing in it horizontal as well as vertical aspects. Urbanization develops "in-width" (horizontally) – these are extensive urbanization processes having definite limitations, for example the process of the share of urban population, in which there is usually a set-back when reaches a given urbanization level – and "in-depth" (vertically) – these are intensive u processes that increase continuously: concentration, differentiation and intensification of activity – function types, formation of new spatial structures of urban settlement, expansion of urban life style to the whole settlement system. The last process may occur also (paradoxically at first sight) in the case of "spotted urbanization", i.e. in the case of partially decreasing share of the number of population in the central zones of towns.

The world undergoes something like urban explosion, towns are under continuous attack and the (densification) concentration of population takes place "on its own desire". In the 20th century the planet of people became planet of towns, especially big ones.

The increasing rate of the number of urban population, especially the increasing rate of big towns (growing intensively during the last decades) very strongly exceeds the increase rate of the total population on the Earth known as "demographic explosion". The number of population of the world grew in the years 1800-1850 by 30%, while in the years 1950-1993 by 110%. During the same periods the number of urban population of the world increased by 175% and 295%, respectively (Szymańska, 1995).

But how did the urbanization process take place in Russia? Has it the same course and tendency? In this paper we present the particular aspects of the urbanization process, such as the growth of the number of towns and the increase of the share of urban population in the total population. This is the most easily perceptible aspect of urbanization. At the same time we have characterized the urbanization process in context with the growth and concentration of population in big towns (over 100 thousand inhabitants). The paper gives a synthetic characterization of the course of the urbanization process in Russia, taking into account in general the pre-revolution period (until 1917).

Many Soviet and Russian geographers have written about the development of urbanization in the former Soviet Union and Russia. This problem is discussed for example in the papers published by Semenov-Tian-Shanskii (1910), Baranskii (1946), Konstantinov (1947), Davidovich (1949), Saushkin (1960), Lappo (1963), Konstantinov (1964), Lappo and Troitskaia (1967), Kovalëv (1968), Trube and Khoriev (1970), Vodarskii (1973), Khorev (1975), Litovka (1976), Khodzhaev et al. (1977), Lappo and Petrov (1986), Alferova (1989), Pertsik (1991), Lappo (1997), and among others in the interesting work edited by Pokshishevski and Lappo (eds) (1976) *Problems of urbanization and settlements* (in Russian) and *Town and village in the European part of Russia: 100 years of transformation* (in Russian) (Nefedova T., Polyan P., and Treivish A. (eds) (2001).

## II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE URBAN SETTLEMENT SYSTEM UNTIL 1917

The development of towns on the Territory of Russia has long and complicated history and it took place differently in the particular areas of the present Russian Federation. However, we should realize that the statistical information to characterize this problem are very stingy and it is extraordinary difficult to obtain a full and convincing picture of the state of urbanization.

In the Old Russia (Rus) as the statehood was formed and developed the bigger settlements with favorable geographical situation were transformed to towns. They became also centers of political power, centers of economic and military potential, exploiters of basic manpower from the nearby regions. From the 10th-12th century market and handicraft functions became more and more frequently the stimulators of development in many Old Russian towns. Around the existing cores of towns so called "sub towns" (pasad – in Russian) were formed, inhabited by people who carried out various works for the benefit of hinterland, i.e. are directly surrounding the town. In connection with this the number of population in the towns of Russia quickly increased (Ozerova and Pokshishevski, 1981: 36).

The formation of the All-Russian market from the 16th-17th century causes to increase the role of trade and handicraft in the town, simultaneously the widening the borders of the coagulating centralized state implicates the formation of new, military-defensive towns and centers managing the land that become parts of the territory of the state (for example at its southern ends and in Siberia). However, the general development level of the urban life is still very low. At the beginning of the 17th century according the Russian historic Vodarskii, 3% of that time population in the Russian state lived in towns (Vodarskii, 1973: 36). Towns in Siberia, Transcaucasus and Middle Asia (areas that time do not belong to the Russian Empire) developed different way. Origin and development of towns in Siberia is connected with the lasting from the 16th century expansion of Russians beyond the Ural (so called Yermak march – 1581) and with the formation of mainly military-defensive towns (Tyumen-1586, the first town founded in Siberia, Tobolsk-1587, Tomsk-1604, Omsk-1716, and many others). The majority of these towns have been formed on the spot of existing Khanty, Mansy, Tatar and other towns. On the other hand, towns of Zacaucasus and Middle Asia have certificates that origin still before our era. In Middle Asia the foundation history of some towns is connected with the march of Alexander the Great (4th century B.C.). Towns of Transcaucasus, Middle Asia and other eastern countries were the residences of local czars, princes and khans, junctions of caravan trade routes, In general, however, the never-ending wars and the stagnation of productive resources in Middle Asia and Transcaucasus did not favor the development of urban life (Ozerova and Pokshishevski, 1981: 37).

At the end of the 18th century the number of urban population in the Russian Empire was 4.1%, while in the middle of the 19th century 7.8%. Principal towns were Moscow (in 1785 180 thousand inhabitants, and in 1860 360 thousand inhabitants) and the established in 1703 Petersburg where in 1712 the capital of the Russian Empire was moved to. The population of Petersburg equaled 95 thousand inhabitants in 1750 and in the middle of the 19th century already exceeded 0.5 million and the town was on the first place in the whole Russian Empire.

In general, however, in the czar's Russia the urban settlement system vary weakly developed. According to the sole pre-revolution census from 1897 the urban population was only 12.3%. On the eve of the October Revolution (1917) according estimation it reached 18% of the total population. Although a few industrial district was formed in Russia to that time where the development of towns reflected the industrialization process, the majority of towns still remained only administrative-trade centers for the own rural hinterland.

Beyond the Central Industrial Region, Ural and the mining-industrial regions of Western Siberia (Kuznetsk Coal Basin – Kuzbas) considerable accumulation of industry occurred only in single towns, like Petersburg and Tsarytsyn (Stalingrad-Volgograd). In other towns industry developed relatively weakly and was represented by only a few plants, frequently with the domination of one production branch (Novorossiysk cement industry, Nikolayev shipyard industry, etc.).

On the average the number of population in guberniya towns was about 50 thousand inhabitants. The cultural potential of these towns was represented by some secondary schools (higher schools were only in a few towns and in the whole country there were only 10 universities), public library, theatre and so on. During the pre-revolution period in the settlement system of the Russian Empire a certain net of towns came into being, in which the hierarchical structure was determined for example by the administrative rank of the town: two capitals Petersburg and Moscow, towns being seats of general governor (guberniya) centers (mainly on the borderlands); governor (guberniya) and district (uyezd) towns; "zashtatnyie" non-district (non-uyezd) towns: and in some western guberniyas "little towns" (rus. *mestechka*). (Ozerova and Pokshishevski, 1981: 38).

The basic division of towns to "guberniya" and "uyezd" existed already in the 18th century and reflected the organizational structure of state and fiscal administration. The number of inhabitants in guberniya that time on the average was 300-400 thousand, in uyezd (district) 20-30 thousand (reform of guberniya in 1775). However, a great number of settlement units, for the reason of their insignificant economic function were towns only formally.

Analysis of towns in the European part of Russia made in 1910 by Semenov-Tian-Shanskii showed that from 761 towns only 534 (i.e. 70%) have in a certain sens developed urban functions. This register contained towns of czar's Russia, which officially were towns, but did not fulfill urban functions in reality, for example Makaryev, Knyaznin, Serpeysk. Some of them never became towns (for example Vorotynsk, Premyshel in the Kaluga district). In the pre-revolution period they were counted as towns, because they were seats of the district administration, but in respect of their functions they were really villages.

### III. COURSE OF URBANIZATION PROCESSES IN RUSSIA AFTER 1917

After the October Revolution, in connection with the wide industrialization and electrification of Russia, urbanization had a very stormy character. Made in the twenties years of the 20th century review of towns showed out that some towns had not enough economic potential and therefore they were degraded to village rank, and at the same time 90 settlement units having developed economy received town rights (Lappo, 1997: 295). In the

whole Soviet Union until 182 units received towns rights until 1926. This way in the Soviet Union in the moment of census in 1926 from the 737 towns almost 25% were new ones (Konstantinov, 1947). The category "settlements of urban type" (frequently called: "workers' settlements", "dacha' settlements"), has been created and its population was counted to the population of the town. On the basis of census from 1926 it was stated that the number of urban population was 17.7% that time.

During the prewar quinquennium (1926-1939) the number of towns increased from 461 to 576 (inside the that time borders of the Russian Federation). These towns were formed "from zero" on the so called "raw roots" as towns of mineral raw material production or military towns (for example Komsomolsk by the Amur, Severodvinsk, Magnitogorsk).

In the years of the Great Patriotic War (1942-1945) 55 new towns were established (in the whole Soviet Union 87 towns) that received the evacuated population and industrial firms. The most town was formed in the Russian Federation, i.e. by the Ural – 31.6 - in Western Siberia, 5 in Eastern Siberia, 5 in the Volga-Vyatka Region, 4- in the European Northern Russia, 2 – in Povolzhye, 1 in the Central Region and 1 town in the Far East (Lappo, 1997: 299).

The process of urbanization of the whole Soviet Union together with the Russian Federation began from such position. The increased development rate of the town network, especially big ones, was social and economic necessity. One of the characteristic features of urbanization in the Soviet Union, and so in the Russian Federation was its interrelation with industrialization. The progressive development of industry (industrial production in the years 1928-1976 rose about 115 times) led to the quick development of towns.

Many new towns appear on the map of Russia with the simultaneous increase of the population of the already existing towns. In the years 1959-1989 160 new towns have been formed, but the formation intensity of new towns (town creation) weakened a little from the end of the 80's years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

As it was mentioned earlier, the most new towns were established in the 50ties and 60ties years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, on the average 8-12 yearly. In the 70's – 80's years only 6 new towns were created (at this time many town districts were formed – see Table 1). We should mention here that in this analysis tens of so called "secret" towns were not taken into account (military towns, towns producing nuclear energy, towns producing rockets and sputniks, etc.) which were not known until recently. It is enough to mention here Arzamas - 16 (from 1991 Sarov), Krasnoyarsk – 45 (from 1993 Zelenogorsk), Krasnoyarsk – 26 (Zheleznogorsk), Zlatoust – 36, Sverdlovsk – 44, Sverdlovsk – 45, Tomsk – 7, Chelyabinsk – 65, Chelyabinsk – 70, Penza – 10 and many others) (Szymanska, 1993: 123). This is for sure an interesting question, but it is not the subject of this analysis and requires further, deeper researches.

In sum we can state that the formation of new towns in the Russian Federation gathered a stable tendency, however at present — due to the considerable saturation by towns the economically active territory — the intensity of this process decreases.

New towns developed very vehemently, to some of them the proverb can be used "shoot up like mushrooms" (Szymańska, 1993:12).

Table 1. Dynamics of population change in Russia

Year	Population (total)		Urban population (towns and settlements of urban type)			Percentage of total population in urban areas	Number of towns	Number of settlements of urban type	
	millions	Population growth (1926 =100%)	Population growth (1913 =100%)	millions	urban population growth (1926 =100%)				urban population growth (1913 =100%)
1913	89.9		100.0	15.7		100.0	17.0	737	
1926	92.7	100.0	103.1	16.4	100.0	104.5	17.7		
1939	108.4	116.9	120.6	36.3	221.3	231.2	33.5		
1940	110.1	118.8	122.5	37.9	231.1	241.4	34.0		
1959	117.5	126.6	130.7	62.1	378.7	395.5	52.8	876	1555
1970	130.0	140.2	144.6	81.0	493.9	515.9	62.3	969	1869
1979	137.6	148.4	155.1	95.4	581.7	607.6	69.0	999	2046
1989	147.4	159.0	164.0	108.4	661.0	690.4	74.0	1037	
1990	148.0	159.7	164.6	109.3	666.5	695.5	73.8	1050	
1991	148.2	159.9	164.8	109.3	666.5	696.2	73.7	1052	2204
1993	148.7	160.4	165.4	108.9	664.0	693.6	73.2	1064	
1996	148.0	159.7	164.6	108.1	659.1	688.5	73.0	1087	
1999	146.3	157.8	162.7	106.9	651.8	680.9	73.0	1086	
2001	146.3	157.8	162.7	105.4	642.7	671.3	73.0	1092	1864
2002	146.4	157.9	162.8	106.3	648.1	677.0	73.0	1093	

Source: Author's calculations based on statistical data – see: Basic sources of data in References

Among the numerous examples of such development we can mention the town Nabierzehnyie Czelyny (in the Tatarstan Republic; in the years 1982-1989 it was called Brezhnev). This old settlement became a town in 1931. Before 1917 it had 9 thousand inhabitants, in 1939 9.3 thousand and in 1959 – 19.1 thousand. In the 70ties years of the 20th century the production of the knows trucks "KAMAZ" begun here, new workplaces were created in the town and in connection with this the dynamics of population increase also grew. in 1970 the town had 38 thousand inhabitants, in 1974 already 163 thousand, in 1979 – 301 thousand and at the beginning of 2002 over 517 thousand inhabitants. So in comparison with 1959 the number of population grew 27 times.

Zelenograd near Moscow (belonging to Moscow administration) has similarly high, 19 times, development rate — in 1959 it had 11 thousand inhabitants, in 1989 already 158 thousand, while in 2002 – 205.9 thousand inhabitants. The Siberian town Surgut (established in 1594) in the Khanty-Mansiyskiy Avtonomnyi Okrug has even higher dynamics of population increase. This important center of exploitation of rich oil and natural gas deposits had only 6 thousand inhabitants in 1959, while in 1989 already 248 thousand and at the beginning of 2002 282.3 thousand, i.e. the number of population rose here over 47 times. Tolyatti, where the greatest Russian plants producing passenger cars are located, also reached considerable size. Tolyatti, established in 1738, in 1926 had only 6 thousand inhabitants, in

1959 – 72 thousand, in 1970 – 251 thousand, in 1990 – 652 thousand, and at the beginning of 2002 – 740.4 thousand inhabitants.

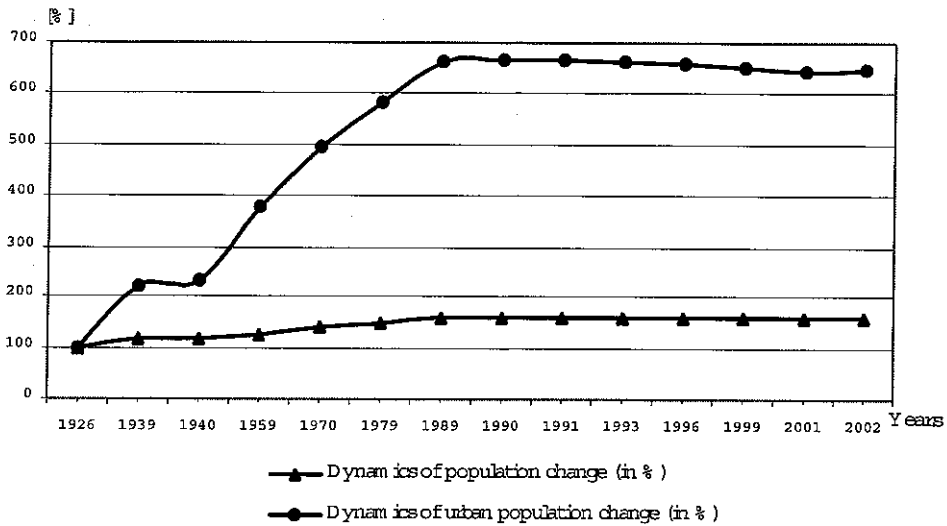
We should mention that lately in tens of cases a decrement was observed in the number of population. Such situation appears most clearly in the old basins of mineral raw materials production, for example in Kuznetsk Coal Basin (Kuzbas), where due to the exhaustion of the hard coal deposit the number of population in the towns also decreases.

With the formation of new towns and the development of the old ones a quick increase in the number of population is connected. This process began already in the pre-war years. During 14 years (from 1926 to 1940) the number of population in the towns of Russia increased 2.4 times, and the share of the urban population grew to 34% (in 1926 17.7%).

The urbanization process in Russia after the World War II had an uncommonly dynamic course and was characterized by accelerated urbanization rate, as a result of the industrialization of the country and socio-economic transformations. During fifty years Russia changed from a country where the rural population dominated to a country with a distinct supremacy of urban population. Over the years 1926-2002 the percentage of urban population rose from 17.7 to 73.0 what undoubtedly means a qualitative change.

Analyzing the increment of the number of population in the towns of Russia in the years 1926-2002 we must state that the rate of its increment is considerably quicker than the increment rate of the total population. The number of population in Russia compared to 1926 grew by almost 58%, while during the same period the number of urban population increased by 548% (in 1926 a little over 16.4 million people lived in towns, in 2002 already 106.3 million) causing the growth of the urbanization coefficient from 17.7% in 1926 to 73% in 2002 (see Table 1, Fig. 1).

Taking up the problem of urbanization in Russia one should answer the question, how the composition of Russian towns have changed in the urbanization process. After all urbanization is expressed not only by the rise of the number of towns and town district, but simultaneously by the growth of the number of population living in the already existing towns. According to the census in 1926 there were only 20 big cities (more than 100 thousand inhabitants) in Russia among them only two with more than million inhabitants (Moscow — 2 million and Leningrad (St. Petersburg) — 1.6 million inhabitants). The census from 1939 shows 52 big cities, in this two with over million inhabitants (Moscow — 4.1 million, Leningrad — 3.4 million). In 1959 there were 92 towns of more than 100 thousand inhabitants. two of more than million. In 2002 the number of big towns of more than 100 thousand inhabitants was 174 in Russia, in this 22 of more than half million and 12 of more than 1 million inhabitants (see Table 4, Fig. 3; Fig.4).

**Figure 1.** Dynamics of population change in Russia in the period 1926-2002

During the whole analyzed period a concentration of population occurs in big and large towns of more than 100 thousand and 1 million inhabitants, respectively. For example inhabitants of big and large towns in 1959 made 27% of the total number of population in Russia, while in 1991 as much as 46% and in 2001 a little over 45%. The share of population of towns with over 100 thousand inhabitants in the total number urban population in Russia was 61% in 1959, in 1991 – 71.3%, while in 2001 – 69.9%. From the 60ties to the middle of 70ties years of the 20th century a percentage decrease occur in this index, because in towns of such size category at that time only 33% of the total urban population of Russia lived. Whereas, a continuous tendency of concentration of population in big towns can be observed from the middle of the 70ties years. However it should be mentioned here that from 2000 the concentration rate of the population in towns of more than 1 million inhabitants weakens (Table 2, Table 3, Figure 2).

Studying the question the growth dynamics of the urban population in Russia from the middle of the 70ties years to 2001 one should emphasize big towns (from 100 thousand to 1 million inhabitants) and large cities (more than 1 million inhabitants) show the greatest growth dynamics.

During the analyzed period the population of big (over 100 thousand inhabitants) and large (over 1 million inhabitants) rose from 7.6 million and 15.6 million person to 42.5 and 23.5 million what gives growth dynamics 559% and 150.6%, respectively (see Table 1, Fig 2). The lowest growth dynamics in this period was shown by middle size towns (from 50 to 100 thousand inhabitants) – 51.5% and small towns (to 50 thousand inhabitants) – 69.8% (Table 2, Fig. 2).



**Table 2.** Urban population changes in Russia in the period 1970-2001

		Total	<50, 000	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 1,000,000	> 1,000,000
1970	A	969 (100.0%)	731 (75%)	114 (12%)	124 (13%)	6 (1%)
	B	70.0	23.5	23.3	7.6	15.6
	C	100.0	33.6	33.3	10.9	22.2
1979	A	999 (100.0%)	710 (71.0%)	135 (13.5%)	146 (14.5%)	8 (1.0%)
	B	83.3	15.5	9.1	39.7	19.0
	C	100.0	18.6	11.0	47.7	22.8
1989	D	119.0	65.9	39.0	522.3	121.8
	A	1037 (100.0%)	709 (68.4%)	163 (15.7%)	153 (14.7%)	12 (1.2%)
	B	94.5	15.9	11.2	42.2	25.2
1991	C	100	16.9	11.8	44.7	26.6
	D	135.0	67.7	48.1	555.3	161.5
	1979=100%	113.4	102.6	123.1	106.3	132.6
1999	A	1052 (100.0%)	718 (68.4%)	166 (15.7%)	155 (14.7%)	13 (1.2%)
	B	96.0	16.2	11.3	42.2	26.3
	C	100.0	16.9	11.8	44.0	27.3
2001	D	137.1	68.9	48.5	555.3	168.6
	A	1086 (100.0%)	748 (68.9%)	174 (16.0%)	151 (13.9%)	13 (1.2%)
	B	95.2	16.6	12.0	40.9	25.7
1999	C	100.0	17.4	12.6	43.0	27.0
	D	136.0	70.6	51.5	538.2	164.7
	1989=100%	100.7	104.4	107.1	96.9	102.0
2001	A	1092 (100.0%)	754 (69.0%)	175 (16.0%)	152 (14.0%)	11 (1.0%)
	B	94.4	16.4	12.0	42.5	23.5
	C	100.0	17.4	12.7	45.0	24.9
1999	D	134.9	69.8	51.5	559.2	150.6
	1991=100%	98.3	101.2	106.2	100.7	89.4
	1999=100%	99.2	98.8	100.0	103.9	91.4

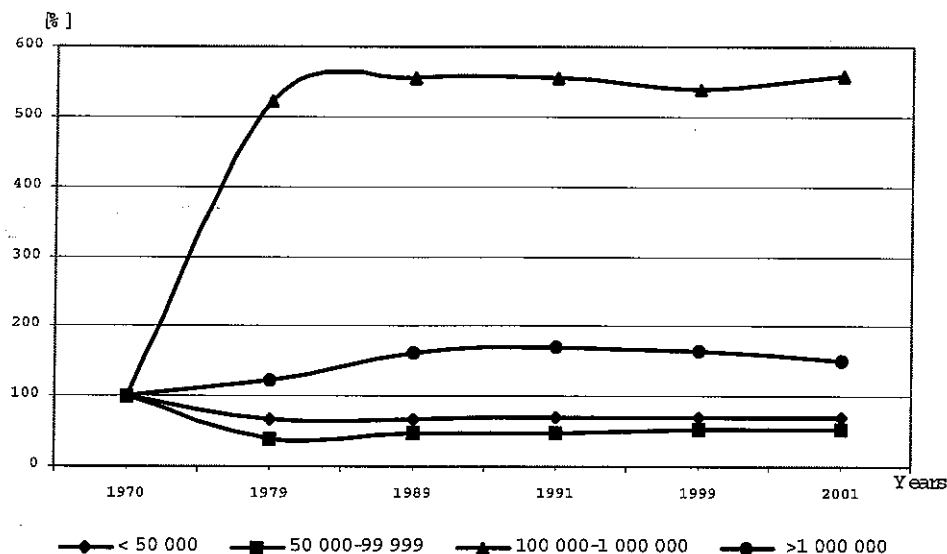
*Notes:* A = Number of towns; B = Urban population (millions); C = Number of urban population in percentage; D = Dynamics of the growth of the number of urban population compared to 1970 (1970=100%)

*Source:* Author's calculations based on statistical data – see: Basic sources of data in References

**Table 3.** Distribution of the number of population according to categories of town size\*

year number of towns (total)	Number of urban type settlements (towns and settlements of urban type)			Urban population (towns and settlements of urban type) (in thous.)		
	1959	1991	2001	1959	1991	2001
< 3 thous.	14	7	8	30	10	14
3-5	32	16	20	126	100	83
5-10	113	80	93	838	600	716
10-20	239	250	278	3560	3700	4157
20-50	285	365	355	8983	11800	11512
50-100	101	166	175	7043	11300	11973
100-500	78	134	131	15450	28900	28538
500-1000	14	21	21	16228	13300	13932
>1 mln + settlements of urban type (total)	1555	2204	1864	9800	13300	11040
< 3 thous.	306	614	537	605	1100	937
3-5	431	517	417	1718	2000	1640
5-10	573	714	603	4047	5000	4208
10-20	222	324	278	2867	4300	3630
20-50	23	35	26	563	900	625

\*from 1997 without data from Chechnya

**Source:** Author's calculations based on statistical data – see: Basic sources of data in References**Figure 2.** Dynamics of the increment of the urban population in the period 1970-2001  
(according to categories of town size)

From this follows that towns of more than 1 million and more than 100 thousand inhabitants give the basic skeleton of the urban settlement system in Russia (Table 4, Figure 3, Figure 4).

**Table 4.** The cities over 100 thousand inhabitants (state on Jan 01.2002)

No. on Figure 4	Name	Number of population (in thous.)	Administrative-political Units	Percentage of urban population
1	Maikop	167.9	Adygeya Rep.	54.1
		*	Altay Rep.	26.1
2	Ufa	1086.3	Bashkirostan Rep.	65.4
3	Neftekamsk	120.0	Bashkirostan Rep.	
4	Oktryabskyi	111.0	Bashkirostan Rep.	
5	Salavat	158.1	Bashkirostan Rep.	
6	Sterlikamsk	268.0	Bashkirostan Rep.	
7	Ulan-Ude	383.3	Buryariya Rep.	59.8
8	Makhachkala	365.4	Dagestan Rep.	39.8
9	Nazran	115.0	Ingushetiya Rep.	42.2
10	Nalchik	229.4	Kabardino-Balkarskaya Rep.	56.9
11	Elista	105.8	Kalmykiya Rep.	43.0
12	Cherkiesk	121.1	Karachaevo-Cherkesskaya Rep.	44.2
13	Petrozavodsk	285.3	Kareliya Rep.	74.3
14	Syktvykar	241.1	Komi Rep.	74.2
15	Vorkuta	163.6	Komi Rep.	
16	Ukhta	122.0	Komi Rep.	
17	Yoshkar-Ola	247.6	Mariy El Rep.	61.7
18	Saransk	333.2	Mordoviya	59.9
19	Yakutsk	226.0	Saha (Yakutiya) Rep.	64.5
20	Nerjungri	104.1	Saha (Yakutiya) Rep.	
21	Vladykavkaz	323.6	Severnaya Osetiya –Alaniya Rep.	67.0
22	Kazan	1089.9	Tatarstan Rep.	74.1
23	Almet'evsk	153.3	Tatarstan Rep.	
24	Naberezhnyie Chelny	517.5	Tatarstan Rep.	
25	Nizhnekamsk	226.7	Tatarstan Rep.	
26	Kyzyl	102.9	Tyva Rep.	48.8
27	Izhevsk	648.0	Udmurtskaya Rep.	69.5
28	Votkinsk	101.1	Udmurtskaya Rep.	
29	Glazov	107.2	Udmurtskaya Rep.	
30	Saropul	103.9	Udmurtskaya Rep.	
31	Abakan	167.4	Khakasiya Rep.	70.9
		*	Chechenskaya rep.	26.3
32	Cheboksary	474.1	Chuvashskaya Rep.	61.4
33	Novocheboksarsk	123.9	Chuvashskaya Rep.	
34	Barnaul	615.5	Altayskiy Kray	52.4
35	Bijsk	232.0	Altayskiy Kray	
36	Rubtsovsk	160.9	Altayskiy Kray	
37	Krasnodar	691.5	Krasnodarskiy Kray	53.0
38	Armavir	160.5	Krasnodarskiy Kray	
39	Novorossiisk	218.8	Krasnodarskiy Kray	
40	Sochi	335.8	Krasnodarskiy Kray	
41	Krasnoyarsk	875.2	Krasnoyarskiy Kray	74.7

Notes: \*The are no cities over 100 thous.

Source: Author's calculations based on statistical data - *Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 ianvaria 2002 goda*. 2002. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): 60-189.

**Table 4.** The cities over 100 thousand inhabitants (state on Jan 01.2002)  
(Continued)

No. on Figure 4	Name	Number of population (in thous.)	Administrative-political Units	Percentage of urban population
42	Achinsk	120.8	Krasnoyarskiy Kray	
43	Zheleznogorsk	100.9	Krasnoyarskiy Kray	
44	Kansk	107.9	Krasnoyarskiy Kray	
45	Norylsk	235.2	Krasnoyarskiy Kray	
		*	Taimyrskiy (Dolgano-Nenetskiy) avtonomnyi okrug	63.9
		*	Yevenkiyskiy avtonomnyi okrug	28.0
46	Vladivostok	625.1	Primorskiy Kray	78.7
47	Artiem	102.6	Primorskiy Kray	
48	Nakhodka	181.6	Primorskiy Kray	
49	Ussuriysk	155.7	Primorskiy Kray	
50	Stavropol	337.4	Stavropolskiy Kray	55.1
51	Kislovodsk	111.3	Stavropolskiy Kray	
52	Nevinnomyssk	131.2	Stavropolskiy Kray	
53	Piatigorsk	172.2	Stavropolskiy Kray	
54	Khabarovsk	600.5	Khabarovskiy Kray	80.7
55	Komsomolsk	286.7	Khabarovskiy Kray	
56	Blagoveshchensk	220.1	Amurskaya Oblast	65.0
57	Arkhangelsk	357.0	Arkhangelskaya Oblast	74.8
58	Severodvinsk	231.3	Arkhangelskaya Oblast	
		*	Nenetskiy Avtonomnyi Okrug	60.8
59	Astrakhan	478.5	Astrakhanskaya Oblast	65.7
60	Belgorod	344.3	Belgorodskaya Oblast	66.0
61	Staryi Oskol	216.3	Belgorodskaya Oblast	
62	Bryansk	469.3	Bryanskaya Oblast	69.0
63	Vladimir	348.0	Vladymirskaya Oblast	80.4
64	Kovrov	158.5	Vladymirskaya Oblast	
65	Murom	138.2	Vladymirskaya Oblast	
66	Volgograd	1004.4	Volgogradskaya Oblast	74.0
67	Volzhskiy	286.8	Volgogradskaya Oblast	
68	Kamyshin	122.7	Volgogradskaya Oblast	
69	Vologda	305.1	Volgodskaaya Oblast	68.4
70	Cherepovets	322.7	Volgodskaaya Oblast	
71	Voronezh	941.8	Voronezhskaya Oblast	62.4
72	Ivanovo	447.1	Ivanovskaya Oblast	82.5
73	Irkutsk	582.8	Irkutskaya Oblast	79.3
74	Angarsk	267.5	Irkutskaya Oblast	
75	Bratsk	278.1	Irkutskaya Oblast	
76	Usole-Sibir.	102.9	Irkutskaya Oblast	
77	Ust-Ilinsk	106.7	Irkutskaya Oblast	
			**Ust-Ordynskiy Buryatskiy avtonomnyi okrug	0.0
78	Kaliningrad	418.2	Kaliningradskaya Oblast	76.6
79	Kaluga	332.2	Kaluzhskaya Oblast	74.4
80	Obinsk	107.9	Kaluzhskaya Oblast	

Notes: \*The are no cities over 100 thous; \*\* The are no urban population

Source: Author's calculations based on ststistical date - *Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 ianvaria 2002 goda.* 2002. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): 60-189.

**Table 4.** The cities over 100 thousand inhabitants (state on Jan 01.2002)  
(Continued)

No. on Figure 4	Name	Number of population (in thous.)	Administrative-political Units	Percentage of urban population
81	Petropavlovsk K.	205.5	Kamchatskaya Oblast	81.1
		*	Koryakskiy avtonomnyi okrug	26.0
82	Kemerovo	527.1	Kemerovskaya Oblast	86.9
83	Belovo	160.6	Kemerovskaya Oblast	
84	Kiselevsk	113.1	Kemerovskaya Oblast	
85	Leninsk Kuznetski	149.9	Kemerovskaya Oblast	
86	Mezhdurechensk	105.4	Kemerovskaya Oblast	
87	Novokuznetsk	578.4	Kemerovskaya Oblast	
88	Prokop'evsk	228.3	Kemerovskaya Oblast	
89	Kirov	488.7	Kirovskaya Oblast	71.2
90	Kostroma	286.0	Kostromskaya Oblast	66.4
91	Kurgan	355.2	Kurganskaya oblast	55.3
92	Kursk	434.5	Kurskaya Oblast	62.0
		*	Leningradskaya Oblast	66.0
93	St. Petersburg	4596.2	St. Petersburg	
94	Lipetsk	519.6	Lipetskaya Oblast	64.6
95	Yelets	117.1	Lipetskaya Oblast	
96	Magadan	151.4	Magadanskaya Oblast	91.6
97	Balashikha	131.5	Moskovskaya Oblast	80.1
98	Zheleznodorozhny	107.9	Moskovskaya Oblast	
99	Korolev	160.6	Moskovskaya Oblast	
100	Kolomna	148.2	Moskovskaya Oblast	
101	Lubertsy	162.3	Moskovskaya Oblast	
102	Mytishchin	156.4	Moskovskaya Oblast	
103	Noginsk	115.7	Moskovskaya Oblast	
104	Odintsovo	126.9	Moskovskaya Oblast	
105	Orekhovo-Zuievo	124.1	Moskovskaya Oblast	
106	Podolsk	190.4	Moskovskaya Oblast	
107	Sergiev Posad	108.8	Moskovskaya Oblast	
108	Serpukhov	127.5	Moskovskaya Oblast	
109	Khimki	135.7	Moskovskaya Oblast	
110	Shchelkovo	102.7	Moskovskaya Oblast	
111	Elektrostal	145.9	Moskovskaya Oblast	
112	Moskva	8539.2	Moskva	
113	Zelenograd	205.9	Moskva	
114	Murmansk	366.2	Murmanskaya Oblast	91.6
115	Nizhnyi Novgorod	1334.4	Nizhegorodskaya Oblast	78.3
116	Arzamaz	109.0	Nizhegorodskaya Oblast	
117	Dzerzhinsk	283.0	Nizhegorodskaya Oblast	
118	Veliki Novgorod	233.5	Novgorodskaya Oblast	70.8
119	Novosibirsk	1387.8	Novosibirskaya Oblast	74.0
120	Omsk	1151.5	Omskaya Oblast	67.3

*Notes:* \*The are no cities over 100 thous.

*Source:* Author's calculations based on ststistical date - *Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 ianvaria 2002 goda.* 2002. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): 60-189.

**Table 4.** The cities over 100 thousand inhabitants (state on Jan 01.2002)  
(Continued)

No. on Figure 4	Name	Number of population (in thous.)	Administrative-political Units	Percentage of urban population
121	Orenburg	517.3	Orenburgskaya Oblast	57.0
122	Novotroitsk	112.3	Orenburgskaya Oblast	
123	Orsk	273.7	Orenburgskaya Oblast	
124	Orel	337.5	Orlovskaya Oblast	63.0
125	Penza	522.5	Penzenskaya Oblast	64.6
126	Perm	1008.3	Permskaya Oblast	75.0
127	Berezniki	181.4	Permskaya Oblast	
128	Solikamsk	104.9	Permskaya Oblast	
		*	Komi-Permyatskiy avtonomnyi okrug	26.3
129	Pskov	198.6	Pskovskaya Oblast	66.8
130	Velikiye Luki	114.1	Pskovskaya Oblast	
131	Rostov na Donu	992.9	Rostovskaya Oblast	67.5
132	Volgodonsk	178.9	Rostovskaya Oblast	
133	Novocherkassk	194.2	Rostovskaya Oblast	
134	Novoshakhtinsk	115.9	Rostovskaya Oblast	
135	Taganrog	278.3	Rostovskaya Oblast	
136	Shakhty	241.1	Rostovskaya Oblast	
137	Ryazan	522.4	Ryazanskaya Oblast	68.8
138	Samara	1152.7	Samarskaya Oblast	80.5
139	Novokuibyshevsk	114.4	Samarskaya Oblast	
140	Syzran	182.2	Samarskaya Oblast	
141	Toliatti	740.4	Samarskaya Oblast	
142	Saratov	856.6	Saratovskaya Oblast	73.1
143	Balakovo	206.8	Saratovskaya Oblast	
144	Engels	224.2	Saratovskaya Oblast	
145	Yuzhno sakhalinsk	178.7	Sakhalinskaya Oblast	86.8
146	Yekaterinburg	1276.7	Sverdlovskaya Oblast	87.6
147	Azbest	112.4	Sverdlovskaya Oblast	
148	Kamensk Usolski	187.2	Sverdlovskaya Oblast	
149	Nizhnyi Tagil	384.2	Sverdlovskaya Oblast	
150	Pervouralsk	151.4	Sverdlovskaya Oblast	
151	Smolensk	344.1	Smolenskaya Oblast	70.7
152	Tambov	304.9	Tambovskaya Oblast	58.1
153	Michurinsk	115.5	Tambovskaya Oblast	
154	Tver	449.1	Tverskaya Oblast	74.0
155	Tomsk	483.6	Tomskaya Oblast	67.4
156	Seversk	119.6	Tomskaya Oblast	
157	Tula	536.2	Tulskaya Oblast	81.6
158	Novomoskovsk	133.3	Tulskaya Oblast	
159	Tyumen	504.0	Tyumenskaya Oblast	76.7
160	Tobolsk	112.2	Tyumenskaya Oblast	
161	Nefteyugansk	101.7	Khanty-Mansiyskiy avtonomnyi okrug	91.2
162	Nizhnevartovsk	238.8	Khanty-Mansiyskiy avtonomnyi okrug	

Notes: \*The are no cities over 100 thous.

Source: Author's calculations based on statistical data - *Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 yanvaria 2002 goda*. 2002. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): 60-189.

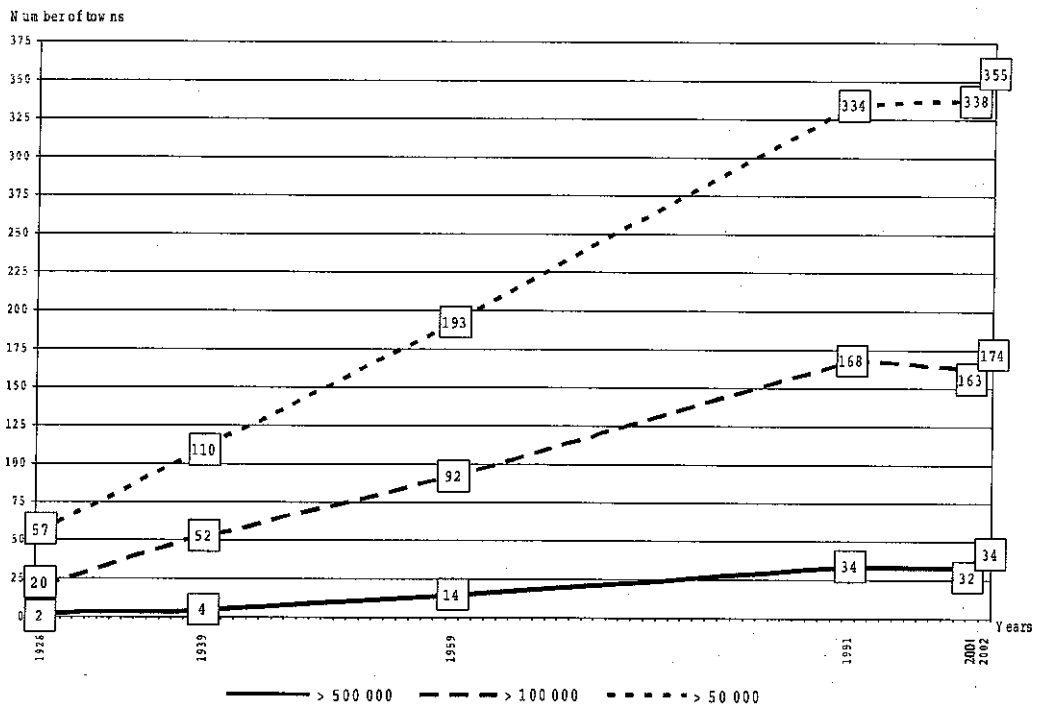
**Table 4.** The cities over 100 thousand inhabitants (state on Jan 01.2002)  
(Continued)

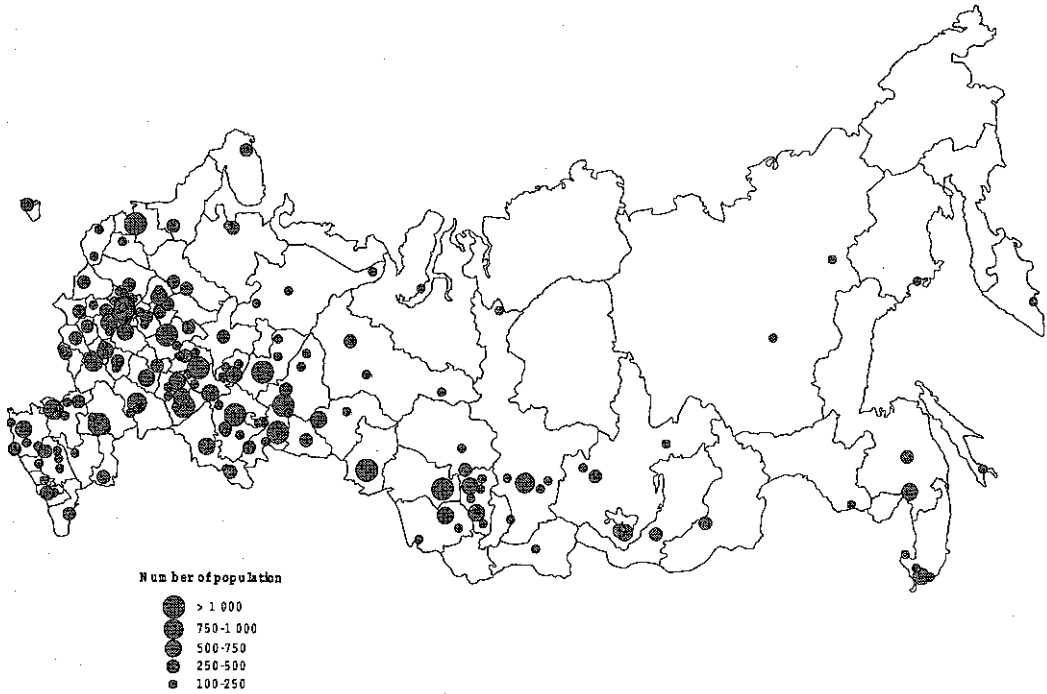
No. on Figure 4	Name	Number of population (in thous.)	Administrative-political Units	Percentage of urban population
163	Surgut	282.3	Khanty-Mansiyskiy avtonomnyi okrug	
164	Novyi Urengoi	101.6	Yamalo-Nenetskiy avtonomnyi okrug	82.6
165	Ulyanovsk	656.7	Ulyanovskaya Oblast	73.3
166	Dimitrovgrad	135.6	Ulyanovskaya Oblast	
167	Chelyabinsk	1097.6	Chelyabinskaya Oblast	81.4
168	Zlatoust	194.4	Chelyabinskaya Oblast	
169	Kopeisk	136.0	Chelyabinskaya Oblast	
170	Magnitogorsk	426.1	Chelyabinskaya Oblast	
171	Miass	166.9	Chelyabinskaya Oblast	
172	Chita	300.0	Chitinskaya Oblast	62.0
		*	Aginskiy Buryatskiy avtonomnyi okrug	32.4
173	Yaroslavl	603.8	Yaroslavskaya Oblast	80.6
174	Rybinsk	236.0	Yaroslavskaya Oblast	
		*	Yevreyskaya avtonomnaya oblast	67.2
		*	Chukotskiy avtonomnyi okrug	68.4

*Notes:* \*The are no cities over 100 thous.

*Source:* Author's calculations based on stistical date - *Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 ianvaria 2002 goda*. 2002. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): 60-189.

**Figure 3.** Number of towns over 50 thousand inhabitants



**Figure 4.** The cities over 100 thousand inhabitants (state on Jan 01.2002)

A few different components have influence to the growth of the urban population in Russia and to its dynamics, among others the natural increase, migration increment, actual increase in towns and settlements of urban type, and the number of towns and settlements of urban type. Without analyzing deeper these factors we mention only that the number of towns increase from year to year; in 1959 there were 876 towns and 1555 settlements of urban type in Russia (Table 1) in 1970 969 towns and 1869 settlements of urban type, while in 1991 there were 1052 and 2204 and in 2001 - 1092 and 1864 of them, respectively (Table 2 and Table 3). So the number of towns increased by  $\frac{1}{4}$  (dynamics 125%). In 1970 from the 70 million inhabitants of towns in Russia in small and middle sized towns lived 23.5 million people in each of these two categories (i.e. 33.6% of the urban population of the country). In 2001, in spite of a certain growth in the number of towns less people live in them, in small towns 16.4 million and middle size towns 12 million what equals with 17.4 and 12.7 percent of the urban population in Russia, respectively.

It should be mentioned here that in the Russian Federation settlements of more than 12 thousand inhabitants, of which 85% earn their living non-agricultural activity. Moreover, when getting urban status different factors are taking into account, such like the economic and administrative importance of the settlement, its junction situation in the settlement network and socio-economic infrastructure. Settlements of urban type are settlement units of more than 3 thousand inhabitants, of which up to 85% earn their living non-agricultural activity (in some cases the settlement may have less than 3 thousand inhabitants when it concerns important buildings and investments, especially in the Far North and Far East (Khrushchev, (ed), 2001:86).



As it has been mentioned earlier the most people live in big and large cities 43.6 million (2001 - 42.5 million) and 24.7 million (2001 - 23.5 million), together in 174 towns what makes 64.4% (2001- 69.9%) of the Russian urban population (Jan 01.2002) (Table 4). During the last decade the dynamics of population growth has weakened in big and large cities, which stagnate in demographic sense not increasing the number of population, and in some of them a decrease can be observed in the number of inhabitants. This results mainly from the negative natural increase and in some cases from negative migration balance. Around the big and large towns suburban zones and districts of "the new riches", so called "novoruskiy", who leave towns and settle on their peripheries. This phenomenon occurs most intensively around Moscow and St. Petersburg (for example near Moscow by the road named "Mozhayskoye Shose" and on "Rublovka" isolated, clustered residential-palace areas of new riches have formed).

Until 1979 inclusive in the towns of the Russian Federation the migration increment was higher than the natural increase of population. From 1980, inversely the natural increment is higher than the actual increment in the number of urban population. From the beginning of 1990 all of sources of the increment of the number of urban population, compared to 1986, decreased: the natural increase decreased by 3 times, the migration increment by 3.5 times and the administrative increment by 1.7 times (inclusion to the town rural areas, giving town rights to villages, taking away town rights from towns and settlements of urban type). In 1992 this caused the fall of the urban population to about 752 thousand person. Generally the migration outflow from big towns is not high, but from a longer time the natural increase of the population is negative in the Russian towns. (for example in Moscow -6.5‰, Saint Petersburg -6‰, Nizhniy Novgorod -4.0‰, settlements of urban type also have negative natural increment -1.7‰) (Lappo, 1997: 159). In the first half of the 20th century in some large cities a considerable emigration of the population to abroad was noted (for example Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and others).

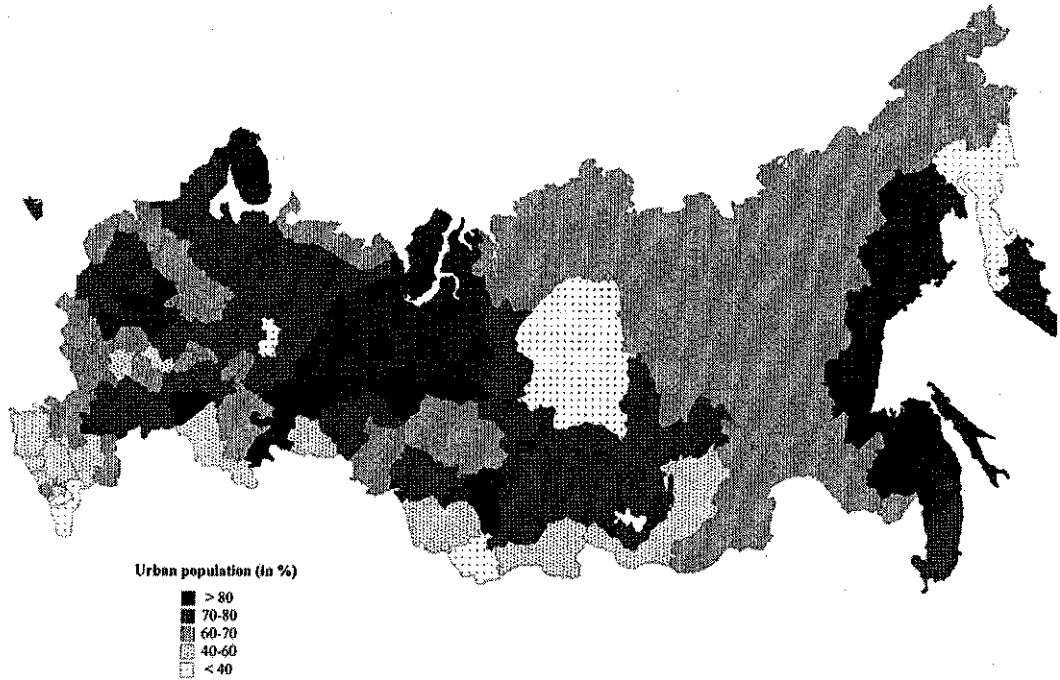
From the beginning of the 50ties years of the 20th century in Russia town type settlements consolidates and develops. For many regions in Russia the name town settlement network is not satisfactory any more, because a town settlement system has been formed in which urban-industrial agglomerations, conurbations (for example Rostovskya on Don) have leading role; megapolises are also formed (for example Moscow-Nizhnyi Novgorod). Russian researchers distinguish 49 agglomerations with 65 million total population (i.e. 61% of the urban population of the country) and with 332 towns. In 1959 there were 26 of them with 198 towns and 30 million total population (Lappo, 1997: 359). So the urbanization in Russia takes an intensive character, consolidation and strengthening of the existing urban network takes place, and in some regions the urban network transform to complicated urban settlement system.

One of the components of formation of urban settlement systems in Russia was the growth in the number of towns what contributed to the densification of urban settlement units and to the lessening of the distances between them. All economic, technical-organizational, cultural-social and other co-operation, as it is know, take place easier and quicker, when the distances between towns are small. Just such mutual co-operations make the base for the formation of settlement systems. Equally important condition of the transformation of the urban network to urban systems is the existence of "leading" towns on this areas, and also the adjusted to the necessities development of the transport and the rest of the infrastructure. The most important links are large urban-industrial agglomerations. This problem is quite

complicated and requires separate, deep research, we limited ourselves above only to its signalization.

The differentiation of urbanization level measured by the percentage of urban population on different part of the Russian Federation is shown on Fig. 5 (state on Jan 01 2002). It shows that the highest urbanization coefficient occur in the regions:

1. Densely populated with high economic potential: Central Region which have the highest population density in the country (on average 62 person/km<sup>2</sup>; average for the Russian Federation is 8.6 person/km<sup>2</sup>). Among the 12 administrative units (not counting Moscow) belonging to it in as many as 5 oblast 80% of population live in towns. These are: oblast Ivanovskaya (82.5%, population density 58.1 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Tulsckaya (81.6%, population density 70.8 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Yaroslavskaya (80.6%, 40 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Vladymirskaya (80.4%, 57 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Moskovskaya (80.1%, 143.4 person/km<sup>2</sup>)(without Moscow where the population density is 8585 person/km<sup>2</sup>);
2. Industrial-raw material Urals Region, where in the Chelabinskaya and Sverdlovskaya (Yekaterinburgskaya) oblasts and in the directly neighboring with it, situated in the Middle Powolezhye Region - Samarskaya oblast (earlier Kuybyshev) the urbanization level is also higher than 80%.
3. Western Siberia Region this is an territory with high economic potential, one of the more important for Russia region of drawing out gas, oil, and coal, production of electric energy, steel, rolled products and chemical industry (on the basis of oil, gas and coal processing). This is a buffer region between the Urals and East Siberia. The highest urbanization coefficient are counted here for: Kemerovskaya oblast – 86.9% and the autonomic districts (okrug) in the Tyumenskaya oblast: Khanty-Mansyiskiy avtonomnyi okrug (91.2%) and Yamalo-Nenetskiy avtonomnyi okrug (82.6%).
4. Not much useful for agricultural purposes, but rich in mineral raw material with developed mining industry and fish processing, where by small and very small population density almost the whole population lives in towns and the urbanization coefficients exceeds even 90%; for example the Far East Region (average population density is 1.2 person/km<sup>2</sup>) –Magadanskaya oblast – number of urban population is 91.6% here, the population density 0.4 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Sakhalinskaya oblast (86.8% and 7.8 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Kamchatskaya oblast (81.1% and 0.9 person/km<sup>2</sup>), Khabarovskaya oblast (80.7%) and the Northern Region of Russia Murmanskaya oblast (91.6% and 7.2 person/km<sup>2</sup>).

**Figure 5.** Percentage of urban population in Russia (state on Jan 01.2002)

#### IV. FINAL REMARKS

In general the urbanization process in Russia in the first half century of the soviet administration (until the 80ties year of the 20th century) is described as extensive (Ozerova and Pokshishevski, 1981: 42). Of course parallely simultaneously with the quantitative increase of the number of towns, in spite of the slowing down of the rate, the process of town and settlements of urban type formation still lasts. Quick transformations occur in their infrastructure what manifests itself in continuous expansion of their economic potential and lifting the life conditions of the population. One should remember that the growth of the number of urban population had deciding influence to the progress of urbanization in Russia. During the period 1926-2002 this number increased by as much as 89.9 million inhabitants and reached 106.3 million person in 2002.

The quick rise of the number of urban population and the increase of its percentage in the total number of the Russian population is the most easily perceptible aspect of urbanization. Anyhow it is not a Russian specific, because after the Second World War vehement urbanization processes took place in the countries of the world. Therefore we should look for the specific characteristics of the Russian urbanization in the factors that condition this process, decide about its course and project to its social consequences.

The question arise if the processes of the concentration of population in the towns of the Russian Federation is connected with the simultaneous deep transformations in the towns "in-depth", i.e. with vertical changes, extension and modernization of the socio-existential

infrastructure, modernization of urban space, expansion of the urban life style to the whole settlement network.

In the post-war years there occurred a very strong dependency of the development of towns from the increasing employment in industry, as well as formation of new towns on industrial base, drawing out raw materials and on military base. This dependency is natural on a great degree in a country with intensive industrialization process, but the special strength of this dependency in Russia resulted also from the relatively weak rate of the development of services. In this situation the localization of industry was treated on one hand as an instrument to rise the level of economic development of the weakly developed regions, or on the other hand as management of strategic regions of raw material mining (Siberia, Far East). It was the reflection of the chosen in the post-revolution period development strategy of the whole Soviet Union. Industrialization was considered being the main factor to accelerate the economic growth of the country.

Investments in the heavy and war industry were distinctly preferred at the cost of great negligence in the technical and social infrastructure. The most painful effect of these disproportions is the underdevelopment of many institutions that serve to satisfy the elementary social needs. Building of very large industrial plants caused the phenomenon of over-industrialization of many Russian towns.

The economic structure of Russia what is based mainly on the industrialization of the country is frequently called arduous (*utyazhelenoi*) (Khrushchev, (ed), 2001). Hence the urbanization in Russia had industrial character.

Grounding the economic base only on the industry and undervalue the branches of services reflected the old philosophy preferred by the economic politics of Middle and Eastern Europe about the industrial development of the country. These towns had frequently low standard what protected only minimal comfort in the dwelling houses and minimal service base. Such orientation of the management of the country, frequently towns with homogeneous industrial profile, increase the risk of unemployment. Therefore a part of monofunctional towns in Middle and Eastern Europe, also in Russia, undergo a crisis in the present transformation period to market economy (Szymańska, 1996). Low unemployment level is noted in towns of the regions of new management (*novogo osvoyeniya*), because the majority of the population in these regions is immigratory and not founding employment they return to the place where they came from. Relatively high unemployment is noted in the regions where plants of the crisis branches (at present) are located, i.e. the whole war-industrial complex, light industry and machine construction (Khrushchev, (ed), 2001: 70). This question is very interesting, but its discussion is beyond the frames of this paper.

It seems that the urbanization in Russia, like in many other post-socialistic countries of the former so called Eastern Block, to the end of the 80ties years of the 20th century is sometimes named as "infirm", i.e. partial and non-full and its course as abnormal (Zagożdżon, 1983: 68; Węgleński 1992: 35).

During the last years urbanization in Russia have intensive character. We have already shown one side of the intensification, i.e. the consolidation and strengthening of the existing urban network. The other side is gradual transformation of urban networks to complex urban settlement systems. This problem is quite complex and requires separate, deep studies, here we have limited ourselves only to its signalization.

One of the circumstances of the formation of urban settlement systems in Russia was the growth in the number of towns what contributed to the densification of the network of urban

units causing considerable lessening of distances between them. Any kind of economic, technical-organizational, cultural-social and other connections, as it is known, are achieved easier and quicker if the distances between the towns are small. Just such co-operations are the base of the formation of settlement systems. Equally important condition of transformation the urban networks into urban systems is the existence big "leading" towns on this areas, as well as adapted to the necessities development of transportation and the rest of technical infrastructure. Large urban-industrial agglomerations are the most important links.

In the last decade of the 20th century the urbanization process in Russia took different qualitative character, the demilitarization and deindustrialization processes of the Russian economy began, the significance of the service sector increased – basic services as well as that of higher rank. Processes of tertiarization, quarterization and quinarization can be observed and it seems that they have constant increasing tendency. From the total Gross Domestic Product, produced in Russia in 1998, the production of articles made 39.9% (in 1990 over 60% of the Gross Domestic Product), production of services 52.7%. So for the first time in the Russian history services gave more than 50% in the Gross Domestic Product (Khrushchev, (ed), 2001).

In connection with the discussed questions we should emphasize once again that the urbanization phenomenon (understood here as the increment of the number of towns and urban population) took over whole Russia. However, in the last years its rate considerably weakened. Regions that are most strongly developed economically and regions with difficult conditions for the development of agriculture have high urbanization coefficients. Due to the huge territory (17.1 million km<sup>2</sup>), differentiated natural conditions and history Russia can be treated as a specific kind of laboratory of the modern urbanization. There are towns here with ancient and medieval history, towns formed not long ago, as well as towns just creating. Different problems occur here natural-economic problems connected with the development of urbanization, with hyper-industrialization of towns from polar towns to towns situated in the oases of deserts, and also historical-cultural, ethnic, social and economic problems

## REFERENCES

- Alferova, G.B. (1989) *Ruskiie goroda XVI – XVII vv*, M:
- Baranskii N.N. (1946) 'Ob ekonomiko-geograficheskom izuczenii gorodov', in *Voprosy geografii*, sbornik 2, M: Geografgiz, 19-62
- Davidovich, V. G. (1949) 'Formy rasseleniia v ugol'nykh basseinakh SSSR', in *Voprosy geografii*, sbornik 14, M: Geografgiz, 3-28
- Gorod i derevnia v Evropeiskoi Rossii: sto let peremen*, 2001, (monograficheski sbornik- ed. Nefedova T., Polyan P., Treivish A.), M: Institut Ros. Akademii Nauk, Seria OGI, pp. 560
- Khorev, B. S., 1975, *Problemy gorodov (urbanizacia i edinaia sistema rasseleniia v SSSR)*, M:.
- Khodzhaev, D. G., Kochetkov A. V., Listengurt F. M., (1977) *Sistema rasseleniia v SSSR*, M: Khrushchev, A.T. (ed), 2001, *Ekonomicheskaya i sotsyalnaya geografia Rossii*, M: Izd. DROFA, pp.672
- Konstantinov, O.A. (1964), 'Geograficheskoe izuczenie gorodskikh poselenii v SSSR' in *Geografiia naseleniia v SSSR; osnovnye problemy*. M-L: Izd. "Nauka", 32-68

- Konstantinov, O.A. (1947) 'Izmeneniia v geografii gorodov SSSR za sovetskii period' in *Voprosy geografii*, sbornik 6, M: Geografiz, 11-46
- Kovalëv, S.A. (1968) 'Izmeneniia v razmeshchenii naseleniia SSSR za gody sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva', in *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, serii 5, geografia*, Nr 3: 3-13. English abstract: 'Changes in population distribution in the U.S.S.R. during the years of socialist construction'
- Lappo, G.M. (1963) 'Izuchenie gorodskikh aglomeratsii', in *Sovremennaiia geografiia v period stroitel'stva kommunizma* M: Geografiz, 213-224
- Lappo, G. M., and Troitskaia, E.Kh (1967) 'Puti razvitiia krupnykh gorodov v SSSR', in *Nauchnye problemy geografii naseleniia*, M: Izd. Moskovskogo Universiteta, 125-137
- Lappo, G.M., and Petrov, N.B. (1986) *Geourbanistika v SSSR: osnovnye dostizheniya, napravleniia issledovaniia*, M:
- Lappo, G.M. (1997), *Geografia gorodov*, Moscow: Izd. Gumanit. izd. centr VLADOS, pp.480
- Litovka, O.P., (1976) *Problemy prostranstvennogo razvitiia urbanizatsii*. Leningrad:
- Nefedova T., Polyana P., and Treivish A. (eds) (2001) *Gorod i derevnia v Evropeiskoi Rossii: sto let peremen, 2001*, (monograficheski sbornik) M: Institut Ros. Akademii Nauk, Seria OGI, pp. 560
- Pertsik, E.N. (1991) *Geografiia gorodov (geourbanistika)*, M: Izd. Vysshaya shkola, pp.319
- Ozerova, G. N., Pokshishevskii, V.V. (1981) *Geografiia morovogo protsessa urbanizatsii*, M: Prosveshchenie, pp. 190
- Pokshishevskii, V.V., and Lappo G.M. (eds) (1976) *Problemy urbanizatsii i rasseleniia*, M:
- Saushkin, Yu.G. (1960) 'Ob izuchenii sistemy gorodov Sovetskogo Soiuza' in *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, serii 5, geografiia*, Nr 1: 23-30.
- Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, V.P. (1910) 'Gorod i derevnia v Evropeiskoi Rossii: ocherk po ekonomicheskoi geografii' in *Zapiski Ruskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdeleniiu statistiki*, tom 10, vypusk 2, St. - Peterburg, pp.212.
- Strany i narody. Sovetskii Soiuz* (1983). M: tom 16.
- Szymańska, D. (1993) *New Towns in Regional Development*, Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University. pp.138.
- Szymańska, D. (1995) 'The Urbanization Phenomenon and its Consequences' (in Polish), in Turlo, J. (ed.) *Badania środowiska. Materiały podyplomowego studium PRONAT*. pp.71-79. Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University
- Szymańska, D. (1996) *New Towns in Settlement Systems*, (in Polish). Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University.
- Szymańska, D. (1982) 'K voprosu o sistemnoi kontseptsii v geografii rasseleniia', in *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, serii 5, geografiia*, Nr 5: 53-57.
- Trube L.L., and Khoriev B.S. (1970) *Novyie goroda na kartie Rodiny*, M:
- Węgleński, J. (1992) *Urbanisation without Modernisation?* (in Polish). Warsaw: Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University
- Vodarskii J.E (1973) *Naselenie Rossii za 400 let (XVI - nachalo XX veka)*, M:
- Zagożdżon, A. (1983) 'The Role of Industrialisation and Urbanisation Processes in the Present and Future Functioning of Spatial Economy in Poland' (in Polish), in 'Diagnoza stanu gospodarki Polski', *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, z. 123:13-29.

## BASIC SOURCES OF DATA

### 1. General Censuses

- Russia. Tsentral'nyi statisticheskii komitet. *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 goda*. S. Peterburg, 1899-1905. 89 vols. (1897 census)
- Russia. Tsentral'nyi statisticheskii komitet. *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 goda. Vypusk 5. Okonchatel'no ustanovlennoe pri razrabotke perepisi. Nalichnoe naselenie gorodov*. S. Peterburg, 1905. (1897 census)
- SSSR. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda*. M: 1928-1933. 56 vols. (1926 census)
- SSSR. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie. *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia na 15 ianvaria 1959 goda*. M: Gosstatizdat, 1962-1963. 16 unnumbered volumes, one covering the USSR as a whole and one for each of the 15 union republics. (1959 census with data for 1939 census)
- RSFSR. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie pri Sovetie ministrov RSFSR. *Naseleniie RSFSR. Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia na 15 ianvaria 1959 goda*. M:1960. 239 p. (ne podlezhit opublikovaniu v otkrytoi pechati RSFSR. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie RSFSR (TSU RSFSR – Upravlenie perepisi naseleniia). *Gorodskie poselenia RSFSR. (po dannym vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda*. M:1980. pp. 149

### 2. Statistical Yearbooks and Official Statistical Publications

- Statisticheskii ezhegodnik SSSR. Naseleniie SSSR*.1988. M: Goskomstat SSSR. Finansy i Statistika, 1989, pp. 704.
- Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 ianvaria 1990 goda*. 1990. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): pp. 266
- Demograficheskii ezhegodnik SSSR*. 1990. M: Goskomstat SSSR. Finansy i statistika. 1990. pp.640.
- Statisticheskii ezhegodnik RSFSR. Naseleniie RSFSR*. 2001. M: Goskomstat RSFSR. Finansy i Statistika: 102-103
- Chislennost naseleniia RSFSR po gorodam, rabochim posiolkam i raionam na 1 ianvaria 2002 goda*. 2002. M: Gosudarstvennyi komitet RSFSR po statistike (Goskomstat RSFSR): 60-189.

Correspondence to:

Daniela Szymańska, Department of Urban and Recreation Studies,  
Institute of Geography,  
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń,  
Danielewskiego 6,  
87-100 Toruń, Poland  
email: dani@geo.uni.torun.pl

