

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TERRITORIES, BRANCHES, AND PRODUCTION COMPLEXES

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CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN RUSSIA BASED ON THE NEO-ENDOGENOUS MODEL



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Ensuring the sustainable development of rural territories has always been, and remains, an urgent task for Russia. Despite the implementation of a complex of federal and regional state programs and projects, a large number of economic, socio-demographic, and infrastructural problems – which have already become chronic – persist in the development of the countryside. This necessitates not merely the design of new measures and instruments or the improvement of existing ones, but a fundamental rethinking of the very model of rural development that has taken shape in the country to date. The aim of this study is to substantiate the conceptual foundations for the development of Russia's rural territories on the basis of the neo-endogenous model, with a view to their subsequent implementation in the practice of state governance. In pursuit of this aim, a mechanism for regulating rural development has been elaborated, one that rests on the principles of neo-endogenous development and envisages the use of both existing and new, promising instruments. The latter include: individual plans/projects for the development of rural territories with a low level of socio-economic development; quality-of-life standards for rural areas; and cooperation development projects along “urban–rural” and “rural–rural” lines in the economic, social, and other spheres of public life. The findings contribute to shaping conceptions of the prospects for the development of the Russian countryside and can be used by researchers conducting studies on

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related topics, as well as by public authorities in refining strategic planning documents and designing specific rural development projects.

Rural territories, neo-endogenous development model, mechanism, collaboration, cooperation.

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Introduction

According to the Strategy for Spatial Development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030, with a forecast up to 2036 (approved by Government Order 4146-r, dated December 28, 2024), ensuring balanced spatial development is one of Russia's strategic goals. Its achievement depends not so much on identifying and developing inter- and intra-regional growth points – which are most often cities¹ – as on the systematic and comprehensive development of rural areas. However, researchers note that the development of Russian rural areas is hampered by a whole range of socio-demographic, economic, and infrastructure problems (see, for example, Nefedova, 2025; Voroshilov, 2025). Moreover, most of these problems are protracted in nature, despite the implementation of state support measures within the framework of the "Integrated Development of Rural Territories" program (approved by Government Resolution 696, dated May 31, 2019) and the program for the development of agriculture and the regulation of markets for agricultural products, raw materials, and food (approved...by Government Decree 717, dated July 14,

2012), national projects, etc. This makes it necessary not just to work out new measures and tools, but to review the very model of rural development that has taken shape in Russia by now.

According to Russian and foreign researchers (Kostyaev, 2018a; Kostyaev, 2018b; Ivanov, 2021; Kozlova, Kopylova, 2025; Georgios et al., 2021; Eversole, Campbell, 2023; Liu, Han, 2025), the most promising approach appears to be a transition to a neo-endogenous model, which is currently used in a large number of developed countries in Europe and Asia². Its essence lies in focusing on the development of rural areas by increasing the efficiency of using both internal (endogenous) and external (exogenous) resources, as well as the potential of cooperative relations in the social, economic, and other spheres of public life along the lines of "urban–rural" and "rural–rural" interactions between the state, businesses, the population, and other actors. At the same time, in the context of the turbulence of the global economy and geopolitics, the exacerbation of existing challenges and the emergence of new global and

¹ For instance, in the list of 2,160 key settlements in the Russian Federation, approved by the presidium (staff) of the Government Commission for Regional Development in the Russian Federation (protocol 143pr, dated 16.12.2024), 68 % are cities (1,041 units) and urban-type settlements (438 units), and only 32 % are rural settlements (681 units, which is almost 2.2 times fewer than the number of urban settlements).

² For example, the LEADER rural development program, implemented in European countries, and the rural revitalization program in China largely correspond to the neo-endogenous development model (Biczkowski, 2020; Liu et al., 2025). At the same time, in the global scientific community, alongside the neo-endogenous model of rural development, an exogenous model is also distinguished – it assumes reliance mainly on external development resources – and an endogenous model, which focuses primarily on using internal resources for development. The neo-endogenous model, like the endogenous one, is based on using the potential of local (local) communities and resources, as well as, unlike the latter, diverse networks, knowledge, innovations, and social capital (Kostyaev, 2023). The modern model of rural development in the Russian Federation is most often identified as an exogenous type model with the dominance of the city over the countryside, which, in turn, is considered as a supplier of food resources and raw materials for the development of the urban economy (see, for example, Kostyaev, 2021).

national challenges, unlocking the potential of cooperation and collaboration seems extremely relevant, as it becomes obvious that it is impossible to develop “alone”. However, while the theoretical and methodological foundations of the neo-endogenous model are well-studied in the global scientific community, the issues related to its practical implementation, on the contrary, have been and remain controversial.

The aim of the work is to provide scientific substantiation of the conceptual foundations for the development of rural areas in Russia based on a neo-endogenous model, with the subsequent implementation of these foundations into the practice of public administration. We proposed to solve interrelated tasks to achieve this aim: to provide a brief description of the trends in the development of rural areas in the Russian Federation, as well as to develop a regulatory mechanism and propose new promising tools for their development within the framework of the neo-endogenous model.

The information base for the study consists of data from Rosstat, scholarly works, analytical reports, and reports from government bodies of the Russian Federation, foreign countries, and international organizations, focusing on

the theoretical, methodological, and practical aspects of rural development.

We used monographic, critical analysis, synthesis, generalization, and comparison methods in the research.

Trends in the development of rural areas in Russia

The development of rural areas in modern Russia is characterized by a large number of problems and negative trends, which are noted not only by representatives of the scientific community but also by government bodies³. At the same time, most of the problems, as previously emphasized, are chronic in nature, i.e., they have been observed for more than 20 years. Among them, the following can be distinguished.

1. In the demographic sphere, it is: a decrease in the rural population. For instance, overall, in the Russian Federation, between 1990 and 2025, it decreased by 6.7% (from 38.9 to 36.2 million people; *Tab. 1*), while the population of working-age and pre-working-age people decreased by 9.8% between 1989 and 2023 (from 10.4 to 27.4 thousand people). However, it is important to understand that these are average estimates for the country; in most constituent entities of the Russian

Table 1. Dynamics of the rural population of the Russian Federation

Indicator	1990*	2000**	2010	2020	2025***	2025 to 1990 ****, %, +/- p. p.
1. Number of rural population, million people	38.9	39.5	37.6	37.4	36.3	93.3
2. Share of rural population in the total population of the Russian Federation, %	26	27	26	25	25	-1
3. Population of the rural area of working age and below working age, in millions of people	30.4	30.0	29.2	27.6	27.4	90.2
4. Share of population of working age and below working age in the total rural population, %	77.9	77.4	77.9	74.1	74.6	-3.3
Note. Only for indicators 3–4: * – 1989, ** – 2002, *** – 2023, **** – 2023 compared to 1989. According to: Rosstat data.						

³ See, for example: Putin commented on the problem of poor infrastructure in rural areas in Russia. *Parlamentskaya Gazeta*. Available at: <https://www.pnp.ru/economics/putin-prokommentiroval-problemu-neblagoustroennosti-syol-v-rossii.html> (accessed: 27.04.2026); Matvienko called on regions to pay more attention to maintaining rural schools and roads. *TASS*. Available at: <https://tass.ru/obschestvo/20790823> (accessed: 27.04.2026).

Federation, the problem of depopulation is much more acute. For example, in the Vologda Region, the rural population decreased by 35.2% between 1990 and 2025 (from 467.6 to 303.1 thousand people), and its share in the total population of the region decreased by 7.3 percentage points (from 34.5% to 27.2%). All of this leads to an accelerated transformation of the region's settlement pattern due to its simplification – an increase in the role of cities as settlement hubs, coupled with an increase in the number and share of depopulated rural settlements.

2. In the social sphere, it is: the level and quality of life of rural population are relatively low compared to the level and quality of life of urban residents. For example, the gap between urban and rural areas in terms of life expectancy at birth in the Russian Federation increased from 1.6 to 1.8 years between 2000 and 2023, in favor of the former (73.9 years versus 72.1 years in 2023).

The gap in the level of disposable household resources per capita between 2014 and 2024 increased from 9,500 to 14,200 rubles (46,500 in urban areas versus 32,300 rubles in rural areas in 2024; *Tab. 2*). For comparison, in the Vologda Region, it increased from 9,200 to 9,800 rubles.

3. In the economic sphere, it is: the destruction of the economic base of rural areas

located far from key centers of economic growth at the regional and interregional levels (large cities – administrative centers, nuclei of urban agglomerations, etc.). For example, the average per capita volume of shipments of products, goods, and services in fully rural municipalities of the Vologda Region is almost six times lower than the regional average: 203 thousand rubles versus 1,209 thousand rubles in 2023⁴. For comparison: in 2016, the gap was 4.4 times (189.0 vs 824.7 thousand rubles).

4. In the infrastructure sector, it is: a high degree of wear and tear of public and household infrastructure, or its complete absence. For example, according to Rosstat, in 2024, only 47% of the rural housing stock was equipped with both water supply and sewage systems, heating and hot water supply, gas or floor-standing electric stoves.

These aspects do not reflect the full range of problems and negative trends in the development of rural areas, but they do demonstrate their diversity across different spheres, as well as the scale and duration of their impact. This, in turn, necessitates a review of the very model of rural development that has taken shape in Russia up to the present time.

Table 2. Level of disposable resources of households, on average per household member per month, rubles

Indicator	Urban households			Rural households			Resources of urban households exceed those of rural households	
	2014	2024	2024 to 2014, %	2014	2024	2024 to 2014, %	2014	2024
RF	25347.5	46484.4	1.8	15802.3	32325.2	2.0	9545.2	14159.2
Vologda Region	27566.1	47936.7	1.7	18353.5	38130.4	2.1	9212.6	9806.3
Note: data are presented in current prices. According to: Rosstat data.								

⁴ Uskova T.V., Voroshilov N.V. (Eds). (2024). Socio-economic development of the municipal entities of the Vologda Region. 2000–2023: Information and analytical bulletin. Issue 11. Vologda: VolRC RAS. 132 p.

Conceptual foundations for the development of rural areas in Russia based on neo-endogenous model.

Among the wide variety of concepts and theories in regional and spatial economics, the theoretical foundation for the formation and implementation of a neo-endogenous model of rural development in the Russian Federation can be based on the concepts of a supporting framework⁵ and the rural-urban continuum⁶. It is within these frameworks that the village and the city are understood as interconnected and mutually reinforcing elements of the regional socio-economic space, and the sources of their development are sought both from within and from outside. However, the mechanism can additionally integrate the following provisions:

- the concepts of spatial (economic, social, institutional, and other) proximity, which determine

the nature of interaction between various entities (Zamyatina, Pilyasov, 2017; Torre, Rallet, 2005).

- theories of inclusive growth, in terms of the involvement of all population groups, representatives of the authorities, and businesses in the development of territories, and ensuring their equal access to the achievements and benefits of the economy (Rodina, 2019).

Figure 1 schematically shows the key ideas and principles of each of them, which are used in constructing the neo-endogenous model.

However, it seems advisable to define the conceptual framework of the mechanism (goals, objectives, priorities) primarily through Russia's key strategic planning documents. These include: Presidential Decree 474, dated July 21, 2020, "On the National Development Goals of the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2030"; Presidential Decree 400, dated July 2,

Neo-endogenous model of rural development			
↑	↑	↑	↑
Support frame concept	Concept of the rural-urban continuum	Concept of spatial proximity	Theories of inclusive growth
The ideas about the role and significance of rural areas are not just about viewing them as part of the "fabric" of space (as some secondary, auxiliary element in comparison with cities), but as an important system-forming element that performs a whole range of economic functions (demographic, production-related, etc.).	The ideas of the interconnection and interdependence of the development of cities and rural areas, and the absence of a clear boundary between them due to the presence of zones that combine features of urban and rural lifestyles (suburban areas, small towns, etc.).	The idea of a multifaceted (economic, social, institutional, transport-related, and other) proximity between the city and the countryside, which determines the complex nature of their interaction.	The idea of involving all groups of the population, representatives of the authorities, businesses, non-profit organizations, and other actors in the development of rural areas, and ensuring their equal access to the achievements and benefits of the economy.

Figure 1. Theoretical foundation for the development and implementation of neo-endogenous model for the development of rural areas.

Source: own compilation.

⁵ The concept of supporting framework is one of the fundamental concepts in regional and spatial economics. Its founders (N.N. Baransky, G.M. Lappo, B.S. Khorev, etc.) examined territories through the lens of key elements, which were most often cities, and the linear elements connecting them – roads. At the same time, modern researchers note that currently, key elements can include not only cities but also large rural settlements that play a supporting role / perform the functions of an economic, social, and infrastructure center for the surrounding territories. In addition, considerable attention is paid to the impact of cities on the development of surrounding rural areas.

⁶ The concept of the rural-urban continuum (pioneered by P.A. Sorokin, K. Zimmerman, R. Redfield, etc.) involves examining a territory through the lens of a smooth and gradual transition from urban settlement forms to rural ones, and the co-development of cities and rural areas.

2021 “On the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation”; and the Strategy for the Spatial Development of the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2030. It appears that only such a comprehensive approach – focused on achieving high-level goals that are common to all government bodies – can have a positive impact on the development of rural areas and the country as a whole.

The transition to the neo-endogenous model of rural development should be implemented gradually, without a fundamental overhaul of the existing model, which to a certain extent already integrates certain aspects of both exogenous and endogenous development models⁷. The strategic steps for such a transition are as follows:

I. Improving the system of state regulation of rural development in terms of implementing principles, methods, and tools, as well as establishing institutions for neo-endogenous development.

II. Organizational, financial, legal, and other forms of state support for network interaction projects in the “rural–rural” and “urban–rural” formats, across various spheres of public life (economic, sociocultural, infrastructural, etc.), with the active involvement of the local population and the business community, government bodies and local self-government authorities, and other interested parties.

Taking into account these steps and the theoretical framework mentioned above, a mechanism for regulating the development of rural areas within the framework of the neo-endogenous model has been developed (Fig. 2). Its implementation is deemed appropriate on the basis of the updated Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Rural Areas of the Russian Federation for the period up to

2030 (hereinafter referred to as the Strategy), which was approved on February 2, 2015, by Government Order 151-r and has been edited only once as of March 2026 (in 2017). This is due to the fact that developing and approving a new strategy would require relatively higher resource and time expenditures, which, overall, seems inadvisable.

In our view, the interpretation of the sustainable development of rural areas set out in the Strategy should initially be updated: “stable socio-economic development of rural areas, an increase in the volume of agricultural production, an increase in the efficiency of agriculture, achieving full employment of the rural population and an improvement in their standard of living, and the rational use of land.” The proposed interpretation is: “socio-economic development of rural areas, which is characterized by a steady improvement in the level and quality of life of rural population, the development of the rural economy, the rational use of natural resources, and which contributes to achieving national goals and ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation”. In fact, while maintaining the socio-ecological and economic focus of the sustainable development concept, the new interpretation:

a) moves away from the narrow agrarian specialization of rural areas, which is extremely important for Russia, with its vast territories featuring diverse natural and climatic, demographic, cultural, and other characteristics.

b) clarifies the rather vague interpretation of “stable socio-economic development of rural areas” and eliminates the controversial task of achieving full employment among rural population.

⁷ Among the features of the exogenous model, we can highlight the preservation of food and raw material production for the urban economy as the main function of rural areas, the focus on modernizing agriculture and forestry as part of the development of the rural economy, and the absence of rural development strategies in most Russian regions, etc. (Petrakova, 2022). Among the features of the endogenous model are the presence of specific tools for diversifying the rural economy (grants, subsidies for the development of rural tourism, etc.), and increasing the activity and interest of the rural community in solving local problems (for example, through participatory budgeting, etc.).

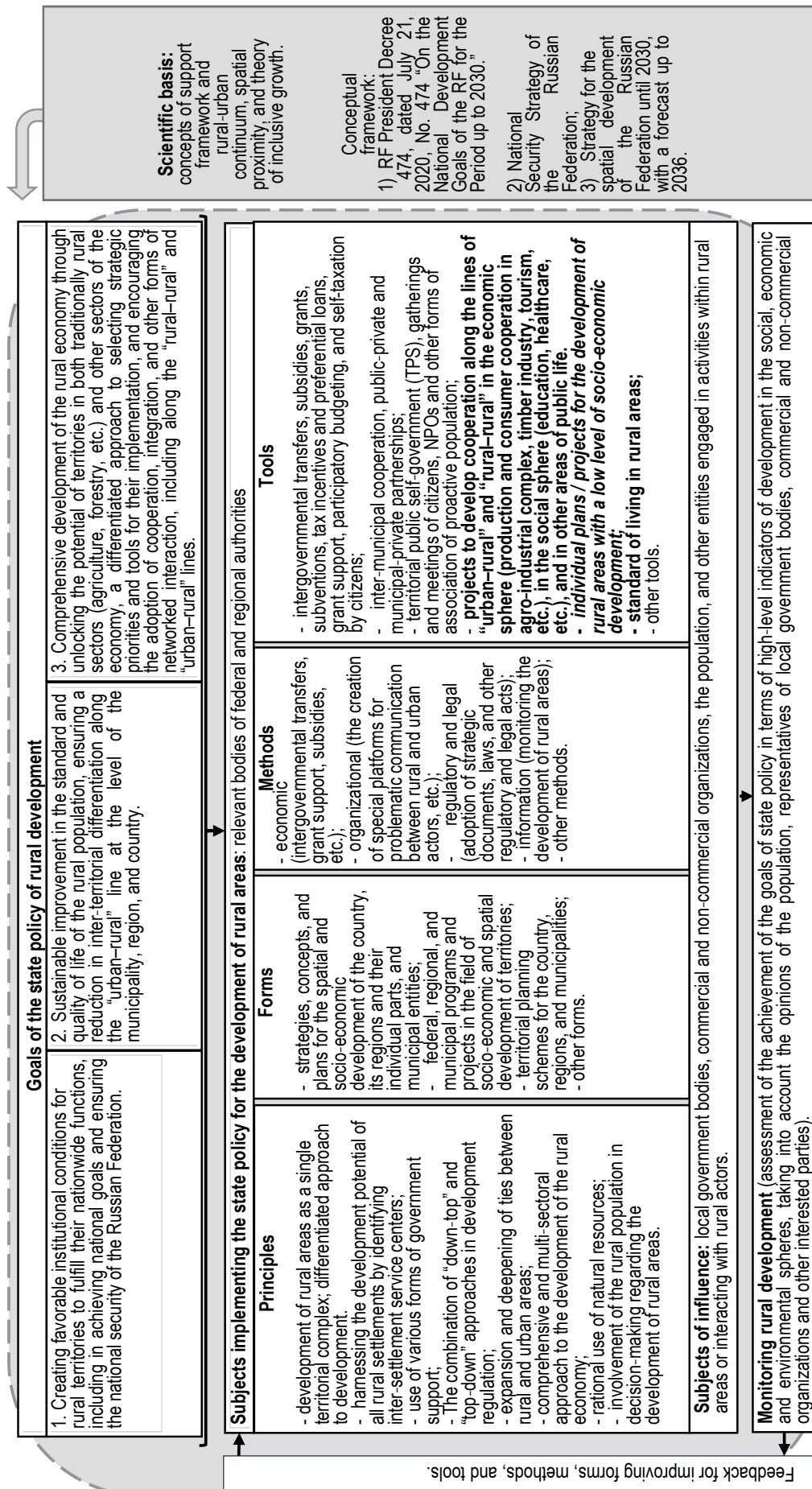


Figure 2. Mechanism for regulating the development of rural areas within the framework of the neo-endogenous model

Note: the tools that, in our opinion, have not received sufficient distribution are highlighted in bold.

Source: own compilation.

c) establishes a link between the development of rural areas and the achievement of national goals and the обеспечения of the national security of the Russian Federation, which is extremely important from the perspective of positioning the role and place of the Russian countryside and its significance for Russian society.

It also seems necessary to adjust the goals of the state policy in the field of ensuring the development of rural areas. Thus, Goal 1 set out in the Strategy has a vague formulation (“creating favorable socio-economic conditions...”) and is effectively elaborated in Goals 2–4.

Goal 2, which involves stabilizing the rural population and creating conditions for its growth, appears to be difficult to achieve and may even be unattainable; in light of the global trend toward urbanization, population growth can only be observed in a limited number of rural settlements, for example, those located in the zone of large and largest urban agglomerations, in the suburbs. Moreover, combating the migration outflow of the rural

population may even be counterproductive; for example, it may hinder the transition to a new technological order. In light of this, Goal 3, which is related to improving the level and quality of life, seems more appropriate.

Goal 4 is characterized by a narrow “agrarian” view of the specialization of the rural economy.

Taking into account foreign experience and the scientific foundations of neo-endogenous development of rural areas, it seems reasonable to set goals in three areas: creating favorable institutional conditions (management sphere; *Tab. 3*), improving the level and quality of life (social sphere), and comprehensively developing the rural economy (economic sphere).

At the same time, the main entities responsible for implementing the state policy on the development of rural territories in the three areas mentioned above are the relevant bodies of federal and regional authorities: the Ministry of Agriculture of the Russian Federation and the relevant ministries/departments of the

Table 3. Goals of state policy in the field of rural development

Goals set out in the Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Rural Areas of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030	Suggestions for adjusting goals
1. Creating favorable socio-economic conditions for rural areas to fulfil their nationwide functions and address territorial development challenges.	1. Creating favorable institutional conditions for rural areas to fulfill their national functions, including in achieving national goals and ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation.
2. Ensuring the stabilization of the rural population and creating conditions for its growth through reducing mortality, increasing life expectancy, and reducing migration outflow.	2. Sustainable improvement in the level and quality of life of the rural population, ensuring a reduction in inter-territorial differentiation along the “city–rural” line at the level of municipality, region, and country.
3. Ensuring employment, improving the standard and quality of life of rural population in line with modern requirements and standards.	
4. Improving the efficiency of agriculture and the contribution of rural areas to the socio-economic development of the country.	3. Comprehensive development of the rural economy through the unlocking of the potential of territories, both in traditionally rural sectors (agriculture and forestry) and in other economic sectors, a differentiated approach to selecting strategic priorities and tools for their implementation, and the promotion of cooperation, integration, and other forms of interaction, including along the “rural–rural” and “urban–rural” lines.
Source: own compilation in accordance with the provisions of the Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Rural Areas of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030: approved by Government Order 151-r, dated February 2, 2015 (as amended on January 13, 2017).	

constituent entities of the Russian Federation. In addition, other bodies of state and regional authorities may and should be involved in achieving the goals of rural development within the scope of their powers and competencies, for example: the Ministry of Transport in terms of addressing infrastructure-related issues; the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection in terms of promoting employment and increasing the labor productivity of the rural population.

The object of influence within the framework of our mechanism is the multidimensional socio-economic space of rural territories. The subjects of influence are local self-government bodies, commercial and non-commercial organizations, the population, and other entities that carry out activities in the space of rural territories or interact with rural actors. At the same time, a feedback system must be established between the subjects implementing state policy and the entities whose functioning this policy is aimed at. It would be advisable for it to be based on the results of regularly conducted monitoring of rural development, which consists of assessing the achievement of state policy goals in terms of high-level indicators of development in the social, economic, and environmental spheres (the objective side, since the data source may be official statistics) and the opinions

of the population, representatives of local government bodies, commercial and non-profit organizations, and other interested parties (the subjective side; the information source may be surveys conducted via the public services portal or by specialized agencies – scientific, expert, or analytical).

The policy for the development of rural areas, as well as any other territories, sectors, and industries of the economy, should be based on certain principles. At the same time, within the framework of the neo-endogenous model of rural development, it seems necessary to adjust the principles set out in the Strategy for Sustainable Rural Development: on the one hand, to reduce their number, leaving only the key, upper-level ones, on the other hand, to add the principles on which the policies of the European Union and China are based (*Tab. 4*). It is important that these principles are reflected in other documents of the spatial and socio-economic development of the country (for example, in the Spatial Development Strategy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030, if adjusted; strategies for the development of agriculture, manufacturing, etc.) and its regions, national projects, government programs and other documents related to rural development.

Table 4. Principles of state policy in the field of rural development

Principles set out in the Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Rural Areas of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030	Suggestions for adjusting the principles
1. Development of rural areas as a single territorial complex that has developed historically, performing important socially significant functions and making a significant contribution to the comprehensive socio-economic development of the Russian Federation.	Adjust: the development of rural areas as a single territorial, historically established complex that performs socially significant functions and makes a substantial contribution to the comprehensive socio-economic development of the Russian Federation, the achievement of national goals, and ensuring the national security.
2. Ensuring the constitutional rights of citizens living in rural areas, including ensuring the accessibility and quality of state and municipal services.	Exclude, as this principle is a task derived from the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.
3. Creating conditions to improve the accessibility and quality of other socially significant services provided to rural residents on a paid basis.	Exclude, since this principle is more of a task.

End of Table 4

Principles set out in the Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Rural Areas of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030	Suggestions for adjusting the principles
4. Use of various forms of state support to ensure favorable conditions for the socio-economic development of rural areas and the comprehensive use of the existing economic and socio-demographic potential.	Retain.
5. Partnership between the state, local self-government bodies, businesses, and the rural population to ensure the sustainable development of rural areas.	Adjust: a combination of “bottom-up” and “top-down” approaches in defining goals, prospects, priorities, and developing strategies for the development of territories in partnership between the state, business, and the rural population.
6. Leveraging the development potential of all rural settlements by identifying inter-settlement service centers.	Retain.
7. Differentiated approach to the development of rural areas, taking into account the existing territorial characteristics and their impact on the socio-economic development potential of rural areas, aimed at reducing interregional and intra-regional disparities in the level and quality of life of rural population.	Retain.
8. Using advantages of rural lifestyle in implementing youth and demographic policy measures in rural areas.	Exclude, as it is not a top-level component.
9. Expanding and deepening the ties between rural areas and cities, integrating rural areas into a single overall economic system based on agro-industrial integration and cooperation, and developing modern, economically efficient forms of organizing the economic activities of organizations of all property forms.	Adjust: to expand and deepen the ties between rural areas and cities through the development of networked and non-networked forms of interaction in the economic sectors (agriculture, forestry, circular economy, etc.), infrastructure, culture, and other areas of public life.
10. Development of local self-government, civil society institutions, and all forms of cooperation in rural areas, as well as increasing the participation of the rural population in decision-making regarding the development of rural territories.	Retain.
11. Rational use of natural resources, preservation and improvement of traditional agrolandscapes, and careful management of non-renewable natural resources.	
12. Ensuring the epizootic well-being of rural areas.	Exclude, as it is not a top-level issue, it is rather a task.
13. Implementing investment projects in agro-industrial sector in rural areas, which are interconnected with providing the settlements where they are implemented with social and engineering infrastructure facilities.	Adjust: a comprehensive and multi-sectoral approach to the development of the rural economy, focused on supporting and developing not only “traditionally rural” sectors – agriculture and forestry – but also other economic sectors, including taking into account global challenges and trends.
14. Creating additional high-tech jobs in agro-industrial enterprises in rural areas.	
15. Existence of measures to stimulate the involvement of extrabudgetary sources for the comprehensive development of social and engineering infrastructure and the improvement of housing conditions in rural areas.	Exclude, as it is not a top-level component.
Source: own compilation taking into account the provisions of the Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Rural Territories of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030, approved by Government Order 151-r, dated February 2, 2015 (as amended on January 13, 2017).	

In our view, the key role in implementing the neo-endogenous model is assigned to the use of existing tools and the introduction of new tools for the development of rural areas. At the same time, most of these tools are comprehensive, as they can influence the achievement of not just one, but several development goals (Fig. 3).

Among the entire array of tools, special attention should be paid to those that have either not yet been implemented or are only sparingly used in Russian practice.

1) individual plans / projects for the development of rural areas with a low level of socio-economic development;

2) quality of life standards in rural areas;

3) projects to develop cooperation along the “urban–rural” and “rural–rural” lines in the economic, social, and other spheres of public life.

For instance, it appears possible to develop and implement individual development plans/projects (IDP) for rural areas with a low level

of socio-economic development at the level of constituent entities of the Russian Federation, by analogy with the individual development plans approved for the Kurgan and Pskov regions, the Altai Territory, and the republics of Altai, Adygea, Kalmykia, Karelia, Mari El, Tuva, and Chuvashia, by Government orders in accordance with the instruction of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation DM P16–4600r, dated June 5, 2019. At the same time, scholars refer to the IDP applicable to the regions as the only measure of federal regional policy that simultaneously involves “a competitive selection of regions and an individualized selection of measures for each specific entity”; at the same time, “regional authorities are directly involved in the development of the programs, their opinions are taken into account, and thus the regions can at least prioritize (albeit under conditions predetermined by the federation)

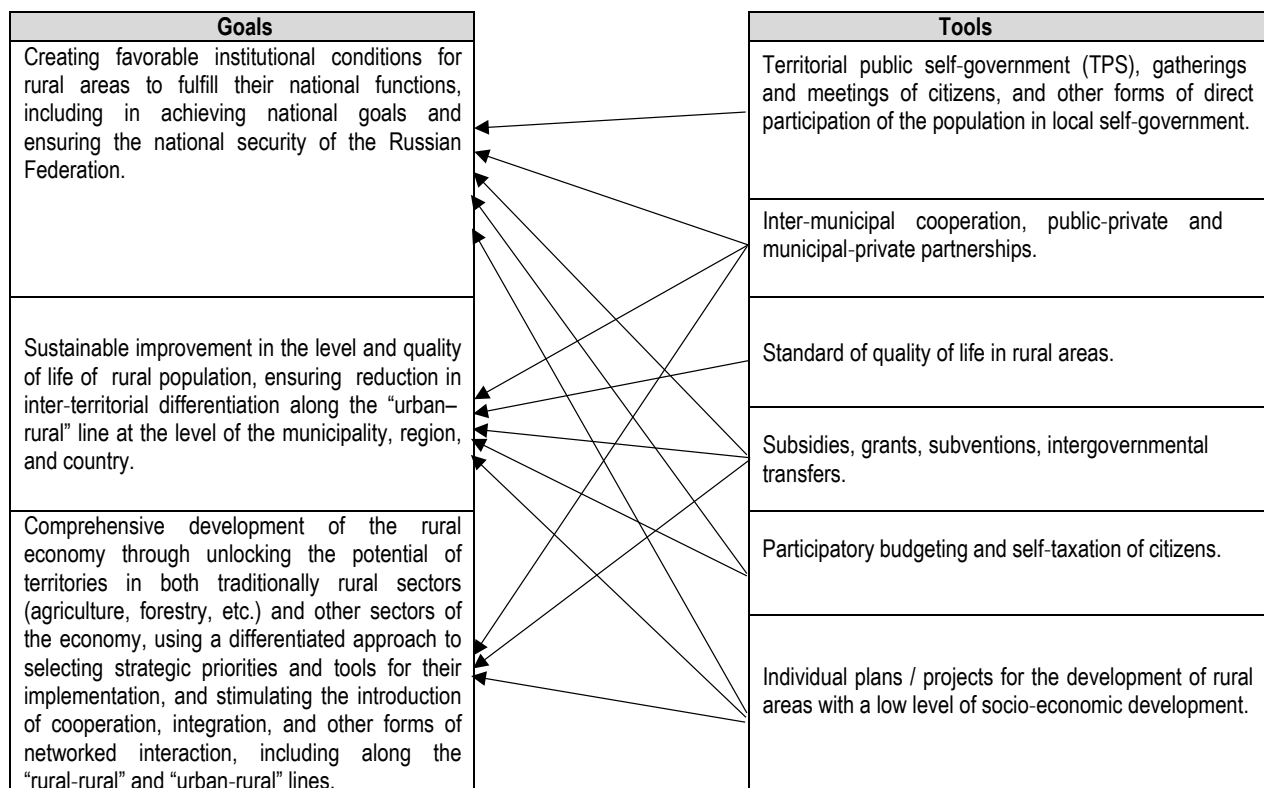


Figure 3. The impact of certain tools on achieving the state policy goals in the field of rural development

Source: own compilation.

program projects in accordance with the vector of domestic regional policy chosen by themselves” (Zemlyansky et al., 2024).

Taking into account the Methodological Recommendations for organizing work on the development of individual programs for the socio-economic development of constituent entities of the Russian Federation with a low level of socio-economic development (approved by Order 698 of the Ministry of Economic Development of Russia, dated October 25, 2019) and the report of the Accounts Chamber of the Russian Federation “Analysis of the effectiveness of implementing programs for individual development plans for territories with a low level of socio-economic development”⁸, it is possible to identify the points that need to be taken into account when scaling up such a tool as the IDP to the local level:

- a list of the key IDP activities from the “economy,” “living environment,” and “social sphere” areas, and also to include activities aimed at developing the municipalities’ own sources of income.

- practice of developing the IDP should be extended to individual rural areas⁹ that are lagging behind in terms of development, which will ensure targeted financing; at the same time, the role and powers of municipalities and regions in the process of implementing the IDP should be clearly defined.

- upon completion of the implementation of the IDP, a transitional period for the measures or other mechanisms to support the territory should be introduced to maintain the positive dynamics of the territory’s development.

It appears that the development and implementation of the IDP can have a positive impact on achieving all three aforementioned goals for the development of rural areas, as it provides the opportunity to finance measures for social development (construction and modernization of medical and educational facilities, etc.) and economic development (promoting the creation of new jobs through the development of industries, etc.) in rural areas, provided that these areas are involved in the planning, development, and implementation processes. This is because the measures to be implemented are proposed from below, rather than being determined by higher authorities.

No less interesting, but not yet used in Russian practice, is the standard for the quality of life in rural areas. It seems that representatives of federal authorities (the Ministry of Agriculture of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Digital Development and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Health of the RF, etc.), the authorities of the constituent entities of the RF, and local self-government bodies should be involved in developing such standards – norms / requirements / prescriptions for the development of rural settlements, the quality of social and other services provided to rural residents, etc. The opinions of representatives of scientific organizations, the business community, and the rural population as a whole should also be taken into account.

Standards should be differentiated depending on the types of rural areas, i.e., they should take into account natural and climatic features, economic and geographical location,

⁸ Bulletin of the Accounts Chamber of the Russian Federation. Regional Development. 2024. No. 1. 135 p. Available at: <https://ach.gov.ru/statements/bulletin-sp-1-2024?Highlight-search-result> (accessed: 26.05.2026).

⁹ For example, in the Vologda Region, potentially such programs/projects can be implemented in Babushkinsky, Vozhegodsky, Kichmengsko-Gorodetsky, Ust-Kubinsky, Nikolsky, and Belozersky municipal districts (the first four are completely rural), which are characterized by a low level of socio-economic development according to the results of a monitoring study by scientists of VolRC RAS (Socio-economic development of municipal formations of the Vologda Region. 2000–2024 (2025): Information and analytical bulletin. Issue 12. edited by T.V. Uskova, N.V. Voroshilov. Vologda: VolRC RAS. 96 p.). The approach of VolRC RAS to ranking territories based on the values of the integral indicator of socio-economic development can be replicated in other regions of the Russian Federation.

sociocultural aspects of the local community, etc. At the same time, as Russian researchers note, standards should not be a narrow list of minimum provisions that could provoke competition for financial resources for the development of territories; their task is to stimulate the process of social and economic convergence of territories (Polushkina et al., 2022).

Another potential tool could be projects aimed at developing networked and non-networked cooperation along the “urban–rural” and “rural–rural” lines in economic (production and consumer cooperation in the agro-industrial complex, timber industry, tourism, etc.), social (education, healthcare, etc.) and other spheres of public life. This kind of interaction can and should develop both within a single specific municipality and between different municipalities within one or several regions of the Russian Federation, provided there are “points of contact”: common problems or development prospects, the presence of complementary or similar natural resources, socio-cultural proximity, complementary functions of locations (for example, place of residence — place of work — place of recreation¹⁰), etc. At the same time, it can initially be assumed that the most active, stable, and equitable connections may be established within a single municipal entity or between municipal entities within the same region, which will be facilitated by their territorial, social, and institutional proximity.

Projects can be initiated by local business structures and non-profit organizations, local government bodies, the population, and even external actors (scientific, educational organizations, etc.) and may address issues related to the improvement of territories, the implementation of cultural events, or the development of joint economic activities (necessarily taking into account the sectoral

specifics of the territories and enterprises). Such projects can and should be taken into account by regional authorities to explore opportunities to provide organizational, financial, legal, and other support “from above” and to replicate them in the event of successful experience.

Conclusion

The study substantiates the need to change the current model of rural development in Russia, which is characterized by a combination of the principles of exogenous and endogenous models, in favor of the neo-endogenous model. In this context, we worked out a mechanism for regulating the development of rural areas, which is based on the principles of neo-endogenous development (utilizing not only external and internal development resources but also the potential for cooperation between territories) and assumes the use of both existing and new promising tools. Among the latest proposals are individual plans / projects for the development of rural areas with a low level of socio-economic development; standards for the quality of life in rural areas; projects for developing cooperation along the “urban–rural” and “rural–rural” lines in the economic, social, and other spheres of public life. The scientifically grounded elaboration of the principles and mechanisms for using these tools, taking into account the specifics of local communities and networks, local resources, and local control – the fundamental significance of which is described in detail in the work (Kostyaev, 2023) – determines the prospects for further research.

The research results can be used by representatives of government bodies to improve the policy for the development of rural areas, and by researchers to substantiate the strategic prospects and barriers to implementing the neo-endogenous model for the development of rural areas.

¹⁰ The significance of migration ties in strengthening spatial connectivity and addressing the issue of balanced territorial development is reflected in the work (Koreshkova et al., 2025).

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КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНЫЕ ОСНОВЫ РАЗВИТИЯ СЕЛЬСКИХ ТЕРРИТОРИЙ РОССИИ НА БАЗЕ НЕОЭНДОГЕННОЙ МОДЕЛИ

Обеспечение устойчивого развития сельских территорий было и остается актуальной задачей для России, так как, несмотря на реализацию комплекса государственных программ и проектов на федеральном и региональном уровнях, в развитии села сохраняется большое число экономических, социально-демографических, инфраструктурных проблем, ставших уже хроническими. Это обуславливает необходимость не просто разработки новых и совершенствования уже существующих мер и инструментов, а пересмотра самой модели развития сельских территорий, сложившейся в стране к настоящему времени. Цель исследования состоит в обосновании концептуальных основ развития сельских территорий России на базе неэндогенной модели для последующей их имплементации в практику государственного управления. В рамках ее достижения разработан механизм регулирования развития сельских территорий, который базируется на принципах неэндогенного развития и предполагает использование как уже существующих, так и новых перспективных инструментов. В числе последних: индивидуальные планы / проекты развития сельских территорий с низким уровнем социально-экономического развития; стандарты качества жизни на сельских территориях; проекты развития сотрудничества по линиям «город – село» и «село – село» в экономической, социальной и иных сферах общественной жизни. Результаты работы вносят вклад в формирование представлений о перспективах развития российского села и могут быть использованы научными сотрудниками при проведении исследований схожей тематики, органами государственной власти при совершенствовании документов стратегического планирования и разработке конкретных проектов развития сельских территорий.

Сельские территории, неэндогенная модель развития, механизм, сотрудничество, кооперация.

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