

Artículo de investigación

Reforms in Russian land relations: theoretical and law enforcement issues

Реформирование земельных отношений в Российской Федерации: проблемы теории и правоприменения

Reformas en las relaciones de tierras rusas: cuestiones teóricas y de aplicación de la ley

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Abstract

The reform of land relations has been a crucial issue in Russia for centuries. Today, Russian legislators are faced with such problems as ensuring rational use and effective protection of agricultural land, conducting land surveys, introducing land plots into civil circulation, conserving natural resources, and regulating state and municipal land acquisition mechanisms. After 2014, the first steps in dealing with these issues were taken through the consistent adoption of federal laws that introduced significant changes to the Russian Federation Land Code. More new laws followed, ushering in what is considered to be a new stage in the development of land relations.

The aim of this article is to analyze the adopted legal norms in the field of land relations, and to evaluate the effectiveness of their application. The methodologies employed in the study were general scientific, private, and special methods of inquiry. The general scientific dialectical method made it possible to explore the current state of Russian legislation regulating various aspects of land relations, to identify the essence of the modern land reform, to consider various approaches to the study of this issue, and to demonstrate the sequence and consistency of changes in current Russian Federation land legislation. Formal logic was applied to analyze the reforms of particular land legislation

Аннотация

Реформирование земельных отношений на протяжении столетий сохраняет свою актуальность для нашей страны. Сегодня перед российским законодателем стоят не теряющие своей актуальности задачи рационального использования и эффективной охраны земли в сельском хозяйстве, межевания земельных участков и вовлечения их в гражданский оборот, сохранения природных ресурсов, регламентации механизма изъятия земель для государственных и муниципальных нужд. Первые шаги в решении данных задач были сделаны после 2014 года, путем последовательного принятия целого пакета федеральных законов, которые внесли существенные изменения в Земельный кодекс Российской Федерации и обусловили появление правовых новелл, которые можно рассматривать как новый этап развития земельных отношений.

Целью статьи является анализ принимаемых правовых норм в сфере земельных правоотношений и оценка их эффективности с точки зрения применения на практике. Методологическую основу исследования составили общенаучные, частные и специальные методы познания. Общенаучный диалектический метод позволил обосновать современное состояние

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institutions at the present stage, to consider the content of specific legal norms, and to identify their defects. Comparative and formal legal methods were used to establish the correlation of various legal norms. A comparative analysis of judicial practice was performed in some cases to explore and summarize the results of law enforcement activities. This allowed the authors to draw relevant conclusions aimed at improving Russian legislation that regulates various aspects of land relations. The research goal was achieved by using a wide range of methods applied in their combination.

The relevance of the article is connected with the fact that when Russian land legislation is reformed, but there are no precedents of applying these amendments, it has a negative effect on the social, investment and productive climate of the country. Based on the research findings, the authors concluded that the adopted innovations in the field of land relations require additional interpretation.

To ensure stability and consistency in reforming land relations, it is necessary to create a "Strategy for the development of land legislation", which would provide minimal protection from rash changes in land legislation.

Keywords: Land reform, land relations, Land Code of the Russian Federation, law enforcement practice.

отечественного законодательства, регулирующего различные аспекты земельных отношений; выявить суть современной земельной реформы; рассмотреть различные подходы к исследованию данного вопроса; продемонстрировать последовательность и стабильность изменений в действующем земельном законодательстве РФ. Анализ реформирования отдельных институтов земельного законодательства на современном этапе, рассмотрение содержания отдельных правовых норм и выявление их дефектов было осуществлено с помощью методов формальной логики. С целью соотнесения различных правовых норм в статье применяется сравнительно-правовой и формально-юридический методы. Сравнительный анализ судебной практики по отдельным категориям дел, осуществлен с целью исследования и обобщения результатов правоприменительной деятельности и формирование на их основе соответствующих выводов, направленных на совершенствование российского законодательства, регулирующего различные аспекты земельных отношений. Использование различных методов в их сочетании позволило достичь цели научного исследования.

Полученные результаты заключаются в том, что преобразование земельного законодательства РФ при отсутствии практики применения вносимых изменений отрицательно отражаются на социальном, инвестиционном и производительном климате РФ. На основе проведённого исследования авторы приходят к выводу, что принятые нововведения в сфере земельных правоотношений, нуждаются в дополнительном толковании.

В целях обеспечения стабильности и последовательности преобразований в земельной сфере необходимо разработать «Стратегию развития земельного законодательства», которая выступала бы гарантом минимальной защиты земельного законодательства от необдуманных изменений.

Ключевые слова: земельная реформа, земельные отношения, Земельный кодекс Российской Федерации, правоприменительная практика

Resumen

La reforma de las relaciones territoriales ha sido un tema crucial en Rusia durante siglos. Hoy, los legisladores rusos se enfrentan a problemas tales como garantizar el uso racional y la protección efectiva de las tierras agrícolas, realizar encuestas de tierras, introducir parcelas en la circulación civil, conservar los recursos naturales y regular los mecanismos estatales y municipales de adquisición de tierras. Después de 2014, los primeros pasos para abordar estos problemas se tomaron mediante la adopción constante de leyes federales que introdujeron cambios significativos en el Código de Tierras de la Federación Rusa. Siguió más leyes nuevas, marcando el comienzo de lo que se considera una nueva etapa en el desarrollo de las relaciones territoriales. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar las normas legales adoptadas en el campo de las relaciones territoriales y evaluar la efectividad de su aplicación. Las metodologías empleadas en el estudio fueron métodos generales de investigación científica, privada y especial. El método dialéctico científico general permitió explorar el estado actual de la legislación rusa que regula varios aspectos de las relaciones territoriales, identificar la esencia de la reforma agraria moderna, considerar varios enfoques para el estudio de este tema y demostrar la secuencia y coherencia de los cambios en la legislación vigente sobre tierras de la Federación de Rusia. La lógica formal se aplicó para analizar las reformas de instituciones particulares de legislación de tierras en la etapa actual, para considerar el contenido de normas legales específicas e identificar sus defectos. Se usaron métodos legales comparativos y formales para establecer la correlación de varias normas legales. En algunos casos se realizó un análisis comparativo de la práctica judicial para explorar y resumir los resultados de las actividades de aplicación de la ley. Esto permitió a los autores sacar conclusiones relevantes para mejorar la legislación rusa que regula varios aspectos de las relaciones territoriales. El objetivo de la investigación se logró mediante el uso de una amplia gama de métodos aplicados en su combinación. La relevancia del artículo está relacionada con el hecho de que cuando se reforma la legislación territorial rusa, pero no existen precedentes de aplicación de estas enmiendas, tiene un efecto negativo en el clima social, de inversión y productivo del país. Con base en los resultados de la investigación, los autores concluyeron que las innovaciones adoptadas en el campo de las relaciones terrestres requieren una interpretación adicional. Para garantizar la estabilidad y la coherencia en la reforma de las relaciones sobre la tierra, es necesario crear una "Estrategia para el desarrollo de la legislación sobre la tierra", que proporcionaría una protección mínima contra los cambios precipitados en la legislación sobre la tierra.

Palabras clave: Reforma agraria, relaciones territoriales, Código de Tierras de la Federación de Rusia, práctica policial.

Introduction

The sustainable development of the agricultural sector is the basis for ensuring the food security of Russia, provided that there are certain resource and institutional conditions required to achieve this goal. A key agricultural resource is land suitable for agricultural production. Russia possesses 9% of the world's arable land reserves. It is one of the four countries with the largest reserves of arable land, and according to the Food Security Doctrine of the Russian Federation, its state policy should be aimed at increasing soil fertility and agricultural crops by using non-cultivated arable land. The main means of achieving this is the systemic agricultural reforms that will contribute to solving the strategic tasks of the modern land policy.

At the same time, the current land reform in the Russian Federation has been going on for several years. It is hard to say when it will be completed. It seems that the Russians are living in the times

of the "legislative fever" of an important state branch. K. Pobedonostsev rightly noted that "law should take into account not only the facts of real life, but also its development trends, because it is not aimed at immediate success, but at long-term creative action, and law is not something that can be endlessly corrected at any moment, even at the legislative level" (Pobedonostsev, 1993).

In our opinion, modern land reforms in Russia should contribute to solving urgent problems such as the following:

- 1) Specifying the constitutional right of citizens with regard to private property in the field of land relations
- 2) Overcoming the embargo imposed against Russia in 2014 by developing and supporting the country's agricultural sector

- 3) A radical structural adjustment of the economy based on the development of the agricultural sector

The aim of this work was to analyze the legal norms adopted in the field of land relations and to evaluate the effectiveness of their practical application. The relevance of the problem of land relations is not limited to Russia. Western countries also have legislative gaps in the regulation of land use—in particular, free land turnover, free provision of land, and its efficient use. International lawyers, in contrast to Russian legal experts, have abandoned the erroneous belief that land ownership is the only form of economically effective productive work of the farmer. The developed agricultural policy allows Western countries to use all economic mechanisms for the distribution of land ownership, and all forms of interaction between the landowner and the tenant result in efficient agricultural production. The agricultural laws of countries such as the US, Germany, Spain, England, France, Canada, and Australia secure the farmer's right to long-term land use and their preemptive right to extend the lease after its expiration if they consistently fulfill their duties. Italy and the Netherlands have fixed rental rates, and some countries (Austria, England, the Netherlands, and France) have imposed strict professional requirements on the applicants for agricultural land leases.

Currently, Russia has not abandoned the principle of dividing land into categories based on their intended purpose and has not introduced territorial zoning. However, the US and several countries in Western Europe have long developed this method of land-use planning. For instance, in the United States, land sale and lease transactions are carried out depending on the land zone. Canada has “land management zones” with a special regime for the use, control and protection of lands to maintain the ecological balance and the quality of land. In Australia, land tenure is carried out based on the Land Use and Management Classification. In European legal systems, the possibility of using land for various purposes is regulated by the approved development plan of the territory. In this case, a significant change in the type of the permitted land use cannot be carried out privately, but only in accordance with the specified plan.

Thus, it can be concluded that Russian land reform should be carried out by applying and summarizing positive international experience in legal regulation of land relations, but taking into

account the specifics of Russian legislation and the mentality of Russia as an agrarian state.

Literature review

The genesis of land relations is a fairly complex phenomenon that has led many Russian researchers to study the legal regulation of land reforms and the problems surrounding land management and control. This interest can be explained by the fact that the Russian land sector has been reformed for several decades; however, the relevant Development Strategy has not yet been created. Land issues have not only been considered in the works of civil law experts but also in the studies of political scientists, sociologists, and specialists from other industries.

The issues of legal regulation of land relations and public administration have been explored by several researchers, such as S. S. Alekseev, G. V. Atamanchuk, I. L. Bachilo, D. A. Kerimov, N. G. Kobets, E. M. Kovesnikov, M. A. Krasnov, G. V. Maltsev, N. R. Nizhnik, L. M. Rodin, Yu. A. Tikhomirov, and T. M. Shamba. In their scientific publications on land law, these researchers considered certain historical aspects of the development of land legislation and identified the problems of the Russian land system in the 1990s.

Many Russian legal scholars have studied the theoretical and legal foundations of modern land legislation, including S. A. Bogolyubov, E. S. Boltanova, T. V. Volkova, Yu. G. Zharikova, K. Kh. Ibragimov, S. A. Lipsky, N. G. Narysheva, F. P. Romyantsev, V. V. Ustyukova, V. N. Khlystun, E. Yu. Chmykhalo, and A. A. Yalbulganov.

Regarding the first studies on the general trends and problems in reforming modern land legislation in Russia, one can mention several works from 2017; namely, “The current state and development of land legislation in Russia” by E. A. Galinovskaya, “The development of land legislation: issues of theory and practice” by O. A. Romanova, and “Development trends and some problems regarding land legislation in the Russian Federation at the present stage” by Yu. A. Umerenko.

It should be emphasized that despite numerous scientific works devoted to this issue, to date, there has never been a comprehensive and systematic study of Russian legislation and the problems of the implementation of modern land reform.

The issues of reforming land relations are not only relevant to Russia. For instance, the specifics of the implementation of land reforms and the problems regarding the legal regulation of land relations were considered in the works of Ch. Lunnay, Jan P. Williamson, and J. W. Jeudwine.

In this article, we identified and analyzed modern reforms in the agricultural sector and evaluated the effectiveness of the implemented land law norms based on the administrative acts adopted by the Russian law enforcer.

Method

The methodological basis of the study was represented by general scientific, private, and special methods of inquiry. The general scientific dialectical method made it possible to explore the current state of Russian legislation regulating various aspects of land relations, to identify the essence of modern land reform, to consider various approaches to studying this issue, and to demonstrate the sequence and consistency of changes in the current land legislation of the Russian Federation. We applied methods of formal logic to analyze the reforms of particular institutions of land legislation at the present stage, to consider the content of specific legal norms, and to identify their defects. Comparative and formal legal methods were used to establish the correlation of various legal norms. We performed a comparative analysis of judicial practice in certain categories of cases to explore and summarize the results of law enforcement activities. This allowed the authors to draw relevant conclusions aimed at improving Russian legislation that regulates various aspects of land relations. The research goal was achieved by using a wide range of methods applied in their combination.

Analyzing and generalizing Russia's experience in improving domestic land legislation helps eliminate contradictions in the existing laws. Ultimately, such research ensures better coordination of the state authorities, local self-government, and land administration bodies.

The method of content analysis is to provide complete, reliable, and consistent data obtained through generalization. In this study, we carried out a comparative analysis of judicial practices in certain categories of cases related to reforms in land legislation to study and summarize the results of law enforcement activities and to draw relevant conclusions to improve Russian

legislation regulating various aspects of land relations.

Using prognostic methods, the authors identified directions for further development of land relations and proposed a vision of potential positive or negative consequences connected with implementing new provisions of land legislation in the Russian Federation.

The choice of research methods, such as analysis and generalization, comparison, and modeling was determined by the need to formulate hypotheses and produce ideas, as well as the need to understand and explain the available data.

Discussion

Over the past decade, Russia has adopted a vast array of federal laws that have significantly transformed land legislation and the related fields. The Federal Law of June 23, 2014 No. 171-FZ "On Amendments to the Land Code of the Russian Federation and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation" is the main document regarding the time of its adoption and the scale of the amendments. The importance of this normative act lies in the fact that, over the period from 2010 to 2014, there were significant gaps and contradictions in land legislation. The main purpose of this normative act was to actively introduce land into civil circulation and to improve the balance between public and private interests in land management.

The comprehensive reform of land relations made it possible to solve the strategic tasks of land policy and to achieve a significant positive result: a better systematization of land legislation, improved legislative procedures for developing and adopting legal acts in the land sector, and more efficient legislative regulation of procedural norms. It also provided land legal entities with some benefits and subsidies as incentive measures to ensure the proper performance of their duties (Galinovskaya, 2017).

A particular emphasis was placed on the environmental issues of land legislation by setting environmental standards that underlie the legal status of subjects of land legal relations, as well as the regulation of environmental standards determining legal liability for offenses concerning land. Thus, a new page has been opened in land legislation, which implies "the transition from quantity to quality" (Romanova, 2017).

Numerous significant land reforms were introduced over the period from 2015 to 2019. For example, a summer cottage amnesty whose implementation period has been extended until March 1, 2020. According to the summer cottage amnesty, Russians are granted the right to register a land plot or a low-rise building in a simplified manner without the required permit for house commissioning. This is especially important for those who received summer houses from their ancestors back in the Soviet years.

Since January 2018, Russians have the right to privatize the lands owned by the Forest Fund. The main idea of the forest amnesty is that if, according to the state forest register or the forest plan of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation, a land plot belongs to the lands of the Forest Fund, and in accordance with the Unified State Register of Taxpayers (USRT), by the legal documents or certifying documents, this land plot falls into a different category, then its status is determined in accordance with the USRT. If the specified information is not available in the USRT, then the information specified in the title or certification documents for the plot is considered. However, to apply this rule, the owner's rights to the land plot should arise before January 1, 2016.

As part of this study, we considered modern reforms in the land sector. The first innovation that should be mentioned is that all non-residential buildings located on the land provided for gardening are recognized as household outbuildings and are subject to property tax. This directly refers to summer kitchens and saunas.

This norm was reflected in the letter of the Department of Tax and Customs Policy of the Ministry of Finance of Russia No. 03-05-06-01-8 / 8142. This document explains some of the grounds for exemption from tax on property for retired individuals with the second disability group. In addition, the document contains information that one can construct a residential building, household outbuildings and structures on the land provided for gardening, and thus, all non-residential buildings located on this land plot are recognized as household outbuildings (including a summer kitchen or a sauna). This letter also gives an example of calculating tax on property, provided that it is included in the database of the tax authorities as an economic building (structure). In this case it is taxed with an increased rate: 0.5% instead of 0.3%.

For the tax to be accrued on this building, it must be registered in the Federal Service for State Registration, Cadastre and Cartography. In this case, the owner should register only the buildings with a basement and that have at least some facilities and an area of more than 50 square meters. Accordingly, one does not have to register everything else that is smaller—sheds, arbors, showers, greenhouses, fences, woodsheds. Those who have registered absolutely every building on their site up including a country toilet can contact the Bureau of Technical Inventory and the tax office with a request to remove such objects from registration, and these applications will be granted within three months.

Thus, these explanations are primarily aimed at protecting Russians from excessive property taxes and including non-residential premises into taxation.

In 2014, Federal Law FZ-447 “On Amendments to the Federal Law “On the State Real Estate Cadastre” and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation” was adopted. This initiated significant reforms in the field of land management and cadastre. However, not everyone knows that this law contains rules regulating land surveying financed by the state or local budget. This innovation is called “integrated cadastral work.” However, there are many reasons why the provisions of the law have not worked at their full capacity yet. Firstly, financing of integrated cadastral works is provided for by a special federal target program. By 2018, the applications for funds under this program were submitted and approved only in three regions, while other regions hardly carried out any such work. Secondly, according to the law, in the territory where integrated cadastral works are to be implemented, it is necessary to approve all the town-planning documentation that determines the development of this territory and establishes building lines (parameters for future construction).

Thus, to launch the mechanism for land surveying financed by the state, it is necessary to abandon some redundant requirements, to expand the federal target program, and to allocate funds for this type of work from the federal budget.

In this regard, we should mention some amendments that entered into force on March 1, 2016 on the basis of Federal Law of July 13, 2015 No. 245-FZ “On Amending the Federal Law “On the Turnover of Agricultural Land”. These

changes in legislation were due to the fact that until recently, regional authorities had the right to re-register land plots that were formed from unclaimed land shares through the court and to sell these lands at auctions, not always to farmers. At the same time, the Ministry of Agriculture of Russia calculated that in 2014 alone there were more than 18 million hectares of abandoned agricultural land.

Currently, farmers can submit a request through the regional agricultural authority to buy or rent the abandoned land. The price of this land is set below 15 percent of the cadastral value, and its rent should not exceed 0.3 percent. Under similar conditions, municipalities have the right to transfer plots that came into municipal ownership after July 1, 2011 and were formed from unclaimed land shares.

From January 1, 2019, new rules were established for summer residents by Federal Law of July 29, 2017 No. 217-FZ "On gardening and horticulture for individual personal needs and on amendments to certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation." The people call this document a new "constitution of summer residents," whereas the new law does not contain such a concept as a "summer non-profit association."

In this article, we analyzed the significant changes introduced by this regulatory act. At the legislative level, the following aspects were regulated: terminology (for example, a garden land plot, a garden house, common property, general purpose land plots); two legal forms of non-profit associations of citizens created for conducting suburban farming (gardening non-profit associations and horticulture non-profit associations); forms and procedure for support by state authorities and local self-government for gardening and horticulture; the right to construct permanent residential buildings on gardening plots, while the law emphasizes that a garden house that is not intended for permanent residence can be built without any permits and approvals.

The law pays considerable attention to individual gardeners (owners who are not members of the association). Now they have the right not only to

attend general meetings, but also to vote on certain issues at the general meeting of association members.

However, not all new projects in the land relations have been launched. For example, in 2014 the Ministry of Economic Development of Russia prepared a bill that would replace the division of land into categories with territorial zoning. This project suggested changing the existing procedure for a new legal regime of lands, based on the institutions of their categories. For instance, it aimed to exclude the concept of "land category" from the current legislation and, accordingly, the procedure for transferring and classifying land and land plots to a certain category (Lavrishcheva, 2016). The proposed amendments were to enter into force on January 1, 2018; however, this has not been done yet. In our opinion, the adoption of this bill will require further reform of land relations.

These innovations were introduced quite a short time ago. In this article we would like to evaluate the effectiveness of the adopted changes by analyzing the work of the law enforcer. The Russian law enforcer has not yet appreciated these innovations. This is an alarming sign and indicates their inexpediency.

Using the statistics available at the Rospravosudie website, we analyzed the dynamics of decisions taken throughout the Russian Federation from January 1, 2000 to January 2019, by category of cases connected with the legislative changes, and in particular:

- Redistribution of land plots;
- Provision of land for construction;
- Alienation of an asset under construction.

The category of cases related to "summer cottage amnesty" was an exception to this list as this innovation was introduced only in 2006.

We systematized the data obtained for a better presentation of the situation with law enforcement in land relations. We ranked the categories of cases from most to least popular.

Table 1. Law enforcement in land relations

Case category	General jurisdiction courts	Justices of the peace	Arbitration courts	Total
Redistribution of land plots	82133	588	17279	100000
Provision of land for construction	58621	3295	38084	58621
Alienation of an asset under construction	36678	514	18648	55840
Issues of the “summer cottage amnesty”	7892	280	56	8228

The above data clearly demonstrate the workload of courts according to their affiliation and jurisdiction. Over the last fifteen years, the courts of the Russian Federation heard 222,689 cases, which is approximately 1,500 cases per year. General jurisdiction courts carried the heaviest burden (70.2%), which makes up for three quarters of all cases in the field of land relations.

The arbitration courts ranked the second regarding their performance in this area (28%). The last place was taken by justices of the peace, which examined only 1.8% of all cases. Thus, arbitration courts and justices of the peace considered the remaining quarter of the cases in the field of land relations. The pie chart below gives a good presentation of these data.

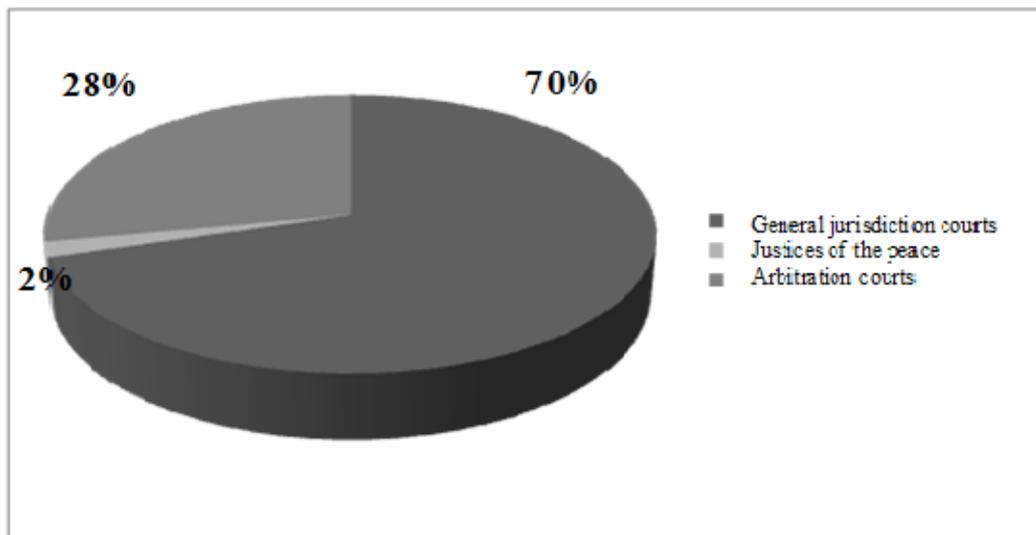


Figure 1. The workload of the judicial system of the Russian Federation.

The most problematic categories of cases are the ones connected with the provision of land for the construction and redistribution of land.

Every citizen of the Russian Federation has the right to own a land plot. As stated in Article 30 of the Land Code of the Russian Federation, land can be obtained for construction or for other purposes.

Redistribution of land plots is one of the ways of forming land plots enshrined in paragraph 1 of

Article 11.2 of the Land Code. Several other land plots are formed as a result of land being redistributed from several adjacent land plots, and the original plots cease to exist.

It is quite natural that these elements of a complex system of land legal relations are often resorted to, and, as a result, they are most problematic. Over the past fifteen years, the courts have considered 200,000 of such cases. This is approximately 30,000 cases per year.

Construction in progress is an issue that should also be considered. The construction of this object is not completed, and it cannot be used for living or as an infrastructure object since first it is necessary to finish its construction. Over the past fifteen years, there were 55,840 cases related to the alienation of an asset under construction.

Over the studied period, 8,229 Russians resorted to “summer cottage amnesty”, which provides a preferential procedure for certain actions connected with legalizing land plots.

Our estimates are presented in a pie chart below.

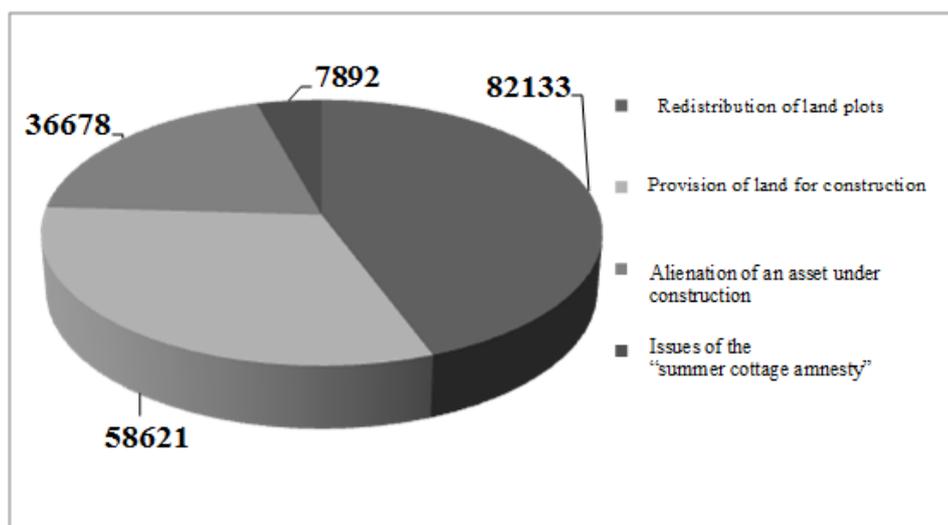


Figure 2. Categories of cases considered by Russian courts.

Conclusion

Having analyzed individual legal acts, we studied modern reforms in land relations, and their significance was evaluated based on the data of law enforcement practice.

Russian land legislation is reformed, but there are no precedents of applying these amendments, and it has a negative effect on the social, investment and productive climate of the country. Constantly emerging changes in the land legislation of the Russian Federation do not clarify the situation in judicial practice, and thus they do not contribute to the formation of a clear and unified mechanism for the enforcement of land laws. The analysis of judicial practice revealed the most problematic legislative norms and the areas of land legal relations with consistent law enforcement practice.

Currently, land legislation requires better coordination. This is due to the fact that some

issues of land relations in Russia remain unsettled: for instance, bills dismissing the division of land into categories, elimination of contradictions in state registers, and introduction of a public servitude for hosting engineering infrastructure networks.

The development of a stable socio-economic policy in Russia depends on the timely and efficient introduction of land reforms.

All analyzed innovations in the land sector indicate that the Russian government has not managed to ensure the necessary certainty, stability, and predictability of land legislation, and thereby the implementation of state policy in this area is hindered.

Despite the difficulties that arise when implementing new laws, on the whole, there are positive trends in land reforms. However, in order to achieve the set objectives, it is necessary to take into account the practice of applying the existing norms, law enforcement practice, as well as to develop and regulate a modern mechanism

for coordination and consideration of private and public interests.

In order to ensure stability and consistency of changes in the land sector, Russia should develop a conceptual basis for land reforms, which would provide minimal protection of land legislation from rash changes. Thus, in the near future the government should propose a “Strategy for the development of land legislation” that will coordinate Russian civil, urban planning, environmental, and land legislation.

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