

Activity-based and Technological Specific Character of Upshifting as the Main Form of Post-urban Development of Russia: Conceptual Outlines and Empirical Measurements

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Abstract

The paper deals with conceptual elaboration and empirical verification of the hypothesis of the new post-urban life activity forms existing and developing in the Russian society which are formed on the basis of industrial and urban patterns yet are trying to overcome the limitations of urbanism. The authors differentiate the representatives of post-urbanism into downshiffters and upshiffters – they differ, respectively, in orienting to social flight or to transformation of links with the city, to refusal from achievements of civilization or to productive use of modern technologies. The materials of the empirical survey conducted have shown that activity-based and technological foundation of upshifting as of a promising trend in post-urban development of Russia is characterized by post-urbanists orienting to independent organization of labor (freelance, business). An important place in models of their social and economic activity is occupied by the state-of-the-art technological solutions. Empirical measurements have allowed registering the fact that with the majority of upshiffters surveyed, the share of income obtained from work with the use of modern technologies makes up the basis of the family budget. Growing productivity of the employed technologies as well as evolution of post-urbanists to a new technological levels. Moreover, the post-urban values stimulate the demand for autonomous and environmentally friendly systems of essential services of the house.

Keywords: urbanism, post-urbanism, upshifting, downshifting, technological patterns.

1. Introduction

The achieved level of urbanization (urban population of the planet has exceeded 50% of the entire quantity of inhabitants of the Earth) accompanied by rapidly augmenting life activity problems in large and super-large urban agglomerations, the first cases of bankruptcy of the agglomerations, non-urban "periphery" degrading have introduced into the scientific agenda the issue about finding new life organization models. In contemporary Russia, according to various estimates, 100 to 200 thousands of people leave for the inner parts of the country from large cities (especially from so-called megapolises) every year. As the sociological survey data show, about 5-7% of those living in megapolises want to leave for the village (Derevnya-online.ru). According to some research data, mass migration from the city to the village is restrained by two factors only: 1) the absence of available and quality medical aid in villages, 2) the absence of leisure in villages in winter. Even such factor as work proves to be secondary (Figurovskaya, 2011, p. 67). The figures quoted are big enough to draw the attention of researchers.

Alongside with that, the processes located within post-urban problems range are treated by the contemporary science as a rule within the context of city and village relationships and are ultimately "grasped" by "urbanization & de-urbanization" pair of categories.

2. Conceptual Outlines

The "swing" of urbanism and de-urbanism are in essence a metaphor originating in theoretical models of "dual economies" by W.A. Lewis (Lewis, 1954) and "two-sector analysis" by M. Todaro (Harris & Todaro, 1970). In both models, they speak about the "natural" flows of labor from the city to the village and vice versa which happen due to the situation with the demand for labor on the part of industrialized sectors of urban economy.

During the last decades, researchers have paid attention to a completely new stream of population coming from the city. It is based on rejection, refusal, protest of the growing population mass against the values, rules and conditions of life that are imposed by the industrialized city. This stream is not related to oscillations of labor demand and supply in any way. As the researchers mention, downshifting, literally "going down" is a voluntary refusal from climbing the career ladder which is often associated with lower social status and worse material situation in order to free time for leisure and devote it to other activities not related to work. Some authors consider the image of Diocletian who had retreated to his estate for growing cabbage to be the precursor of downshifting. (Butonova, 2009; Osbaldiston, 2010).

According to the Australia Institute research of 2003, 23% of Australians aged 30 to 59 consciously decided to lower their material level of life. A 1990-s' poll in the USA found 19% of the respondents who during the last five years had performed a long-term change in their life which resulted in lower earnings. According to the data of early 2000-s' polls, not less than 25% of Britons aged 30 to 59 became downshifters in the last 10 years (Hamilton, 2003). The "deferred happiness syndrome" – such a name Clive Hamilton gave to the cause pushing people to act in this manner (Hamilton, 2004).

However, let us point out an especially important aspect from the standpoint of declaring the conceptual basis of this paper (and, accordingly, our entire research). Those who study the phenomenon under consideration are almost unanimous in saying that "one of the distinctive features of downshifting is not just moving down but "rolling down" from rather high positions already won" (Butonova, 2009, p. 172).

As it is accepted in science, the categories usually waltz about the theoretical use pairwise. Downshifting had to dance alone up to this moment. Wishing to cheer up its loneliness and thus to expand the outlook on the total of the phenomena generated by the crater of a modern city, we have made an assumption about another supernova existing in the sky of theory – about the phenomenon of "upshifting". I.e., we speak about the flight from the city which is as *value-based* as downshifting yet it is directed not down, but up the civilization curve. It is this assumption that we scrutinized during the research the results of which are described in this paper.

3. Typological Considerations

The clearly observed and currently expanding phenomenon of moving house from the city to the countryside is formed by two different streams which differ up to being the opposite of each other although have some general foundations (the pressure of urban binding having increased up to excessive).

One stream of the migrants is filled with *urban luddites*, the other one – with *post-urbanists*. The former are acerbated by the city violence and do everything against the city, not like in the city, in the city's and the urban despite, they tear up and destroy the urban binding perceiving it like shackles and manacles. Yet the most important point is that they do not build new involvements. The balance between binding and involvement is created at the account of loosening and even destroying the binding. At the best (and most frequent) case, the city they have just cursed and left remains the sphere of their involvement.

The second group, post-urbanists, act in an exactly opposite manner. They (leaving the city as a place of actual residence or staying there – in this sense, they belong to one of the two big groups: the urban and the rural ones), do not cut the binding; yet if they do, this is done not rashly and not in the heat of the moment. Their main goal is even not (and at all) the binding, in spite of the fact that its rigidity and stagnation has oppressed them as well as the urban luddites. The post-urbanists' attention focuses on new forms, levels and types of *involvement* into the outer environment, i.e. on what the city is unable to give them as such. However, it is a historical, educational, cultural, economical and social prerequisite of this for the post-urbanists (with regard to this, there is no doubt).

So, the main target of post-urbanists (conscious or not quite) is the search and bringing into life of new forms and levels of involvement into the outer environment. Consciousness (or just a feeling) of the inner binding which the city has given (or rather, set) to them as their own background allows them to float freely above this and any other typical (habitual, daily) forms and kinds of binding, without huddling into closed communities (unlike the urban luddites).

The post-urbanists group, in its turn, is differentiated into ones having left the city space (moved house to the countryside) and ones physically staying in the city. With regard to this, a part of the physically staying has *in fact* left the

city by escaping the pressure of its binding.

The most important feature of subject and practical activity of one class of migrants (both rural and intraurban) is their need and use of *pre-industrial* activities when leaving (in name or in fact) the city for the purposes of life activity support. This is also clear because one can escape the city binding pressure that has become intolerable only by refusing the types, kinds and forms of activity on which the binding relies and which in essence are nothing but the embodied urban binding. It is this class of migrants who have received the name of *downshifters* in literature.

The phenomenon of post-urban migration (both rural and intraurban) relies on the fact that when leaving the city in fact or in name people use the very fact of their breaking free from the pressure of urban *binding* in order to either essentially (up to economically significant limits) expand the use in their life activity of the modern technologies with which they dealt with in the city or even to go to a new, higher technological level. Contrary to the first class of migrants, downshifters, it is *upshifters* that we have called this second type of migrants.

Upshifters are the main object of our research. Nevertheless, here we are going to limit our objectives of studying the scope and spread of upshifting by its share in the total stream of inner migration and even by finding the ratio between the rural and urban upshifters into the favor of watching the technological foundations of upshifting and also the new kinds of *binding* and *involvement* which emerge on the ground of these technological bases not burdened with urbanism. The assessment of the economic role played by these "freed from the shackles of urbanism" technologies in the upshifters' life is also in the field of our attention: the share of income from them and expenses on them in the family budget; the growth of productivity owing to using the technologies as compared to previous professional activity forms.

4. The Instrumental and Methodical Foundations of the Research

When checking the conceptual hypotheses, we have to deal with completely unsettled, literally shimmering and waving post-urban life activity forms. Hence the main method of collecting the empirical material was in-depth semi-structured interviews (Ilyin, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 2001; Belanovskiy, 2001; Devyatko, 1998). The selection of this empirical information collection method is explained by the fact that the goal of high-quality exploratory search is "description and interpretation of the interviewed subject's inner world elements" but "the content of an individual's inner world is sub-individual", so "the researcher digs up the individual in order to spot manifestation of the social in it" (Ilyin, 2006, pp. 151, 181).

The method of meaning structuring by means of narrative acts as the way of interpreting the information gathered. Guided by this approach and comparing the content of narratives of the interviews collected, we can outline typical meanings which different individuals gain in typical situations occurred. Thus the social experience gained by various individuals is typized (Franzosi, 1998; Puzanova & Trotsuk, 2003; Divisenko, 2011).

The geography of questionnaire survey covered Rostov Region, Krasnodar Territory, Kaluga Region, and Moscow Region. Time of the survey is summer of 2015. A total of 12 respondents were surveyed, with 5 of them living in the city and 7 in the country – in ancestral estates, ecovillages¹, or just in the countryside. Alongside with this, non-participant observation was organized in the settlements under study.

We used the following criteria for selecting the post-urbanist respondents. The primary criteria were: 1) a new type of activity based on post-industrial technological patterns; 2) qualification (competencies) of the carriers based on education / knowledge that were formed and translated in the urban environment; 3) syncretism of work and family (i.e. there is no separation between work and home). The secondary criteria included the following: 4) all adult family members are busy with new forms of family and labor economy; 5) the family budget receives not less than 70% of its income from implementing the new technological patterns (the mature form of post-industrial life activity form).

5. Empirical Verification and Discussion

Within the paper, let us turn our attention to describing the research findings related to activity-based and technological characteristics of upshifting as the main post-urban life activity form in contemporary Russia.

It has to be mentioned initially that post-urbanization processes take place with and are supported by post-urban type values. The most important of them are the value of unification succeeding the unification one, the value of modern family-based labor and daily life organization (it substitutes the value of factory- and plant-associated aloofness), the value of human-centered technological, social and daily patterns that compete with priorities of machine production and consumption standards.

¹ Our research touched on the settlements of ancestral estates "Rostok" (Rostov Region) and "Milyonki" (Kaluga Region), "Tsitsa" ecovillage (Krasnodar Territory)

5.1 Modern technologies in the professional activity

These axiological grounds accompany the change in social and economic profile of the upshifters' life activity. Meanwhile, the activity indicators of the originating post-urban patterns, as it has been mentioned, are focused in the plane of the level and quality of using the state-of-the-art achievements of science and technology. In particular, a major economic role in the professional activity of upshifters surveyed is played by the use of the newest computer technologies. They are employed as both the direct source of earning (programming, construction and servicing of websites, installation and setup of software etc.) and as tools for promoting the products and services created (Internet shops, social networks, personal websites etc.). Accordingly, regardless of their place of residence (in the city or in the countryside), all the respondents surveyed by us have cellphones, PCs, Internet access, pages in social networks; the majority of them use cloud services and some respondents have own websites.

The range of labor activity of the post-urbanists surveyed is quite wide: from growing and selling ecogoods (vegetables, fruit, mushrooms, tea, honey etc.) to jewelry making, translations, Web design and creation of online data stores. Drive for freedom and independence determines the nature of work organizing with upshifters. The post-urbanists participating in the sociological survey are employed mainly as freelancers or businessmen (in the own businesses). For instance, a programmer living in the ecovillage has determined the kind of his activity as "IT-landlord" (Veselin, aged 33, programmer, "Tsitsa" ecovillage). It is important to mention that for many respondents moving from and living beyond the city (actual or expected) does not at all mean refusal from the previous profession and reorienting to agricultural works. On the contrary, the upshifters see more opportunities for fulfilling their professional and creative aspirations in the new conditions: "Because a feeling of freedom has appeared. Freedom not only in time, but creative one too... you want to go through the entire process, from the idea to its completion, when one puts your ring on one's finger" (Sergey, aged 34, jeweller, gardeners' partnership in Rostov Region); "For work, I need a mood, inspiration, calm frame of mind... This was difficult to achieve earlier, when they kept distracting me by irrelevant assignments and city bustle...". (Vladislav, aged 31, landscape designer, builder, "Rostok" ancestral estate).

In a number of cases, the empirical measurements also register the stimulating action of the state-of-the-art technological solutions on the motivation for work: "I'm just nuts about all the innovations... I'm never stingy in buying them. Now I use mainly Apple products. It seems to me that simplicity and beautiful design of their equipment give an incredible boost for work. For example, as for me, when I sit down to my PC – I have a wish to do something and to do it great" (Alexander, aged 32, DJ, video operator, Rostov-on-Don); "Photo, video, office software, maps, dictionaries, designer software, Web design, html-coding – I can do almost everything... and the more I plunge into it, the more interesting for me it becomes" (Vlad, aged 29, IT specialist, translator, Rostov-on-Don).

The upshifters expand and intensify the use of modern technologies while transiting to post-urban life activity forms. "I had been sitting down soldering for all the time before this, but when I ventured to independent sailing and I got more orders, I got up and studied a 3D-modeling software... now I often do a 3D-model and print it with a 3D-printer" (Mary, aged 29, designer, jeweler, Moscow). "There are very many new technologies today, you have to read and follow the innovations, to communicate with professionals in networks. I keep in touch with designers and 3D-modelers. The people are quite pampered today – they wouldn't want a rough 11th-century-like pendant. Everyone wants it perfect and computer-measured to a dot. Although there are those who like antique-styled things, but it is even more complicated and technology-saturated, you are glued to your PC, not to the workbench... There is also the sphere of attracting the customers, and here, certainly, the modern information technologies play a great part. I had to master the entire lot when I started to be self-employed" (Sergey, aged 34, jeweler, gardeners' partnership in Rostov Region).

The results of the research conducted demonstrate that some upshifters having transited to post-urban patterns evolve to a new technological level. In order to promote her inventions and innovations (isothermes, package bees, regional testing of mother bees), Olga, a mathematician having moved to a suburb and started keeping bees, learned programming languages for creating her own websites: "It's by myself that I have built the site, I studied all this completely on my own. I haven't used any developments of others. Well, some templates could be used, but I would go and study php, java, html independently, I just didn't allow myself to be idle". In mastering and applying the computer technologies, the attitudes of independence, autonomy and creative capacity fulfillment are also important for the post-urbanists. Alongside with this, familiarization with the modern computer solutions becomes a source for further innovations, as it has been mentioned before: "The website wasn't made like "go and write", and this is not my first one. What I began with back then was three-dimensional graphics. I studied 3D Max and then I made colored isoforms... I had to study this topic and this software, so I downloaded special literature and studied, and then I created. That is, I don't browse the Internet lazily, I don't even have time. What I'm interested in is the creative process" (Olga, aged 54, bee farmer, mathematician, Elbuzd village, Rostov Region).

5.2 Economical role of the new technologies

In the sociological survey described, there was an objective to estimate the economic role played by the technologies in upshifters' life. The results of the interviews conducted show that with most post-urbanists surveyed, the share of income from work with the use of modern technologies makes up the basis of family budget: *"The income is based on new technologies only"* (Veselin, aged 33, programmer, "Tsitsa" ecovillage); *"About 90% of earnings comes from selling herbal teas via the Internet shop"* (Larisa, aged 30, tea producer, Aleksandrovka village); *"It is almost 100%, if we count searching for customers through the Internet. Another point, when we have financial difficulties, my wife recollects her pre-family Web design experiences and goes freelance, but this is not permanent"* (Sergey, aged 34, jeweler, gardeners' partnership in Rostov Region).

As compared to previous "urban" working conditions, the growth of productivity of the technologies used is also registered. Vladislav, a translator and IT specialist, points out that *"Today I use some software products in another quality... For example, Bitrix 24 – this is a Russian system of company management. There you can add a new person any time, it is comfortable to keep account of customers, to set objectives for yourself or for other people. (...) Or CRM customers management system. In other words, I see other people using copybooks now, well, this is like keeping databases in Word. What I want to implement among my partners is at least Excel, for at least keeping a database and sort it quickly. However, the best option is anyway to implement CRM"* (Vlad, aged 29, IT specialist, translator, Rostov-on-Don).

The level of income of the surveyed post-urban life activity forms representatives is rather varied, which is explained by their being at different stages of transition to the new patterns. Some upshifters already earn several times more as compared to the office work time. *"Profitability at my current work is 400-500% higher than that of the previous one, but this concerns me only, on top of that, my wife earns quite well now. This is an immense difference, because now we can afford working when we want it"* (Alexander, aged 32, DJ, designer, video operator, Rostov-on-Don).

Other respondents mark a lower income level but associate this with temporary difficulties: investment into development of business, accumulating the customers base, expenses for enhancing their professionalism etc. *"When I invested in my business in 2012, it was about eight million rubles, mainly for buying land. Today the registered capital of the company (country club "Tri9zemel") in which the land is included (first of all, we have already changed its purpose, and so its cost has increased tenfold) amounts to forty millions. So from the standpoint of daily life it still brings no special income, but there are earnings in the prospect, certainly, this is my own company"* (Lev, aged 38, lawyer, businessman, Moscow and Moscow Region). However, for many, the gain from the new life patterns is not measured by money: *"As for me, my own profit level has decreased noticeably... The point is that I have just started my production, so this is a startup. And my husband used to earn pretty fine at the bank. The Internet trade gives still a smaller income; but a sure earning is the freedom, easiness, peace of mind, self-fulfillment, and a free schedule of work and life"* (Larisa, aged 30, tea producer, Aleksandrovka village).

Yet another category of upshifters can be distinguished who view the smaller earning within rethinking of consumer standards. It is especially true for those living in ecovillages and ancestral estates: *"My income has reduced, but so have my needs. Now we don't have too big demands in life, I don't have to go by a Land Cruiser or to sit on a golden toilet... Completely other needs. You don't have to buy some expensive brand clothes, and all in all in the city you would spend money on some senseless things. For example, as I see now the period when I worked twelve hours a day and I had two jobs and a good salary, but at the same time the money was spent on complete nonsense. If I had known back then how I was going to live in several years, I'd probably have planned life in some other way. In the city, very much money goes on unnecessary things..."* (Elizaveta, aged 24, "Tsitsa" ecovillage).

The "city-based" post-urbanists also reconsider their consumer habits: *"First, very much money used to be spent on transport, and it is expensive in Moscow. And on various office clothes, too. I used to have very expensive office clothes. A lot of office clothes. Now there is no need of it... And also there were all the lunches. I always had expensive lunches at the city center"* (Mary, aged 29, designer, jeweller Moscow). *"Now I have started to spend less money on cafes, restaurants, karaoke clubs, cinemas and the like – not that I cannot afford this, but rather because it has stopped to be interesting for me... As such, I'm not an advocate of earning huge amounts of money. It is one thing if I invest into something, in somebody's needs – this is one thing. That is, if I go into charity, then certainly I'll need very much money. And if I live on my own or I have a family, I understand that there must be slightly extra but not more"* (Vlad, aged 29, IT specialist, translator, Rostov-on-Don).

5.3 Technologies of housing life support of upshifters

Formation of new social and economic patterns of post-urbanists is also accompanied by re-organization of the sphere of traditional housing life support technologies in which the modern technical solutions are implemented too in order to ensure environmental friendliness and autonomy.

It has to be pointed out that a great advantage of the city since the first historical cities has been the development of life support technologies which, however, had a collective nature for the most part. Collective consumption, building and servicing of life support objects was economically justified. It is no mere chance that the housing life support branches and the services produced by them got the name of common, public, communal not only in Russian (housing and communal services) but also in other languages (public utility services, les services publics). And in fact, economy of scale leading to lower specific costs for production of life support goods has allowed ensuring the physical and price-related availability of the services, thus increasing the housing comfort essentially. Availability of modern life support services has allowed considerably increasing the quality of life for the urban population first of all who are almost 100% provided with centralized power and water supply services in big cities.

Meanwhile, for instance, the Russian countryside is still not provided with available life support services, which reduces the comfort of living significantly. Alongside with this, the comfort of urban housing remains a significant factor of attractiveness of the urbanized way of life. It is no mere chance that a saying by an unknown author is still roaming about the Internet spaces:

*Noisy and heartless is the city atmosphere,
I'm sick and tired of my Porsche in rush hour,
I wish I could go camping far and out of here
If only the camp had Web access and a shower!
(<https://vk.com/womanpage>)*

The XX century brought new technologies which essentially changed not only the production of goods but also consumption thereof. With regard to this, the new technologies had a steady trend to increasingly ensure individualization of consumption. The most revolutionary event of history was the transition from collective telephone communication to individual. Owing to cellular communication technologies, a telephone number ceased to be an attribute of a place (house, apartment, or office) and became an attribute of a person, its owner. The new technologies ruined the infrastructure monopoly of telephone cable and became available and mass-scale very fast.

The city people's dream about complete independence and individualization of consumption also covered the housing life support goods. In Russia, the drive is especially acute in connection with low quality and steady growth of prices for utility services.

As experts believe, today almost all life support goods can be produced with the help of autonomous technologies for implementing which no material network infrastructure is required. The technologies are diverse and are distinguished by productivity, cost, reliability and quality of services produced. The very emergence and development of post-urban forms of life activity outside the city infrastructure becomes possible due to the rise of available autonomous technologies of housing life support.

Non-participant observance and in-depth interviews with post-urbanists have demonstrated that the dependence on city comfort and the desire to ensure this comfort also in conditions of non-urban way of life distinguish the downshifters from upshifters. *"Living exactly in the place where we live, (we have to) develop ... our life in such a way as to..., increase comforts, for our relatives to be able to come and stay and felt more comfortable, for guests to visit us"* (Elizaveta, aged 24, "Tsitsa" ecovillage). Curiously enough, "Tsitsa" ecovillage was founded by typical downshifters who expected to get away not only from the urban way of life but from the urban technologies too. In the first years of formation of the ecovillage, they had strict requirements for new settlers including also non-use of the urban technologies. However, at present, the founders themselves use the benefits of civilization in order to provide comfort for their houses.

The upshifters from the number of ecovillage, ancestral estate², as well as other rural settlement dwellers, are already implementing or planning to master within the shortest term autonomous technologies of life support of the state-of-the-art type.

The first problem solved by the post-urbanists is electric power supply. Here a usual case is the use of renewable power sources, first of all, of solar batteries. The potential of these technologies is already well checked by the world

² It has to be pointed out that not all ecovillage and ancestral estate dwellers in Russia are carriers of progressive post-urban patterns. In such villages, downshifters are quite frequent.

practice: in 2014, the wind, sun and biomass accounted for 26,2% of all the electric power produced in Germany, for the first time in this index having got ahead of the brown coal, the traditional leader for the industry, which made up 25,4% ("Renewable power generation...", 2015). Using the hydraulic pumps and heat collectors, the ecovillage dwellers provide their houses with hot water which is also heated by the solar energy in sunny days. The total of technologies allows widely using appliances: automatic washing machines, food processors etc.

For suburban post-urbanists, it is not only the ideas of autonomy, comfort, cost efficiency that are important but also the idea of environmental friendliness: *"We have electric power from solar batteries in summer and from petrol generator in winter. Waste plastic is burned down in ovens, fires or disposed of to waste landfills. We are trying to use as few disposable things as possible. The organic litter is composted, including compost with effective microorganisms (EM). (...) A collective project of our village is a micro hydraulic power plant (HPP), i.e. organization of autonomous electric power supply. It is possible to generate electric power from the water flowing in the river... but is still a project based on enthusiasm"* (Veselin, aged 33, programmer, "Tsitsa" ecovillage). *"I also liked "Topaz" autonomous sewerage – it has a system for purification of water which you can then use for watering plants. ... It is great to have a wind generator and solar batteries. The main idea is independence"* (Larisa, aged 30, tea producer, Aleksandrovka village).

Some ecovillage dwellers are also led by the ideas of aesthetics in using the autonomous life support technologies: *"We use alternative energy sources – solar batteries, "windmills". For several reasons. One of them is aesthetic appearance. The point is that we are planning a huge lot of trees and bushes, of mainly tall trees – they give much more shade. And the power line posts are ugly. There is radiation from them, too. We had no such posts, and we have opted for this way... We are going to buy wind pumps to pump water with them. And a solar collector, perhaps"* (Vladislav, aged 31, landscape designer, builder, "Rostok" ancestral estate).

At the same time, the upshifters surveyed who are currently living in the city are also oriented to the use of such life support technologies. Many of the city-based post-urbanists would like to move to the suburb and organize their utility infrastructure in a similar manner: *"I've thought about wind generators and solar batteries and now I'm trying to understand which of them is better and more efficient"* (Alexander, aged 32, DJ, designer, video operator, Rostov-on-Don); *"At present, there are interesting technologies of using the solar or wind energy. For example, autonomous water basins can be made... The point is that the disadvantages of living in the country are a continuation of its pros. If something happens, it is after all the others that the communal services deal with suburbs"* (Vlad, aged 29, IT specialist, translator, Rostov-on-Don).

In villages of the Russian upshifters, costly in investments technologies are almost never used, unlike the cheaper and comfortable in use life support technologies. For instance, in the "sun city" Amatiems built by a Latvian millionaire near the city of Cesis, all houses are provided with sanitary works laid by a special machine under the roots of pines and fir trees. The houses are heated mainly by the heat of the Earth – in each house, there is a geothermal heat pump with a 90-100 m bore which transforms the heat of the ground into heat power. This heat power is sufficient for heating the house and hot water supply all year round. It is only in cold winter days that fireplaces are used which are installed in every house ("Sun City...", 2015). Perhaps, in the future, such technologies will become available for the Russians having average income level too.

Thus, the current level of development of autonomous technologies of housing daily life support is sufficient for development of settlements that are away from the city. With regard to this, the very development of post-urban trends creates an active demand for autonomous and environmentally friendly systems of housing life support.

6. Conclusion

The goal of this paper was introduction and empirical verification of the hypothesis about the stream of those now leaving the city limits being far not homogeneous. First of all, in the stream, the layer the movement of which is not related to oscillations of labor force demand/supply in any way is gaining force. The stream is based on problematization of the very values of industrial and urban life patterns. The field research conducted has clearly confirmed our first starting point assumption.

The second, and more important concept worded in the paper, was that of division of this new stream into two major branches – downshifters, already known to science, and upshifters – yet completely unstudied and, moreover, unnoticed by it. As a result of in-depth interviews, this part of our hypothesis has also received the most certain proofs. Now, having the evidence base, we can argue that we have succeeded in discovering another aspect of the stream of people exiting the city – the aspect never seen by anyone until now. Our assumption about part of upshifters staying in the city as if soaring above it and all its problems has also been confirmed. Both constituents of upshifting are related by the fact that when abandoning the urbanist values they take from the city its best achievements (humanist, technological,

cultural) in order to using them build nests (and at times – even nesting sites) of their new existence – one which is not burdened with the urban existence conditions.

However, it is a long way yet up to the complete triumph of our hypothesis. Now we are in for studying the economic and technological bases of life of upshiffters in more detail in order to make sure (or, on the contrary, to lose faith) that upshifting has a solid economic and technological ground for its reproduction, expansion and development. It is to these aspects that the next logical stages of our research project will be devoted to.

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