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Federal State-Financed Scientific Institution the Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories of Russian Academy of Sciences (ISEDT RAS), which existed as Vologda Scientific Coordinating Center of Central Economic and Mathematical Institute of RAS until March 2009, is situated on the territory of the Vologda Oblast. V.A. Ilyin, Doctor of Economics, Professor, Honored Scientist of Russia, is the permanent director of the Institute. A lot of great scientists have played an important role in the formation and the development of ISEDT RAS as a scientific institution such as: academicians D.S. Lvov, V.L. Makarov, V.I. Mayevsky, A.D. Nekipelov, Y.S. Osipov. Everything that has been done before and is being done nowadays by the personnel of the Institute, it would be impossible without the constant support of the Vologda Oblast's Government and city leaders.

The formation of the scientific personnel with an active life position, a great demand for Institute's investigation, academic community's support of the new journal published by ISEDT RAS, which combined efforts of the economic institutes of RAS in the Northwestern Federal District, and furthermore development of international ties have become the main outcomes of the last years.

MAIN RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Due to the Resolution № 96 by the Presidium of Russian Academy of Sciences dated from March, 31 2009 ISEDT RAS carries out investigations in the following fields:

- problems of economic growth, scientific basis of regional policy, sustainable development of territories and municipalities, and transformations of socio-economic space;
- regional integration into global economic and political processes, problems of economic security and competitiveness of territorial socio-economic systems;
- territorial characteristics of living standards and lifestyle, behavioral strategies and world view of different groups of the Russian society;
- development of regional socio-economic systems, implementation of new forms and methods concerning territorial organization of society and economy, development of territories' recreational area;
- socio-economic problems regarding scientific and innovative transformation activities of territories;
- elaboration of society's informatization problems, development of intellectual technologies in information territorial systems, science and education.

INTERNATIONAL TIES AND PROJECTS

In order to integrate scientific activities of the Institute's scholars into global research area, every year international scientific conferences take place, which result in cooperation agreements.

Every year ISEDT RAS signs cooperation agreements with different scientific establishments:

2007 – Cooperation agreement is signed with Institute of Sociology, of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, Center for Sociological and Marketing Investigations at the “International Institute of Humanities and Economics” (Belarus, 2008).

2008 – Protocol of intentions is signed with Alexander's Institute at the Helsinki University (Finland, 2008).

2009 – Cooperation agreement is signed with Center for System Analysis of Strategic Investigations of NAS (Belarus, 2009).

2010 – Cooperation agreement is signed with Institute of Economics of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus (Minsk, 2010).

2011 – Cooperation agreements are signed with National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (Paris, 2011), Institute of Business Economy at Eszterhazy Karoly College (Hungary, 2011), Republican research and production unitary enterprise “Energy Institute of NAS” (Belarus, 2011). Protocol of intentions are signed with Jiangxi Academy of Social Sciences (China, 2011), Research and Development Center for Evaluation and Socio-Economic Development and the Science Foundation of Abruzzo region (Italy, 2011).

2012 – Cooperation agreement is signed with Center for social research at the Dortmund Technical University (Germany, 2012).

2013 – Cooperation agreement is signed with Jiangxi Academy of Social Sciences (China, 2013).

July 2013 – The application for research performance by international consortium involving ISEDT RAS within the 7th Framework Programme of European Community.

NEW PUBLICATIONS OF ISEDT RAS

Ilyin V.A., Povarova A.I. – Problems of Government Efficiency. Trends in market transformation. The crisis of the budget system. The role of private capital. Strategy-2020: realization problems.

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Shabunova A.A., Kalashnikov K.N., Morev M.V., Kalachikova O.N., Kondakova N.A. – Health and healthcare: training aid for higher education institutions.

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FROM THE CHIEF EDITOR

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The necessity of a new development cycle

November 13–15, 2014 Vologda will host the all-Russian research-to-practice conference “Society and sociology in modern Russia”. The conference is organized by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Socio-Political Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Vologda Oblast Government.

The conference will focus on the discussion of issues associated with the increasing role of social science in facilitating the transition of Russia to the path of sustainable and balanced development, which ensures continuous increase in the production of goods and services and achievement of higher quality of life on this basis.

The current issue of this Journal is almost entirely devoted to the research findings that touch upon the issues to be discussed at the conference; the topics covered in the previous issues of the Journal are expanded¹.

¹ *In No.2 (32) 2014 see: Ilyin V.A., Shabunova A.A.* Sociological assessment of public administration efficiency. *In No.3 (33) 2014* the following articles were published: **Gorshkov M.K.** On the axiomatic interpretation of the economic factors' impact on economic growth; **Lokosov V.V.** The transition from extensive to intensive demographic policy; **Shabunova A.A., Lastochkina M.A.** Overcoming social inequality as an impetus to socio-cultural modernization; **Leonidova G.V., Popov A.V.** Labor satisfaction as an indicator of public administration efficiency (sociological analysis); **Panov A.M.** Gender analysis of the Russian labor market. *No.4 (34) 2014* contains the following articles: **Osipov G.V.** Political blackmail – the eve of the global catastrophe; **Toshchenko J.T.** Economic consciousness and behavior: state and trends (1990–2012); **Tatarkin D.A., Sidorova E.N.** Assessment of the impact of the social reproduction process on economic development of the region (case study of the Sverdlovsk Oblast); **Popova L.A., Barashkova A.S.** Development of marriage and family relationships in the northern regions of Russia; **Bazueva E.V.** Assessment of professional of the head of a socially-oriented establishment; and also the materials in the section “Round table: society and sociology in modern Russia”.

Modern Russian society has been formed primarily under the reforms that transformed the hierarchical-centralized Soviet economic system in the market economy. The monopoly of state ownership is now a thing of the past; proprietary relationships have become heterogeneous in nature. Mass privatization of the former socialist enterprises has led to the rise of a class of capital owners. The late 1990s – early 2000s have witnessed the formation of the basic institutions inherent in the market system.

However, the rapid transition to the market economy resulted in transformational recession, which manifested itself in deindustrialization, in the “commodity bias” of the economy, and in its significant dependence on the fluctuations of the world market of energy resources. Granted, since the early 2000s the legislative and executive authorities and business structures have managed to restore and somewhat increase the volume of gross domestic product; nevertheless, the efficiency of Russia’s economy has not improved, and the economic and social gap between Russia and other countries has become even more significant.

Establishment of the market system in Russia was accompanied by great changes in economic consciousness and behavior of its people. The article by RAS Corresponding Member J.T. Toshchenko, published in this Journal, contains a comprehensive analysis of these changes².

The researcher describes in detail the contradictions that have been emerged in the public consciousness, he shows that many of its features are paradoxical in nature.

Besides, he suggests a way to overcome this abnormal state of affairs. Here we should also note his fundamental conclusion that **“the proclaimed advantage of market relations can not win a way by itself. If they are not socially oriented, people (or a significant part of the population) face poverty, deprivation and despair”**.

The imperatives of the economy, on the one hand, and the maintenance of social stability, on the other hand, require the country to pursue a balanced social policy. By the way, this very field of research provides very useful and fruitful grounds for sociologists to plunge into economics and for economists to explore public sentiment, subjective expression of people’s needs, motives and interests. This is proved by many years of experience in the comprehensive research carried out by ISED T RAS. The major contribution to the formation and organization of this research has been made by Academician G.V. Osipov, one of the most prominent Russian sociologists. The results of the economic analysis are combined well with sociological assessment of social attitudes; they broaden and deepen the knowledge of the state of society. Moreover, this tool seems to be indispensable not only in assessing the current state, but also when defining the priorities of social development for the future.

² See: Toshchenko J.T. *Ekonomicheskoe soznanie i povedenie: sostoyanie i tendentsii (1990–2012)* [Economic Consciousness and Behavior: State and Trends (1990–2012)]. *Ekonomicheskie i sotsial’nye peremeny: fakty, tendentsii, prognoz* [Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast], 2014, no. 4, pp. 36-47.

Currently, these priorities include, first of all, support to the most vulnerable segments of the population; promotion and development of people's abilities to improve their professional skills and to adapt to the new requirements of production and lifestyle. In this respect, sociologists have, perhaps, the most extensive field for scientific and practical activities.

Political aspects of social structure are crucially important. Here it is necessary to continue the establishment of efficient legislative, executive and judicial power, and effective law mechanism.

The researches carried out by ISED T RAS and the majority of other scientific institutions show that it is mainly the government and business that currently have real impact on economic and social development, while the civil society just acts as an observer. In turn, the absence of a developed civil society and its effective institutions breeds irresponsibility of power structures and owners of private capital. It becomes more evident that the society can develop sustainably only when its elements are structured both vertically and horizontally, when the society has a strong government and civil basis.

More than a twenty-year period of reforms Russia has been going through has become a serious test for the moral foundations of its society. Academician K.M. Gorshkov notes: **“Once the state has actually abandoned its role of the moral “mentor”, and other public institutions could not or did not want to take this role, the Russians have faced a free choice of moral compass. And many have chosen to renounce the unnecessary “moral burden”, because disregard for traditional moral and**

ethic guidelines has become, in some cases, economically and socially profitable”³. This fact arouses great concern in most of the citizens, which is a sign that the Russian society feels the urgent necessity to improve the moral climate in the country.

The realities of life necessitate the country's transition to a new cycle of development characterized by qualitative changes in the production of goods and services, in the efficiency of labor, material and financial costs; and also by dramatic improvement of the quality of life for everyone.

Social policy should be focused on efficient measures to reduce excess income differentiation of the population, to increase the resources allocated for the social sphere, to provide progressive demographic development, to improve public health and increase life expectancy. Russia should become a country that has actually achieved social justice.

The necessity of transition to this development cycle is manifested more and more evidently in the expectations of the overwhelming majority of the Russians. But it is fundamentally important that not only the public, but also the leadership of the country recognizes this necessity. It was set out in V.V. Putin's speeches during his presidential election campaign, and later in his decrees signed on the day of his presidential inauguration on May 7, 2012.

³ See: Dvadtsatiletie rossiiskikh reform v otsenkakh ekonomistov i sotsiologov (dvadtsat' tezisov o glavnom) [The Twentieth Anniversary of the Russian Reforms in Assessments of Economists and Sociologists (20 Theses About the Main Thing)]. *Mir peremen* [The World of Transformations], 2012, no. 1, p. 29.

These decrees contain conceptual directions of the strategy for Russia's economic and social development for the period up to 2020. They set out the key indicators that must be achieved during this period, the ways to improve public administration in order to achieve the planned objectives and strengthen national security.

But it is especially important that V.V. Putin shows the desire to achieve these objectives. In September 2012 he publicly reprimanded three federal ministers for the failure to implement the decrees⁴. At the session of ministers and governors in Elista in April 2013 Putin strongly criticized them for sluggishness in the implementation of the decrees.

Public mood concerning the financial and economic policy pursued by the government headed by D. A. Medvedev was clearly expressed in the editorial of the journal "The Expert".

It stated: **"The program set of actions is clear: infrastructure projects, primarily transport, growth of housing, cheap mortgage, rental housing; modernization of the housing and utilities sector, it is not a black hole, but an area of development; the changes in monetary and credit policy, cheap capital, the development of the entire financial sector – today it is primitive and does not correspond to the challenges we are facing; of course, further development and implementation of innovation; the development of productive forces throughout the country, the provision of**

⁴ See: *The Izvestia Newspaper*, issue of September 19, 2012.

support to any business in the regions. It is time to work on specific organizational technologies for the solutions of this set of tasks"⁵.

September 18, 2014 the meeting of the State Council was held; its participants discussed the issue of development of domestic business and enhancement of its competitiveness on the world market.

The working group on the preparation of this meeting, headed by the Belgorod Oblast Governor E.S. Savchenko in collaboration with the presidential administration has prepared the report, which proposed a set of actions corresponding to the new economic reality⁶.

The report states that to ensure sustainable long-term growth of Russia's gross domestic product at the level of 7–8% annually it is necessary to implement a new model of economic growth based, first, on a reasonable import substitution and, second, on an active stimulation of domestic demand and consumption.

In order to launch this model successfully, according to the conclusion of the working group, it is necessary to abandon a number of old and tired economic decisions and some embedded myths, and at the same time to adopt new norms and rules of economic behavior that is consistent with the challenges of the time.

⁵ Vyiti iz brenda. Redaktsionnaya stat'ya [To Come Out of Delirium. Editorial]. *Ekspert* [The Expert], 2013, no. 19, May 13–19.

⁶ See: *The transcript of State Council meeting, September 18, 2014*. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/transcript/46636>.

In particular, it is necessary to abandon the following:

- the deeply rooted myth about Russia's inability to provide itself with food, clothing, footwear and durable goods; the RF Government should make a list of import substitution projects, and most importantly, to establish a new mechanism to support them;

- the disproportionate, if not discriminatory, relations between financial lending institutions and the real sector of the economy, to make lending resources available to business;

- the moratorium on the review of the tax legislation (to replace VAT with turnover tax, to revise withholding tax rate, to introduce changes into the payment of excise taxes on alcohol);

- the lingering underfunding of science
- the foundations of Russia's future competitiveness, economic and social progress; to solve this problem not by increasing budget financing, but mainly at the expense of large

companies and corporations, by establishing corporate engineering and research centers;

- hasty reforms that have not been subject to profound expert assessments⁷;

- the traditional ways of economic management that have not been changing for decades and are now ineffective; the new economic and social reality requires that the whole management paradigm of executive and legislative power should shift to the management of goals and projects, both economic and humanitarian.

The real driving forces of economic growth for the next decade can be: the construction of 50 thousand kilometers of highways by 2020 (up to 2022), the annual commissioning of individual housing up to one million detached houses (130–150 million square meters), resettlement of the quarter of the Russians in their own houses in the period of ten years. These two projects will provide a powerful multiplier effect for economic growth; and political consequences

⁷ The report by E.S. Savchenko contains the following examples of such reforms: power, and the establishment of suburban railway passenger transportation after the reform of Russian Railways. The report points out that reforms in education do not solve the main problem: the system of professional education does not correspond to the demands of the real economy; the interests of educational institutions, employers and the students themselves are fragmented: the economy needs skilled workers, the modern labor aristocracy usually has secondary education, and more than 80 percent of young people in Russia obtain higher education in specialties that are not always in demand on the labor market.

Here we note that urgent problems of education in Russia were voiced on the forum of the All-Russia People's Front "Quality education for the sake of the country" recently held in Penza, and they were presented to President V.V. Putin personally. In particular, the forum has identified the main reason why there are so many problems in education: simple borrowing of certain elements of successful education and science systems from other countries without socio-economic conditions in which these systems are functioning. The Unified State Exam deprived higher education institutions of the opportunity to choose their students, it does not cover all sections of the school program. The Bologna process has destroyed the excellent training of specialists and has become a threat to education in several areas (See: *Ekspert* [The Expert], 2014, no. 43, p 12).

of their implementation: the strengthening of social stability and national unity of Russian society – are difficult to overestimate.

As we can see, these measures are essentially the same as those suggested in a more general form in the above-mentioned editorial of “The Expert”.

A year and a half has passed since that time. Unfortunately, the Government of the Russian Federation has not undertaken any serious actions for shifting the country to a new cycle of development. Why?

The article from “The Expert” ends with the following conclusion: **“We need a new paradigm, we need new ideas on how to develop the country, and we need new carriers of these ideas... But ideological power is in the same hands. We cannot expect anything useful from these people any longer, they hinder the onward movement”**. Unfortunately, the same conclusion can be made today. A year and a half has been lost. How much more do we have in stock? Who can say?

The formation of a new cycle of domestic development is now significantly complicated by anti-Russian sanctions imposed by the U.S. and its European partners in connection with the events in Ukraine. V.V. Putin, speaking at the plenary session of the Valdai International Discussion Club in Sochi on October 24, 2014, pointed out that the purpose of such actions is to throw the development of Russia far back. But the President highlighted that these plans would never be realized. He said: **“Russia has made its choice. Our priorities are further improving our democratic and open economy institutions, accelerated internal development, taking into**

account all the positive modern trends in the world, and consolidating society based on traditional values and patriotism”⁸.

The tasks of sociological science come to the fore at the new stage of development of the Russian society. We are talking, on the one hand, about the enrichment of the theory of social and socio-political development of Russia’s society and its various social groups, taking into account progressive changes in the economy and in the social and political spheres. On the other hand, it is necessary to involve sociologists in the practical achievement of qualitative changes of social development.

It appears that after the Federal Law “On state strategic planning”⁹ has been adopted in the middle of this year, sociologists will have new opportunities for participation in the implementation of federal and regional programs and projects and in their scientific and technical expert assessment. Sociologists should convince the authorities of the necessity to obtain objective data on how the population perceives socio-economic and political transformations that take place nationwide and in individual regions. Sociology will be able to fulfill its function properly, when the system basis of the research is put in legal form, when there are efficient unified mechanisms for assessing public opinion on the effectiveness of

⁸ Putin V.V. *The opening speech at the plenary session of the Valdai International Discussion Club, October 24, 2014*. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/news/46860>.

⁹ June 18, 2014 the State Duma adopted in the second reading the draft Federal Law “On state strategic planning” (No. 143912) prepared by the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation.

state administration throughout the power vertical. Sociology will also benefit when the mechanisms are established for analyzing the results of the response, which is enshrined in law, at all the levels of power.

All of the above-mentioned fits well into the areas to be discussed at the all-Russian research-to-practice conference “Society and sociology in modern Russia”.

The format of the conference – plenary session and thematic sections – chosen by the organizing committee of the conference makes this forum a landmark event.

All the more so that it will be held at the twenty-year anniversary since an informal professional holiday, Sociologist’s Day, has been established in Russia. Since November 14, 1994 this holiday has been celebrated at the faculty of sociology at Saint Petersburg State University, the cradle of Russian academic (university) sociology. We think that the scientific community of sociologists in Russia will continue to participate in solving the problems associated with the transition to a new cycle of the country’s development.

Public opinion monitoring of the state of the Russian society

As in the previous issues, we publish the results of the public opinion monitoring of the state of the Russian society conducted by ISEDТ RAS in the Vologda Oblast¹.

The following tables show the dynamics of a number of parameters indicating the social feeling and socio-political sentiment of the Vologda Oblast population on the average for the last six polls in December 2013 – October 2014. These data are compared with the data for 2013, 2011 (when D.A. Medvedev's presidential term was due to expire), and 2007 (when V.V. Putin's second presidency was coming to an end). We do not provide comparisons with 2012, since it was an incomplete year of V.V. Putin's presidency (his inauguration took place on May 7, 2012).

Estimation of performance of the authorities

In comparison to 2013 the level of approval of the RF President's performance has increased by 7 percentage points (from 55 to 62%), the share of negative assessments has decreased by 5 p.p. (from 29 to 24%).

For reference: according to Russian Public Opinion Research Centre (VCIOM) (data for the first half of October 2014), the nationwide level of approval of the RF President's performance is 88.9%, the share of negative assessments is 6%.

The approval of the Prime Minister has increased by 4 p.p. (from 49 to 53%) on average for the last 6 polls compared to 2013; the proportion of disapproving characteristics has decreased by 4 p.p. (from 33 to 29%).

¹ The polls are held six times a year in Vologda, Cherepovets, and in eight districts of the oblast (Babayevsky District, Velikoustyugsky District, Vozhegodsky District, Gryazovetsky District, Kirillovsky District, Nikolsky District, Tarnogsky District and Sheksninsky District). The method of the survey is a questionnaire poll by place of residence of respondents. The volume of a sample population is 1500 people aged from 18 and older.

The sample is purposeful and quoted. Representativeness of the sample is ensured by the observance of the proportions between the urban and rural population, the proportions between the inhabitants of settlements of various types (rural communities, small and medium-sized cities), age and sex structure of the oblast's adult population. Sampling error does not exceed 3%.

More details on the results of ISEDТ RAS polls are available at <http://www.vssc.ac.ru/>.

How do you assess the current performance of..?
(as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer option	2007	2011	2013	Dec. 2013	Feb. 2014	Apr. 2014	June 2014	Aug. 2014	Oct. 2014	Average for the last 6 surveys	Dynamics (+/-), the last 6 surveys in comparison with...		
											2013	2011	2007
RF President													
I approve	75.3	58.7	55.3	57.3	56.1	62.8	66.6	66.4	66.8	62.7	+7	+4	-13
I do not approve	11.5	25.6	29.4	28.9	29.3	25.4	21.8	19.3	18.5	23.9	-5	-2	+12
Chairman of the RF Government*													
I approve	-	59.3	48.9	51.1	49.3	52.5	55.8	55.2	56.2	53.4	+5	-6	-
I do not approve	-	24.7	32.8	32.5	32.9	30.9	26.4	26.8	23.9	28.9	-4	+4	-
Governor													
I approve	55.8	45.7	44.4	44.1	42.8	41.6	38.5	38.8	39.7	40.9	-4	-5	-15
I do not approve	22.2	30.5	33.2	35.3	36.9	39.0	40.9	40.1	39.6	38.6	+5	+8	+16

* Included into the survey since 2008.

The level of approval of the President's performance increased in all socio-demographic categories of the population (by 5–9 p.p.) on average for December 2013 – October 2014 compared to 2013, especially among the 20% of the wealthiest people (from 64 to 73%), among the people with secondary vocational education (from 56 to 65%), and the residents of Cherepovets (from 64 to 73%).

Dynamics of the level of approval of the RF President's performance
by different social groups, as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Indicator	2007	2011	2013	Dec. 2013	Feb. 2014	Apr. 2014	June 2014	Aug. 2014	Oct. 2014	Average for the last 6 surveys	Dynamics (+/-), the last 6 surveys in comparison with...		
											2013	2011	2007
<i>Sex</i>													
Men	73.6	55.6	52.4	52.5	55.4	58.7	65.5	63.4	62.9	59.7	+7	+4	-14
Women	76.7	61.2	57.7	61.1	56.6	66.1	67.5	68.8	69.9	65.0	+7	+4	-12
<i>Age</i>													
Under 30	76.6	58.3	52.9	52.7	53.0	61.1	63.4	68.8	67.9	61.2	+8	+3	-15
30-55	75.1	57.6	55.4	56.5	54.9	62.4	67.3	61.8	67.3	61.7	+6	+4	-13
Over 55	74.6	60.7	57.1	61.6	59.8	64.7	67.7	71.4	65.5	65.1	+8	+4	-9
<i>Education</i>													
Secondary and incomplete secondary	70.3	54.9	51.4	55.8	51.9	58.1	60.0	60.0	56.2	57.0	+6	+2	-13
Secondary vocational	76.4	59.8	55.8	58.1	58.0	62.1	68.6	68.7	72.4	64.7	+9	+5	-12
Higher and incomplete higher	80.1	61.3	59.1	58.2	58.8	69.2	72.0	70.6	73.1	67.0	+8	+6	-13
<i>Income groups</i>													
20% of the poorest people	65.1	45.7	49.6	62.7	46.1	48.9	54.6	59.7	57.3	54.9	+5	+9	-10
60% of the people with middle-sized income	78.0	60.4	56.1	56.4	57.9	64.4	69.4	67.0	69.0	64.0	+8	+4	-14
20% of the most prosperous people	82.6	68.9	63.6	64.6	69.4	72.6	77.7	78.0	76.8	73.2	+10	+4	-9
<i>Territories</i>													
Vologda	74.1	58.3	53.2	55.2	53.1	61.0	66.6	65.3	65.2	61.1	+8	+3	-13
Cherepovets	82.8	68.5	63.7	65.0	66.8	73.2	74.4	77.8	81.3	73.1	+9	+5	-10
Districts	72.2	53.9	51.9	54.1	51.8	58.1	62.3	60.7	59.8	57.8	+6	+4	-14
Oblast	75.3	58.7	55.3	57.3	56.1	62.8	66.6	66.4	66.8	62.7	+7	+4	-13

On average for the last 6 polls in comparison with 2013 the proportion of positive assessments of the President's performance in dealing with the key problems of the country has increased by 3 – 7 p.p., especially with regard to the issue of imposing order in the country (from 39 to 47%).

In your opinion, how successful is the RF President in coping with challenging issues?* (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer option	2007	2011	2013	Dec. 2013	Feb. 2014	Apr. 2014	June 2014	Aug. 2014	Oct. 2014	Average for the last 6 surveys	Dynamics (+/-), the last 6 surveys in comparison with...		
											2013	2011	2007
Strengthening Russia's international standing													
Successful	58.4	46.2	45.7	47.5	45.9	48.6	53.7	50.9	52.3	49.8	+4	+4	-9
Unsuccessful	24.9	33.7	36.2	35.8	35.7	35.5	31.7	30.0	31.0	33.3	-3	0	+8
<i>Index of success</i>	<i>133.5</i>	<i>112.5</i>	<i>109.5</i>	<i>111.7</i>	<i>110.2</i>	<i>113.1</i>	<i>122.0</i>	<i>120.9</i>	<i>121.3</i>	<i>116.5</i>	<i>+7</i>	<i>+4</i>	<i>-17</i>
Imposing order in the country													
Successful	53.2	36.6	39.4	44.5	42.7	46.7	49.5	47.5	49.4	46.7	+7	+10	-7
Unsuccessful	34.0	50.0	47.5	45.5	43.7	40.9	39.5	37.8	37.8	40.9	-7	-9	+7
<i>Index of success</i>	<i>119.2</i>	<i>86.6</i>	<i>91.9</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>105.8</i>	<i>110.0</i>	<i>109.7</i>	<i>111.6</i>	<i>105.9</i>	<i>+14</i>	<i>+19</i>	<i>-13</i>
Protecting democracy and strengthening the citizens' freedoms													
Successful	44.4	32.4	31.8	32.8	32.3	36.3	40.1	37.6	38.2	36.2	+4	+4	-8
Unsuccessful	37.0	48.3	51.0	51.6	50.1	48.7	43.9	43.7	44.3	47.1	-4	-1	+10
<i>Index of success</i>	<i>107.4</i>	<i>84.1</i>	<i>80.8</i>	<i>81.2</i>	<i>82.2</i>	<i>87.6</i>	<i>96.2</i>	<i>93.9</i>	<i>93.9</i>	<i>89.2</i>	<i>+8</i>	<i>+5</i>	<i>-18</i>
Economic recovery and increase in the citizens' welfare													
Successful	47.2	30.7	31.3	32.6	31.5	34.9	35.8	35.1	33.9	34.0	+3	+3	-13
Unsuccessful	39.1	56.1	56.8	59.7	57.1	54.3	53.5	50.2	54.4	54.9	-2	-1	+16
<i>Index of success</i>	<i>108.1</i>	<i>74.6</i>	<i>74.5</i>	<i>72.9</i>	<i>74.4</i>	<i>80.6</i>	<i>82.3</i>	<i>84.9</i>	<i>79.5</i>	<i>79.1</i>	<i>+5</i>	<i>+5</i>	<i>-29</i>

* Ranked according to the average value of the index of success for the last 6 surveys.

On average for December 2013 – October 2014, compared to 2013, the proportion of the Vologda Oblast residents, who characterize their mood as positive, has not changed (69%). The proportion of negative characteristics is 25–26%. It should be noted that the proportion of those who experience “normal condition, good mood” has increased by 6 p.p. from February to June 2014 and decreased by 2 p.p. from June to October.

The indicators characterizing the stock of patience have improved slightly. The share of those who believe that “everything is not so bad; it's difficult to live, but it's possible to stand it” has increased by 2 p.p. (from 79 to 81%) for the last six polls in comparison to 2013. The share of those who cannot bear such “plight” has decreased by 2 p.p. (from 14 to 12%).

The structure of social self-identification has not undergone any significant changes in December 2013 – October 2014, compared to 2013. The share of those who consider themselves to have middle-sized income is 43–44%, the proportion of “the poor and extremely poor” is slightly higher (47–48%).

The consumer sentiment index has not changed (89–90%) for the last six polls compared with 2013. Meanwhile, its value has been decreasing since June 2014 (for the period from June to September 2014 – by 7 p.p.).

Estimation of social condition (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer option	2007	2011	2013	Dec. 2013	Feb. 2014	Apr. 2014	June 2014	Aug. 2014	Oct. 2014	Average for the last 6 surveys	Dynamics (+/-), the last 6 surveys in comparison with...		
											2013	2011	2007
Mood													
Usual condition, good mood	63.6	63.1	68.6	69.6	65.1	69.3	71.1	70.5	69.3	69.2	+1	+6	+6
I feel stress, anger, fear, depression	27.8	28.9	26.2	26.2	27.1	24.9	23.7	25.1	24.6	25.3	-1	-4	-3
Stock of patience													
Everything is not so bad; it's difficult to live, but it's possible to stand it	74.1	74.8	79.3	83.1	79.8	81.3	81.0	82.5	80.3	81.3	+2	+7	+7
It's impossible to bear such plight	13.6	15.3	14.2	12.0	12.3	11.1	13.4	12.8	12.1	12.3	-2	-3	-1
Social self-identification													
The share of people who consider themselves to have average income	48.2	43.1	43.9	43.7	44.2	43.1	42.0	44.1	43.5	43.4	-1	0	-5
The share of people who consider themselves to be poor and extremely poor	42.4	44.3	46.9	46.7	46.9	49.1	48.4	49.6	49.3	48.3	+1	+4	+6
Consumer sentiment index													
Index value, points	105.9	89.6	90.3	87.9	91.5	90.3	90.5	87.1	84.0	88.6	-2	-1	-17

As for political preferences of Russia's population, the leading role here is still played by the "Unified Russia" political party. Its level of support has increased by 2 p.p. (from 29 to 32%) on average for the last 6 polls in comparison with 2013. The positions of other parliamentary parties remain stable: KPRF – 10–11%, LDPR – 7–8%, "Just Russia" – 4–5%. A significant share of the population believes that none of the current parties express their interests (35%).

Which party expresses your interests? (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Party	2007	Election to the RF State Duma 2007, fact	2011	Election to the RF State Duma 2011, fact	2013	Dec. 2013	Feb. 2014	Apr. 2014	June 2014	Aug. 2014	Oct. 2014	Average for the last 6 surveys	Dynamics (+/-), the last 6 surveys in comparison with...		
													2013	2011	2007
Unified Russia	30.2	60.5	31.1	33.4	29.4	29.5	28.3	29.5	32.7	34.3	35.5	31.6	+2	+1	+1
KPRF	7.0	9.3	10.3	16.8	11.3	11.8	10.9	10.7	9.8	9.1	9.3	10.3	-1	0	+3
LDPR	7.5	11.0	7.8	15.4	7.2	8.1	8.9	8.3	6.2	6.9	7.3	7.6	0	0	0
Just Russia	7.8	8.8	5.6	27.2	4.6	4.4	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.7	3.9	3.7	-1	-2	-4
Other	1.8	–	1.9	–	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.4	0	-2	-1
No party	17.8	–	29.4	–	34.9	34.4	35.2	34.8	36.0	35.0	32.6	34.7	0	+5	+17
It is difficult to answer	21.2	–	13.2	–	10.2	10.9	12.7	13.1	11.8	10.9	10.7	11.7	+2	-2	-10

Attitude of the population toward the bilateral sanctions of Russia, the USA and the EU countries

Most of the Vologda Oblast residents know about economic sanctions against Russia, and about its reciprocal sanctions against the United States and the EU countries (84–85%). The share of those who have a basic notion of the sanctions is slightly higher than the share of those who consider themselves well informed in this matter (43–44% vs. 41%). Five per cent of the oblast residents do not know anything about the sanctions.

For reference: according to VCIOM, in August 2014 56% of the respondents noted that they were “well aware” of Russia’s reciprocal sanctions against the United States and the EU countries, 36% “heard something, but did not know the details”, and 8% “heard about it for the first time”.

The level of awareness of bilateral sanctions is higher in the cities than in the districts. The share of those who are well informed about the sanctions is 55–56% in Vologda, 61–63% – in Cherepovets, 22% – in the districts.

People’s awareness of the bilateral sanctions of Russia,
the USA and the EU countries, as a percentage of the number of respondents

Answer option	In connection with the conflict in Ukraine some countries have introduced sanctions against Russia in recent months. Do you know that?				The Russian Government has imposed a one-year ban on the importation into Russia of agricultural products, raw materials and foodstuffs from the countries that have imposed sanctions against our country, first of all, the USA and the EU. Do you know that?			
	Vologda	Cherepovets	Districts	Oblast	Vologda	Cherepovets	Districts	Oblast
I am well aware of that	56.3	61.0	21.7	41.1	54.5	63.1	21.6	41.1
I hear something, but I don’t know the details	33.1	32.3	53.9	42.8	35.1	30.5	56.2	43.9
I hear about this for the first time	2.0	3.1	7.8	5.1	3.5	2.8	7.7	5.3
It is difficult to answer	8.6	3.6	16.5	11.1	6.8	3.6	14.6	9.7

The share of those who believe that the sanctions imposed by foreign countries will have a positive effect on the Russian economy is 26%. The opposite view is expressed by 20% of the oblast residents. The proportion of pessimistic forecasts is higher in the cities and towns than in the districts (in Vologda – 28%, in Cherepovets – 31%, in the districts – 10%).

The proportion of the oblast residents who believe that the sanctions of foreign countries will have a positive effect on the region’s economy is 23%. 17% of the population give pessimistic forecasts, in Vologda and Cherepovets – 26%, in the districts – 7%.

One in three residents of the oblast finds it difficult to evaluate the effects of bilateral sanctions on the nationwide and regional economy (32 – 33%). At that, the share of those who found it difficult to answer is higher in the districts (38 – 39%) than in Vologda (28 – 31%) and Cherepovets (24%).

Opinion of the population about the consequences of the sanctions imposed by the USA and the EU for the Russian economy and the Vologda Oblast economy, as a percentage of the number of respondents

Answer option	In your opinion, how will the sanctions imposed by foreign countries affect Russia's economy?				In your opinion, how will the sanctions imposed by foreign countries affect the Vologda Oblast economy?			
	Vologda	Cherepovets	Districts	Oblast	Vologda	Cherepovets	Districts	Oblast
The sanctions will have a positive effect, they will improve the situation	26.5	24.4	26.8	26.1	22.0	22.8	24.2	23.3
The sanctions will have a negative effect, they will aggravate the situation	28.0	30.8	9.9	20.1	25.8	26.2	7.3	17.1
Nothing will change, everything will remain as it has been	17.2	20.5	25.8	22.1	21.7	27.4	29.6	26.9
It is difficult to answer	28.3	24.4	37.5	31.7	30.6	23.6	38.9	32.7

The share of those who believe that the reciprocal economic sanctions of Russia against the United States and other countries will do more good than harm is 45%. The share of positive assessments is 46 % in Vologda, 61% – in Cherepovets, 36% – in the districts.

Sixteen per cent of the population give pessimistic forecasts.

The share of those who find it difficult to forecast the consequences of Russia's reciprocal sanctions is 39%. At that, the proportion of such residents is higher in the districts than in the cities and towns (49% vs. 38% in Vologda and 22% in Cherepovets).

For reference: according to VCIOM, in August 2014, 80% of the Russians believed that the ban on the import into Russia of certain foreign foodstuffs would do more good than harm. The opposite point of view was expressed by 9% of the population.

Opinion of the population about Russia's reciprocal sanctions against the USA and the EU, as a percentage of the number of respondents

In your opinion, will the ban on the import into Russia of certain foreign foodstuffs do Russia more good or harm?				
Answer option	Vologda	Cherepovets	Districts	Oblast
Sooner more good	46.0	60.8	36.0	45.1
Sooner more harm	16.4	16.9	15.1	15.9
It is difficult to answer	37.6	22.3	48.9	39.0

Conclusion

The results of the surveys conducted in October 2014 show that the public opinion of the Vologda Oblast residents is influenced mainly by the events related to the realization of national interests; it is also influenced by the problems that complicate the economic situation in the country.

The indicators of social sentiment and stock of patience remain favorable in general. The share of positive assessments is significantly higher than the proportion of negative characteristics (69–81% against 12–25%).

It is necessary to pay attention to the alarming fact that the consumer sentiment index, which is below the neutral level (less than 100 points), has been declining since June 2014 (from 91 to 84 p. in October). The experience in conducting sociological research suggests that this is a harbinger of major changes that can happen in the next 2–4 months, if the current dynamics of the consumer sentiment index does not change.

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Metaphor of society (a sociological essay)



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Abstract. The essay by Academician G.V. Osipov, the patriarch of Russian sociology, is dedicated to one of the most cognitive topics of modern sociology – identification of **sociological metaphor** as such and its application in research projects. This topic is avant-garde for the world sociological thought, and in Russia such kind of research is making its first steps. However, its future importance is difficult to overestimate. Sociological metaphor, if a methodology for its application is developed, can provide scientists with qualitatively new synthetic research tools. It can also bring together scientific structures and artifacts on the space of interdisciplinary and inter-subject borderland and give them qualitatively new intellectual and sensuous (system and mental) technological capabilities for learning the surrounding world.

The advantage of the following essay can be found in the fact that it is based on the objective analysis of the real embodiment of social metaphor in the work of art – a pictorial triptych “The Mystery of the 21st Century”. This is the first such experience in domestic sociological and artistic-painting practice. The authors of the final product are a scientist of great scientific and life experience and a young artist, who received in-depth sociological training and defended his Ph.D. in Sociology dissertation. But the main result of their collaboration is a product that combines scientific (sociological) knowledge and insight and intuitive-creative artistic perception in a qualitatively new perception of the world and world outlook.

Key words: metaphor, science, sociality, cognition, artifact, painting, synthetic tools, perception of the world, world outlook, nominative image, maxim, epistemological privileges, literature, knowledge, language, thought, composition, tragedy, text.

I can imagine some of my colleagues asking in bewilderment: why all of a sudden should a mature sociologist describe society with a system of metaphors? Indeed, metaphor is an instrument of a subjective and artistic, rather than objective and scientific, perception and reflection of reality, the so-called “artistically-figurative” trope. The scientific and the artistic perceptions of the world are essentially different.

However, is this statement true in the 21st century, when the boundaries between sciences are being erased, and even the line between science and art is becoming thinner? I have devoted this article to the understanding of this issue that is gaining importance in modern sociology.

I.

The argument concerning a system difference between the scientific and the artistic perception of the world is difficult to refute. O. Spengler in his time pointed out the deep, essential dualism of historical and social phenomena that may look similar on the surface, but actually they belong to different psychological types of human perception according to the degree of fixation and cognition. He consciously opposed the notions of nature and history, causality and fate, what is understood and what is experienced, the *element* in science and the *image* (*emphasis added*. G.O.) in art [Spengler O., 1923].

A scientific maxim and an artistic metaphor, like West and East in the famous ballad by R. Kipling, are parallel lines, which “shall never meet” until the end of time. (Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet, // Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God’s great Judgment Seat.)

But even parallel lines will eventually intersect, when, in a state of heuristic insight, N.I. Lobachevsky, the great Russian mathematician, founder of non-Euclidean geometry, will suggest to take the interior of a circle as a plane and the arcs of a circle as straight lines!

So Ecclesiastes was wrong in arguing that “...there is nothing new under the sun” [Ecclesiastes 1:9]. New knowledge, valuable to mankind, is generated constantly, and it is generated by the creative genius of Man!

And then a prominent Russian mathematician and philosopher V.V. Nalimov has “shifted” the metaphor from its position of purely artistic application that seemed unshakeable and “registered” it, among other things, in philosophy. “Lack of logic in everyday language is filled by using metaphors. Logic and metaphors in a text are two of its complementary manifestations” [Nalimov V., 2000].

The further – the deeper...

If still relatively recently the birth of metaphor assumed a *nominative image* to be its basic element, then now this role is performed more and more often by a *philosophical and social maxim*. Simply put, not only the artistic imagery, but also the scientific logic participate equally in the process of metaphorization, when new phenomena emerge and also when the genesis and actual social value of already existing, exclusively diverse set of metaphors, are constantly revised.

At the same time, I am fully aware that the prevailing notion of metaphor contains, to a more or less extent of manifestation, a kind of noble *cognitive shamanism*: how can one abandon the tradition of an almost sacred

attitude to the majority of literary tropes and various figurative techniques?.. One should not abandon it, of course, but it is necessary to remember the harmonic balance between research methodologies (artistic and scientific) involved in the process.

Also one should always remember that artistic thinking and artistic perception of the world, which are based on the *image* that synthesizes ideas about an object or process, exert increasing influence on scientific consciousness, on the philosophy and methodology of scientific research, primarily, in the Humanities. Therefore, the role of artistic tropes in this context is gaining importance, since they more often become active components in the tools of the Humanities and even the Natural Sciences when they create a *figurative system* for the denotation of the studied phenomena.

I will refer to the most recent sources, in particular, to the research by the Dutch sociologist D. Pels. He explores the relationship between politics and economics and defines both concepts as “the metaphor of politics” and “the metaphor of economics” According to D. Pels, both these vocabularies uncharm and deconstruct, since they reveal something similar to a greed for gain or a will to power in the characteristic features of professional search for knowledge.

D. Pals writes: “The intrigue lies in the fact that this radical idea of collusion between cognitive and social elements in science and situatedness and burden with the interests of its products was expressed in two classic variations of lifting the spell: the “Marxist” variation that concerns the economy and capital, and the “Nietzschean” variation that concerns politics and power [Michel Foucault.

1980] <...> Each of them reveals in its own way the inseparable dualism of cognitive and strategic interests, and the consequent “agonistic” structure of a scientific enterprise. (Epistemological coincidence between the truth-oriented cognitive interests (Danish: *belangstelling*) and the strategic interests (Danish: *belang*) is much better rendered by the English word “interest” or the French word “*intérêt/intéressement*” rather than the Danish adjective “*belang-rijk*”.) Thus, *both metaphors (emphasis added. G.O.)* are equally useful from the point of view of the destruction of what Nietzsche called “ascetic” ideal of philosophical truth, and of disburdening of science from its traditional epistemological privileges” [Pels D., 2010].

A statement by my French colleague, sociologist P. Bourdieu, about the role of literary devices in social science is a telling example: “The desire to make one feel or to make one understand, aroused by the immediate presence of an attentive listener <...> urges us to search for *metaphors and analogies (emphasis added. G.O.)*, which, if their limitations at the time of use are specified, can give a first intuitive approach to the most complex models and, thus, lead to a more strict representation” [Bourdieu P., 1994].

Modern science started to use and develop metaphors and became an active partner of art in the process of metaphorization, thus performing another beneficial part that has remained virtually unnoticed so far. Science has significantly reduced, if not removed, an element of sacredness and mysticism in our attitude toward metaphor.

Indeed, what is metaphor, if not the next – higher and more complex – step in the chain-

ladder of cognitive technology: motif – theme – image – metaphor?.. I put dots after the question mark, because I am convinced that the chain-ladder will be extended in the course of a more subtle analysis of the phenomenon under discussion. Moreover, its internal space can expand, enclosing new terminology that expresses the results of new research on the micro level.

No doubt, metaphor is an integral means of artistic reflection of reality and, I would say, the highest by its degree of intellectual and emotional impact on human consciousness and psyche. But the longer humanity follows the path of understanding its surrounding reality, the more expanded the horizons of using the metaphorical method of reflection become.

“Metaphor is immensely practical... It can be used as a tool in the description and explanation of everything from psychotherapeutic interviews to the conversations of airline pilots, from dance rituals to computer program languages, from art education to quantum mechanics. Metaphor, whatever it is, is pointing us to a richer understanding of human action, knowledge and language” [Hoffman R., 1985].

I.D. Arutyunova, one of the leading researchers in this topic, makes the right assumption [Arutyunova I., 1990] that the interest in metaphor facilitated the interaction of various fields of scientific thought, their ideological consolidation, which resulted in the formation of cognitive science that deals with the study of different aspects of human consciousness. “Cognitive science is based on the assumption that human cognitive structures (perception, language, thinking, memory, actions) are inextricably

linked within the framework of a single task – the implementation of processes such as assimilation, processing and transformation of knowledge, the processes that, in fact, define the essence of the human mind” [Petrov V., 1988]...

I conclude this introductory and theoretical part of my essay on the metaphor with a wise ironic expression by G.K. Lichtenberg, a famous German scientist and writer, who lived in the 18th century: “The metaphor is far more clever than its author, as are many things. Everything has its depths” [Lichtenberg, 1964].

Perhaps this is the best what can be said in our case.

II.

It is not *all of a sudden* that I became interested in metaphor that seems remote from science. The idea to try and reflect through metaphor my vision of the socio-political situation in my home country and in the world rooted in my head when I got acquainted with the works of Ilya Sergeevich Glazunov, the outstanding Russian painter, patriot of the Russian land, People’s Artist of the USSR. And first of all, after an inspiration, which I had never experienced before, overwhelmed me when I was looking at Glazunov’s landmark paintings “Eternal Russia” (1988, oil on canvas, 300 x 600) and “The Mystery of the 20th century” (1999, oil on canvas, 300 x 800).

I am not going to dwell upon them; I do not intend to describe them either. I can hardly believe that a true patriot did not bother to behold these outstanding paintings, comparable to the highest achievements of the great masters of the Renaissance in their

power of spirit and artistic impact, in their wide-scale coverage of the main events of the century and the depth of penetration into the soul of the viewer. And if such people still exist, I strongly advise them to visit the Moscow State Art Gallery of Ilya Sergeevich Glazunov (13, Volkhonka Street) where these creations of our outstanding contemporary have been already exhibited for a decade since the opening of the Gallery in 2004...

Nature has not endowed me with the ability to depict the world authentically and convincingly and to share my own vision and understanding of the world with my contemporaries through the medium of art and harmony of colors. Therefore, the realization of the idea of social metaphor itself was suspended till I met a young gifted artist Svyatoslav Gulyaev.

Svyatoslav's passion for sociology became the main argument in favor of choosing him for implementing my scientific and artistic notions of the social world through the creation of an expanded visual metaphor. That was how S. Gulyaev, initially, the graduate student of ISPR RAS (of which I am Director) and, subsequently, Ph.D in Sociology, became my co-author in the work on the beautiful triptych "The Mystery of the 21st Century".

An algorithm of our joint work was developed empirically. During our meetings I explained to Svyatoslav the concept of the work as a whole and each individual lesson. I told him what historical personalities were to be depicted in the painting and explained what roles they were to "perform" in the context of the composition and message of the work. I explained to him the general composition of the whole painting and its

fragments, those vectors that would make it more interesting for a viewer to trace the development of social phenomena and personalities representing them.

After a while, the young artist would bring a sketch, which we would discuss together with scientific thoroughness, and not a square centimeter of the future painting would be left without proper attention. Sometimes after our discussion we would reject virtually the whole sketch, but it did not bother us; a negative result in science as well as in art, is sometimes no less important for the general idea, than a positive one.

The conceptual goal of our work was to create an artistic and sociological story about the historical and political events from the abolition of serfdom by Alexander II in 1861 and up to the present day. Gradually, the visual style of painting was formed and developed. It is based on parody and humorous attitude to the subject material, and they, in turn, rest upon a solid and reliable foundation of sociological analysis and analytical conclusions. As a result, the ingenious "sociological extravaganza" that can persuade even the skeptics is a combination of imagination and rigorous scientific thought.

The painting is composed of three canvases united by an allegorical image of the "Goddess of Sociology", which is located in the central part of the triptych. The Goddess is flying through all the times and events and with a gesture of her hand she is calling out to humanity in the hope that people will finally begin to think seriously about all the tragic and dramatic events that are happening in the world and will make the right conclusions about how to continue life on Earth.

Color photograph of the triptych "THE MYSTERY OF THE 21ST CENTURY"



Gulyaev S. "The Mystery of the 21st Century" oil on canvas, 2013, ISPR RAS

The first two pictures reflect the history of the 19th – 21st centuries in brief. At that time, the most important events could be already recorded on the film. That is why the painting shows a film and a scroll with handwritten words representing the key events of that period and the statements of prominent personalities; the film and the scroll are like the witnesses of the history, they are stretching through the whole painting and intersecting crosswise.

Sarcasm is a key artistic device used for depicting a number of especially odious characters. For instance, look at Trotsky, the red (in color as well as political affiliation) demon, who is sitting on the top of the Kremlin wall like a blood-stained gorilla. Or a pronounced caricature of doctor Gebbels, like a sketch by the Kukryniksy [*Russian: Кукрыниксы – the three nationally famous and internationally recognized USSR caricaturists. Translator’s note.*] in front of a microphone screaming his head off in a hysteric of paranoid schizophrenia and broadcasting fascist misanthropic ideas of a radio station. Fascists and those who advocated the idea of a “permanent revolution” must be depicted with no other artistic tool but grotesque sarcasm.

The “dashing trinity” represented by Boris Yeltsin, Stanislav Shushkevich and Leonid Kravchuk, who are having a rest with drink running freely in Belovezhskaya Pushcha (Belarusian SSR), is depicted more leniently; nevertheless, it is a caricature, a paraphrase of the famous painting “The Hunters at Rest” by Vasily Perov, a member of the Peredvizhniki [*Russian: Передвижники – the Society for Traveling Art Exhibitions, formed in 1870. Translator’s note.*].

A moral and political condemnation of the destroyers is seen not only in sharp, accusing eyes of Alexander Lukashenko, who is lurking behind their backs, but also in another fragment of the composition situated in the lower left corner of the painting and depicting the triumvirate of the World War II winners: Generalissimo Joseph Stalin, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill. They are still together in front of the cameras of the world’s leading news agencies, the joint victory is ahead; but we can see that each of them is busy with his own thoughts, and all together they are already looking in different directions.

Today they are still allies at the Yalta negotiations, but very soon Churchill will deliver his Speech in Fulton that will mark the onset of the cold war bringing down the “iron curtain” that will shut the USSR off from the rest of the world for decades.

Not a single character in the painting is an isolated notional and conceptual element. All of them are connected (are in cahoots?) with each other, and all together – with the country and its history. They are also bound and tied by the compositional elements representing the most telling mark of the century: the scroll and the film, curving, like waves of the river of time, like tongues of flame.

We see the four leaders from different Soviet periods: Vladimir Lenin, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev and Mikhail Gorbachev speaking from the platform. Each of them has raised his hand in a typical pointing gesture. They are pointing out the way to the people... Except that they are pointing in different directions! Nevertheless,

there is something in common between them: an outright buffoonery and bragging like that of Ivan Khlestakov, an unforgettable character from Gogol's satirical play "The Inspector General".

But the main performing element in our "opera on canvas" is the duets.

Here is the "gruesome-twosome" Genady Zyuganov and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leaders of two Duma factions. They argue and quarrel on a Duma rostrum and on the sidelines; they unveil and they threaten, but their moves are somehow perceived as a pair entertainment, a low-grade political theater. Such is the manner in which we are playing for years and decades on Russia's political stage, making way for vigorous strong-willed countries and letting off the steam of creation in a meaningless, though loud and shrill, whistle – the steam that Russia desperately needs...

Here is Anatoly Chubais with his voucher, both useless frauds ...

Here is "bad" profiteer Boris Berezovsky, who has escaped from the just punishment to London, a city that does not care about justice in his case; and Roman Abramovich, who has remained in Russia and, therefore, is a good businessman. Nevertheless, a glance at this bad-and-good couple makes us feel somewhat uneasy. As though we felt an urge to take a brush with black paint and draw between them two parallel lines as the sign of identity...

Here are Vladimir Putin and Barack Obama. I have already mentioned them in the text of this article. I just want to add a couple of words: hold on, Vladimir Vladimirovich, the whole progressive mankind is looking at you with hope...

A dualistic duo in our mystery is represented not only by historical characters, but also by meaningful objects. The Nazi storm troopers forming the line for an attack and the formation of victorious Soviet soldiers in the Victory Parade with Abwehr banners and standards pointed downward to the cobblestones of Red Square.

The Golem (Mammon), for whom money is the only meaning of life, is playing with the world as if it were a puppet. He gets money from Uncle Sam, the symbol of the USA, the dominant world power. The Golem is sitting in front of a computer and browsing social networks to watch over paid sabotage. He is content with his doings.

The image of the Golem has acquired a fundamental social significance in the "Mystery". He is versatile and therefore hard to recognize in our hectic daily routine. One of the embodiments of this metaphor is a symbol of administrative machine that often pursues its own and corporate goals, significantly different from the goals of the state.

Perhaps, this pair is the most consistent in its criminal aspiration: the bald and fat Golem-Mammon who has sold himself for gold, and Uncle Sam standing behind his back and leaning over his head representing not only a symbol of capitalist America merciless to working people, but also a master of the omnipotent Masonic Lodge, an underground world community, the so-called *backstage*, with a six-pointed star on a *moire ribbon of his cylinder*.

The events important for global development are pulled up to one another through the eras and centuries according to the principle of epistemological identity. More often – it is a seeming identity.

Color photograph of a fragment of the painting



The French Revolution and Yeltsin's liberal demarche in front of the White House in Moscow. At that time, those homegrown liberals thought they were making history like the Gauls who had revolted against feudal backwardness; but it turned out that they delayed the progressive motion of long-suffering Mother Russia for the years of Yeltsin's groggy rule.

Even the texts in the painting tend to make pairs. The decree of Emperor Alexander II that abolished serfdom in Russia, and Vladimir Putin's assurance that we are ready for fair competition. The good initiatives echoing through the ages.

I would like to highlight a fragment in the painting, which is the most important for me personally, and its message to the future. The fragment is located in the top right corner of the composition, as though to fulfill this purpose.

From there opens a way outside our vanity fair, a nervous, troubled, unpredictable mystery of a century that is only emerging and simmering with constructive and destructive energies.

Everything is dear to my memory and everything pleases my soul in this final fragment of sociological metaphor reflected on the canvas.

In Russian folk tales a fork in the road always implies a choice of one's fate. If you go to the right, if you go to the left... And a tempting prospect of success and happy ownership is always opposed by the tragic outcome: "you will lose your life", as a sobering alternative.

And here, of my own accord, I have outlined such a symbolic crossroads, from which both roads lead to the territory of Hope. That is why the names of the leading

Russian research centers "Skolkovo" and "RAS" sound like bravura music in my ear.

I know: the Innovation Research Center, and the Science Park in Skolkovo, as well as the Russian Academy of Sciences are now going through hard times. But hope is the last thing to die...

That is why the RAS headquarters with a distinctive anodized structure of aerial systems on the roof commonly known as "golden brains" (an apt expression), seems to me in the context of the mystery a kind of stylized launch vehicle that will bring humanity to unknown scientific horizons. I have also picked up a crew for the vehicle; the crew, which I consider the most suitable one, is presented as the three portraits on the last piece of the film concluding the chronicle of events.

I shall introduce these people to those, who do not know them: from left bottom to right top: Andrey Grigoryevich Zdravomyslov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Yadov and Gennadii Vasil'evich Osipov, your humble servant. Back in the 1960s we embarked on the endeavor of the revival of Russian sociology – a challenging task, sometimes tragic, after decades of prohibitions and restrictions imposed by the partocratic regime. Each of us went his own way, and, eventually, the roads we have traveled along resulted in the three distinct and intrinsically valuable directions. There were no others. Take my word for it.

The dream crew... And it does not matter that Vladimir Alexandrovich and myself have entered our nineties and Andrey Grigoryevich is already gone. Metaphor – it is able to stop time, to freeze it. At least on the canvas covered with oil paints and called "mystery" – an enigmatic and intriguing word.

At least I want to believe it...

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Children's health and development: results of a 20-year monitoring*



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Abstract. The analysis of the data from domestic and foreign theory and practice has shown that the monitoring of the cohort of children is the most effective method of studying and assessing the health and development of children in order to make efficient and adequate management decisions. The paper presents the results of the medical-and-sociological monitoring “Research into the conditions for the formation of a healthy generation”, performed by RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories since 1995 with the active support on the part of the Vologda Oblast Department of Healthcare. The authors have found out that each age period is characterized by a specific set of factors influencing health. Infancy and early age are dominated by the impact of medico-biological and social factors (poor health of the parents; low level of hemoglobin during pregnancy; mother's smoking during pregnancy; labour conditions of the

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mother that do not meet sanitary standards; specifics of the infant's feeding). In preschool and primary school age greater importance is attached to environmental factors, lifestyle and standard of living of the family (comfort of living conditions, environmental conditions in the area of residence, level of socio-hygienic literacy and health-preserving activity of the parents). Using the cohort of children born in 2014 as an example, the authors show certain positive trends that emerged during the reforms of the economy and social sphere, reflected in the living conditions of families with children, in the level of satisfaction with their health, infant health, and key indicators of obstetrics system. In this regard, the authors substantiate the necessity of such monitoring to determine the correct vector of government policy.

Key words: monitoring; children's health; government policy; health factors; human potential.

At present, when the whole world is undergoing a transition from industrial to post-industrial society, human capital becomes the main factor in economic growth. Social wealth consists of three components, out of which 16% belongs to physical capital, 20% – to natural capital, and 64% – to human capital on average in the world [15, pp. 49-58].

Human factor is considered the basis for promoting the development of countries and regions. The development of human potential and, consequently, the readiness of territories (countries, regions) to implement modernization are directly related to the public administration of socio-demographic development. Therefore, the indicators of human development can be used as indicators of public administration efficiency.

The demographic resource of the society, within which the human potential and human capital are formed, can be assessed quantitatively and also qualitatively. Qualitative indicators include three fundamental components: health potential, professional-educational potential and qualification-intellectual potential, socio-cultural and spiritual and moral activity.

Health, combined with other factors, determines the abilities of an individual at the micro level, and the potential of a country at the macro level. Research findings indicate that deterioration of public health is associated with a particular vulnerability of new generations. It is therefore very important to study the quality of the child population and the effectiveness of state support in the sphere of health and development of the younger generation.

Federal and regional authorities, academic community and non-governmental organizations have been paying considerably more attention to the issues of childhood in the recent years. For instance, at the session of the Coordination Council on the Implementation of the National Strategy for Children which V.V. Putin held on May 27, 2014, the protection and promotion of adolescents' health was the main topic. The President outlined a number of top priority issues in this field and stressed that "the preservation and strengthening of children's health requires an integrated, interagency approach at all the levels of power..." [5].

Speaking on February 17, 2014 at the session of the Presidium of the State Council

of the Russian Federation [2], the Vologda Oblast Governor O.A. Kuvshinnikov highlighted a number of issues that require attention and coordinated action to handle them. These issues include small incomes in families with children; inadequate level of support to socially vulnerable families with children; housing problems; “decline” of traditional family values. He stressed that the government should enhance the status of the family, which is based on healthy maternity, children, and the strength of marriage bonds.

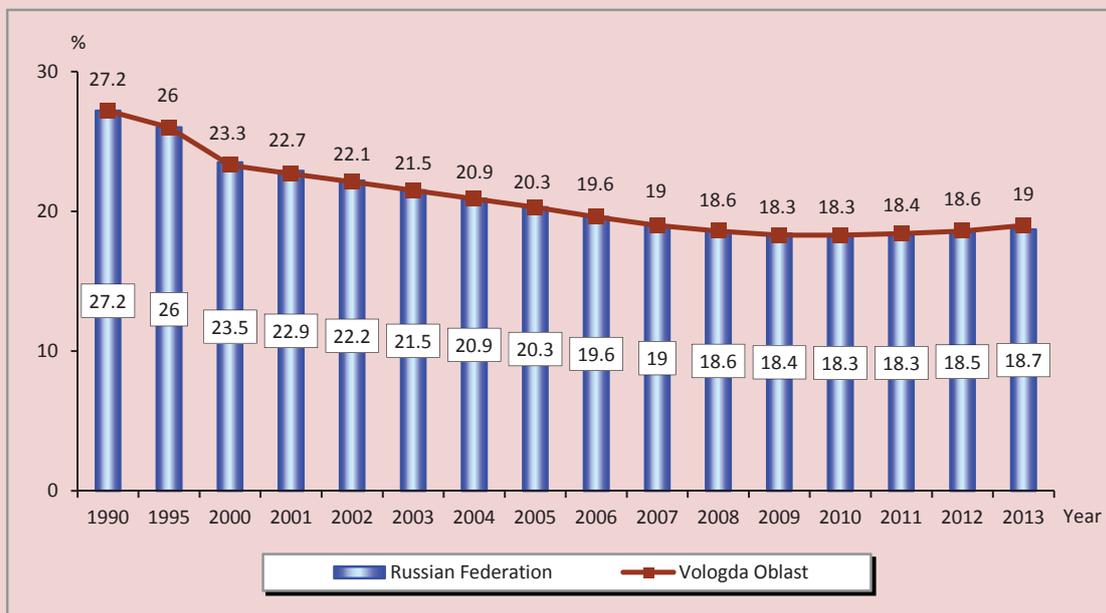
Since 2005 the country has been implementing a set of measures providing state support to families with children and preserving and strengthening child health (priority national project “Health”, “The National Strategy for Children for 2012–2017”, the Concept for demographic policy of the Russian Federation up to 2025, the Program for modernization of health care and others). During this period the lump-sum benefits at birth and monthly childcare allowances paid for up to one and a half years have increased significantly. For instance, in 2012, the annual indexation of state benefits was 6% (in 2010 – 10%; in 2011 – 6.5%). The lump-sum payment at birth averaged 12405.32 rubles (in 2011 – 11703.2 rubles; in 2010 – 10988.9 rubles) [3, pp. 15-17]. In 2011 the average monthly child care allowance for a first child, received by citizens subject to compulsory social insurance, amounted to 5.6 thousand rubles (more than 90% of the subsistence level), for a second and subsequent children it was over 6 thousand rubles (almost 100% of the subsistence level). For comparison: in 2007 the allowance was 700 rubles.

Maternal health and child health have been paid more attention, the quality of medical care has improved, and the availability of high-tech medical services has increased, etc. over the period under consideration. Currently there are 98 perinatal centers in Russia. Twenty-two regional perinatal centers and two federal perinatal centers were built and equipped in 2007–2011 [9]. There are 250 medical institutions that provide high-tech medical care in the federal cities and in the regions. Much attention is given to the enhancement of preventive health care (immunoprophylaxis, preventive medical examination of the population, etc.).

But these and other facts do not diminish the relevance of demographic challenges. For example, the UN experts consider trends in demographic processes on the basis of the criteria of territorial affiliation and socio-economic development. According to the first criterion, Russia is a developed country with a high income level; according to the second criterion, it is included in the group of countries with a medium level of income. It should be noted that birth rate in Russia is practically the same as in countries that have high income level (in 2012 they had the average total fertility rate of 1.7, in Russia it was 1.69); mortality rate is higher than in countries with low income (average total mortality rate for the group in 2012 was 9.0‰, in Russia – 13.3‰) [23].

According to the World Health Organization, the standardized mortality rates from the main classes of causes of death in Russia for 2012 are much higher than those in developed countries. For instance, mortality rate from infectious diseases in our country

Figure 1. Population aged 0–17 (as a percentage of the total number of population) [16]



is 3–5 times higher, mortality rate from non-communicable (chronic) diseases is 2–3 times higher, mortality rate from injuries – 4–6 times higher.

Life expectancy (LE) at birth is usually considered the main global indicator that characterizes the health status and quality of life and reflects the efficiency of actions aimed to protect and promote public health. For example, in 1990–2013 LE in Russia was highly volatile. The decrease in life expectancy was observed during the financial and socio-economic shocks. Life expectancy in the country began to grow in 2003, and in 2013 it reached 70.76 years (in the Vologda Oblast – 69.35 years), which is less than in the EU countries by almost 10 years¹. This gap has increased: in 1990 it was six years.

¹ For comparison: according to the Population Reference Bureau, this figure was 80 years in the EU countries in 2013 [22].

Besides, Russia is characterized by the following:

1. *Reduction in the child population* (0–17 years old) nationwide and in some regions – in 1990–2013 from 27% to 19% (fig. 1).

2. *Negative trends in the health status of children, characterized by high morbidity rate in newborns.* About 34% of children are born sick in Russia, and 29% – in the Vologda Oblast (fig. 2).

3. *High rates of premature mortality* (including maternal and infant mortality). Speaking about the dynamics of infant mortality, it is worth noting that in Russia it has decreased by 50% from 1990 to 2012. Throughout the whole period under consideration the excessive level of infant mortality in Russia compared to the EU countries decreased from three to two times (fig. 3).

Figure 2. Morbidity rate in newborn children (as a percentage of the number of live births) [6; 11]

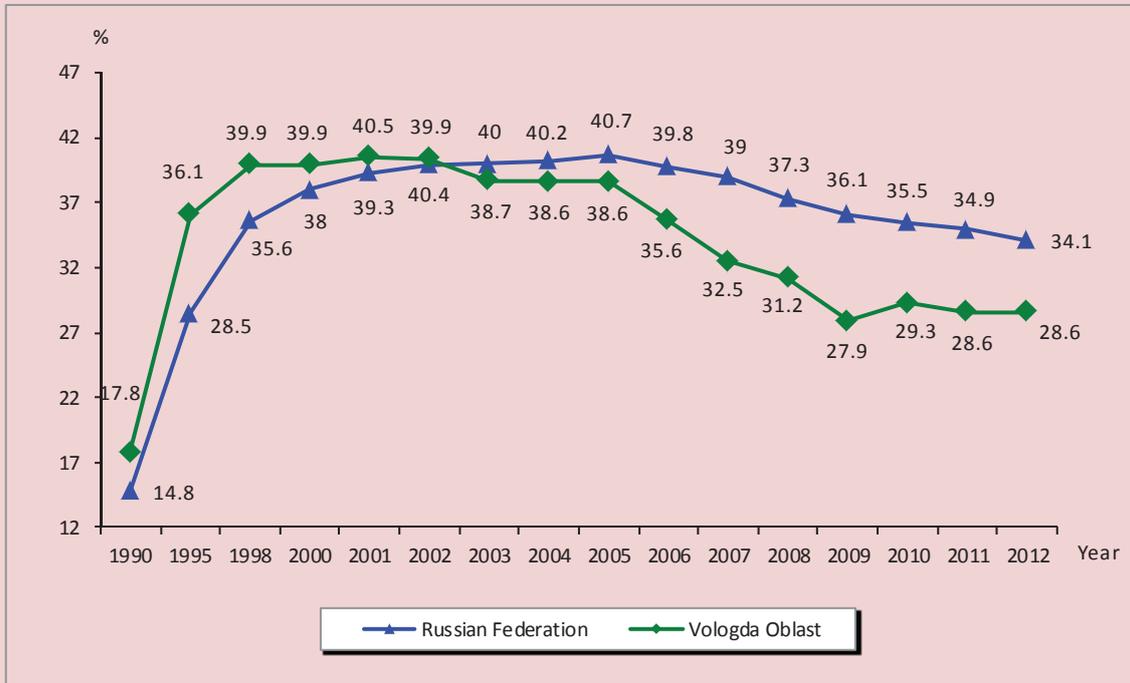
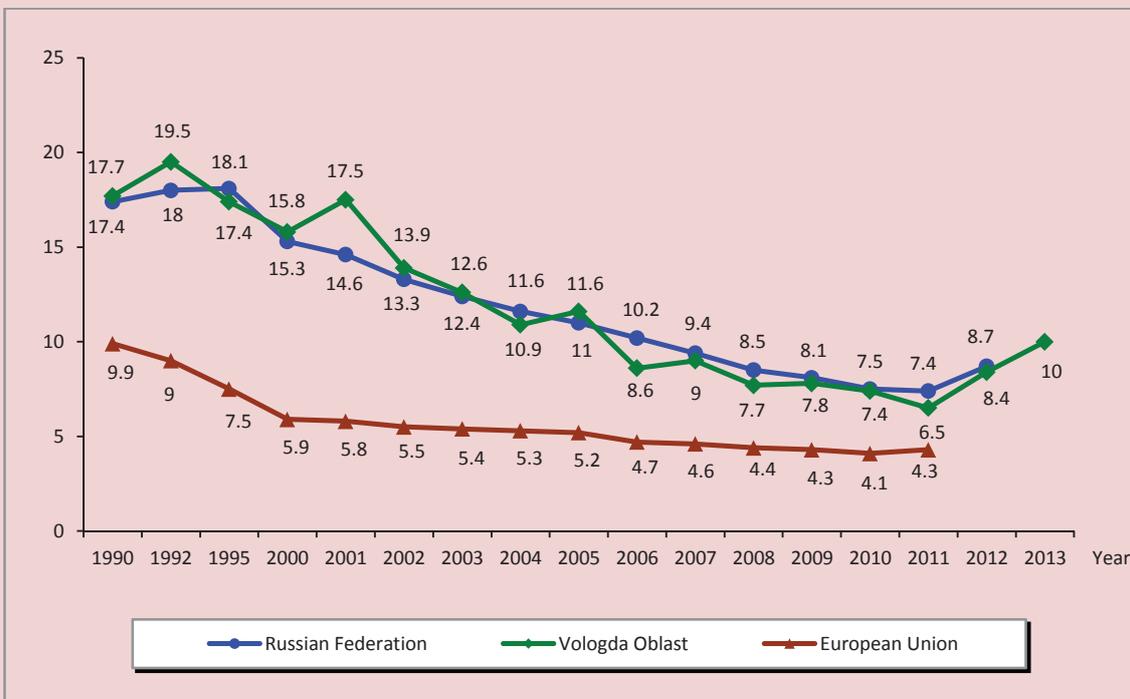


Figure 3. Infant mortality (aged under 12 months, per 1000 live births) [4; 16]



The Russian Federation ranks 160th out of 224 countries according to this indicator for 2014, being next to Chile and Kuwait (7.08 deaths before the age of 12 months per 1000 live births) [20]. It is necessary to emphasize that since 2012 this indicator has shown an improving trend in Russia and the Vologda Oblast, mainly due to the expansion of criteria for live births, namely the nursing of babies born at a gestational age of 22 weeks and weighing² 500 grams.

The above processes lead to large-scale economic losses in the territories; they can be prevented if there is comprehensive interaction between the state and society.

Thus, we can highlight three main reasons why Russia should carry out active state policy aimed to strengthen children's health.

First, it is important to preserve the life and health of every child under the lingering demographic crisis.

Second, there is no deterioration of the key indicators of children's health; their stagnation is pointed out.

Third, Russia adopted the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child [7]; this fact initiated the formation of a new, higher level of responsibility of the state and society for the exercise of children's right to life, health and development under favorable conditions [19, p. 7].

² A live birth is the moment of separation of the fetus from the mother's organism through the process of birth at the gestational age of 22 weeks and more, when the body weight of the newborn is 500 grams and more (or less than 500 grams for multiple births) or, if the child's weight at birth is unknown, when the length of the body of the newborn is 25 cm or more, if the newborn shows signs of live birth (breathing, heartbeat, umbilical cord pulsation, or the voluntary movements of muscles, regardless of whether the umbilical cord has been cut and the placenta separated) [10].

Analysis of departmental statistics is not enough to make effective and appropriate management decisions. It is important to carry out comprehensive research into the health and development of children on a real-time basis, revealing the risk factors that have the most significant impact. One of the most effective methods of analysis and evaluation of children's health and development consists in a prospective monitoring, which is used for the observation of the cohort of families with children.

An example of such monitoring is found in the long-term medico-sociological study of family cohorts, starting with the birth of children; it identifies the key determinants of health at different stages of life of children and young people. This study is carried out by the research team at ISEDT RAS with active support provided by the Vologda Oblast Department of Health Care. It should be noted that this study is unique for Russia.

Materials and methods. The idea of monitoring was proposed by RAS Corresponding Member N.M. Rimashevskaya, who borrowed it in England in 1980. The prototype was the National Child Development Study (NCDS) launched in the UK in 1958 by the National Children's Bureau (NCB), and continued by the Center for Longitudinal Studies (CLS) since 1985 [21, p. 13]. In 2008 the monograph "Now we are 50" was released in connection with the 50th anniversary of the study.

The ISEDT RAS survey sample included all the families that produced children during the above-mentioned period and that live in the region's large cities (Vologda, Cherepovets), towns – regional centers

Table 1. Stages of the monitoring

Year when the research started	Period when the research began	Number of surveyed families
1995	May 15 – May 30	100
1998	March 1 – March 25	200
2001	March 1 – March 25	200
2004	March 1 – March 25	200
2014	March 1 – March 21	370

(Veliky Ustyug, Kirillov) and in the urban-type settlement of Vozhega (*tab. 1*). To date, the monitoring involves five cohorts of families (children born in 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004 and 2014); this expands opportunities for identifying and analyzing the trends in the health and development of children, and factors contributing to these processes.

Monitoring is carried out with the help of special questionnaires that the respondents are to fill in. The research involves the use of complex tools, which include:

- questionnaires (filled in by the parents) that characterize the specifics of the family and household of the newborn, health of the parents and in detail – health of the mother, specifics of the delivery, main parameters of the health of the newborn or the cause of its death (filled with obstetricians-gynecologists on the basis of medical documentation);
- questionnaires that characterize the health status and development of the child, the conditions of its life at the age of four weeks, six months, twelve months, two years, three years and so on (the questionnaire has two parts: the first one for assessing the living conditions and development of children is filled in by the parents; the second one that characterizes and evaluates the child’s health is filled in by pediatricians from the corresponding district);

- questionnaires that characterize the health and development of the children, their hobbies and interests (filled in by the children starting from the age of ten);
- software packages (SPSS, Statistica) for primary data processing and statistical and econometric analysis.

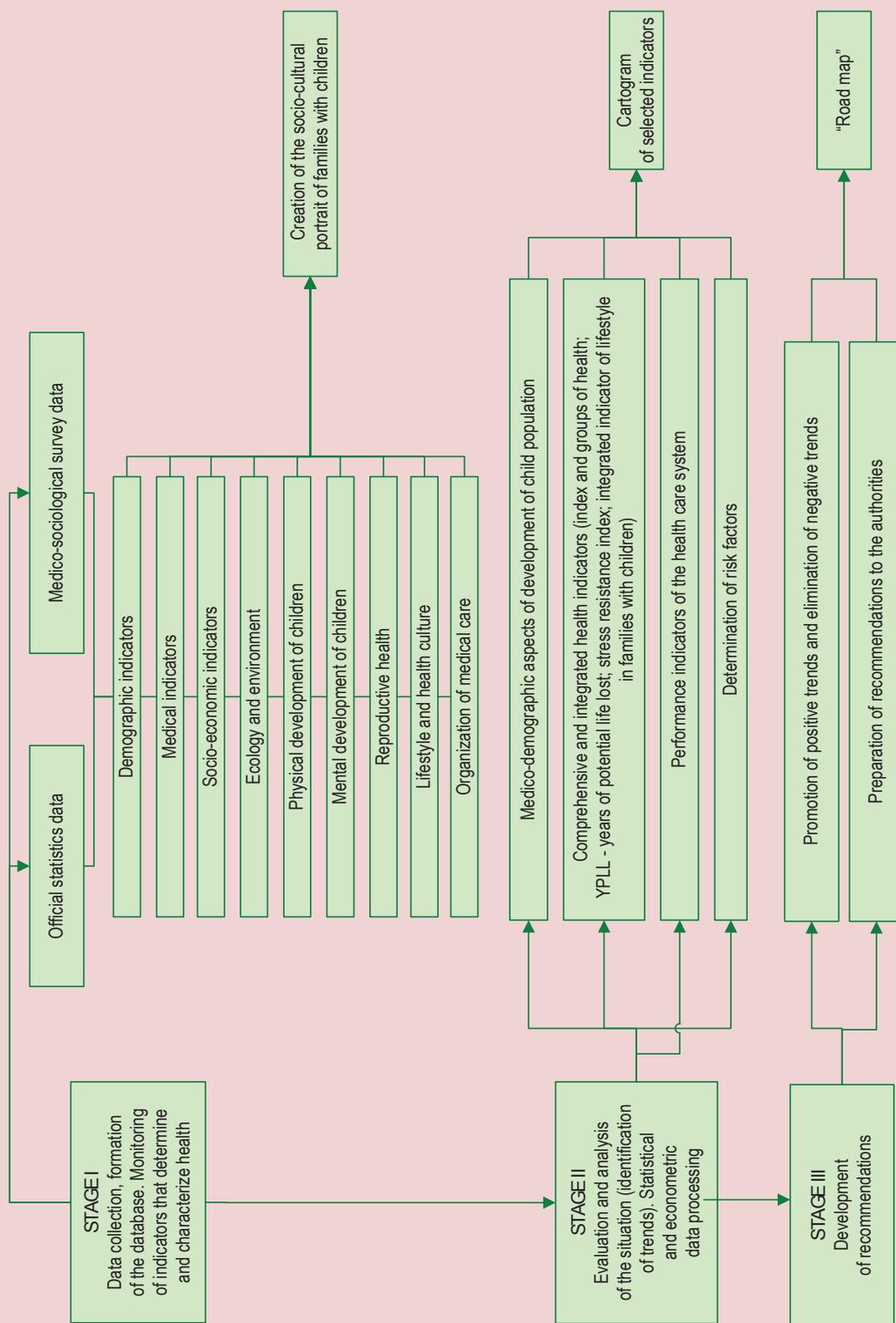
Econometric methods (correlation, regression, factor and cluster analysis) were applied along with the above methods in order to analyze the generated database more profoundly, and to identify statistically significant relationships and dependencies of the examined parameters³.

In the first year of the child’s life the information is taken four times (at birth, when the children reach the age of one month, six months and twelve months, after that – annually [13]).

It is very important for studying the health and development of children to have information about their own attitude to their health, and their view of life values. Therefore, the children themselves participate in the survey in the framework of this project beginning from 2005. The children from the cohort born in 1998 take part in the survey

³ The database of the monitoring “The research into the conditions for the formation of a healthy generation” has the certificate of state registration No. 2012620788 of August 13, 2012 in the Federal Service for Intellectual Property, Patents and Trademarks.

Figure 4. Stages of the monitoring "Study of the conditions for the formation of the healthy generation"



since 2008; the children from the cohort born in 2001 – since 2011; and the children from the cohort born in 2014 – since 2014. The research program provides for the adjustment of the questionnaires taking into account the age of the children and socio-economic transformations that take place in the society.

The entire monitoring study can be divided into three stages (*fig. 4*). At the first stage necessary information is collected and a database is formed. The main sources of information are official statistical data and the results of the medico-sociological study.

On the second stage the situation is analyzed on the basis of the database formed, and trends are identified. The findings of this stage can be reflected in the cartograms for individual indicators.

The third stage is the development of medico-social and organizational guidelines, as well as the necessary measures aimed to improve the key indicators of health and development of children and to improve social policy in the sphere of family, motherhood and childhood.

Research findings and their discussion. According to the statistics, in 1990–2005 there was a significant increase in the incidence rate in newborn children (from 17.8 to 38.6% of live births) in the Vologda Oblast [16]. Some positive changes in the health status of this population group started in 2006 due to implementation of the oblast target program “Healthy child” and the priority national project “Health”. These programs provide for the screening of pregnant women and newborn screening (screening of infants for genetic diseases),

the purchase of special mixtures for pregnant women and nursing mothers, the purchase of artificial lung ventilation apparatuses for newborns [17, p. 24]. Although in recent years the situation was characterized by certain stability, in 2012, approximately 29% of children (34% – nationwide) were born ill or fell ill soon after birth, which is almost twice as much as in 1990.

Trends in the health of newborns are confirmed not only by the official statistics, but also by the results of the longitudinal study. The monitoring made it possible to see the trends in the changes of health of newborns in 1995–2014 (*fig. 5*). For instance, the proportion of infants with the first group of health has reduced by seven percentage points over these years. At the same time the share of infants with chronic diseases (the third and fourth groups) was the greatest among the children born in 1998. This is because the period of child-bearing and birth coincided with economic decline, with the crisis in the economy and social sphere, including health care, which had an impact on the children’s health.

A new phase of research in 2014 showed that almost 15% of newborns had good health (classified as the first group of health); it is by 6–13 p.p. higher than in the previous years of the study. At the same time, the proportion of children with functional and some morphological abnormalities (group 2B) reduced by six p.p. compared with the level of 2004. These processes are connected, on the one hand, with the improvement of socio-economic status of the population, and on the other hand, with demographic policy in the country and the region.

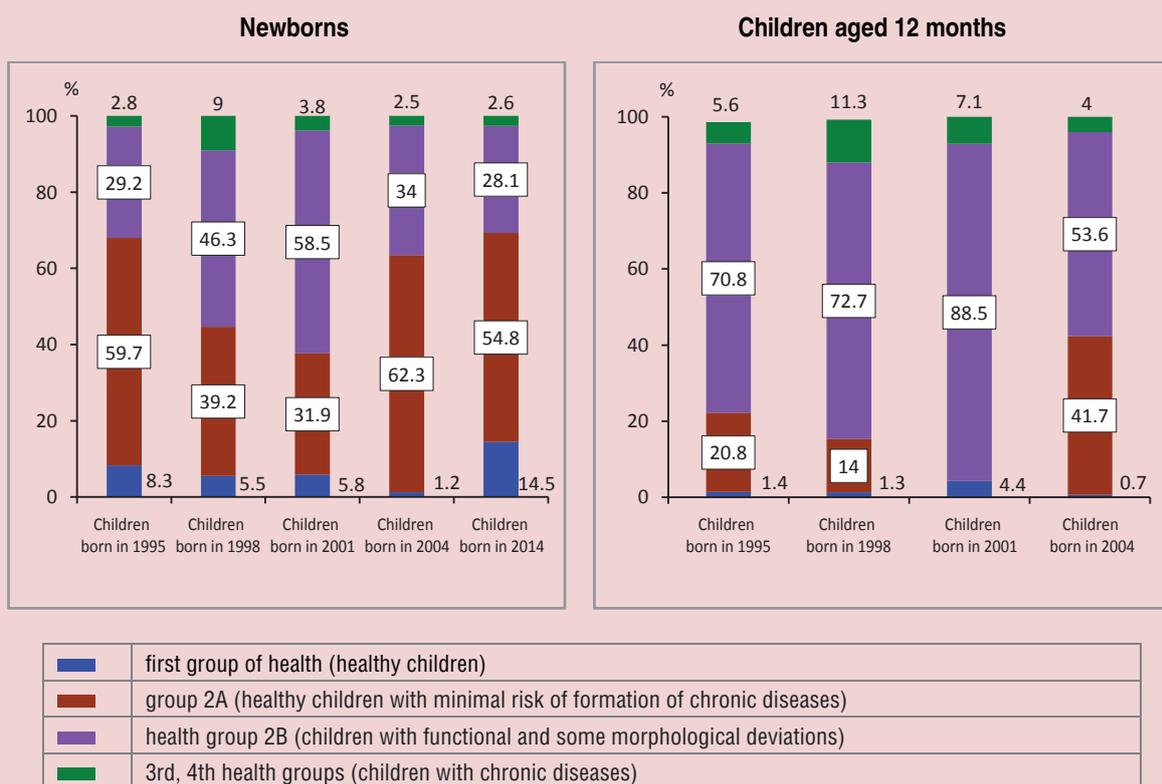
But we should not forget that the first year of life is very important in the development of the child and to this time there is a significant deterioration of the capacity of children's health at birth.

For example, according to the study, the proportion of healthy children (first group of health) in the cohorts born in 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004 has decreased before they reached twelve months of age, but still greater decline occurred in the group 2A (*fig. 5*).

Thus, one or another disease was identified in the first year of life in most of the examined children who had the risk of disease due to unfavorable medical history. The proportion of children with chronic diseases over this period in each cohort has increased in 1.3–2 times.

We consider it very important that within the framework of the monitoring in 2014 the new fifth cohort of children (born in 2014) was selected, and this allowed us to track changes in the lives of families with children,

Figure 5. Health of newborn and children aged 12 months



Source: the monitoring "The research into the conditions for the formation of a healthy generation". ISED T RAS, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2014.

and to see what effects the changes in the economy and social sphere (particularly in health care) had on the health of the new generations⁴.

The data on the new cohort illustrate the age-specific shift in the birth rate (the increase in the average age of expectant mothers). For example, in 2014 the average age of mothers was 29 years, i.e. four years more than in 1995.

For 1995–2014, the number of births in two-parent families increased from 72 to 93%, which is certainly beneficial for raising children and shaping their health (*tab. 2*). The number of families living separately from their relatives increased (from 50 to 74%). The highest value of the indicator of the number of large families is observed in 2014. In rural

areas the figure is higher (15%) than in cities (in Vologda – 11%; in Cherepovets – 12%).

Next, let us consider the basic living conditions of families, in which new generations are born, and their changes during almost 20 years.

Housing conditions of families into which children were born in 2014 are diverse. For example, 72% of the respondents have their own apartment or house, 11% of the respondents live in rental housing, 3% live in communal apartments, 1% live in rooms in families' hostels. Based on this we can conclude that most families are provided with housing.

If we look at the data for 1995, we see that almost 30% of the families changed their housing conditions after the birth of a child.

Table 2. Social portrait of the families by cohorts (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Indicator	Cohort of those born in 1995	Cohort of those born in 1998	Cohort of those born in 2001	Cohort of those born in 2004	Cohort of those born in 2014
Age of mother, years	25	24	25	22	28.5
Age of father, years	23	23	24	25	33.5
Type of family, %:					
- two-parent	72.3	85	86.4	87	93.2
- single-parent	27.7	15	14.6	13	6.8
- nuclear	50	38	30	35	74
- complex	34	47	56	53	19.5
Presence of other children, %	49	40.1	43.1	41.7	51
Families with many children, %	10.2	4	2	0.4	12

Source: hereinafter – the monitoring “The research into the conditions for the formation of a healthy generation”. ISED T RAS, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2014.

⁴ The survey comprised the families with babies born in March 1–21 in the regional center – Vologda, economic center – Cherepovets, district centers – Kirillov and Veliky Ustyug, and the urban settlement of Vozhega. The survey was carried out by collecting the empirical data produced by the method of the panel survey of mothers in maternity hospitals. The questionnaire consisted of two parts: part one described the characteristics of families and households of the newborn, and the health of its parents and other relatives (filled in by the mother); part two described in detail the health of the mother during pregnancy, the specifics of the delivery, the main parameters of the health of the newborn or the cause of its death (based on the medical documentation; filled in by gynecologists). In 2014, the sample included 370 families with newborns (373 children).

One quarter of them privatized state apartments, in which they lived. 18% of the families were able to improve their housing conditions, changing a hostel room to a separate apartment; and the housing conditions in 22% of the families changed for the worse (the families moved in communal apartments from separate state apartments). This explains to some degree the situation, when in 2014 60% of mothers assessed their housing conditions as “good”, which is 30 percentage points higher than in 1995 (*tab. 3*).

Satisfaction with the environmental conditions in the neighborhood has remained unchanged for the years under consideration. According to the survey, 52% of the families assess them as “satisfactory”; 31% – as “good” and 10% – as “poor” (*tab. 4*).

Cherepovets has maintained a higher level of negative assessments for many years; it is almost three times higher than in the regional center, and six times higher than in the oblast

districts. There are several large industrial enterprises in Cherepovets (OAO Severstal, OJSC PhosAgro-Cherepovets) that largely determine its environmental situation.

The major adverse environmental factors in Cherepovets are as follows: polluted air (93%), poor water quality (56%), excessive level of noise (34%; *tab. 5*). As for Vologda, according to the survey of female respondents, excessive level of noise is on the first place (73%), poor water quality – on the second (64%), lack of greenspaces – on the third (55%).

Rational nutrition affects the health of both mother and unborn child. Nutrition depends directly on the level of family income. If it is low, the quality of food is limited and most of the income has to be spent on food to the disadvantage of other basic needs (medicine, recreation, etc.). The study shows that families with newborn children spend much less money on food – the figure decreased from 66% in 1995 to 44% in 2014.

Table 3. Satisfaction with housing conditions in families with newborn children (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Housing conditions	Cohort of those born in 1995	Cohort of those born in 1998	Cohort of those born in 2001	Cohort of those born in 2004	Cohort of those born in 2014
Good	29	31.2	29.9	38.1	60
Satisfactory	62	54.3	57.8	51.3	32
Poor	7	13.1	8.8	8.3	3
Very poor	2	1.5	2.8	1.5	0.5

Table 4. Satisfaction with environmental conditions in families with newborn children (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Environmental conditions	Cohort of those born in 1995	Cohort of those born in 1998	Cohort of those born in 2001	Cohort of those born in 2004	Cohort of those born in 2014
Good	30.7	15.6	18.3	20.4	31.4
Satisfactory	53.5	56.3	48.6	54.0	51.6
Poor	14.9	17.6	15.5	10.6	10.0
Very poor	1.0	2.0	2.0	4.9	0.5

Table 5. Assessment of environmental conditions in the area where families with newborn children live (in % of the number of those who assessed the environmental conditions as unfavorable)

Environmental factors	Vologda					Cherepovets				
	1995	1998	2001	2004	2014	1995	1998	2001	2004	2014
Polluted air	33.3	14.3	83.3	81.8	45.5	0.0	62.5	93.1	40.7	92.6
Poor water quality	50.0	92.9	77.8	81.8	63.6	75.0	91.7	41.4	81.5	55.6
Excessive level of noise	33.3	14.3	61.1	36.4	72.7	25.0	25.0	48.3	44.4	33.3
Lack of green spaces	66.7	78.6	61.1	72.7	54.5	100.0	45.8	10.3	40.7	11.1
Contaminated soil	16.7	28.6	55.6	0.0	9.1	50.0	41.7	10.3	22.2	14.8

Table 6. Evaluation by the mother of her own health (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer	Cohort of those born in 1995	Cohort of those born in 1998	Cohort of those born in 2001	Cohort of those born in 2004	Cohort of those born in 2014
Excellent	4.0	5.5	4.4	11.7	9.7
Good	66.3	68.8	61.0	65.7	73.5
Satisfactory	28.7	24.6	30.7	21.9	12.2
Poor	0.0	0.5	1.2	0.0	0.5

This indicates the increase in the standard of living and expands opportunities for families to satisfy other basic needs.

The health of expectant mothers, the increase in the number of cases of pregnancy and childbirth complications largely determine the health condition of children. New mothers were more satisfied with their health in 2014 (83%) than in 1995 (70%; *tab. 6*).

The effectiveness and performance efficiency of health facilities, the improvement of quality indicators of maternal and child health are largely determined by the *organization and quality of medical care provided* during pregnancy and preparation for childbirth.

For 1995–2014 the assessments of the availability of services related to the organization of medical observation during pregnancy and preparation for childbirth have become more positive. We should also point out the increase in the number of

high estimates regarding the availability of information about the medical, psychological and other preparation to birth (7.6), and also about the nursing of a newborn child (8 points; *tab. 7*).

In 2014 the majority of expectant mothers (59%) evaluated the quality of prenatal medical supervision as good (*tab. 8*). In comparison with assessments for previous years of the study there is an increase by 4–15 p.p.

At the same time, one third of women respondents assessed this type of assistance as satisfactory. Their main suggestions for improvement of medical care are as follows: raising the level of professionalism of doctors; observance of medical ethics; repair of maternity homes, renovation of equipment and facilities at medical institutions, provision of laboratory and diagnostic rooms with modern medical equipment; expansion of the range of services and streamlining the time of examination of pregnant women in polyclinics

Table 7. Availability of services related to the organization of medical observation during pregnancy and preparation for childbirth (average score)

Indicator	Cohort of those born in 1998	Cohort of those born in 2001	Cohort of those born in 2004	Cohort of those born in 2014
Availability of timely laboratory and diagnostic examination	7.7	7.5	7.3	8
Availability of timely skilled obstetric (medical) assistance	8.3	8	7.7	8.5
Availability of timely skilled therapeutic (medical) assistance	7.9	7.4	7.3	7.9
Availability of advisory medical care in various specialties (neurologist, ophthalmologist, others)	6.8	6.1	5.6	7
Timely hospitalization if necessary	8.5	8.4	8.2	8.7
Provision with essential medicines (including those containing iron, vitamins) and medical products	7	7.6	7.2	7.3
Information about medical, psychological and other preparation for childbirth	6.1	5.6	6.6	7.6
Information about nursing a newborn	5.6	5.8	6.6	8

Note. This question was not asked in 1995.

Table 8. Distribution of answers to the question: "Please indicate how you rate the quality of prenatal medical surveillance in general" (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer	Cohort of those born in 1998	Cohort of those born in 2001	Cohort of those born in 2004	Cohort of those born in 2014
Good	54.8	39.4	37.4	58.6
Satisfactory	33.2	43.4	43.4	31.9
Poor	3.0	2.8	5.7	1.4
Very poor	1.5	0.4	0.8	0.5

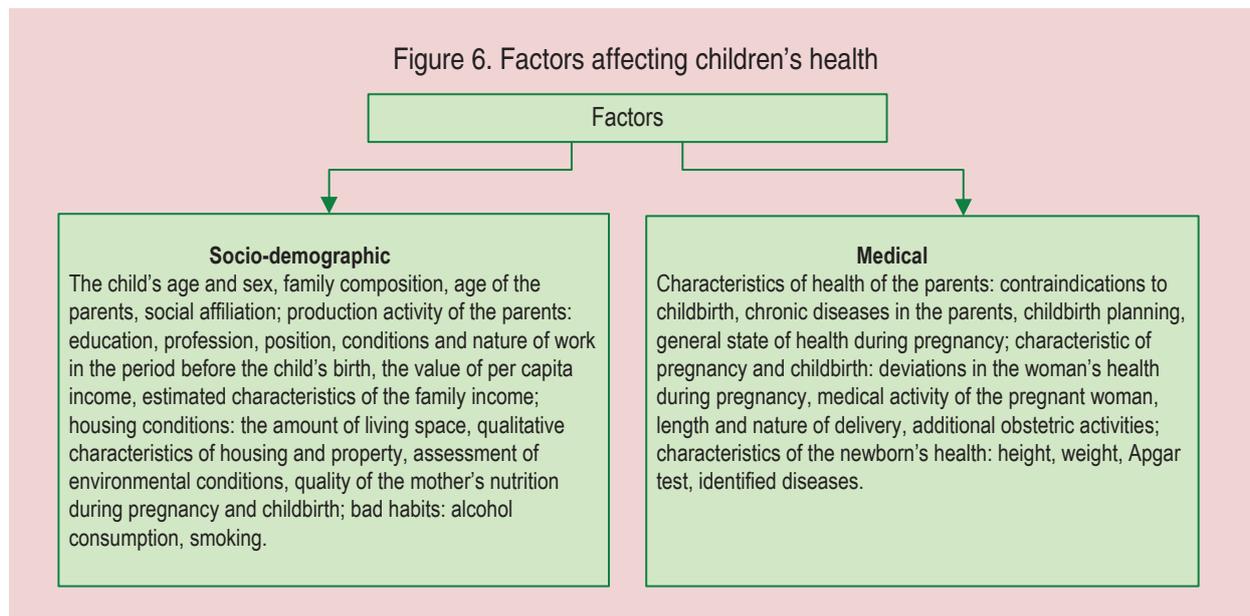
Note. This question was not asked in 1995.

and maternity welfare centers; free supply of vitamins in the period of childbearing; psychological assistance at childbirth and during the postpartum period; the use of individual approach; expansion of the list of information on legal issues, nutrition, adherence to the day regimen; organization of schools for expectant mothers.

Thus, the first results of the study conducted in 2014 indicate the positive dynamics in satisfaction of families with children with housing conditions, some stability in the assessment of the environmental situation in the area of their residence. As for health, expectant mothers' assessments of their own

health have improved for 1995–2014, as well as their assessments of the availability of services related to the organization of medical supervision during pregnancy and preparation for childbirth.

The monitoring data allow us to assess the impact of various factors on the health and development of children on the basis of information received in real time. The questions in the questionnaire that aim to identify risk factors for the health of the child are compiled by experts based on the experience of domestic and foreign research. The study considered *socio-demographic and medical factors* (fig. 6).



The analysis made it possible to highlight the most significant factors determining the health of children in different periods of life.

During infancy and early childhood (up to 3 years) the most significant impact on the health of the child is caused by the following factors:

- low hemoglobin in women in late pregnancy (Rs=0.712 at the time of birth; Rs=0.830 by the time the child is 12 months old);
- health of the parents (Rs=0.645 at the time of birth; Rs=0.832 by the time the child is 12 months old; Rs=0.532 by the time the child is two years old);
- nature of the course of delivery (Rs=0.513 at the time of birth; Rs=0.147 by the time the child is 12 months old);
- unfavorable working conditions of the mother during her pregnancy: air pollution in the workplace (Rs=0.939 at the time of birth); effects of radiation and ultra-high frequency (Rs=0.839 at the time of birth); work with toxic chemicals (Rs=0.6 at the

time of birth); work in 2–3 shifts (Rs=0.510 at the time of birth);

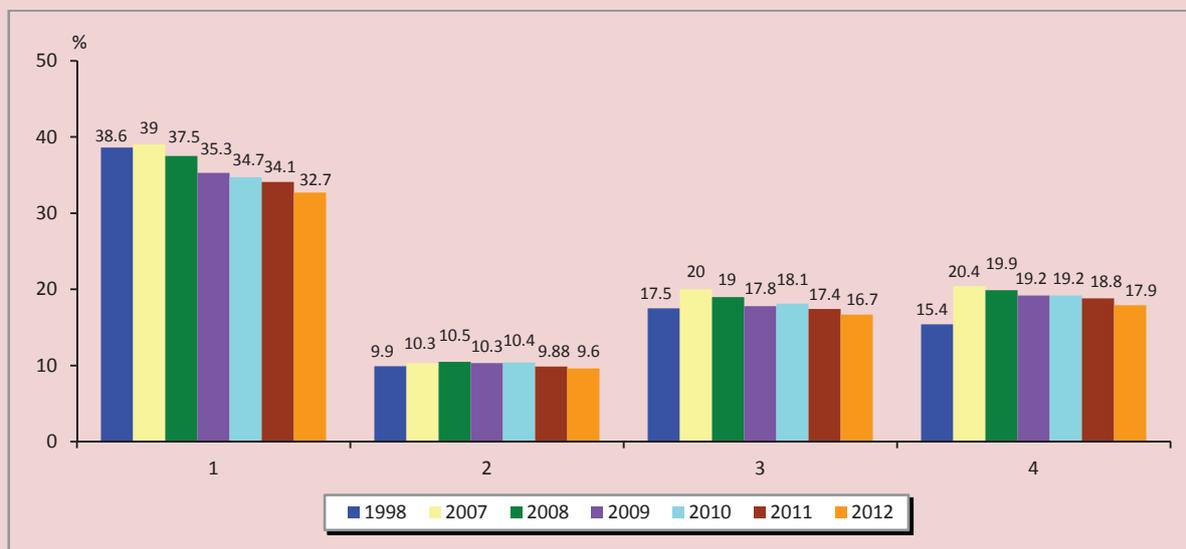
- smoking of the mother during pregnancy (Rs=0.898 at the time of birth, Rs=0.661 by the time the child is 12 months old);
- specifics of the child's feeding (Rs=0.85 with breastfeeding up to six months).

Let us focus only on some of the factors that, in our opinion, require more careful attention.

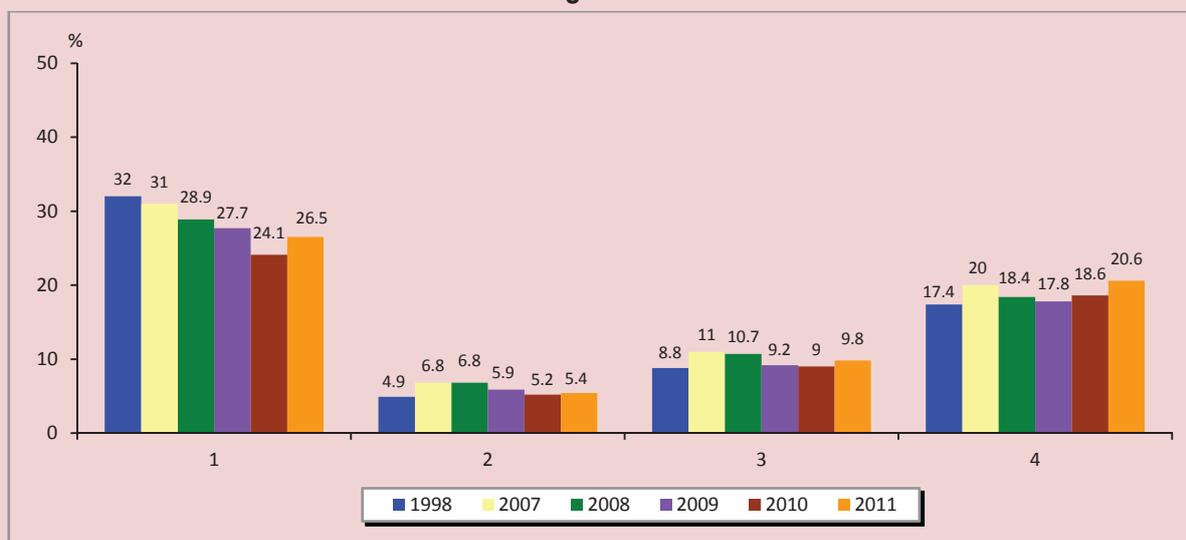
The first factor concerns deviations in the health of women during pregnancy. Such diseases of the mother, as anemia, vegetative-vascular dystonia and hypotension entail a lack of nutrients and oxygen delivery to the fetus. Various infections of the mother cause the weakening of the child's immune system resulting in increased morbidity and deteriorating health. Cold-related diseases, hypertension, digestive diseases, diseases of the genitourinary system and related dysfunction in the woman's organism during pregnancy also adversely affect the health of the child.

Figure 7. Diseases in women who have completed their pregnancy
(as a percentage of the number of those who completed their pregnancy)

Russian Federation



Vologda Oblast



Among the women who completed pregnancy, there were cases of:
 1 - anemia
 2 - diseases of the circulatory system
 3 - edema, proteinuria and hypertensive disorders
 4 - diseases of the genitourinary system

Source: *Osnovnye pokazateli zdorov'ya materi i rebenka, deyatelnost' sluzhby okhrany detstva i rodovspomozheniya v Rossiiskoi Federatsii* [Main Indicators of Maternal and Child Health, the Activities of the Service for Protection of Children and Obstetrics in the Russian Federation]. Moscow, 2012. 193 p.

In 1998–2007 morbidity rate in pregnant women increased both nationwide and in the Vologda Oblast (*fig. 7*). But since 2008 there has been a tendency of reducing the incidence in pregnant women. The most common is anemia; diseases of the genitourinary system rank second; edema, proteinuria and hypertensive disorders rank third; diseases of the circulatory system occupy the fourth place.

The results of the monitoring show that in women who suffered from anemia during

pregnancy (in the cohort born in 2004) only 3% of children were born healthy; by the time they reached three years of age, almost all of the children (91%) had some health deviations (*tab. 9*). At that, the children’s health, already weakened at birth, is deteriorating throughout the entire period of early childhood.

The second factor is maternal smoking. According to the monitoring data, in 1995–2014 the number of women who smoked during pregnancy in the surveyed cohort increased from 3 to 10%, respectively, (*tab. 10*).

Table 9. Impact of diseased conditions of pregnant women on child’s health (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Diseased conditions of expectant mothers	Children’s health by age							
	Newborns		12 months		2 years		3 years	
	R 1	R 2	R 1	R 2	R 1	R 2	R 1	R 2
	Cohort of 1995							
Anemia	58.3	41.7	25.0	75.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	100
Infections of genitourinary system	66.7	33.3	0.0	100	0.0	100	0.0	100
Gynecological disorders	80.0	20.0	0.0	100	0.0	100	0.0	100
	Cohort of 2004							
Anemia	2.7	97.3	55.7	44.3	6.8	93.2	9.3	90.7
Infections of genitourinary system	5.0	95.0	65.0	35.0	4.3	95.7	0.0	100
Gynecological disorders	2.2	97.8	57.1	42.9	6.1	93.9	4.0	96.0
Vegetative-vascular dystonia	9.1	90.9	33.3	66.7	0.0	100	0.0	100
Hypertension	0.0	100	0.0	100	0.0	100	0.0	100

R 1 is the group with the lowest risk of health deterioration (includes children with the health group 1 and 2A).
 R 2 is a group of children with different deviations in health status, chronic diseases (includes children with the health group 2B, 3 and 4) [14, p. 51].
 Source: the monitoring “The research into the conditions for the formation of a healthy generation”. ISEDT RAS, 1995-1998, 2004-2007.

Table 10. Maternal smoking before and during pregnancy (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer	Before pregnancy					During pregnancy				
	1995	1998	2001	2004	2014	1995	1998	2001	2004	2014
I smoked	2.2	28.1	29.6	27.9	26.5	2.8	12.6	14.2	13.1	10.3
I did not smoke	77.8	68.3	69.2	70.2	73.5	97.2	83.9	84.2	86.9	89.2
No answer	20	3.5	1.2	1.9	0	0	3.5	1.6	0	0.5

Source: the monitoring “The research into the conditions for the formation of a healthy generation”. ISEDT RAS, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2014.

Maternal smoking leads to the development of functional disorders in their children. Smoking during pregnancy is especially unfavorable. The non-smoking mothers gave birth to 34–37% of healthy children; those who smoked before pregnancy – only 25–34%. Those who smoked during pregnancy undermined the health of their newborns to a great extent: on average only 20% of children were born without health deviations.

Maternal smoking affects the weight of the unborn child; smoking mothers more often gave birth to low birth-weight babies (14% on average). The proportion of children with birth weight less than 2500 grams is 20% in the women who continued to smoke during pregnancy.

The obtained data also is also confirmed by other studies. In particular, the UK scientists, having examined 17 thousand newborns in 1958, marked the slowdown in physical and mental development in the children whose mothers had smoked during pregnancy. If mothers smoked 10 cigarettes or more per day, their children were on average by one cm shorter in height, and they studied worse at school compared with their peers whose mothers had not smoked during pregnancy [21].

During the formation of health in the pre-school and school age, several other factors, different from those in infancy, become more important. The most common of these factors are as follows:

1. Poor health of the children in early childhood. For example, frequent and prolonged illness at the age of 1–2 years increase the risk of developing chronic diseases at older ages.

2. Unsatisfactory housing conditions. The children living in good conditions have better health compared to those living in unsatisfactory housing conditions, such as cold, humidity, overcrowding or cramped quarters. Such characteristics have a particularly noticeable effect on the children's health.

3. Adverse environmental conditions in the area of residence. The children who live in ecologically polluted neighborhoods fall ill more frequently.

4. Low medical activity of the family. About 70% of parents in surveyed families always go to the doctor in case of acute diseases or exacerbation of chronic diseases in the child, and they follow the recommendations of the doctors. About a quarter of parents say that they do not always follow the pediatrician's recommendations. This trend is observed especially often in single-parent families. In other families parents resort to self-treatment, remedies of folk medicine, or they go to the doctor only when the child's condition becomes critical.

5. Low welfare of the family. High incomes do not guarantee better health, but they provide for a certain set of benefits, contributing to the development of the child.

These factors in children's health determine the main issues that should be addressed, in our opinion:

- improvement of medico-social measures aimed to improve the reproductive health of the population;
- health promotion in the children that have already been born; creation of conditions favorable for their development;
- improvement of medical and sanitary-hygienic literacy of the population.

* * *

The child population in any country is the most important resource, the future basis for economic growth, scientific and technological development and defense. From this viewpoint, socio-economic aspects of the health of the younger generation require extensive research to determine the correct vector of the government policy. It is therefore quite natural that the results of the monitoring under consideration constitute the evidence base for legislative decisions in the sphere of motherhood and childhood.

The representatives of the regional authorities showed interest in the research findings throughout the whole study period. Using the monitoring data, the Vologda Oblast Department of Health Care is undertaking efforts to provide support to families and children.

The concept "Vologda Oblast: Health-21", the research and development work "Study of the reproductive potential of the region's population", the Russian-American project "Mother and child", the Program for demographic development of the region, the target programs "Healthy generation" and "Healthy child" – this is an incomplete list of studies and documents, which used the results of the monitoring of the conditions of formation of a healthy generation.

Returning to the British research of 1958, we note that it originates from the studies of the reasons for high perinatal mortality in children (in that period it was 33 deaths per 1000 live births) and the studies of preservation of children's health, and successful management of pregnancy and childbirth. The research findings served as the basis for the formation of national policy in the sphere of public health since birth [21].

The Russian scientific medical community has been discussing the issue concerning the establishment of the law on the protection of children's and adolescents' health [1, pp. 5-9; 8, pp. 9-11], which would imply the recognition of the child not just as the owner of rights and freedoms, but as the object of special protection. When adopting the regional legislative and normative-legal acts it is necessary to take into account local socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the territory (region, republic). *Therefore, the ongoing monitoring of children's health should become the main instrument for assessing the situation.*

The example of the British study (NCDS) that lasted more than a half-century, and the experience of one of Russia's regions (Vologda Oblast) confirm that the results of such research have a great impact on the formation of the main directions of the state policy – from the living conditions and health to education and employment.

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Economic transformation in Russia in 1990–2012 and its reflection in the consciousness of the Russians*



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Abstract. The article discusses the results of market reforms in the Russian economic system, and it analyzes the data of the Russian public opinion poll conducted in 2012. The results of the survey are compared with similar data of 1990. As a result, the comparison states that the Russian population does not find significant improvement of economic situation in the country, except for the elimination of the goods deficit. The article also compares the people’s assessment of Russia’s economic transformation with the statistical data on the number of economic parameters.

The analysis shows that by almost all the above mentioned parameters the situation worsened or remained unchanged in comparison with the Soviet Union. Thus, the author concludes that Russia’s population as a whole, adequately assesses the results of market reforms. In addition, the article makes an attempt to answer the paradoxical question, why there is an increase in the people’s welfare, when current economic indicators are worse than those at the Soviet period the author proposes three sources of wealth growth: high oil and gas prices, the growth of the financial sector, and expansion of the “network society” – informal personal interactions.

The article determines latent function of the network society – adaptation of the population to market economy.

Key words: market reform, economic transformation, informal personal interactions, adaptation, latent function, “network society”.

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Enough time has passed – more than 20 years – since the beginning of “perestroika” designed to “accelerate” economic growth; thus, it is possible to summarize the results of economic transformation in the country. This period witnessed the collapse of the USSR; the entire social and economic system changed, private property and multi-party political system were formed, etc. The outcome of this transformation is discussed at various conferences, round tables, and expert sessions. The assessments of the economic transformation are diametrically opposite, but it often happens that all these activities do not take into account the opinions of the people themselves that are the main subject of the reforms under consideration. After all, the ultimate goal of the economy is the improvement of public welfare, and the general picture of economic transformation will be incomplete without considering the opinion of the people.

In October 2012 the Faculty of Sociology at the Russian State University for the Humanities conducted a survey of employees of different enterprises and organizations in the Russian Federation in order to find out how they assessed various sides of economic life in the country, region and organization where they worked¹. The survey was unique due to the fact that the questions were similar to those contained in the survey conducted in May 1990 by the Center for

¹ The questionnaire survey was conducted on October 5–10, 2012 with participation of 1201 respondents aged 18 and older in 12 subjects of the Russian Federation (Krasnoyarsk, Stavropol, and Khabarovsk kraises; Volgograd, Voronezh, Irkutsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Samara, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk oblasts; Moscow and Saint Petersburg) by the sample representing the workers of the major types of economic activity employed at enterprises of different ownership forms.

Sociological Research at the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union². This helped to reveal the dynamics of social consciousness, to understand whether the assessments of the economic sphere have changed for the better or for the worse, and ultimately to give an overall assessment of economic reforms from the standpoint of the people.

Let us consider the overall assessment of the economic situation in the country.

The study completed in 2012 contained the question: “How do you assess the current economic situation in Russia?” The distribution of the answers was as follows (*tab. 1*). The assessments of the state of the economy show the paradox of economic consciousness of the Russians. If we combine positive and negative responses to the question: “How do you assess the current economic situation in Russia?”, we notice that 46.1% of the Russians consider the economic situation in Russia to be positive, and 46.2% – negative. But compared with the results of the survey conducted in 1990, the economic situation in Russia is evaluated more positively (*tab. 2*).

This can be explained by the fact that in 1990 the Soviet economy was already in a state of crisis; the Baltic republics, Moldavia, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Armenia withdrew from the USSR; there was lingering food shortage leading to the rationed distribution

² The questionnaire survey was conducted on May 24–31, 1990 with participation of 1525 respondents in 17 regions of the USSR (Arkhangelsk, Ashkhabad, Baku, Volgograd, Grodno, Zaporozhye, Irkutsk, Kishinev, Moscow, the Moscow Oblast, Orel, Riga, Rostov-on-Don, Semipalatinsk, Tbilisi, Chelyabinsk and Yakutsk).

Table 1. How do you assess the current economic situation in Russia?
(in % to the total number of respondents)

Answer options	Proportion of respondents
Good	16.6
There are certain difficulties, but in general it is not bad	29.5
Sooner bad than good	35.5
Very bad	10.7
It is difficult to answer	7.7
Source: the survey carried out in 2012.	

Table 2. What, in your opinion, is the economic situation in the country?
(in % of the total number of respondents, 1990)

Answer options	Share of respondents
Very bad	61
Difficult	38
Normal	1
Source: survey of 1990.	

of products, the fact that affected the people’s assessments. In 2012 the economic situation in the Russian Federation was radically different. Its gold and currency reserves helped to offset the effects of the 2008 economic crisis. In general, it can be argued that the people have adapted to a new economic system; it can be seen in their attitude toward the private sector. Compared with 1990, there has been a twofold reduction in the number of people whose attitude toward the private sector was strictly negative (from 11 to 5.2%). And the number of respondents with a negative attitude has decreased more than by 10% (from 31% in 1991 to 19.1% in 2012) (tab. 3).

At the same time, the assessments of the market economy have become more restrained. The number of respondents who fully supported the market has decreased by 5%.

In our opinion, this is due to the fact that in the late 1980s public consciousness was under the strong influence of the market economy myths. Market economy became a reality in 2012, and this reality is different from the notions typical of the end of the Soviet era. Due to this, the public began to think more objectively and the assessment of the private sector became more restrained.

Private property has become an integral aspect of our life. People do not perceive it as a source of unfair distribution of social goods. But the private property itself was not the aim of the reforms; it was rather a tool to improve the economy and raise the standard of living. Evaluating different criteria for the transition to market relations, 65% of the respondents noted one fact as positive, namely, that “goods and services have become more accessible”.

Table 3. Attitude of the population towards the market economy
(as a percentage of the total number of respondents)

Answer options	2012	1990
	How would you evaluate the private sector of production of goods and services?	How do you feel about private services?
It is very good that it (they) is developing	53.5	59
It would be better to do without it (them), but there is no choice	19.1	31
It's too bad that it (they) exists	5.2	11
It's difficult to answer	22.2	-

Sources: surveys carried out in 1990 and 2012.

Table 4. Has the transition to market relations changed the following economic indicators for the better? (in % of the total number of respondents, 2012)

Answer options	Yes	No	Difficult to answer
Prestige of honest work has increased	30.6	47.0	22.4
Wage-levelling has been overcome	32.6	44.7	22.7
Natural resources are used more efficiently	22.2	54.2	23.6
Goods and services have become more affordable	65.0	25.6	9.4
Ruble has strengthened, inflation decreased	26.6	53.2	20.2
Service fees and commodity prices have decreased	13.7	75.0	11.3
Speculation and theft have been overcome	14.5	69.6	15.9
Control over income has improved	24.7	52.6	22.7
People's welfare has increased	29.4	48.0	22.6

Source: the 2012 survey.

Negative assessments prevail over positive ones in other answers (*tab. 4*). These data allow us to conclude that in the public consciousness of the Russians the transition to market relations has not overcome the problems of the previous system, except for the problem of deficit.

If we compare the 2012 data with the distribution of answers to the similar question asked in 1990, we can say that, despite the prevalence of negative responses to the question: “*Has the transition to market relations changed the following economic indicators for the better?*” – the proportion of positive responses became greater (*tab. 5*).

In 1990 the people expected less from the development of market relations, which can be seen by the difference in the proportions of positive answers in 1990 and 2012. Positive assessments on all the points in 2012 are ahead of those in 1990. On the whole, these indicators correlate with the estimates of the overall economic condition in the country.

When we analyze the assessment of negative effects of transition to market reforms, we get a picture that is directly opposite (*tab. 6*). The majority of respondents chose the answer “Yes”, except when responding to the statement “*Quite a few*

Table 5. Positive assessment of market relations (in%; the sum of responses is not equal to 100%, because the survey methodology admits the selection of several answer options)

Answer options	2012	1990
	Has the transition to market relations changed the following economic indicators for the better?*	What do you expect from the development of market relations?
Prestige of honest work has increased**	30.6	26
Wage-levelling has been overcome	32.6	28
Natural resources are used more efficiently	22.2	14
Goods and services have become more affordable***	65.0	40
Ruble has strengthened, inflation decreased	26.6	19
Service fees and commodity prices have decreased	13.7	13
Speculation and theft have been overcome	14.5	19
Control over income has improved	24.7	9
People's welfare has increased	29.4	19

* Answer options "Yes" are taken in 2012.
 ** The 1990 questionnaire used the future tense of the verbs in the answer options: for example, "Prestige of honest work will increase".
 *** In the 1990 questionnaire this answer option was as follows: "There will be plenty of goods and services".
 Sources: 1990 and 2012 surveys data.

Table 6. Or, on the contrary, has the transition to the market economy caused the following negative consequences? (in % of the number of respondents, 2012)

Answer options	Yes	No	Difficult to answer
Inequity of labor remuneration has increased	45.5	31.7	22.8
Plundering of natural resources has increased	54.5	21.1	24.4
Many goods have become inaccessible to ordinary people	40.6	44.8	14.6
inflation has increased	52.9	23.1	24.0
Service fees and prices for goods have increased	78.1	12.1	9.8
There emerged the large-scale unemployment	40.7	27.8	31.5
Economic crime rate has increased	56.4	17.6	26.0
Only rich people are at a profit	54.3	20.4	25.3
People's welfare level has decreased	47.9	27.7	24.4

Source: the data of the 2012 survey.

goods have become unaffordable to ordinary people" (44.8% of the respondents answered "No"), which confirms the above conclusion concerning the reproduction of negative economic effects of socialism under market relations. In any case, the social consciousness of the Russians does not detect any qualitative

differences between the systems, except for elimination of the deficit.

Thus, we observe a paradoxical picture in the public consciousness: over 46% of the Russians in 2012 evaluated the economic situation in the country as positive; over 53% actively supported the development of the

private sector, but, evaluating the results of economic reforms, the Russians highlight only one positive element – the elimination of the deficit.

According to the public opinion, economic transformation has not achieved most part of its goals. The problems of the planned economy, except for the deficit, remain unresolved.

Economic situation in Russia in 2012 compared with 1990 is perceived more evenly and the majority of the population supports the development of private property and market economy, even though the new economic model has not solved those problems, the solution of which was the purpose of its creation.

Apparently, we are dealing with an “unintended social invention” [3, p. 16], i.e. a phenomenon such as the difference of the result from what was conceived and planned. What is the result? In order to answer this question it is necessary to analyze the objective data on the changes that Russia’s economy went through in the last 24 years. Perhaps, the respondents are mistaken in assuming that the transition to a market economy has not fulfilled its tasks. In order to check this, let us consider how much the **consumption of food and goods** has changed. The following assumption was made in favor of the abandonment of the planned economy: due to competition, the market economy will provide more **efficient production and management**, more **equitable labor remuneration** and general reduction of the country’s dependence on energy exports, that is, the **growth of competitiveness of Russian goods** on the world market.

Consumption of foodstuffs and goods

The Russians still remember queues, empty shelves and coupons for food and industrial goods at the end of the Soviet era. Nowadays the situation is completely opposite – there is a wide range of goods and there are no queues. But has the real food consumption changed?

As we can see (*tab. 7*), in 2011 compared to the “hungry” year of 1990 people ate less meat, fish, eggs and sugar. But they consumed more potatoes, vegetables and fruits. It can be assumed that the consumption of meat products is not growing because of physical limitations of the human body. It is just impossible to eat more. But that is not so. For example: in 2009 meat consumption was 88 kg per year in Germany, 84 kg in the UK, 113 kg in the U.S. [13, p. 120]; as for the consumption inexpensive bread products in the same year, it was 98 kg in Germany, and 91 kg in the U.S. [13, p. 120]. Despite the fact that there are no more queues and coupons, the consumption of food, excluding vegetables, in Russia has not increased; it remained the same as it used to be in the Soviet period, or it even declined by certain parameters. Thus, we can say that food consumption has not increased and there are virtually no changes for the better.

However, the provision of the population with durable goods has increased. The growth in the number of privately owned cars is particularly impressive (from 58.5 per 1000 people in 1990 to 242 per 1000 people in 2011) [11, p. 201]. In 2011, almost every one in four Russians had his/her own car, whereas in 1990 – only every one in seventeen Russians.

Table 7. Food consumption (per capita, kg)

Year	Bread products	Potato	Vegetables and melons	Fruits and berries	Meat and meat products	Milk and dairy products	Egg, units	Fish and fish products	Sugar and confectionery
1990	121	102	91	40	69*	396	307	22.2	44.5
2011**	119	110	106	60	65***	246	271	16.6	40

* In terms of meat, without by-products of the second category and raw tallow.
 ** At the time of writing the article, the data for 2012 was not available, but we believe that there have not been any radical changes in the structure of consumption for one year.
 *** In terms of meat, without fat and by-products.
 Sources: compiled by: *RSFSR v tsifrah v 1990 g.: kr. stat. sb.* [RSFSR in Numbers in 1990: Concise Statistical Collection]. Moscow, 1991. P. 87; *Rossiiskii statisticheskiy ezhegodnik. 2012* [Russian Statistical Yearbook. 2012]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2012. Pp. 457, 740.

Table 8. Commodity structure of exports of the RSFSR and the Russian Federation (in the prices that were used at that period)

	1990	2011
	In % to the total	
Exports, total	100	100
Food products and agricultural raw materials (except for textile)		2.6
Mineral products*	73.9	71.1
Chemical products, rubber	-	6.3
Leather raw materials, fur and articles made thereof	-	0.1
Wood and pulp and paper products	-	2.2
Textiles, textile products and footwear	-	0.2
Metals, precious stones and articles made thereof	-	11.4
Machinery, equipment and vehicles	17.6	5.0
Other goods		1.1
Fast-moving consumer goods	5.5	
Equipment and materials for the objects built abroad with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union	3.0	

* In 1990 this item was named "Raw materials, consumables, fuel and electricity".
 Sources: compiled by: *RSFSR v tsifrah v 1990 g.: kr. stat. sb.* [RSFSR in Numbers in 1990: Concise Statistical Collection]. Moscow, 1991. P. 24; *Rossiiskii statisticheskiy ezhegodnik*. [Russian Statistical Yearbook]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2012. P 700.

Summing up, it can be argued that, although food consumption remained at the Soviet level, the provision with goods in general has increased.

Competitiveness of Russian products

One of the arguments in favor of market

reforms was the thesis concerning the increase of the competitiveness of domestic goods on the world market and reduction of the budget's dependency on the prices of natural resources (oil, gas). We have tested this assertion (*tab. 8*).

As we can see from the table, the export of products with high added value (machinery, equipment and vehicles) has declined more than three times, and the dependence on fuel prices has not been eliminated. The volume of exports of mineral raw materials is close to that of the Soviet period. Thus, it can be stated that after the market reforms the Russian products lost their positions in the global economic turnover.

Management efficiency

One more thesis in favor of market reforms was the idea that “private owners are more efficient than the state”. They are interested in the development of their own production, as it affects their profits. Eighty-two per cent of Russia’s fixed assets in 2012 had the form of private property [12, p. 345]; moreover, with the growth of private property the degree of depreciation of fixed assets also grew (*tab. 9*).

We see that the coefficient of renewal of fixed assets in 2012 was almost two times less than in 1990, and the degree of depreciation of fixed assets was 10% higher than it had been under the planned economy. Thus, on the basis of these data we can conclude that under a market economy, enterprise management

does not become more effective, the assets wear and are renewed worse. It affects productivity, which, according to assessments of Andrey Belous, the former Minister of Economic Development, “is from one third to one half, depending on the assessment methodology and the country with which the comparison is made” [6]. Besides the obsolescence of fixed assets in the industry, the Russian Federation as a whole has undergone de-industrialization which has affected employment in various sectors of the national economy (*tab. 10*).

We see almost the almost threefold increase in the number of workers employed in trade and financial activity, and the 1.5-fold reduction in the number of people employed in industry and agriculture. One would assume that the reduction in the number of people employed in industry and agriculture was due due to the introduction of new technologies in production (automated control systems, robotics), but the analysis of fixed assets presented in table 10, does not give grounds for this assumption. Equipment at working enterprises becomes obsolete and is renewed slower than it used to be under the planned economy, and, most likely, the

Table 9. Commissioning of fixed assets, the coefficient of renewal, retirement rate and degree of depreciation of fixed assets

Indicator	1990	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Coefficient of renewal of fixed assets (in comparable prices), %	6.3	1.9	1.8	3.0	3.3	4.0	4.4	4.1	3.7	3.9	3.9
Retirement rate of fixed assets (in comparable prices), %	2.4	1.9	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.7
Degree of depreciation of fixed assets (by the full circle of organizations; at the end of the year), %	37.6	39.5	39.3	45.2	46.3	46.2	45.3	45.3	47.1	47.9	47.7

Source: *Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik. 2013* [Russian Statistical Yearbook. 2013]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. P. 345.

Table 10. Distribution of the number of people employed in the economy by sectors, in %

Country	Year	Total in the economy	Including by sectors						
			Agriculture and forestry, fishery and hunting	Industry and construction	Transport and communication	Trade, hotels and restaurants*	Financial activities, operations with real estate, rent and provision of services**	Education, health care, social services	Other services***
RSFSR	1990	100	13.4	42.8	7.9	7.9	2.3	19.5	6.2
Russia	2011	100	7.9	27.4	9.4	18.0	8.6	17.0	11.7

* Including repair of motor vehicles, household appliances and personal items.
 ** In 1990 this item was "Apparatus of management, lending and state insurance bodies".
 *** Housing and utilities, non-productive kinds of public services, etc.
 Sources: compiled by: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo RSFSR v 1990 g.: stat. ezhegodnik* [National Economy of the RSFSR in 1990: Statistical Yearbook]. Moscow, 1991. P. 108; *Rossiia i strany mira 2012: stat. sb.* [Russia and Countries of the World 2012: Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2012. P. 84.

reduction in the number of people employed in industry and in rural areas is caused by the shutdown of enterprises.

Paradoxically, as the number of people employed in industry and in rural areas decreases, the number of managerial personnel increases. The number of employees of state authorities and local government of the Russian Federation in 2012 (one million five hundred seventy-two thousand people) [11, p. 46] is almost comparable with the entire administration apparatus in the Soviet Union, including economic organizations (one million six hundred thirty-seven thousand people) [9, p. 101]. And at the same time, the means of communication (computers, Internet, office equipment) that can help optimize the process of management have been rapidly developing; however, this has not stopped the increase in the number of managerial staff.

Thus, it turns out that under the planned economy, which controlled all aspects of economic life of man and society in the Soviet

Union, and given the underdeveloped means of communication, the administrative apparatus was several times smaller than that under the free economy of the Russian Federation. We can also point out that the growth of the administrative apparatus both in the government and at enterprises reduces the overall efficiency of production, as it (the apparatus) does not produce material goods, and the expenditures on its maintenance grow and the cost of the final product increases accordingly. Therefore, we conclude that the effectiveness of management in modern Russia has declined in comparison with the USSR.

Fair remuneration of labor

As the number of managers has increased, their quality has changed for the worse, because an individual is appointed to the administrative position through informal ties (acquaintances, "people in the right places"). G.A. Effendiev, who studied social practices of labor activity in the Russian business organizations came to the conclusion that

“protectionism, including that in the form of the “pull”, is a common feature of the social organization of Russian business” [19, p. 319–338]. The results of the surveys conducted by this researcher prove that “all the forms of “patronage”³ are distributed approximately equally among ordinary workers (26% of the cases), among specialists (29%) and among managers (31%), this also applies to the “pull”: 23, 23, and 21% respectively [18, p. 319–338]. These data are confirmed by our survey results, which show that only 30.5% of the respondents gave an affirmative answer to the question: “Has the prestige of honest work increased?”, and 45.5% agreed that “Inequity of labor remuneration has increased” (see tab. 4, 6).

Thus, returning to the results of public opinion survey that we have analyzed in the beginning of the article, we can say the following. In general, the survey confirms the objective data on the state of the economy.

³ Researchers have divided protectionism in three parts. “Clear pull” is a form of protectionism, when the respondent indicates only non-achieving factors (i.e. relations with the superiors, recommendations of relatives, reputation of a “person who strives to have conflict-free and loyal relationship with the superior, “...a sociable person who gets on well with people”). “Unreasonable favor” is manifested in a situation when the respondent indicates the presence of relationships with the superiors (or the role of non-achieving factors) combined with the role of achieving criteria, but at the same time he/she does not belong to the category of skilled workers. In this case, he/she is favoured unreasonably. These two forms of protectionism are very similar and the authors name them as “pull”. If the respondents indicate the combination of achieving and non-achieving criteria in their employment and at the same time they are considered qualified staff by the researchers, we define them as “reasonably favored”, i.e. it is the implementation of “reasonable favor” [18, p. 319–338]. An empirical study “Social organization of business” was conducted in 2007–2008. The first stage of the field part of the research project was conducted in May – June 2007 and included 80 in-depth interviews at four enterprises in Moscow and Perm. The second step was a standardized survey of 2550 workers in nine regions of Russia, conducted in May – June 2008.

Compared with 1990 – the year of crisis for the Soviet economy, little has been transformed for the better. Granted, the structure of food consumption remains unchanged, there are no queues, the number of private cars, computers, and refrigerators has increased. But management has deteriorated, the competitiveness of Russian goods decreased; the country remains dependent on energy exports; deindustrialization has taken place; the number of people employed in industrial production and agriculture is declining, but the services and administration sectors are growing. The targets of market reforms have not been achieved; moreover, modern Russian economy, in our opinion, is even less efficient than it used to be in the Soviet period of downfall.

However, the question arises: why is there an increase in consumption that allows Russia to maintain 5 million 923 thousands of managers, of which 1 million 572 thousands are civil servants [11, p. 46, 120], while 26.6% of the population employed in the economy, work in the financial sector, trade, public catering, i.e. they do not produce material goods? And yet, Russia can organize large-scale events, and people can purchase durable goods. We assume that there are three sources of income. Two of them are in the economic sphere and one – in the social sphere.

Sources of income

The growth in the economic sphere is conditioned, firstly, by the high oil and gas price, and secondly, by excessive development of consumer lending. According to the Ministry of Finance, in 2012 the taxes and levies for the use of natural resources made up

19.6% of all fiscal revenues; taxes on foreign economic activity, which includes tax duties on oil, gas and petroleum products – 37.9% [15]. Granted, Russia's foreign economic activity is not limited to oil and gas supplies; nevertheless, their share is over 70% in its export structure. The state and can provide the rise in pensions, salaries in the public sector and in the state apparatus largely at the expense of these revenues.

The growth of consumer lending is the second source that promotes consumption growth. According to the survey conducted by the Public Opinion Foundation (FOM)⁴, 29% of the Russians have loans [4], lending has grown tenfold for the last five years [5]. But it is very disturbing that the increase in lending is not compensated by the increase in industrial production, since the rise in wages is conditioned by the redistribution of revenues from exploitation and export of Russia's natural resources.

The third source of consumption growth in the Russian Federation, in our opinion, is of social nature; it lies entirely within the sphere of social relations and explains to a great extent the failure of market reforms. We are talking about informal network economy. Over the years of economic reforms there emerged a parallel institutional informal network made of interpersonal relationships. This network includes a variety of relations between the subjects of economic activity, ranging from unregistered work, the salary received off the books, "pull" and corruption.

⁴ The weekly poll "FOMnibus" was held September 7–8, 2013 in 43 subjects of the Russian Federation, 100 settlements, 1,500 respondents were surveyed.

According to Deputy Prime Minister O. Golodets, "*our labor market is virtually illegitimate, and only its small part functions under normal rules*". According to her data, 86 million people are currently employed in various sectors of the economy, but the nature of work is transparent only with regard to 48 million out of them. It is difficult to trace the work specifics of the remaining 38 million working age people; this fact poses a serious problem for society as a whole [2]. The incomes of these 38 million are not reflected in official statistics, and we have a distorted picture of financial provision of the Russians.

Why was this parallel network established? The answer to this question lies in the field of sociology. K. Marx, describing the development of capitalism in India, argued that its introduction in the traditional society, in fact, destroyed this society [7]. Capitalism destroyed the Hindu community, broke the centuries-old traditions and values, forced millions of people to change their traditional sphere of employment and destroyed families. K. Polanyi, studying the emergence of capitalism in England, in the work "The great transformation" [10] describes a similar situation, but, in contrast to colonial India, the British, in response to the emergence, development and spread of the market economy in all spheres of life, created protective mechanisms in the form of growth of social movements aimed to curb market economy (chartist movement, the Fabian Society, communism). This did not happen in Russia. M. Buravoi, analyzing the processes of formation of the capitalist economy in Russia, points out not the

surge of public activity and the subsequent formation of civil society, but self-protection and withdrawal into one's own self [1, p. 3].

The tools of self-protection were found in informal relationships the Russian analog of civil society. *“Instead of the civil society there was the network society – fine threads of interrelated natural households without institutional nodes, characteristic of advanced capitalism”* [1, p. 8]. Their emergence and development contributed to the population's adaptation to the consequences of the radical economic transformation; they moderated the competition, but at the same time reduced labor productivity and efficiency of employees' performance.

The competitive market environment conflicted with the social interpersonal solidarity, and the economy – with the society. Two realities were formed as a result of this collision. One reality has all the attributes of a successful market economy, the other flourishes inside the first one. These realities are based on alternative value hierarchies, this corresponds to the different subsystems of society (economic and social), so we cannot argue which one is worse or better.

Competition increases productivity and efficiency, but entails hostility, aggression, and it is ultimately destructive, if it expands throughout the whole society. Partnership, empathy, assistance and mutual aid are not bad qualities, if they relate to social subsystem; but if they penetrate into the economy and management they turn into

corruption, nepotism and cronyism. The network society, spreading in the economic subsystem, limits the action of the market, because it makes individual actors leave the competitive environment.

But, initially, when major social institutions of the Soviet era were collapsing, informal ties were one of the mechanisms that helped an individual to survive. This is how the events of the 1990 are described by Tat'yana Shantseva, wife of the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast Governor V. Shantsev: *“It was the most difficult period in his life. The City Committee was disbanded, everyone fled. And he was the last to go and he left only after he had provided jobs for all who worked”* [17]. There is obvious pride in her words as she talks about her husband, who *“did not leave his people behind and found jobs for everyone”*. That was a response to market reforms in those years. This also caused impressive growth of the state apparatus without apparent reason. People were looking for a safe place and found it in public service.

Thus, we can say that informal relationships performed an important latent function – they contributed and contribute to the preservation and adaptation of society to the market. As a result of their emergence and expansion, the Russian economy did not manage to solve the problems of the Soviet economy, the reforms failed, but eventually the society survived, the population has adapted to the new economic environment and most people in general are satisfied with this state of affairs.

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Specifics of modernization in Russia's regions



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Abstract. The article analyzes the specifics of modernization in the Russian regions. The author studies modernization in connection with globalization, that is, with the formation of global networks, high-tech core and archaic periphery. The article shows the main trends of modernization in the Russian regions, identifies the role of local government in their formation. In addition, it reveals a number of specific features of modernization in Russia; in particular, a complex combination of a protective attitude towards innovation and focus on development in local communities. Besides, the article pays special attention to the role of traditional value orientations in the decision making process at the local level.

Key words: modernization, global networks, local communities, protective attitudes, value orientations.

This paper presents some findings of a research into local communities. The research was carried out by the Sector for the Study of Socio-Cultural Development of Russia's Regions at IS RAS in the Nizhny Novgorod, Ivanovo, Samara, Sverdlovsk, and Tambov oblasts in the spring–summer of 2013¹.

The main methods of data collection included in-depth interviews with representatives of regional and local authorities, non-governmental organizations and with local residents; these data were supplemented by the analysis of documents and publications in local and regional mass media and on the Internet.

¹ The study was conducted in the framework of the project "Regional and local administration: the feedback between the authorities and society", the RFBR grant No. 13-06-00314a

One of the objectives of the study was to identify the role of governance at the local level in modernization processes. In this regard, first of all it was necessary to determine the category of modernization and the criteria that help detect it in the Russian regions. Conceptualization of modernization in relation to the conditions of our country is one of the most acute issues in contemporary Russian sociology.

Various interpretations of modernization are united by its understanding as an achievement by society of the condition of modernity (the modern or postmodern condition) in all its spheres through technological, institutional, structural, and value changes. The question of what can be considered modern society remains open. Most often it is associated with competition, the value of personality, people's rights and freedoms, developed legal state and civil society, political and economic freedoms [1]. We think that these qualities were inherent in capitalism at the earlier stages of its development. However, it appears that the current situation allows us at this stage of research to consider modernization in a slightly different way, putting controversial issues aside.

Currently, modernization is inextricably linked with globalization. N.P. Tikhonova characterizes this situation as follows: "The openness of the new world and the intensification of various forms of horizontal links put an end to the enclave forms of development, which Russia has been implementing until recently [3]. Globalization leaves no time and chance to catch up and outrun, to develop by growing the institutions of democracy and

economic freedom inherent in modern times. Global flows, networks and nodes, in which the life of the society is built in accordance with the requirements of the monopolized market and high technology, form rapidly and cross national borders [2, 4]. The space outside is losing any economic and social value, other than the source of raw materials and manpower.

The formation of modernization processes of the specified type was revealed in the studied regions. We should emphasize that high-tech nodes of global networks have not been formed there. Besides GAZ Group (former Gorky automobile plant) that produces trucks and buses, Nizhny Novgorod partially preserved its high-tech industry, because military electronics in the Soviet period was a well-developed sphere in the city. At the same time, Arzamas, which is one of the centers of military production is, admittedly, in decline. The companies, which, according to our respondents, could become modernization centers, are shutting down; the university that once used to train highly qualified personnel for the military industry is now deteriorating.

Nevertheless, the structuring of the province according to the globalist pattern manifests itself quite clearly. For instance, the weaving production in Ivanovo has been completely eliminated, former factories turned into giant warehouses for textiles from China, Turkey, and India. There emerged a lot of small garment enterprises that produce finished products from these textiles and provide jobs for women. It should be noted that small and medium business is present almost in every sphere, despite

serious problems caused partly by high taxes and lack of government support, and also by relentless competition with large Russian business. However, their underlying causes are also associated with the globalization of the economy. It is almost impossible to compete with the Chinese dumping, unless the business serves its production (wholesale and retail trade of Chinese consumer goods, Ivanovo garment enterprises that use Chinese materials and so on).

Cheap food imports, according to one of our respondents, has become an obstacle to the development of farming, which was once very important, especially in the Russian Chernozem region: *“The main problem is that imported products are much cheaper than local ones; this is the damage not only to agricultural producers, but also to every citizen, because we can be left without food, the supplies from abroad stop. Small farming enterprises find agricultural production unprofitable; they shift to another business, all our villages are deserted. We receive no government support in this sphere, although our region is engaged in agriculture”*. Besides, according to a member of the Tambov Oblast Society of Beekeepers, it is difficult to sale the products of small producers, particularly in agriculture, because trading networks do not accept their goods, and trading in the markets and fairs does not provide sufficient space for business development”.

One also marks the expansion of Moscow-based capital, which some respondents call *“internal globalization”* and evaluate it negatively: *“Outsiders do not know local specifics; they do not care about the region and its culture”*. Local business is unable to compete with newcomers.

The main economic agents in agriculture are large agro-industrial holdings that develop deserted farmland, build modern cattle-breeding complexes and sow the field with grain crops resistant to weeds and pests. The work in the holding enterprises does not require permanent residence in the village (employees go to work daily by bus – a kind of internal shift work). The main problem of the modern village is not alcoholism, as it is usually presented in the media, but the migration of working-age population to the cities, the disappearance of the village as an economic and socio-cultural phenomenon, and its transformation into a dacha community at best.

Thus, small and medium business, contrary to expectations and hopes, has not become the basis of the region’s development. Modernization is carried out in the framework of global flows, based primarily on large monopolistic capital.

At the same time, there are small towns that have managed to preserve their production: for example, a weaving plant in Shuya (Ivanovo Oblast) or a knitting factory in Rasskazovo (Tambov Oblast). The district center Pavlovo on the Oka River in the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast can be considered the most telling example. The town has a sustainably functioning plant that produces buses of small and middle class (PAZ); the increase of public procurement has boosted the work of military enterprises.

But perhaps the best example of contemporary modernization can be found in the flow of labor migration, oriented exclusively toward global nodes, i.e. regional centers and Moscow. According to the respondents, almost every family has a man,

who works on a rotational basis in Moscow as taxi driver, builder, and, more often, guard in an office or shop. This form of employment provides the development of local business, as the wages of rotational workers create and maintain the demand on the regional and local markets of goods and services.

This study shows that the main subject of this form of modernization is the federal government. It clones the model of the global world with its networks, flows and territories that are not lucky enough to get into them. Thus, the construction of new health centers, equipped with modern equipment, was accompanied by the reduction of places in the district hospitals and the closure of feldsher-midwife stations.

High technology that is developing in global cities, requires specific qualifications; compliance with technological discipline is their main component. An employee should have a sustainable skill of obeying the rules without pondering on their nature and purpose, which is contrary to the Russian tradition of education built on explanation and understanding. We emphasize that in modern conditions this applies not only to workers employed in the assembly-line production, but to everyone, including managers themselves. The reason for this lies in the division of labor and its manufacturability; a prerequisite for effective functioning of any system is found in sequential execution of definite actions. A test system for knowledge assessment and preparation for it is focused on the formation of technological discipline.

This innovation is strictly enforced by the federal center; teachers and school principals avoid discussing the unified state exam, or

note that it has its advantages such as external evaluation of school activities necessary for the development of the educational process, expanded opportunities for graduates to enter the most prestigious universities in the country. However, their real attitude to the reform can be traced according to their careful statements about its shortcomings, and also according to the responses of students who openly say that they are not taught to think, expressing, obviously, the viewpoint of families and teachers.

The federal center also introduces computerization into the educational process, ousting elderly teachers, who are considered the most qualified. Most of them are unable to pass the exam on computer literacy and cannot continue working. This removes one of the obstacles to the development of the education system complying with the demands of modernization.

The policy pursued by the center is practically unambiguous; it is much harder to determine the position and role of regional and district authorities in these processes, and also the role of other actors involved in decision making at the local level. We were able to identify two main groups of administrative attitudes and actions based on them in connection with modernization.

1. *Focus on modernization.* A relatively small number of regional and local managers fully support the “general line” of the federal government. They have the very technological discipline and willingness to comply with the orders that is necessary for the implementation of innovation change. A representative of the administration in one of the regions has voiced clearly the very idea of a modern

model of modernization: *“Everything is fine in our districts. We have a new system of medical care, but the population does not want to accept this system. The people can accept it, if they fall ill seriously and need qualified medical aid. In most cases they just need to spend some time at hospital close to their home rather than be treated. In the Soviet times this scheme worked, but we did not have such technology, which we now use, except for surgery and ophthalmology. Everything else was at the low level. Now we have established regional centers with modern medical equipment, qualified experts and modern operations and procedures. We bring a patient to these centers depending on his or her disease. In the case of stroke or heart attack, we work only according to this system. It takes up to two hours to get to a hospital, and the critical period of time for patients with stroke and heart attack is six hours”*. Note that the system of feldsher-midwife stations and district hospitals was not designed for carrying out complex medical operations and procedures. It provided residents of remote villages with skilled medical treatment in more simple cases, preventing complex cases, during childbirth, when even two hours (actually more, considering the time of arrival of an ambulance) can prove fatal. However, such a policy has a social base, despite the refusal of the population to accept it. It is, first of all, the residents, who are focused on working in the regional center, in Moscow, and, if possible, abroad, in any place that provides a higher level of comfort and consumption. However, according to our respondents from different regions, the number of people who change their place of residence is not large. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons for the fact

that the goals to carry out modernization and unconditional execution of orders are not often observed at the local level.

2. *Preservation strategy*. The activities of the majority of regional and local actors, including regional and district administrations, aim to preserve and develop the local community. They see danger in innovations that destroy the community (urban and rural), its values, and the personality as it was formed in the Russian culture. This opinion was formulated most succinctly by a representative of the administration of one of the districts: *“We watch TV in order to see what more has been planned, and to be ready for it. We will introduce innovations so that we will preserve everything that is our own, and nobody will find this out”*. At the same time a necessary component of their strategy is orientation toward development and progress. One of the surveyed school principals expressed a common viewpoint: *“I don’t know, maybe it would be better if you didn’t put it down. We can’t be in a constant development process. School should be strong, first of all, in its tradition, its basis. We can add something, upgrade something, but the basis must be preserved. If there is stability, there will be development”*. In their opinion, modernization should develop the existing social integrity.

Innovations introduced from outside are adopted, if they do not contradict the traditional understanding of development. New forms of self-organization of local communities are developed with support from the district administration. For example, the villages in one of the districts have formed “parent patrols”, whose primary purpose

is to prevent drug and alcohol abuse and involvement of children and adolescents in criminal activity. Some districts establish new forms of children's summer recreation, such as camps for children under house administrations and housing cooperatives.

Despite the depressive 1990s and a lingering lack of resources, the districts managed to preserve libraries, museums, music and art schools, and culture centers. The head of the Department of Culture of one of the district centers in the early 1990s was able to convince the head of the district's administration about the necessity to repair the library: *"At that time we desperately needed a central library. It was situated in the city center, in a two-storied mansion. The library required a new building, the area was small, and there was not enough space. So, a new one was built. For ten years now our library is the best in the oblast, and equipped with everything brand-new"*.

Music and art schools, according to the decision of the federal center, were united into schools of arts, but in some cases, due to the activity of the entities, they continue working separately from each other: *"We didn't have room for an art school. And our school is old and has its own traditions. We decided not to combine music and art schools, because each of them has its own image. The moment came when it was necessary to convince the administration that we needed a new building for the art school. And the building, in which the music school is located, received an addition. The main building has two floors, and the addition has three floors. It was in the 1990s, about 17 years ago. It was very difficult because we had to use our own resources, but the plans were implemented"*.

The attempts to rebuild the traditional socio-cultural basis of communities cause counteractions aimed to preserve this basis. The changes in the assessments of the Great Patriotic War that appear in the media and in works of art are perceived painfully. The associations of the "children of war" are created in some districts; their participants took up the activities of the veterans, who cannot be involved in this any longer due to the state of their health. In part, these organizations become sort of clubs for the elderly, but their main task is to tell schoolchildren about the war, to counteract the imposed interpretations of historical events.

Much attention is paid to the museums of the Great Patriotic War, and military exhibitions in museums of regional studies; tours for schoolchildren are organized on a regular basis.

The preservation of history is one of the most important components of the strategy under consideration. This strategy supports museums even under the budget resources shortage; it also respects all historical periods without exception. In the village you can see an exhibition, dedicated to the Red Army commander Mikhail Frunze, to the tragedy of the Tambov Rebellion (Antonov's mutiny in the Tambov Oblast), the reconstruction of the interior of a Soviet room, which is very popular: the citizens bring old things there, they go there and recall what it used to be like in their childhood. The residents of Arzamas love and read Arkady Gaidar. The district administration preserves the memory of the writer; it also successfully cooperates with the Orthodox Church.

As a result, the district administration and, in some cases, regional government, creates the network, the main centers of which are schools, libraries, museums and houses of culture. This network successfully counteracts modernization transformations that are destructive to the districts' culture. For instance, the Ministry of Culture made an attempt to organize the houses of culture according to the German model: in Germany they exist solely due to the self-organization of citizens who come and do what they want. The attempt failed – professionals who teach classes in groups, clubs and theatre studios were not dismissed. Similar protests were caused by an attempt to create a library, according to the Western pattern, when people bring and borrow whatever books they want. A professional librarian and a professional culture worker do not simply perform their functions, but they also organize cultural life in the community at a sufficiently high level, and support it in the local community.

The desire to “save and preserve” is especially evident in the desire to maintain cultural life in the fading village: *“Our cultural policy aims to make the real culture available in the village. We invented the whole system of festivals in rural areas, all our teams give a lot of concerts in the village. Few people understand what the arrival of such groups means for the village. They say: we thought that everyone forgot about us. Not long ago we had a concert of the choir named after Rachmaninoff that came to our village; many were puzzled why such a choir with complex music would come to the village; nevertheless, people came and listened*

and were very pleased, the people of different age. Theater, brass music and song festivals – we pay a lot of attention and allocate much money to this sphere of the people's involvement. We have provided the districts with transport, so that the people can go from district to district with their performances; it is a factor that unites the people and the region”.

The federal center in this case is seen as a supplier of resources. All the above can be done primarily through the involvement in its programs, which requires a lot of efforts. It (federal center) is partly hostile, because it is where the attempts to introduce dangerous and disruptive innovations are coming from, which was expressed clearly by our respondents: *“All this modernization, the education is dying, although the money invested is enormous. And everyone is mad as hornet, because no one cared to ask the people themselves... Sometimes it is better not to do as you are told, maybe the matters will settle after a while”.* In some cases, parties are regarded to be the same resource as the federal center: *“We use the support that comes from any party, but vote for “United Russia”, because today it is the only party that can provide real, including financial, assistance”.* Votes are exchanged for the ability to resolve pressing issues for the community; that is how we managed to preserve the feldsher-and-midwife stations (where possible) and even give the functions of hospitals to some of them.

It should be noted that among the actors functioning in the city and the district administration there are people of different age groups, including those who were district heads in the USSR and have experience of

work under the party and Soviet conditions. They are respected, they are considered a kind of community resource, and the people wish them “many happy returns”. These people in most cases are not Communists, they are mostly members of the “United Russia”. But, anyway, they reproduce a socio-cultural reality traditional for the Soviet times, which includes elements previously foreign to it, such as business and the Church. The degree of awareness of this position does not matter, as well as the political orientation of the actors.

This study shows that conservatory actions in the Russian regions prevail over the focus on modernization. They successfully resisted degradation of the Russian communities in the 1990s, not allowing them to sink to really archaic forms of society. Currently, they help to resist the same damaging impact of modernization in its globalist version. Governance at the local level is focused on the social and cultural spheres, and partly – on small business, including farming. This is caused, on the one hand, by the lack of leverage on large capital, on the other hand – by the value of culture and education in the pattern of development that is supported, reproduced and protected by local government.

Local government in this case retains a special tradition of development that shaped historically in Russia, and the Soviet industrialization based on this tradition. This development is based on the culture and historical continuity, on the understanding of the processes, their causes and effects. It does not imply the elimination of values existing in this culture, or the complete functionality

of any activity leading to simplification of human thought. It also does not imply a simplified, institutionalized individualism of modernism and postmodernism, which actually means the atomization of society. At that, personality plays a major role in this version of development.

The model of “protective” management itself is personal; any explicit or implicit opposition to destructive tendencies depends entirely on the presence of an actor. Institutions and structures play a subordinate role in it; like political orientation, they are used depending on the defined goals. In the words of one of our respondents who is a senior official in the regional administration the tasks should be solved at any cost, which confirms protective and mobilization nature of management.

This relative independence from institutions provides a certain degree of autonomy in relation to the federal center, the ability to survive without its support and even to confront some of his decisions. Ultimately, it is the village that can preserve the possibility of alternative modernization. But this is very relative. It is obvious that the Russian localities cannot implement their own version of modernization. They do not have sufficient resources to do this, and, in those areas that do have them, global entities successfully operate and global flows are formed. Therefore, here we speak more about maintaining the development potential that has different properties and a different vector than building a new world of high-tech centers and forgotten settlements. This potential is of particular value in the current situation. First, globalization does not provide the majority

of the Russian population with an opportunity to be included in the high-tech society, because the number of such nodes is limited, and they are located mostly outside Russia. The streams are narrow, they create too few jobs and, as we have shown, do not employ

local residents. For this reason, the prevention of social and cultural degradation remains the main task of the local government. Second, the global postmodernism is unstable, and its lack of options is questionable; therefore, an alternative may prove much-in-demand.

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Subjective factor in social development as a key resource for the consolidation of the Russian society



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Abstract. Transformation processes in the modern globalizing world cover all spheres of society, causing serious qualitative and quantitative changes in its structure. The role of society in the process of globalization is becoming increasingly important, that is why the consolidation of its members becomes the most important direction of social development.

The authors consider the problem of consolidation of the Russian society, they substantiate the importance of the subjective factor in social development, which consists in the people's perception of key events in the political, economic, and social life.

The analysis of official statistical data shows that there are certain positive trends in the dynamics of the most representative indicators of social health, which reflects the degree of psychological adaptation of the population to their living conditions. However, having calculated the latent level of some of them (suicide), the authors identify that there is inaccuracy in the records of these indicators, which proves

that there are flaws in the state system of collection of statistical information. It highlights the relevance of sociological research for a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of current social processes and phenomena.

The article presents the experience of sociological research carried out at ISEDT RAS. It serves as a tool to study the subjective factor of social development. The analysis of the sociological surveys' findings shows that the social mood of the citizens nationwide and in the Vologda Oblast is improving; this fact indicates that people are adapting to their living conditions that changed in the 2000s. At the same time, positive trends in social well-being in the Russian society are mainly associated with the satisfaction of personal and family interests. Throughout the 2000s and at present the issue of alienation of the Russian society from the government remains acute, which is indicated by the growth of the social fragmentation index and the low level of trust in the main governmental and public institutions. The authors conclude that the development of consolidation processes in Russia depends largely on the degree of interaction between the society and authorities. Domestic sociological science can play a crucial part in the solution of this problem.

Key words: consolidation of society, social development, sociology, social perception, trust, social well-being.

Russian sociologist M.K. Gorshkov in his 2010 article "Russian sociology and the challenges of modern society" noted that "the Russian society is in a continuous transition, and no one knows exactly where it is going and at what social speed. As a consequence, the question of Russia's future remains open in many respects [8, p. 6]. The key problems of the Russian society, which are highlighted by M.K. Gorshkov are as follows: dependence of Russia's economy on raw materials, low competitiveness of its manufactured goods, fledgling democracy and the weakness of civil society, negative demographic trends and the social sphere with the remnants of the Soviet period, corruption that breeds tyranny, despotism and injustice [8, p. 6]. These issues were relevant in 2010 and they remain relevant in 2014, despite a gradual "fade out" of the effects of the global financial crisis.

On the background of those problems of the post-Soviet and post-crisis (during the 1990s) Russia, the society has found itself on

the threshold of new radical transformations, which will determine the vector of its further development in the coming decades.

We are talking about the ideas of national identity, preservation and development of state sovereignty, enhancement of the role of civil society in public administration, overcoming the "crisis of trust" in the state and society's institutions, abandonment of the pro-Western ideology of "consumer society" and return to original Russian roots of development based on moral values. Recently, the importance and magnitude of global changes in the society are highlighted in President V.V. Putin's speeches; besides, they are reflected in the works of leading Russian scientists S.S. Sulakshin [30], M.K. Gorshkov [7], V.K. Levashov [16], J.T. Toshchenko [33] and others.

Consolidation of the Russian society is one of the most important issues that is coming to the fore in modern Russia as a result of transformation processes.

It is relatively more important in Russia than in many developed countries, due to the scale of transformational effects of post-Soviet reforms that resulted in a significant decline in the standards of living of the majority of the population, growth of poverty, anomie and crime, and the general disintegration and disruption of the Russian society [15, p. 148]. This stems, first, from the extent of transformational “break-up” in the socio-economic sphere during the last two decades, which caused a significant decline in the standards of living among the majority of the population, and an objective destabilization of the Russian society. Second, it is connected to the fact that changing the country’s development model led to the formation of significant social inequality, the depth of which, especially in the most advanced regions, has increased in dozens of times in comparison with the Soviet period. The illegitimacy of such inequalities in the public consciousness has a serious effect on the destabilization of the Russian society and on the escalation of social conflicts. Third, the years of reforms have changed (and are continuing to change) the society management system. This could not but lead to the weakening of “feedback” between ordinary Russians and the authorities, to the change of the functions of some traditional means that express the problems of public life, for example, mass media in the Soviet times; and the disappearance of other structures, in particular, those, to which the people would appeal for resolving relevant issues [27, p. 3].

Certain flaws in the social systems, leading to the fact that at present they reproduce the way of life prevailing in the country and its

current model, rather than develop it, does not mean that they are not working. As a result, the post-reform Russia concentrates a huge socio-psychological resource that serves as a basis for the implementation of a modernization breakthrough, which the Russian society desperately needs today [8, p. 6.].

The direction of social evolution dictates the necessity to meet the higher demands of people, the demands based on instrumental values such as creativity and self-actualization [21, p. 3]. A new understanding of the role and place of man in the system of social relations requires the transformation of the approach to governance – the transition from traditional forms and methods of management to a human-oriented model of economy, social sphere, and policy based on enhancing the quality of life [21, p. 4]. This transformation involves the need to adjust the system of indicators reflecting the efficiency of public administration, the identification of new indicators of public administration in accordance with current trends.

Due to the urgency of the issue concerning the consolidation of the Russian society, which implies the convergence of the masses and the authorities for efficient and productive collaboration and cooperation “based on internal (mental, value) consent and understanding of pressing issues and goals” [1], particular importance is attached to the study of subjective perceptions of the key changes occurring in the socio-economic, political and cultural life by the members of the society. It is the “socio-psychological resource” that is the main development factor under spiritual, moral and ideological

transformations that Russia is already facing in 2014. And it is the “subjective” factor, as J.T. Toshchenko points out, that “plays an essential and increasingly important role among the factors that determine the content and the vector of changes in the world and in our country” [33, p. 32].

The analysis of the national and global statistics data shows that the main indicators of social health, which characterizes the degree of people’s adaptation to their living conditions, deteriorated in the Russian Federation in 1990–1999, and have improved since 2000. For instance, in 2000–2012 in the Russian Federation there was a decrease in mortality rate from suicide (from 39 to 21 cases per 100 thousand people, in the Vologda Oblast – from 57 to 21 cases), homicide (from 28 to 11 cases, in the Vologda Oblast – from 27 to 10 cases), incidence of mental disorders (from 84 to 48 cases, in the Vologda Oblast – from 108 to 37 cases), alcoholism (from 130 to 86 cases, and from 99 to 86 cases, respectively), drug addiction (from 50 to 14 cases, and from 29 to 14 cases, respectively).

The dynamics of mortality from suicide shows most clearly the trends in psychological adaptation of the society to the key socio-economic, cultural and other events happening in the country. The representativeness of this indicator, as the one reflecting the degree of social development, was noted by the classics of the Russian and foreign sociology (E. Durkheim, P. Sorokin); and today their scientific and philosophical views have not lost their relevance.

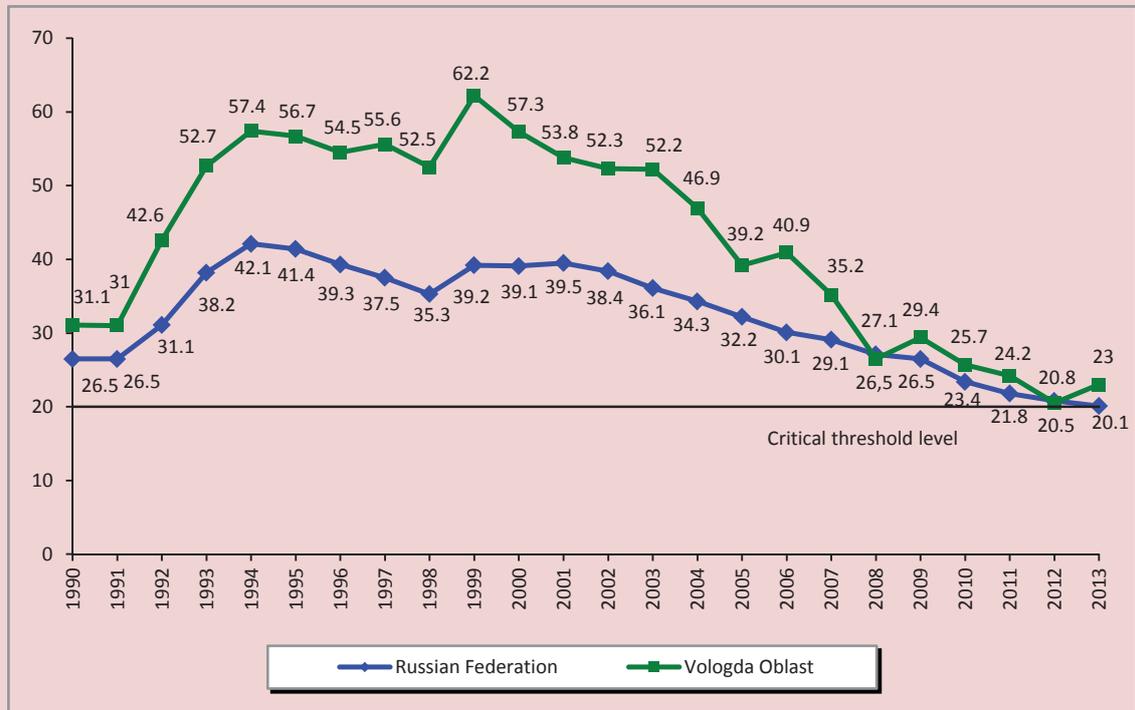
The increase in suicide mortality in the 1990s reflects the heavy, mainly psychological,

consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and also the 1991 and 1998 economic crises. Positive trends in the 2000s emerged due to relative stabilization of the political and socio-economic situation, gradual adaptation of the people to a new development paradigm after the collapse of the USSR (*fig. 1*).

Similar trends are observed in the Vologda Oblast with a negative impact of the global financial crisis being more pronounced at the regional level. The Vologda Oblast was among the regions that had been most affected by the crisis [20, p. 100]; it turned from a donor region into a recipient region with the greatest budget deficit nationwide (in 2010 – 28%). It was caused by the decline in steel production, which accounts for almost 90% of tax revenues of the Vologda Oblast budget [5].

However, the official statistics do not reflect comprehensively the relationship between the social processes and phenomena taking place in the society. They do not take into account important aspects such as people’s mood, their attitude to the different spheres of private and public life, to the performance of the authorities. In addition, they possess a certain degree of inaccuracy. The problems of Russia’s statistics are partly caused by the malfunction of the mechanism of collecting data in regions, and by the interest of regional authorities in data misrepresentation. The long-standing practice consisting in the systematic distortion of performance indicators under the Soviet regime is a specific aggravating factor in this respect. In the Soviet era, natural and budget statistics, based on the total recording

Figure 1. Suicide mortality rate (per 100 thousand people)



Source: Federal State Statistics Service Database. Available at: <http://www.gks.ru/>

were supplemented by inaccurate summary macroeconomic statistics. It was determined by a non-monetary, natural character of the Soviet economy. In Russia, left with the Soviet legacy, the statistics became similar to a randomly curved, opaque mirror, so that even professionals cannot assess the state of the economy and society on their basis [9]. For example, a study of the latent level of suicidal mortality in the Vologda Oblast has shown that the real prevalence of suicide can be twice higher than those registered by the official statistics (*fig. 2*).

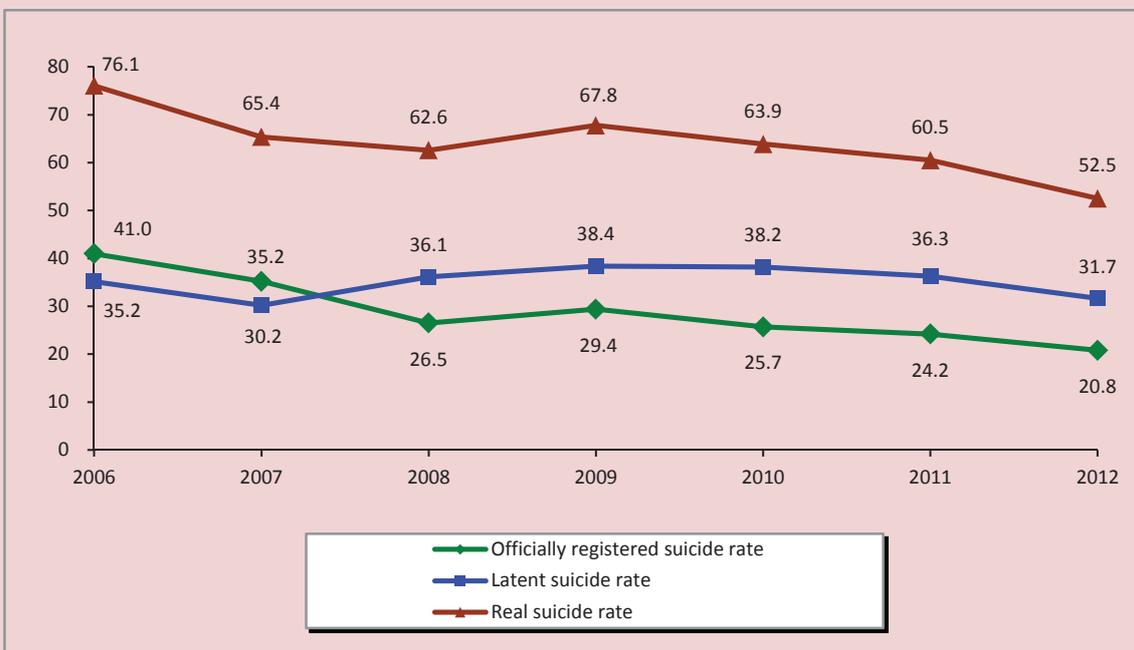
It is necessary to consider the people's own subjective perception of socio-economic and political processes in order to reveal comprehensively the causes and nature of

social processes and phenomena. At ISED T RAS this goal is achieved by conducting a public opinion monitoring¹ developed in collaboration with RAS Institute of Socio-Political Research.

The level of trust in state and public institutions is one of the key indicators of social perception. Trust as a product of social development and evolution of man's

¹ The first public opinion polls were conducted by ISED T RAS in 1993 in Vologda and Cherepovets, and in three municipal districts (Velikoustyugsky, Vozhegodsky, Kirillovsky). Since 1996 a survey of 1.500 respondents aged 18 years and older is conducted in the cities of Vologda and Cherepovets, and in Babaevsky, Velikoustyugsky, Vozhegodsky, Gryazovetzky, Kirillovsky, Nikolsky, Tarnogsky, Sheksninsky districts every two months. The survey method is questionnaire poll by place of residence of respondents. Sampling error does not exceed 3%. The total sample size per year is 9 thousand people.

Figure 2. Officially registered, latent and real rate of suicide mortality in the Vologda Oblast (per 100 thousand people)*



* Calculated by the author according to the UNICEF methodology [10, p. 61]. The data of the territorial office of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Vologda Oblast were used.

worldview in the course of social dynamics reflects people’s demand for consolidation and unity of social forces and resources, and promotes the achievement of common social goals in different spheres of public life [15, p. 14]. This indicator is important also because it shows the people’s assessment of the country’s development policy pursued by the current government; that is, it can be regarded as an integral indicator of the relationship between the state and society. On the other hand, it reflects the assessment of the civil society institutions’ performance, which characterizes the attitude of the population toward current democratic foundations.

International research shows that the Russian Federation is among the countries

in which the people’s trust in state and public institutions is low². Every year the Russian citizens’ trust in the government, business, mass media and non-profit organizations is about two times lower than the average for the 27 countries participating in the survey (tab. 1).

² The data of “Edelman Trust Barometer”, the international study of the level of trust. The online survey, which was conducted in 27 countries in October – November 2012, was conducted with the participation of 26000 respondents, including 5 800 informed “opinion leaders” in two age groups (25–34 and 35–64), with higher education, included in the top 25% group by income for this age in the country, who watch business and political news at least several times a week). Participating countries: China, Singapore, India, Mexico, Hong Kong, UAE, Malaysia, Canada, Indonesia, USA, Netherlands, Brazil, Germany, France, Sweden, UK, Italy, Australia, Poland, South Korea, Ireland, Argentina, Spain, Turkey, Japan, and Russia.

Table 1. Level of trust in key institutions

Institution	Average world value (in % of the number of respondents)				Russia (in % of the number of respondents)				Russia's position			
									among 23 countries	among 26 countries	among 27 countries	
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2011	2012	2013	2014	2011	2012	2013	2014
Government	52	43	48	44	39	26	29	27	n/a	24	24	22
Business	56	53	58	58	41	41	40	45	23	22	25	19–23
Mass media	49	52	57	52	37	33	38	35	n/a	25*	25	25
NGOs	61	58	63	64	n/a	28	40	41	n/a	25*	25	26
<i>Average</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>25*</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>26</i>

Source: 2014 Edelman Trust Barometer. Available at: <http://www.edelman.com>

Table 2. Ranking of countries by the integral index of trust

Position	2013		2014		2014 to 2013 (in p.p.)
	Country	Level of trust	Country	Level of trust	
10 leaders					
1	China	80	UAE	79	+13
2	Singapore	76	China	79	-1
3	India	71	Singapore	73	-3
4	Mexico	68	Indonesia	72	+10
5	Hong Kong	67	India	69	-2
6	UAE	66	Malaysia	65	+1
7	Malaysia	64	Canada	60	-2
8	Canada	62	Netherlands	60	+1
9	Indonesia	62	Mexico	59	-9
10	USA	59	Hong Kong	59	-8
10 outsiders					
17	Italy	51	Republic of South Africa	50	Did not participate in the survey in 2013
18	Australia	50	USA	49	-10
19	Poland	48	France	46	-8
20	South Korea	47	Japan	44	+3
21	Ireland	46	Italy	43	-8
22	Argentina	45	Turkey	41	-1
23	Spain	42	Spain	39	-3
24	Turkey	42	Ireland	39	-7
25	Japan	41	Russia	37	+1
26	Russia	36	Poland	35	-13

Source: 2014 Edelman Trust Barometer. Available at: <http://www.edelman.com>

Russia was at the bottom of the list of countries ranked according to the integral index of trust in 2013, and it was next to last – in 2014 (*tab. 2*).

The President enjoys the highest level of trust among state authorities in the Russian Federation. One of the unique features of the Russian system of government consists in a hypertrophied role of personality. Personality prevails over the institution itself [34].

The trend of trust in the head of state in the 2000s is demonstrated by the significance of the personality of the incumbent President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin for the Russian population. According to the World Economic Journal, Vladimir Putin ranks third according to the level of trust among the heads of states of the world (1st place – Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), 2nd place – Angela Merkel (Germany)) [25]. In the triad “President – Government – State Duma” the head of state is stronger than individual state bodies [34]. This thesis is confirmed by the data of sociological surveys (*tab. 3*).

In general, the dynamics of the approval of the President’s performance at the regional and federal levels is the same, which is shown by the results of the sociological surveys by VCIOM, Levada-Center and ISEDТ RAS (*fig. 3*).

The concentration of positive public opinion only on the institution of the presidency and on the personality of V.V. Putin, on the one hand, has considerable potential for the consolidation of the society; this process has been going on for several months with regard to the situation in Ukraine (Leonid Slutsky, the Chairman of the State Duma Committee on the Commonwealth of

Independent States, Eurasian Integration and Links with Compatriots, said on the subject: “The Situation in Ukraine consolidates all of the Russian civil society. All the people say unanimously that our compatriots in Ukraine must be protected, and the Russian language and the Russians must not be forced out of Ukraine” [23]).

However, on the other hand, the high level of support of Russia’s President among the Russians is no evidence of bridging the gap between the state and society and therefore does not contradict the fact that there is a process of social atomization going on in the society.

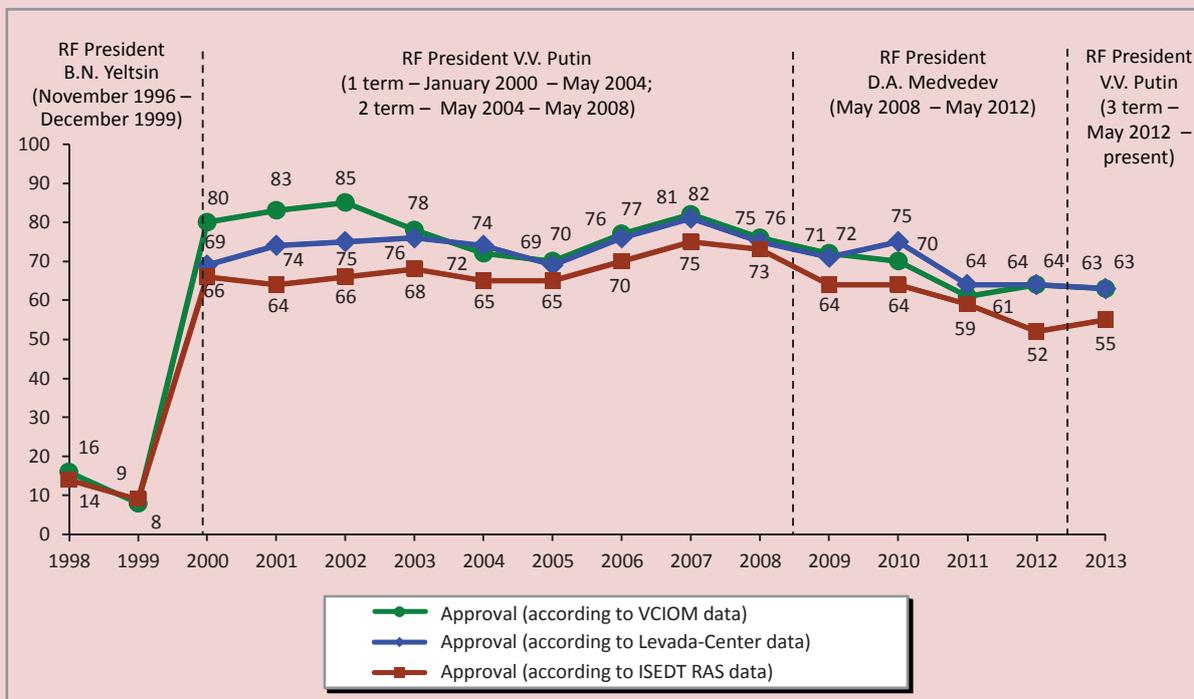
At present, the feeling of personal connection of citizens with Russia is being lost gradually. The entire period of reforms is accompanied by total social and political alienation, which consists of two streams of negative phenomena that are “tearing” the society: social atomization and political alienation of the population from the authorities [17, p. 8].

The subjective perception of the socio-economic and political situation in the country by the people affects their social well-being. The level of happiness and subjective satisfaction with life is the most popular and in-demand indicator among the indicators of social well-being assessed at the global level. Macroeconomic indicators (such as GDP) do not always reflect to the fullest extent the real situation concerning the country’s development. In particular, a high level of income does not always guarantee satisfaction with life. The growth of wealth over the decades is not accompanied by the signs of increasing happiness.

Table 3. Dynamics of the level of trust in social structures and institutions existing in the country (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Social structures and government institutions	1996	2000	2007	2011	2012	2013	dynamics +/- 2013 to		
							2012	2011	2007
<i>Level of trust >40%</i>									
RF President	26.5	57.1	60.3	50.5	45.7	47.0	+1	-4	-13
Church	37.9	42.3	44.8	47.5	41.4	43.9	+3	-4	-1
RF Government	18.5	42.7	41.9	47.4	39.6	40.4	+1	-7	-2
Procuracy	18.2	30.9	31.1	35.4	33.9	40.1	+6	+5	+9
<i>Level of trust >35%</i>									
Court	19.8	31.6	32.1	35.8	36.1	39.3	+3	+4	+7
Oblast Government	14.2	31.3	40.6	36.6	34.6	37.8	+3	+1	-3
Federal Security Service	12.6	34.2	34.2	35.8	33.2	37.5	+4	+2	+3
Army	34.2	37.0	28.7	34.1	31.3	37.5	+6	+3	+9
<i>Level of trust >30%</i>									
Federation Council	13.4	28.3	34.9	35.5	32.3	34.6	+2	-1	0
Police	14.1	27.2	28.3	32.1	29.3	33.7	+4	+2	+5
Local Government*	-	-	32.3	33.9	29.3	32.7	+3	-1	+1
State Duma	14.8	23.0	29.5	32.0	30.5	31.6	+1	0	+2
Mass Media	15.4	33.4	27.5	28.7	29.5	30.2	+1	+2	+3
<i>Level of trust >25%</i>									
RF Public Chamber**	-	-	-	27.3	28.1	29.9	+2	+3	-
Oblast Public Chamber**	-	-	-	25.7	25.4	29.2	+4	+4	-
Trade Unions	20.2	28.4	28.6	30.0	25.6	27.8	+2	-2	-1
Directors, CEOs	5.2	19.6	23.6	22.3	25.1	27.5	+2	+5	+4
Public organizations*	-	-	24.4	26.7	26.5	26.8	0	0	+2
<i>Level of trust < 25%</i>									
Banking and business circles	8.5	12.4	21.3	20.4	21.3	23.4	+2	+3	+2
Political parties and movements	6.8	10.7	17.6	22.8	20.9	20.4	-1	-2	+3
* Included in the list of answers in 2006.									
** Included in the list of answers in 2010.									
Source: ISED T RAS public opinion monitoring data.									

Figure 3. Level of approval of the RF President's performance according to VCIOM, Levada-Center, and ISEDТ RAS



Source: public opinion monitoring carried out by ISEDТ RAS, VCIOM, and Levada-Center.

This problem is a subject of hot debate in the UK, France, Canada, Northern Ireland and many other developed countries. Experts discuss methods for measuring happiness and its factors, and possibilities of its monitoring at the international level [37, p. 137].

In 2006 the New Economist Foundation (NEF) developed an international index of happiness (Happy Planet Index), which reflects the well-being of people and environment in different countries. It shows the efficiency with which the countries “convert” natural resources into long and happy lives for their citizens [35]. According to the 2012 data, Costa Rica has the highest

HPI value (64.04), Botswana – the lowest (22.59); Russia ranks 122nd with the value of 34.52 [6] between the Republic of the Congo and Bulgaria (in 2011 it ranked 108th; *tab. 4*).

Since 2011, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has been conducting a study “The OECD Better Life Index” [22]. The study covers 39 countries. The indicators are based on statistical analysis and regular sociological research. According to this index, Russia was among the five unhappiest countries in 2012, primarily, because of the low values of indices such as “Civil engagement”, “Health” and “Life satisfaction” (*tab. 5*).

Table 4. Ranking of countries according to the 2012 Happy Planet Index*

Leaders			Outsiders		
Country	HPI	Position in the world	Country	HPI	Position in the world
Costa Rica	64.04	1	South Africa	28.19	141
Vietnam	60.44	2	Kuwait	27.11	142
Colombia	59.75	3	Niger	26.83	143
Belize	59.29	4	Mongolia	26.77	144
El Salvador	58.89	5	Bahrain	26.62	145
Jamaica	58.53	6	Mali	26.04	146
Panama	57.80	7	Central African Republic	25.26	147
Nicaragua	57.06	8	Qatar	25.19	148
Venezuela	56.87	9	Chad	24.68	149
Guatemala	56.86	10	Botswana	22.59	150

* For comparison (rating position is given in parentheses): USA – 37.34 (105), Canada – 43.56 (65), China – 44.66 (60), UK – 47.93 (41), Germany – 47.20 (46), France – 46.50 (50), Sweden – 46.17 (52), Norway – 51.43 (29), Russia – 34.52 (122), Congo – 34.55 (121), Bulgaria – 34.15 (123).
Source: *Happy Planet Index*. Available at: <http://www.happyplanetindex.org/>

Table 5. Ranking of countries according to the OECD Better Life Index (2012)

Position	Country	Indicators (aspects)											Better Life Index
		Housing	Income	Jobs	Community	Education	Environment	Civil engagement	Health	Life satisfaction	Safety	Work-life balance	
5 leaders													
1	Australia	7.5	4.6	7.7	8.3	7.6	8.8	9.5	9.3	8.1	9.5	6.6	7.95
2	Sweden	6.2	4.7	7.2	7.6	8.3	9.7	8.7	8.8	9.3	8.2	8.8	7.95
3	Canada	7.8	5.9	7.7	8.4	7.6	8.4	6.1	9.2	8.8	9.7	7.5	7.92
4	Norway	7.4	3.9	8.6	8.0	7.2	9.2	6.4	8.1	9.7	9.1	9.1	7.88
5	Switzerland	6.0	7.8	8.9	8.6	7.3	8.3	3.6	9.3	10	8.7	7.9	7.85
5 outsiders													
35	Russian Federation	5,9	1,3	5,8	5,6	6,1	4,3	2,3	0,6	3,0	7,2	8,6	4,61
36	Brazil	3.9	0.0	4.7	6.2	1.5	6.5	4.5	4.7	6.4	2.8	7.3	4.41
37	Chile	3.5	0.7	4.9	3.6	4.0	2.9	4.4	5.7	6.0	6.3	5.5	4.32
38	Mexico	4.2	0.6	3.9	1.2	0.7	5.3	5.5	4.7	8.5	0.0	3.0	3.42
39	Turkey	1.3	0.7	2.3	0.0	1.5	3.1	6.2	5.0	2.0	7.8	0.0	2.72

Source: *Official website OECD Better Life Index*. Available at: <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/ru/#/111111111111>

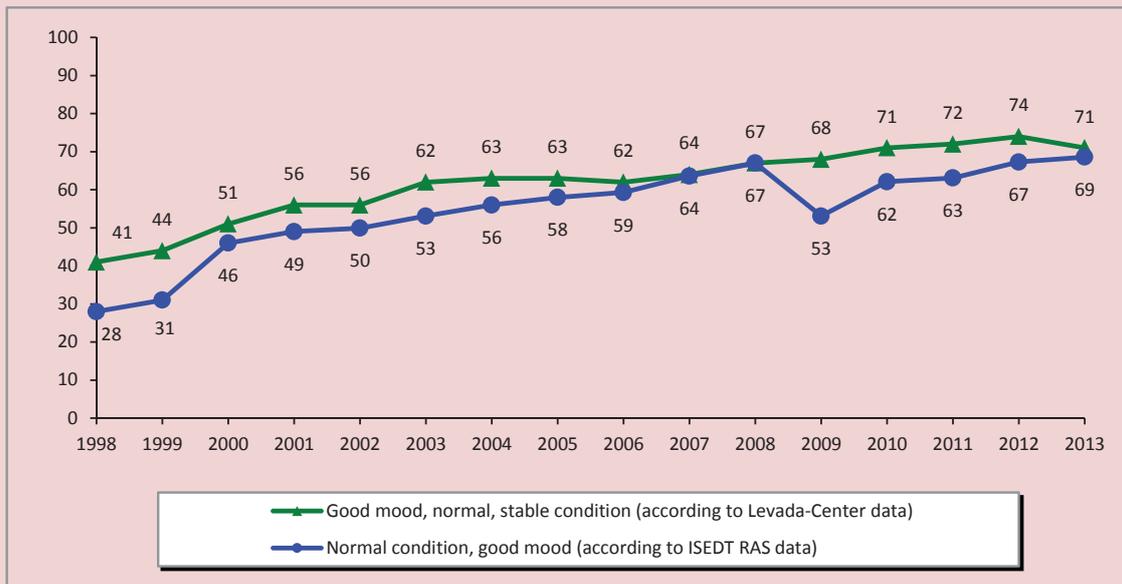
These and other foreign studies have given rise to the myth that the majority of Russians feel unhappy.

However, the VCIOM sociological polls³ show that for 1990–2013 the share of “happy” Russians has increased from 44 to 76%. Even the global financial crisis had no significant effects on the people’s assessments, because the level of 70–77% has remained stable since 2008 [13]. A similar survey conducted by ISED T RAS in the Vologda Oblast in 2012 shows that 69% of its residents share this view.

For the period from 2001 to 2013 the average score of “happiness” in the Vologda Oblast has increased from 5.2 to 6.5⁴.

The trends in the level of happiness pointed out by the Russian researchers correlate with the results of the comparative analysis of the dynamics of social mood in the Russian Federation and the Vologda Oblast (fig. 4). Social mood, according to J.T. Toshchenko, “is objectively a defining and integrating indicator of the level of well-being, social establishment or misery, and the degree of resistance... Its specific feature

Figure 4. Proportion of people who characterize their mood as positive, in the Russian Federation and in the Vologda Oblast (as a percentage of the number of respondents)



Source: public opinion monitoring carried out by ISED T RAS and Levada-Center.

³ VCIOM, national survey, 1600 respondents. The question “There are all sorts of things happening in life – both good and bad. But, on the whole, are you happy or not?” Answer options: “Definitely yes” and “Rather yes”, “Rather no” and “Definitely no”.

⁴ The question is put as follows: “Please, evaluate on a 10-point scale, how happy you are”. The question is asked once a year.

consists in the fact that it reflects the reality based on the vital interests of an individual, his ultimate goals and ideals. The reality, reflected through social mood, determines the goal-setting activity of an individual, his formulation of the key goals of social and spiritual life. That is why social mood as the most important characteristic of social consciousness participates in the regulation of actions of a person, of people, social groups, social institutions, and demonstrates their mindset and attitude, value orientations and sets [33, p. 30].

The level of social anomie is an important indicator that should be taken into consideration when characterizing the trends in social feeling. The concept of social anomie was developed by Emile Durkheim in the 19th century and continued by R. Merton. Anomie is mainly expressed in the alienation of individuals and groups, their non-involvement in the processes taking place in a society; it is also characterized by the abandonment of the sense of solidarity, which in turn leads to the destruction of cultural and ethical foundations of a society, loss of moral values, and marginalization of its members [32]. Describing the state of the Russian society after the collapse of the USSR, S.G. Kara-Murza wrote: “If the current unstable equilibrium is not influenced purposefully and skillfully, the shift will continue in the direction of a deepening anomie and social breakdown” [14, p. 123].

The team of researchers from the Center for Suicide Research at the Oxford University Department of Psychiatry have developed an index of social isolation (anomie) calculated according to population census in each

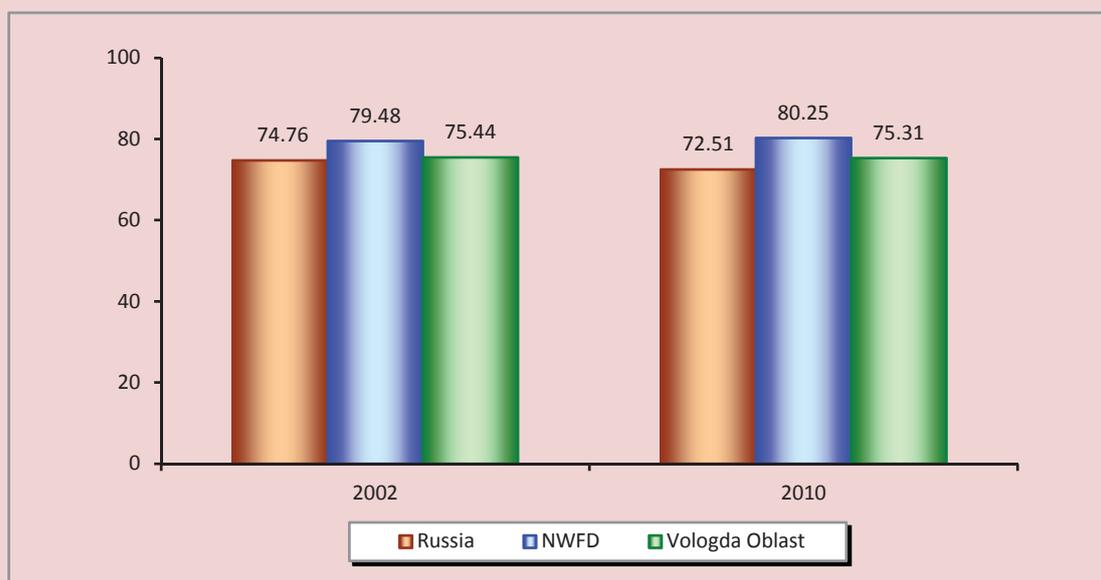
County and formed as the sum of the following indicators: the proportion of residents whose home address was different the year before the 1991 census (number of immigrants); the proportion of persons who live alone; the proportion of unmarried adults; the proportion of residents who live in rented accommodation [39].

The researchers at ISEDT RAS made calculations⁵ [35] concerning the level of social anomie; they show that during the intercensal period (2002–2010) there have been positive changes in the level of social fragmentation of the population in Russia. The index of social disunity has decreased from 74.76 to 72.51% in Russia, and from 75.44 to 75.31% in the Vologda Oblast. The situation in the Northwestern Federal District is somewhat worse: the index of social fragmentation has increased from 79.48 to 80.25% during the intercensal period (*fig. 5*).

Thus, the level of social fragmentation in the Vologda Oblast is higher than national average. Trends in the dynamics of the level of anomie in the oblast population correspond to those nationwide; however, national average positive changes are going on faster than those in the region.

⁵ We have used the methodology of the Center for Suicide Research at the Oxford University Department of Psychiatry. The index of social fragmentation (anomie) was calculated according to the population census data and consisted of the sum of the following indicators: the proportion of residents whose home address was different the year before the 1991 census (number of immigrants); the proportion of persons who live alone; the proportion of unmarried adults; the proportion of residents who live in rented accommodation. In the calculation of the index we have replaced the proportion of people living in rented accommodation with the proportion of people living in communal apartments, hostels, residential institutions, hotels and other accommodations, since the information on the initial option was absent in the 2010 census results.

Figure 5. Index of social fragmentation (anomie) (according to the results of the 2002 and 2010 all-Russia population censuses)



Source: The results of the 2002 all-Russia population census. Available at: <http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=11>; The results of the 2010 all-Russia population census. Available at: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm

In addition to assessing the social mood and the level of happiness in the population, the research carried out by ISEDТ RAS helps determine the proportion of residents who experience symptoms of anxiety, depression and neurosis. This makes it possible to reveal a fine line, when the state of dissatisfaction with life moves to the level of pathological mental health disorders, which in turn can initiate self-destructive social phenomena such as suicide.

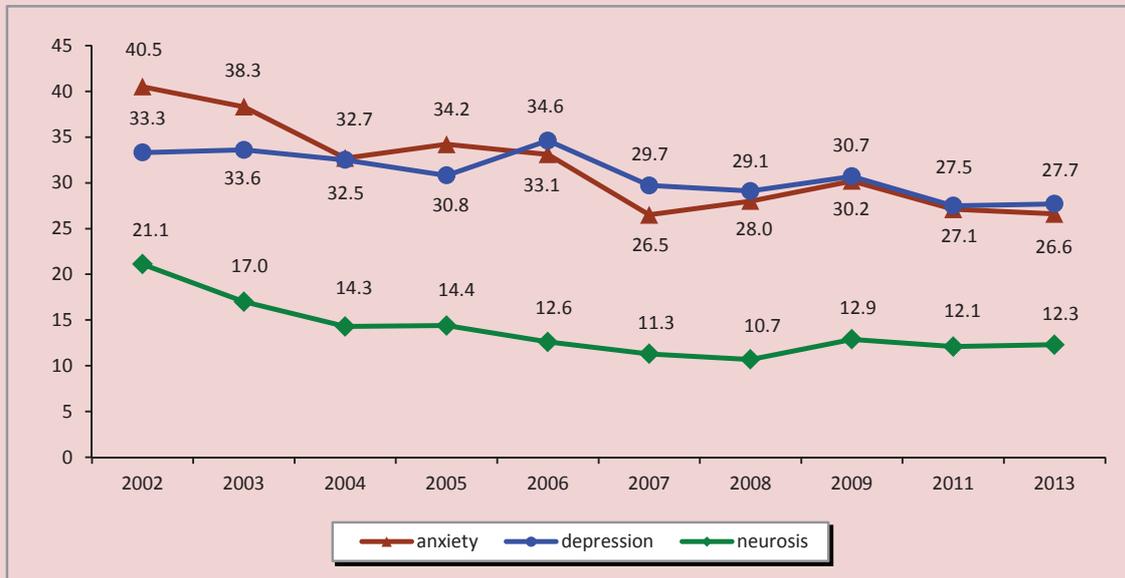
In general, for 2002–2013 the proportion of the Vologda Oblast residents who feel anxiety, depression and neurosis has decreased (*fig. 6*). However, the proportion of the oblast residents who show the symptoms of these pathological conditions remains substantial: according to the data for 2013, one in four

people has the signs of anxiety or depression, and 12% of the population have the symptoms of neurosis.

Thus, national institutions engaged in the study of public opinion point out that there is a growth in positive attitudes in the Russian society, and their data are confirmed by the fact that they correlate with the improving indicators of the demographic and socio-economic statistics, and also by the similar results of regional sociological surveys.

The main problem lies in the fact that the society is being increasingly alienated from the government, and there is an increasing degree of fragmentation in the society itself, the mood of the Russians is associated more and more with their own interests and, primarily, with the satisfaction of their

Figure 6. Proportion of residents who have symptoms of anxiety, depression and neurosis (as a percentage of the number of respondents)



* The survey has been conducted once every two years since 2009.

Source: ISEDТ RAS public mental health monitoring.

material needs. E.V. Balatsky also notes this fact when he compares the dynamics of GDP and the index of macropsychological state of the society [4].

This is also highlighted by M.K. Gorshkov, who writes in the article “Russian dream: an experience of sociological assessment”: “Under the conditions of the increasing anxiety, and often hostility, of external environment, and the lack of opportunity to influence its events, the Russians are concentrating their efforts on creating a comfortable microenvironment...The core of the microcosm of the Russians is the family in its traditional form: the man is a breadwinner and the woman is a caring wife and homemaker, and they create a family for the birth and upbringing of children” [7, p. 3].

Such ideas are expressed by RAS Academician V.I. Zhukov: “In the modern Russian society the priority of a deed for the benefit of society and other people is transformed into the priority of a deed for the benefit of personal interests. In the modern Russia in the conditions of the crisis and cultural instability there emerges a personality type with prevailing orientation on individual and personal norms of behavior and activity” [10, p. 39].

Sociological polls conducted by ISEDТ RAS indicate similar trends at the regional level: since 2007 there has been a decrease in the level of trust in the authorities, but this does not affect the positive dynamics of social mood (the positive trend in 1996–2013 was interrupted only in the crisis year of 2009).

That is, the expectations and hopes of the population are less and less associated with the activities of the authorities; people no longer expect help from the state, there is a tendency towards personal isolation, “withdrawal into one’s own self”.

The processes such as atomization of the Russian society, expansion of alienation trends in it, its increasing inconsistency with ideals of justice characteristic of the Russian culture and accepted by all population groups lead to “a change in the psychological mechanism of formation of identity of the Russians in general, which will entail a lot of consequences – from the loss of readiness to endure personal problems without protest during new probable economic crises to a failure to “repay a debt to the country” by serving in the army... The trend of destruction of “inherent solidarity” can split the Russian society. And even though it is not yet the time to talk about this split, there are grounds to assert that a brewing discontent is internally heterogeneous, and this heterogeneity is likely to increase over time [7, p. 3].

It is evidenced by the data of sociological surveys carried out by ISEDТ RAS: more than half of the Vologda Oblast residents say they can trust only their “closest friends and relatives”, one in four people says at present you “can trust no one”; only 15% of the oblast population trust most of their acquaintances and everyone without exception (*tab. 6*).

Social cohesion nationwide is pointed out by 14% of the population, at the oblast level – by 16%, at the place of residence – 28%, among the closest associates (for comparison) – 52% (*tab. 7*).

The fact that people reduce their level of self-identification to the elite groups, corporations, friends and family, limiting their interests to selfish goals of small communities, weakens the integrity of the society. They cease to be the cells of the unified state mechanism. The very concepts “state”, “motherland” as the ultimate guarantors of sustainable development and satisfaction of needs, loose their value in public opinion, and the citizens no longer feel responsible for their future [35].

Table 6. Who can you trust? (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Answer	2010	2011	2013
At present you cannot trust anyone	26,1	24,7	27,9
I can trust only my closest friends and relatives	58,1	56,5	52,5
I can trust most of my acquaintances	12,8	16,1	15,2
One should trust everyone without exception	2,3	2,5	1,6

Table 7. Is there more... at present? (as a percentage of the number of respondents)

Indicator	In the country		In the oblast		At the place of your residence		In your immediate circle	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Harmony, unity	14.2	14.1	19.3	15.9	24.1	28.4	46.9	52.1
Discord, disunity	61.1	59.5	55.6	54.4	51.5	44.3	29.3	23.2
Difficult to answer	24.7	26.4	25.1	29.7	24.4	27.3	23.9	24.7

It is not accidental that the ideas of consolidation of the Russian society, formation of spiritual, moral and cultural identity are voiced by V.V. Putin during his third presidential term. This is reflected in his article “Russia muscles up”, in which V.V. Putin writes that the post-Soviet Russian society solved the problem of “revival of the authority and forces of the state as such... restoration of national unity, in other words, establishment on its entire territory of the sovereignty of the Russian people, and not the domination of individuals or groups... The recovery period is over. The post-Soviet stage in the development of Russia, as well as in the development of the whole world, is completed and exhausted. All the prerequisites for moving forward on a new basis and in a new quality are created” [24].

The President’s position was voiced in detail in his Valdai speech, after which many have noted that the President established himself as the “national leader”, “the heir of the Russian conservative political tradition”, “the critic of the entire current model of development of the Western civilization”. The impetus was provided by the situation in Ukraine, which has demonstrated the full consolidation potential of the Russian society.

Today Russia is standing on the threshold of a moral state. The paradigm of satisfaction of material needs has become obsolete. Change is inevitable, but it can go in two directions: either toward the moral state in which “the main ideology and program of values is centrist construction that takes into account legal and moral interests of all groups

and members of the society, optimizing this intricately constructed social system” [31] and that is an “inevitable nonrandom evolutionary stage of modern types of nation-states” [30, p. 100]; or toward the “dissolution, destruction of the national state and its sovereignty as its main attribute from the viewpoint of international law; this is just what has happened in Libya and Syria” [29, p. 23].

Further trends in the dynamics of social health will depend on how the President will be able to implement the consolidation potential of the society, to increase the trust in the state and public institutions. Under the circumstances, the relationship between the state and society should be promoted primarily by sociological science that has accumulated over the years of its existence the significant potential that allows it to play a significant role in the “social renewal of the country, the dissemination of scientific knowledge in the economy, politics and culture corresponding to global trends in the development of civilization” [28].

As we can see, a superficial glance at the improving indicators of the official statistics does not give a complete picture of the real trends and threats in the development of the Russian society; it also makes it impossible to find “sore spots”, the suppression of which may jeopardize the viability of the country. However, a detailed analysis of the indicators that reflect the people’s subjective perception of key changes in public life, allows us to see the underlying factors that influence the development of society and the state and determine their future.

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Monitoring of the region's social and cultural development as a component to enhance the effectiveness of social administration*



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Abstract. The article presents the results of the next phase of the study on the subject “Socio-cultural portrait of the region”. It gives the estimation of the demographic situation, standard of living and welfare of the Vologda Oblast residents. Besides, the article shows the people’s assessment of the performance of the authorities, social well-being and degree of safety, as well as their trust in the government. All these aspects are studied in their connection with social policy and social protection measures undertaken in the region. The study reveals that the society is disappointed in the actions of the authorities; it does not understand the true ultimate effect and the feasibility of ongoing regional social events. The greatest number of critical remarks addressed to local authorities comes from people with unstable position in life. Negative evaluations are also more likely expressed by the poorest population groups, by women, by the less educated, by village dwellers and urban-type settlements residents, as well as by individuals with a low level of education.

Social policy in the minds of a large part of the population is associated with principles of social justice, equality, rule of law, responsibility and socially important values. The Vologda Oblast residents do not feel that their spiritual and ideological views are being endangered; and the issues associated with ensuring the security of life and health, decent standard of living, legitimate and fair performance of the basic social institutions remain unsettled, according to their understanding. At the same time, social policy should create conditions to stabilize social relations, to ensure efficiency and sustainability in the development of the whole society, which should adequately respond to all positive and negative effects.

Key words: social well-being, population, social protection, socio-cultural portrait, region, trust, power.

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Socio-cultural processes in the Vologda Oblast have been studied since 2008 with the use of the methodology developed by the Center for the Study of Social and Cultural Change (CSSCC) of the Institute of Philosophy under the Russian Academy of Sciences [3]. In accordance with the research program, the problem-analytical and institutionally-oriented approaches are used in the study of the regions that act as socio-territorial communities. The socio-cultural portrait of the region compiled by the CSSCC methodology and reflecting the socio-economic benefits, challenges, and development trends represents a concentrated sociological characteristic of the territory. Sociological studies provide an opportunity to create a social biography of the region, which will be useful in the work of managers, politicians, scientists, teachers, students and others who are interested in social development.

The first step in the preparation of the socio-cultural portrait of the region consists in the analysis of its main characteristics (characteristics of the population, socio-economic resources of the territory, etc.). Depopulation is the main demographic problem in the oblast. The population was about 1194.8 thousand people in 2013, which is 7% less than in 2000, and 12% less than in 1990. At that, the most rapid population decline was observed in rural areas due to mortality and migration. The proportion of the rural population in the Vologda Oblast over the last 23 years has decreased from 34.1 to 28.6%. There is an ongoing process of consolidation of cities, accompanied by their spatial extension, dispersal of production

and population at the close surrounding areas. Large cities such as Vologda and Cherepovets, become economic, social and cultural centers. In addition to quite a few positive aspects of urbanization, there are also negative processes associated with the deterioration of sanitary-hygienic living conditions, health deterioration, straining of public transport, increasing time of intracity travel. The reduction in the rural population leads to the decline in economic development and technical equipment of the village, and decrease in production capacities; it becomes more difficult for the people to find a job, infrastructure housing and social services are deteriorating.

That is, the gap in the standard of living between rural and urban population is increasing; as a result, the village can fail to perform all of its functions: industrial, demographic and socio-cultural.

Since 2005 the total dependency ratio in the Vologda Oblast per 1000 working-age people has been showing a steady growing trend due to the increasing proportion of people whose age exceeds the working age. For instance, if in 1990 the structure of the incapacitated was as follows: 54% – people under the working age and 46% – over the working age; then, 10 years later, the trend has changed to the opposite – 47.4 and 52.6%, respectively; and after another 11 years it has become 41.8 and 58.2%. In connection with population ageing there is a higher risk of increasing dependency on the working population, pensions-related problems aggravate, the burden on the health system and social protection increases. The reduction in the number of children

and young people in the future will lead to growing disparities in the formation of human resources that are able to recreate the region’s material potential, economic and socio-cultural well-being, and to reduction in the number of qualified personnel.

One of indicators of the level of life is the subsistence level (SL), which determines the level of consumption of goods and services minimally required for human life. The value of SL in the Vologda Oblast in all socio-demographic groups is growing annually (*tab. 1*). The ratio of SL to per capita money income and accrued wages was able to reach the pre-crisis level only 4 years later, in 2012. Annual indexing of pensions also gave a positive result, and in 2010 they exceeded pensioners’ SL by more than 1.5 times. And in 2009 for the first time in more than a decade pensions exceeded the general SL set out for the Vologda Oblast population. The number of people with incomes below the subsistence level is higher in the region than nationwide (*fig. 1*), although before 2008 the positive declining trend in this category could be observed. In the crisis period the proportion of the poor population increased again, falling only in 2012 [8].

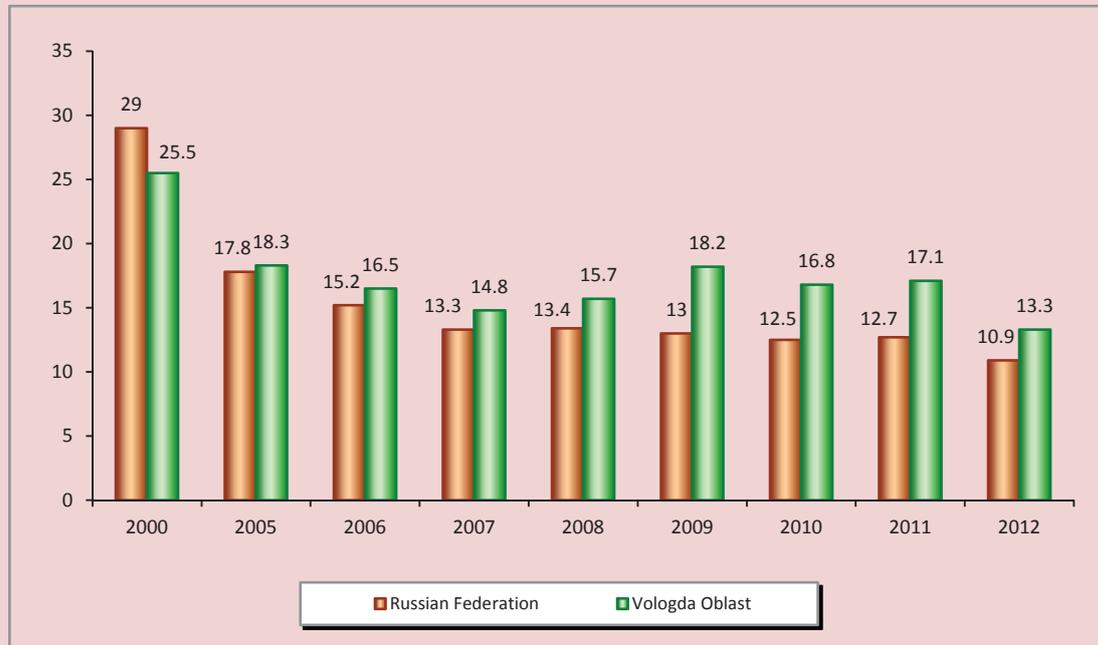
Let us consider the share of expenditures on food as a criterion of families’ welfare: the lower this share, the higher the level of welfare. The research findings show that welfare in the Vologda Oblast households in 1995–2008 had a positive trend. In 2000–2009 there was an increase in the share of expenditures on the purchase of non-food goods and services in the structure of consumer expenditures of households. In 2009, due to the global financial crisis, the oblast residents considerably reduced their expenditures on the purchase of non-food products, increasing the expenditures on food. The observed trend of increased expenditures on services was accompanied by the increase in the share of expenditures on housing and communal services: from 5% in 1997 to 10.1% in 2005 and to 13.2% in 2012 (in the EU in 2005 these costs were as follows: 4.2% in Finland, 6.1% in the UK, 7.1% in Belgium, 10.5% in Lithuania, 12.8% in Estonia) [9]. Moreover, we note that the reason for the increase in the share of these costs was a significant increase in prices for housing, which is associated with corresponding improvement in the quality of the services themselves only to a small degree.

Table 1. Structure of consumer expenditures of households in the Vologda Oblast (according to the sample survey of household budgets, in %)

Types of consumer expenditures in households	Year								
	1995	2000	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Purchase of foodstuffs	51.7	49.1	40.3	38.5	37.2	41.3	38.0	35.7	37.1
Purchase of non-food products	32.2	35.9	37.3	37.7	40.4	32.6	34.1	37.8	34.0
Purchase of alcoholic drinks	3.1	3.3	2.4	2.2	1.6	2	1.9	2.1	2.0
Payment for services	13.0	11.7	18.9	23.1	20.8	24.1	26.0	24.4	26.7

Source: *Regiony Rossii. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie pokazateli. 2009: stat. sb.* [Regions of Russia. Socio-Economic Indicators. 2009: Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. P. 184.

Figure 1. Number of people with incomes below the subsistence level in the Russian Federation and the Vologda Oblast, %



Source: *Regiony Rossii. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie pokazateli: stat. sb.* [Regions of Russia. Socio-Economic Indicators. Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. P. 184.

The analysis of people's assessment of their own financial position, based on the methodology of L.A. Belyaeva, allows us to structure the population by this characteristic. According to the research, 16% of the Vologda Oblast population formed the group of "prosperous" and "rich" in 2013, which is almost twice as much as in 2010. Slightly more than one third of the population is "well-off" (38%). Eighteen per cent of the respondents consider themselves "needy". One in five people said he/she was "poor" or "extremely poor".

Stabilization of the socio-economic situation in the post-crisis period had a positive effect on the financial condition of households in the oblast, resulting in the

significant decrease in the share of the "poor" and "extremely poor" (from 33 to 18%) and "needy" (from 26 to 18%). The comparison of the welfare of the residents in the Vologda Oblast and in its neighboring regions of the Northwestern Federal District shows that the distribution of population by level of welfare is similar (*tab. 2*). According to the research conducted by CSSCC IP RAS, the situation in Russia in 2006–2010 changed for the better.

ISED T RAS research results confirm that the income of half of the region's residents is sufficient only to satisfy their vital needs [1]. Note also that the low income groups ("extremely poor", "poor") are dominated by women, the wealthy groups – by men.

Table 2. People’s assessment of their own financial welfare level, in %

Answer	Vologda Oblast				NWFD			Russia		Nominal stratum
	2008	2010	2012	2013	2006	2010	2013	2006	2010	
Money is run out before payday, I have to borrow it	7	10	10	8	3	2	8	11	13	“Extremely poor”
Entire salary goes to everyday expenses	22	23	17	13	16	14	14	22	19	“Poor”
I have enough money for daily needs, but buying clothes is difficult	22	26	24	18	23	21	18	21	21	“Needy”
In general I have enough money, but I have to borrow it to buy expensive items	35	32	36	38	35	44	36	29	31	“Well-off”
I have enough money for almost any purpose, but I cannot afford to buy an apartment or a dacha	11	8	11	14	15	14	17	9	11	“Prosperous”
We have enough money to buy almost everything we want	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	“Rich”
I don’t know, I refuse to answer	1	0	0	7	7	2	4	6	3	

Source: data of the surveys “Socio-cultural portrait of the region”, held by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2013, and the surveys “Values and interests of Russia’s population”, held by GSSCC IP RAS in 2006 and 2010.

Financial position changes in proportion to the age of the population: the share of the older age group among “the poor and extremely poor” is 3/4 of the total number of representatives in this category; and their share in the “well-off” and the “rich” is only 1/5. The opposite situation can be observed in the group of young people.

Some questions in the questionnaires allow us to compare the people’s attitudes in relation to social policy. The study of public opinion has helped identify the level of trust and the attitude of the citizens to the authorities of various levels. Almost half of the Vologda Oblast residents believe that the improvement of their life depends on the district administrations (45%). A large percentage of those who found it difficult to answer (31%) point out the weak involvement of the population in the life of the city, town, village, and they also note the low public awareness concerning the authorities’ actions

to address social problems of the territory. Naturally, in separate municipalities of the oblast the share of assessments varies, but in general we can say that the majority of the population assesses the work of district administrations as satisfactory. The distribution of responses similar to the regional level is observed throughout the Northwestern Federal District (*tab. 3*); but its comparison to 2008–2010 shows a decrease in the proportion of people (7–10%) who believe that improvement of their life depends on local or municipal authorities.

In the federal district in general more than half of respondents (53%) believe that the improvement of life depends on the authorities; as for the Vologda Oblast residents, they are more optimistic, and almost one in three people doubt his/her assessment, relying also on their own resources and opportunities (78%), and on the help of close relatives (55%).

Table 3. Distribution of answers to the question: "In your opinion, how much does the improvement of your life today depends on...?", in %

Answer	Vologda Oblast				NWFD
	2008	2010	2012	2013	2013
<i>District, city/town authorities</i>					
Depends completely	11	12	13	17	16
Depends very likely	41	43	33	28	26
I don't know, it is difficult to say	31	30	33	31	29
Doesn't depend, likely	10	8	12	9	13
Doesn't depend completely	9	8	9	15	17
<i>National authorities</i>					
Depends completely	14	14	19	24	28
Depends very likely	35	40	30	23	25
I don't know, it is difficult to say	32	31	33	31	24
Doesn't depend, likely	10	7	10	9	9
Doesn't depend completely	10	8	9	14	15
Source: data of the surveys "Socio-cultural portrait of the region", held by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2013.					

According to the data obtained for the two analyzed years (2010–2012), the people's assessments of authorities' performance have deteriorated – there has been more than the twofold increase in the proportion of people who believe that the Legislative Assembly and the President of the Russian Federation work inefficiently and their performance is unsatisfactory (*tab. 4*). In 2012, one in ten Vologda residents believed that the Vologda Oblast Governor, the heads of the district administrations and settlements are working inefficiently (10% of the respondents), and there was a 50% increase in the share of those who considered their work unsatisfactory (20%).

We note that negative estimates are most often made by the poorest segments of the population, by women, by less educated, by village dwellers and urban-type settlements residents. More positive assessments are given by the prosperous and educated part of the

society. The study of socio-cultural changes in the society has shown that when assessing the activities of local executive authorities, the cultural attitudes of the population become of great importance. Among those who believe that "respect for the established customs and traditions is not important" more than a third give negative assessments of the performance of the Governor and district authorities. There are more than 35% of positive assessments and fewer negative ones (15%) among those who believe that "the people and the state should care most of all for children".

The bulk of criticism of the local authorities comes from that part of the residents who are unable to identify their values clearly and who select a certain middle variant of their assessment. A large part of the population expects that the state, in pursuing social policy, will follow the principles of social justice, equality, rule of law, responsibility,

Table 4. Performance of the authorities as assessed by the Vologda Oblast residents, in %

	Bad		Unsatisfactory		Satisfactory		Good		Excellent	
	2010	2012	2010	2012	2010	2012	2010	2012	2010	2012
RF President	3	8	10	20	46	52	34	17	7	3
Legislative Assembly	4	9	15	22	57	56	23	11	2	1
Vologda Oblast Governor	4	9	13	20	54	54	26	15	3	2
Head of the district administration	5	10	16	21	55	53	22	13	2	2
Settlement Head	6	10	16	20	53	51	23	13	2	2

Source: data of the surveys "Socio-cultural portrait of the region", held by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010 and 2012.

and socially significant values. Heads of the government themselves often provoke high expectations, promising in their public speeches the plans that are difficult to realize, thus deepening the gap between the real capacity of the authorities and hopes of the population. In the course of implementing reforms in the social sphere, the population reacts in the form of protest actions against the measures undertaken by the authorities in various spheres of social life. The Vologda Oblast population supports nationwide protest rallies and organizes local ones against the ways and methods by which the government tries to resolve social issues it highlights. During the last seven years the following protests in the region were carried out in defense of the rights of different communities and public organizations:

- February 26, 2008 in Vologda there was a rally of liquidators of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. They protested against the actions of the court and the bodies of social protection that "impede the exercise of their legal rights to compensation for harm".
- April 12, 2008 a rally was held in Cherepovets, where people protested against high utility tariffs and against political repression.

- September 10, 2008 the all-Russian protest against rising fuel prices was held in the Vologda Oblast.

- in 2008 the students of the University of the Third Age protested against the intention of the Mayor's office to "evict" them from the building they are housed in. The University was founded in Vologda in 2005 on the basis of a private institution of additional education People's University "Knowledge" and served for many pensioners as the only way to get vital knowledge, and as a place of communication and support.

- in December 2010 the farms in Gribkovo and Yermakovo suspended their work for one hour because of the delay and non-payment of wages.

- May 24, 2013 there was a rally of healthcare workers in Cherepovets. The basic requirements of physicians concerned their low wages, poor social conditions and also the unjust policy pursued by health care officials.

- October 6, 2013 the teachers in Cherepovets organized a rally "For decent work!".

- March 10, 2014, a rally of teachers from musical schools and other educational institutions was held in Vologda. The main reason was the reduction in funding of special schools and low salaries for teachers.

- May 24 to June 1, 2014 the action “All Russia – for rural schools!” was held in Russia. This action was held due to the fact that officials wanted to close a rural school in the village Zamoshye in the Vologda Oblast. The people protested against the closure of small schools, especially in rural areas, against the elimination of schools for persons with disabilities, against an “education reform”, essentially meaning the collapse of the educational system.

The recent reduction in the number of rallies in the oblast is connected, in our opinion, with decline in the protest potential of the population (*tab. 5*). Opinion polls show that more and more people are not ready to participate in protest actions (their share increased from 38% in 2008 to 48% in 2012).

The best outcome of the implementation of social policy is when the people trust the government and see practical results of its activity [2]. Note that the estimates of the population have neither the former nor the latter. The results of the survey of the Vologda Oblast residents show a dramatic decline in people's trust in the regional government: for instance, in 2008 the level of trust was quite high – one in two people had trust in Governor V.E Pozgalev; as for 2010, there

was a decrease by 10 percentage points, and people's trust continued to decline after the appointment of O.A. Kuvshynnykov – in 2012 only a third of the oblast population had trust in the Governor (*fig. 2*).

Over the years people's trust in all the analyzed levels of power has decreased. The people do not trust the Legislative Assembly most of all. More than one third of the residents have a neutral position, thus creating the impression that the society is disappointed with the actions of local authorities; it misunderstands the true ultimate effect and the feasibility of ongoing regional social events. Today people are plunged into a huge stream of continuous and often conflicting information provided by television, radio, the press, the Internet; and it is not surprising that only 28% of the Vologda Oblast population have trust in the media.

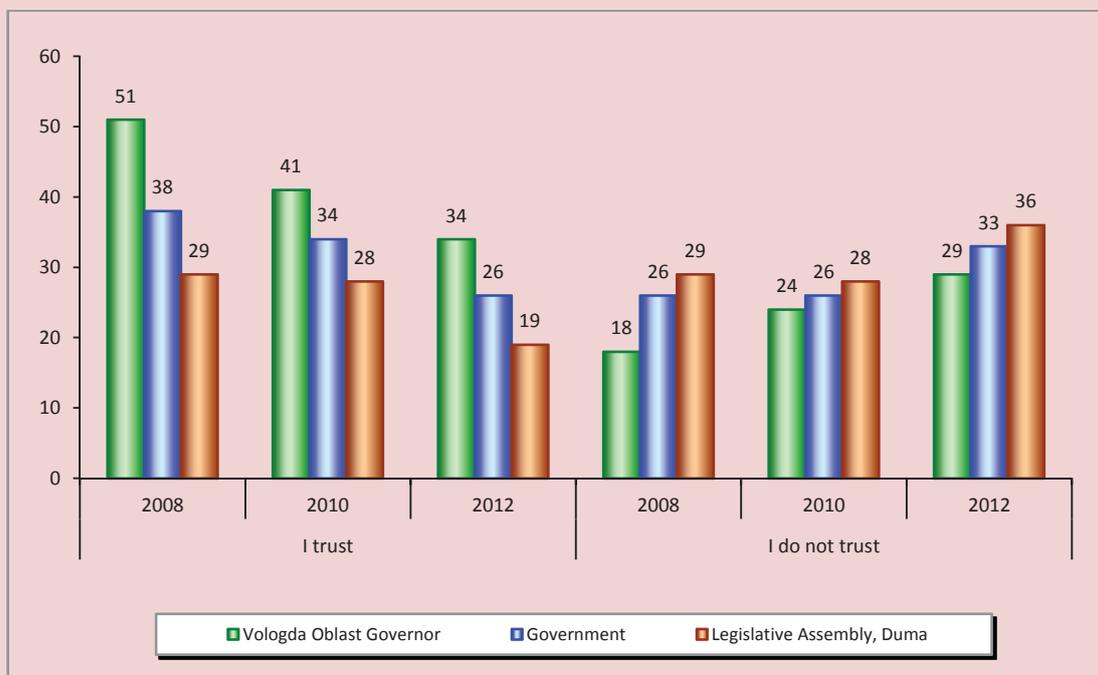
The current system of distribution of social benefits affects social well-being and emotional state of the population. Social well-being is an integral indicator reflecting economic, political and social processes taking place in the society; this indicator can be assessed by estimating social indicators, namely, the indicators showing the change of socially significant quantities that are

Table 5. Willingness of the population to participate in protest actions, in %

Answer	2008	2012
I am willing	12	8
I am sooner willing	23	17
I am sooner not willing	11	16
I am not willing	27	32
It is difficult to answer	27	27

Source: data of the surveys “Socio-cultural portrait of the region”, held by ISED T RAS in 2008 and 2012.

Figure 2. Distribution of answers to the question: “To what extent do you trust or not trust the government authorities?”, in %

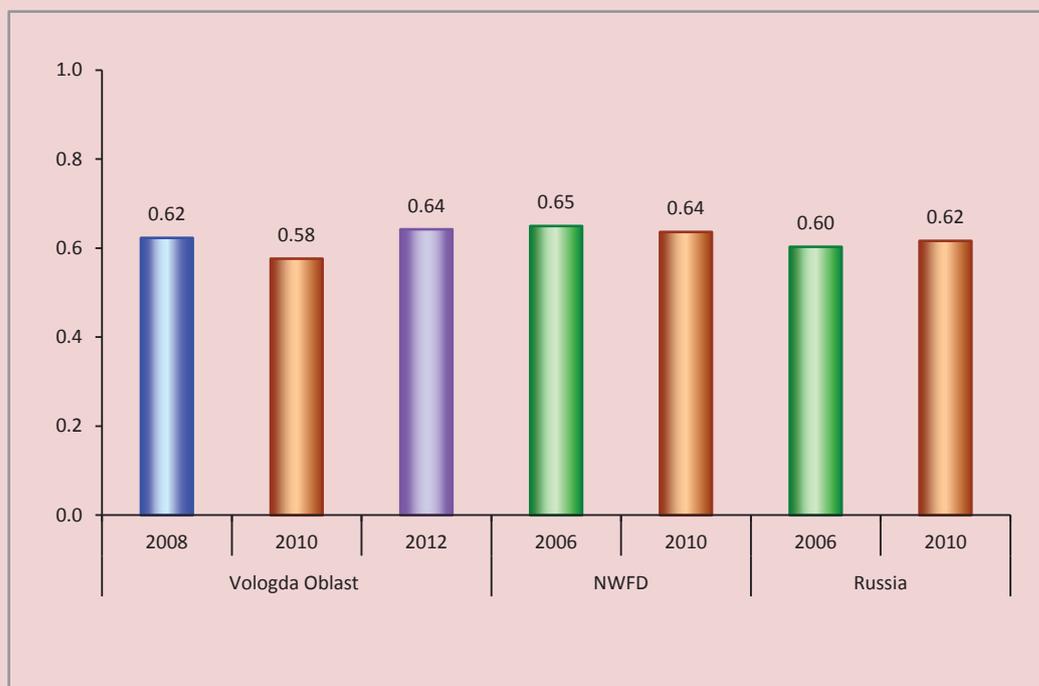


Source: data of the surveys “Socio-cultural portrait of the region”, held by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010 and 2012.

of importance in the analysis of social development, in the implementation and evaluation of social policy. In accordance with the methodology “The socio-cultural portrait of the region” [3] it includes three main components: the degree of safety of the region’s population from major dangers; the degree of satisfaction with their lives in general; the degree of optimism in the evaluation of their present and future [7]. The results of the calculations show that in 2010 in the Vologda Oblast the integral index of social well-being decreased from 0.62 (2008) to 0.58 and it was significantly lower than in the Northwestern Federal District and in Russia as a whole (*fig. 3*). At that time the region felt the consequences of the

financial crisis, which seriously undermined its economy [5]. Subsequent stabilization of the socio-economic situation, the adoption of the Decree “On approval of measures to ensure sustainable functioning of the economy and social sphere” [6] by the Vologda Oblast Government had a positive impact on the residents’ well-being, so that in 2012 the ratio rose to 0.64. Note that the minimal level of the index sufficient for the stability of the society (the degree of its sensitivity to external environment changes) is in the range from 0.51 and above (the insufficient level is below 0.5). Thus, the analysis with regard to the Vologda Oblast proves that the sustainability of the society is at an extremely low level.

Figure 3. Dynamics of the index of social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast, Northwestern Federal District, and Russian Federation



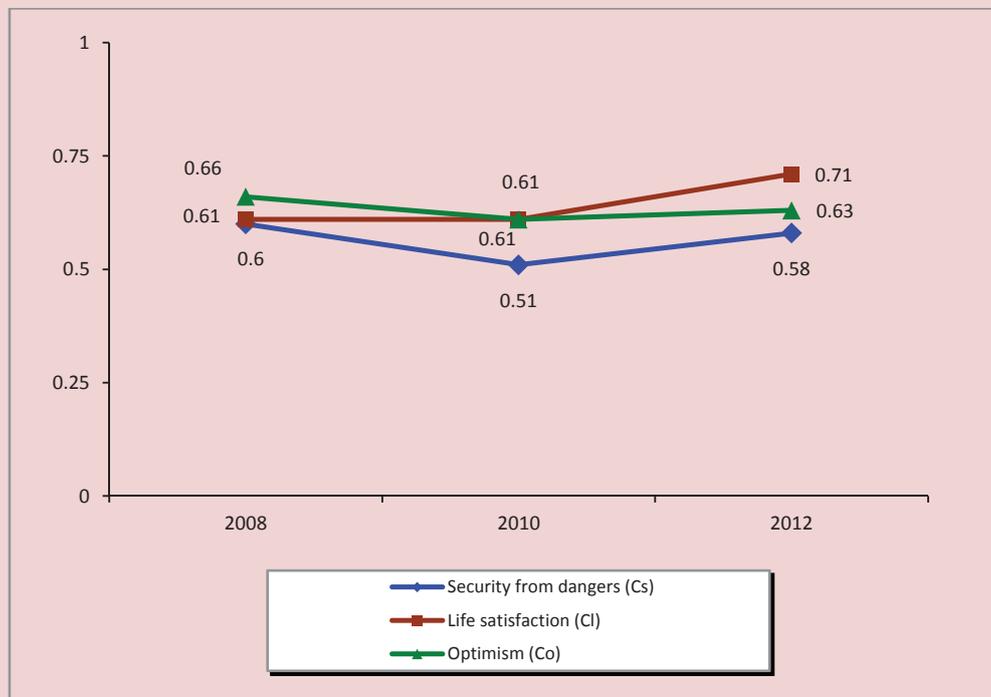
Source: data of the surveys "Socio-cultural portrait of the region", held by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010 and 2012, and the surveys "Values and interests of Russia's population", held by CSSCC IP RAS in 2006 and 2010.

The detailed analysis of the components of the integral index shows that their changes are irregular. Satisfaction with life in the oblast residents was higher than their degree of optimism in 2012 (*fig. 4*). The level of optimistic sentiment in the society and its degree of safety from dangers decreased in the post-crisis 2010. Managers experienced the greatest stress; the optimism ratio decreased in the people with low income, in those aged 35–55, and in unmarried people. The highest decrease in the index of social well-being was observed in urban-type settlements. the ratio of satisfaction with life in general was lower in the region in comparison with the Northwestern Federal District and the

Russian Federation (0.61 against 0.71 and 0.68, respectively, in 2010), the optimism indicator corresponded to the level of the NWFD and was higher than in Russia as a whole (0.61 against 0.58). The level of safety from dangers proved the most troublesome issue in the Vologda Oblast; for instance, its value was close to an unstable condition in 2010 [4].

By identifying the problems and dangers for the people, we can show some critical aspects of social development in the region. According to the estimates of the region's residents, crime is the prime problem: 54% of the Vologda residents feel vulnerable to this danger. Poverty ranks second (53%).

Figure 4. Components of the index of social well-being in the Vologda Oblast population



Source: data of the surveys "Socio-cultural portrait of the region", held by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010 and 2012.

Arbitrariness of officials (45%) has been on the third place since 2012, ahead of environmental security that was considered relevant by 45% of the respondents in 2010. The average level of the residents' security can be determined for the following categories: persecution for political beliefs, the arbitrariness of law enforcement agencies, environmental threat, loneliness and abandonment. A high level of security of the region's residents can be judged by the degree of their differentiation by nationality, religious beliefs, age and sex (less than 25% of the respondents feel a sense of insecurity). Comparing 2008 with 2012 we point out the growing anxiety in the population, and the most significant increase (over 5%) is observed in the first four of the

studied problems and dangers (tab. 6). All the categories of the population, regardless of age and income level, feel equally insecure. The divorced and those living in small towns (up to 100 thousand people) feel more insecure from social dangers than the people in other categories.

Thus, the Vologda Oblast residents do not feel any threat to their spiritual and ideological views; as for the issues related to safety of life and health, decent standard of living, legitimate and fair performance of the main social institutions, they are handled inefficiently. In our opinion, social security should provide a set of measures to support people's life taking into account public interests and needs.

Table 6. Distribution of answers of the Vologda Oblast residents concerning their security from social dangers, %

No.	Types of danger	I am secure; I think I am secure			It is difficult to say			I think I am not secure; I am completely insecure		
		2008	2010	2012	2008	2010	2012	2008	2010	2012
1.	Crime	13.4	10.9	14.3	34.1	35.8	32.3	48.6	53.3	53.5
2.	Poverty	19.8	13.3	17.3	31.7	36.7	29.4	46.1	50	53.3
3.	Arbitrariness of officials	20.5	17.3	19.5	38	39.6	35.2	38.9	43	45.3
4.	Loneliness and abandonment	28.1	24.2	27.4	33.9	36.4	29.4	36.8	39.5	43.2
5.	Environmental damage	27.1	20.8	23.2	32.9	34.1	35.1	37.8	45	41.7
6.	Arbitrariness of law enforcement agencies	21.4	19.1	20.3	36.6	41.6	38.5	39.3	39.3	41.2
7.	Harassment on the basis of political opinions	38	40.9	30.6	36.8	42.6	43.7	22.3	16.5	25.7
8.	Age or gender harassment	42.4	45.7	43.1	32.9	34.5	33.8	22.5	19.8	23.1
9.	Religious harassment	50.3	59	50.5	30.5	30.2	33.1	16.2	10.9	16.4
10.	Racial harassment	51.1	58.9	52.3	29.2	29.6	31.2	16.8	11.4	16.5

Note. Ranked by the column "I think I am not secure; I am completely insecure" in 2012.
Source: data of the surveys "Socio-cultural portrait of the region" carried out by ISEDT RAS in 2008, 2010 and 2012.

Social policy should create conditions to stabilize social relations, to ensure efficiency and sustainability in the development of the whole society, which should react adequately to all positive and negative effects.

Social policy in the Vologda Oblast aims to create conditions for raising the standard of living and enhancing the quality of life of citizens in the area. For instance, the state program "Social support of the citizens in the Vologda Oblast for 2014–2018" provides for monthly money payments to veterans (the budget allocates 34 million rubles for this purpose), additional financial support to persons who deserved well of the Vologda Oblast (34 million rubles), allowances to low-income families (17.5 million rubles), allowances to low-income families raising children with disabilities (37.3 million rubles), money payments to other categories of citizens (805.4 million

rubles), money compensation of the expenses for accommodation or utility services (1035 million rubles), provision of the citizens with subsidies to pay for accommodation and utility services (756.5 million rubles). In the Vologda Oblast there are more than 470 thousand people who obtain various kinds of social support on a monthly basis; they constitute almost 40% of the oblast population; and there are more than 1160 thousand (97%) of those who receive social support on a non-recurring basis or once a year.

In conclusion we emphasize that the scientific value of the research performed and the sociological material generalized has somewhat clarified the knowledge about the actual state and prospects of development of society in the Vologda Oblast. The main conclusion is as follows: it is necessary to achieve harmony between the spheres of social,

cultural and economic life. It is important to recognize that social policy contributes a lot to efficient economic development. The financing of social programs should be carried out not only at the expense of state funds and local budgets, but also at the expense of enterprises, organizations and communities. Society should become “civil”, and this requires the activity of public organizations that are independent of the authorities. All the actions of the government should be subject to public control and should be transparent to people living in this region. People should participate in politics and socially important affairs. Social policy should protect the poor,

develop education, promote health, protect the environment; in addition, it should pursue a goal of sensible impact on the socio-cultural sphere of human activity with the purpose of changing it qualitatively. It should maintain relationships between and within different social groups and communities, thereby providing the conditions for raising the standard of living, and enhancing social welfare. It is also important to create economic incentives for people’s participation in social production, while social policy pursued by the government should be coordinated with the overall economic situation in the region and the country.

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Socio-cultural characteristics of the modern youth: some results of the pilot study



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Abstract: The research into the problems of development of the youth as a specific social group that has special needs in socio-cultural terms attracts researchers' attention in different branches of science (psychology, pedagogy, economy, sociology, etc.). This interest is caused by the fact that the youth stage (especially early youth) involves formation of special world perception, understanding of socio-legal, political and cultural events in the state, which becomes a basis for the development of a full-scale picture of the world at the later stages of maturation. The understanding of the mechanisms for initiating young people to socio-cultural values is an important aspect of the strategic plans elaboration in order to develop the country and the region.

The article is devoted to the study of social and cultural characteristics of young generation in the foreign and domestic science. It shows that each stage of the youth problems study has been characterized by different research methods and tools. The image of the youth in modern Russia also has a number of features, presented in the article.

The socio-cultural values of young people in the senior school age are identified in the “pilot” survey with the elements of formal interviews conducted among children attending the Research-and-Educational Center at ISEDT RAS. The article discloses further prospects of this research.

Key words: young people, socio-cultural values, intergenerational relation, political beliefs, socio-professional plans.

Modern Russian society is undergoing profound transformations in all spheres of life, which significantly affect ideological and socio-cultural aspects of identity formation. In conditions of economic and geopolitical instability young generation is most vulnerable. It is a specific social community, which is still developing, forming the value system and professional and personal way of life. In the new socio-economic environment young people experience significant changes in their interests, attitudes, values; the social goals largely determine the future of the society. Today's youth, the first generation of the post-Soviet time, will have to solve many important problems in various spheres of life. These solutions will influence the country's

development and the life of future generations. In this regard, it is highly important to study value orientations, life priorities and professional preferences of today's youth.

Socio-cultural values act as cultural standards and norms of life in the society, helping people define goodness and beauty [1, pp. 238-242]. In science there are three types of socio-cultural values: decretal, informal and protest (*tab. 1*).

The formation of socio-cultural values occurs in the following layers of social consciousness: the attitude towards culture, religion, history; information culture; political consciousness; the idea about themselves as members of the society; professional self-determination.

Table 1. Classification of socio-cultural values of public life

Type	Contents	Example
1. Decretal	- values that are structurally-defined and controlled by the authorities	- ideological-political attitudes
2. Informal	- values which are directly controlled by the authorities	- moral prescriptions; - cultural and ethnic traditions - professional self-determination
3. Protest	- values that contradict the position of power, but do not interact with it in an open political confrontation	- opposition views - political position

Compiled by: Lokova M.Yu. *Strukturnaya transformatsiya tsennostnykh orientatsii molodezhi v moderniziruyushchetsya rossiiskom sotsiume (sotsial'no-filosofskii aspekt): dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filosofskikh nauk* [Structural Transformation of Value Orientations of Young People in the Modernizing Russian Society (Socio-Philosophical Aspect): Ph.D. in Philosophy Dissertation]. Moscow: Moskovskii gumanitarnyi universitet, 2007, p. 10.

The comparison of decretal and informal values indicates a conflict between individuals, small and large groups due to contrasting interests [6, p. 10].

The study of the youth problems is new neither in foreign nor domestic science. The American sociologist G. Stanley Hall was the first to mention about the youth's problems in his book "Adolescence" (1904) [22]. The author gave a theoretical understanding of the age group of young people as carriers of the psychophysical properties of adolescence. The adherents of Stanley Hall (E. Spranger, R. Benedict, B. Malinowski and others) considered the youth as a group with special cultural properties and functions [7, p. 80].

In 1943 K. Mannheim, a German sociologist, published the book "Diagnosis of our time" where the youth is considered as an object and subject of the process of continuity and the change of generations. According to Mannheim, young people play a great role in shaping national policy. It is young people who can implement state reforms [9, p. 105].

In the 1960–70s the new direction appeared in the Western science. The researchers used sociological methods to study the youth's problems. It was encouraged by the unprecedented peak of the social activity of young people in Europe and America, the emergence of youth subcultures and extreme left political groups [15, p. 109].

Around the same time, the sociology of the youth began to develop in the USSR.

In the Soviet period the interests and needs, values and social expectations of young people were analyzed in the works of the researchers, such as N.M. Blinov,

B.A. Grushin, S.N. Ikonnikova, I. M. Il'inskii, A.I. Kovaleva, I.S. Kon, V.F. Levicheva, V.T. Lisovskii, M.N. Rutkevich, M.Kh. Titma, V.N. Shubkin.

However, S.V. Polutin emphasized that the first opinion polls conducted among young people in Soviet Russia revealed "exaggeratedly optimistic results, they represented the younger generation as educated according to the ideological dogma of people" [15, p. 109].

At the end of the 20th – the beginning of the 21st century people paid much attention to the structural mutual influence of two transformations – in the Russian society, in general, and among young people, in particular. Many youths' problems were in focus than, such as deviant behavior, drug addiction, alcoholism among young people, socialization of children with special needs, etc.

The national survey conducted by the Russian Independent Institute for the Study of Social and National Problems at the end of 2001 was one of the first such studies. The survey included 833 people. All the respondents were divided into two groups: young people (aged 16–30) and "paternal generation" (aged 41–50) in order to identify intergenerational relation in socio-cultural development of the Russians.

Thus, the research resulted in two key statements: 1) a marked increase in the youth's demands to the older generation and 2) growing needs of young people in the "state changes" associated with the desire to have their own business and become rich and famous. At the same time, the survey showed that these trends were accompanied

with the increased skepticism of young people regarding the implementation of their goals in the socio-professional sphere [17, p. 25].

In 2006 the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD) in cooperation with the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences (MSSES) and Levada-Center conducted a national survey of young people aged 15–29. The study included a wide range of social, economic and political aspects of everyday life of the Russian youth: their living conditions, standards and values, samples life orientations and plans for the future. The survey, in particular, showed that young people were skeptical about individual freedoms, fight against corruption and performance of state institutions [3, p. 21].

In 2008 the Laboratory for Political Research at the National Research University Higher School of Economics carried out a sociological survey on the topic “Political consciousness of adolescents: successful students vs street children”. Three hundred teenagers aged 13–18 took part in it.

The following groups were interviewed:

- students attending upper secondary schools in different administrative districts of Moscow;

- “street children” (this group included homeless children; children who did not have parents and homes; children from disadvantaged families, where parents were, as a rule, drinkers or in prison). “Street children” were surveyed at place of their inpatient stay – in shelters, rehabilitation centers, reception centers, hospital department for homeless children [4, p. 72].

The study identified and compared the main values of problem-free and problem adolescents, their ideas about Russia and its future, the image of a national leader, “friends” and “enemies” of Russia.

In 2011 at the commission of the Moscow School of Political Studies Levada-Center conducted a large-scale sociological survey “The youth of Russia”, devoted to the study of young peoples values, their orientation on education and success and attitude to current political processes in Russia. This research included surveys of the youth, 30 focus groups and 14 interviews with teachers and parents in 4 cities of Russia. The results obtained in the course of the project identified three communities of young people: 1) state-national; 2) family and 3) generation [4, p. 19].

The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences together with the Russian Office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation carried out a study “The youth of new Russia: life style and value priorities” in March–April, 2007. It was conducted in 12 districts of the Russian Federation, in Moscow and Saint Petersburg by quota sampling in compliance with quotas on gender, age and socio-professional status. According to the available statistical data and the study objectives, the survey included the following socio-professional groups of young people: workers at factories, mines and construction sites; engineering and technical intelligentsia; art and creative intelligentsia; employees of household and intellectual services; permanent officers at the army and the police; entrepreneurs of small and medium businesses; university students

and the rural youth. The intergenerational analysis was a distinguishing feature of this study. The older generation of the same socio-professional groups (except students) was surveyed. The main conclusions of the study revealed a clear dominance of the youth’s orientation on stability and evolutionary development of reforms over revolutionary changes in society (two-thirds over one-third) and the acceptance of the market economy basic principles.

When considering the chronology of the research in the youth’s social life, it should be noted that there have been different approaches to this problem and tools in different historical periods due to progressive development of science and society (*tab. 2*).

In general, the researchers focus on the fact that the values and aspirations of the modern Russian youth are qualitatively different from previous generations. There were the following prerequisites for such transformations:

1. Destruction of the socialist system in Russia. Depreciation of the social, economic and spiritual base of the Soviet era.

2. Adoption of freedom of expression, pluralism in the socio-economic and spiritual sphere.

3. Instability of the market system, fierce competition, market monopolization, people’s need to rely on themselves.

4. Computerization of all aspects of society, technocratization of world-views.

5. Cultural, political, ethnic globalization, generating both civilizational interaction and conflicts.

6. Destruction of clear gender boundaries in the public consciousness, crisis of the family.

7. High rates of development of society and social institutions, constant changes in the economic, political and social life, growth of scientific knowledge [21, p. 70].

These processes in the youth environment resulted in the reduced importance of spiritual, moral and aesthetic values and the increased status of vital, material and hedonistic [21, p. 70].

Today young people pay more attention to education, which importance was undermined in the 1980–90s [3, p. 22].

Table 2. Chronology of the research in the problems of young people in foreign countries and Russia

Stages	Event	Representatives
I. The 1900s – 1950s	Theoretical research into the youth role in society	G. Stanley Hall, E. Springer, R. Benedict, B. Malinowski, K. Mannheim, M. Rokeach
II. The 1960–70s – 2000s	Beginning of the sociological research into social problems of the youth in foreign countries and Russia	N.M. Blinov, B.A. Grushin, S.N. Ikonnikova, I. M. Il'inskii, A.I. Kovaleva, I.S. Kon, V.F. Levicheva, V.T. Lisovskii, M.N. Rutkevich, M.Kh. Titma, V.N. Shubkin
III. 2000 – 2014	In-depth research into socio-cultural attitudes of different categories of young people in the period of social values transformation by means of qualitative methods	M.K. Gorshkov, G.A. Klyucharev, V.A. Kasamara, A.A. Sorokina, A.V. Ryabov, E.V. Kurbangaleeva, L.D. Gudkov

Source: compiled by the authors.

The beginning of the third Millennium witnessed a high rise in the education level of the population in Russia; formally it was the highest in the world. The total share of people with secondary vocational education in Russia exceeds the one in all developed countries, the share of people with higher and postgraduate education lags behind only the USA, Norway and the Netherlands [14].

In Russia in 1990–2012 the number of institutions of higher professional education doubled, the number of university students increased by 2.2 times. According to the 2012 data, the Vologda Oblast ranks 58th among 83 RF subjects, 6th among 10 NWFED regions by the number of young people enrolled in colleges and universities (320 persons per 10 thousand population) [16, pp. 308-309].

The sharply increased attention to higher education among young people is often not associated with professional activities. According to L.D. Gudkov, “the Russian university today is not a church and place to communicate high culture, but a routine establishment to coach students to get a university degree [4, p. 19].

Thus, a third (31%) of the employees at professional education establishments of the Vologda Oblast, surveyed by ISEDT RAS in 2013, noted that to get a degree in any field is the main motive for students to enter educational institutions in the region¹.

However, due to the crisis in the socio-economic sphere young people do not have a stable value system; pessimistic, anxious mood is growing among them (*tab. 3*).

There is a rise in the number of young people who believe that the important values are, in fact, unattainable. This leads to the formation of a “down” model of the younger generation, which is characterized by the passive adaptation to any changes in the society or state. Such processes involve an increase in anomie (youth alcoholism, drug abuse, suicide, antisocial behavior, crime, extremism, etc.).

According to the experts, young people are afraid of any changes and try to “escape from reality”. On the one hand, young people are distinguished by the growth of self-reliance, pragmatism, mobility and responsibility for their own life; on the other hand, – by the

Table 3. Distribution of the responses of young people to the question:
“What feeling do you have when thinking about the future?”
(on the materials of all-Russian surveys; in % of the number of respondents)

Answer	Year		
	2001	2006	2011
Calm, confidence	84	59	39
Uncertainty, fear	16	31	46
Difficult to answer	0	9	15

Sources: *Rossiiskaya molodezh': problemy i resheniya* [Russian Youth: Problems and Solutions]. Moscow: Tsentr sotsial'nogo prognozirovaniya, 2005. 648 p.

¹ During the research 147 people were surveyed (of 2900 teachers of Vologda colleges and universities). Of them: 84 employees of higher and 63 – of secondary educational establishments; 34 people hold key positions, 113 people are teachers.

low level of interest in political, economic and cultural life and participation in it. Young people no longer expect much either from the authorities or society. In this regard, the youth of today does not follow the ideals of older generation. Passive survival is gradually becoming a hallmark of adolescence and youth. It results in the gap in intergenerational connection of values [21, p. 75].

The gap with the older generation is also manifested in the loss of cultural, ethnic traditions, the formation of subcultures.

The intergenerational relation issue is of particular importance when studying the socio-cultural determinants of one of the most vulnerable categories of young people – high school students. They are in the period of early adolescence (aged 16–18), preparing for a qualitatively new training activities and acquisition of all civil rights.

High school students are most sensitive to the ongoing social and political changes, as this is the age of the personality formation, development of quality characteristics, expressing its relation to the world (in particular, forecasting their social activity, planning of their future life and self-realization, formation of ideas about the world and about themselves).

Any reforms in the society affect this generation, grown up in the era of freedom, universal pluralism and approval of new political and economic standards. High school students' aspirations are qualitatively different from those of the more mature youth, as there has recently occurred not only a "formation change-over" within the country, but a number of changes of global

character (European countries integration in the European Union, formation of new borders, emergence of global standards of education and health, etc.) [4, p. 12].

The above mentioned specific features determine the research interest in the study of socio-cultural attitudes of senior pupils.

The early youth enshrines basic cultural values to be developed in the future. This is proved by the data of the "pilot" study "Socio-cultural portrait of the youth"², carried out in May 2014 by the Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories. The students of the Research-and-Educational Center at the Institute were surveyed. So, the values, selected by the senior pupils as important – health, love, active life, trusted friends and family, are also shared by the older age group – students.

The attitude to history as a cultural formation of national identity can be considered as an important component of the total youth culture. The study showed that the surveyed young people are well aware of historical events, can evaluate the contribution of historical figures to the development of the state. Only 36% of the high school students can not recall the great Russian citizens of the past and present. The most commonly mentioned figures of the past, appreciated by the students, are Joseph Stalin (15%), Yuri Gagarin (13%), Peter the Great (12%). The majority (36%) of pupils consider Vladimir Putin as the great contemporary.

² The "pilot" phase in May 2014 included a continuous survey of high school students (10–11 forms), attending the Research-and-Educational Center at ISEDT RAS. Sixty-one people (16 boys and 45 girls aged 16–18) were surveyed.

The selection of young people in Vologda generally coincides with the opinion of their peers in other RF regions. Thus, the study, conducted by ANPO “Kryshtanovskaya Laboratory” in 2012–2013 (this research included the in-depth survey of young people in 26 cities of Russia), indicated 22 names of the contemporaries, young people want to take after. Primarily, it is Vladimir Putin, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Mikhail Prokhorov and Dmitry Medvedev [10].

Despite the prevailed idea that the political identity is not the most important aspect of growing up, the research results have disclosed that the youth in Vologda is interested in politics, always associated with the issue of power. Moreover, political consciousness is gradually becoming an integral part of the senior pupils’ mentality. According to the survey results, 74% of the pupils take interest in the political life of our and foreign countries. According to Levada-Center, in Russia in general the share of the young people, interested in politics, is lower (46%)³.

However, the Vologda pupils’ interest in politics does not put into action (participation in political movements, parties, protests, etc.). The young people just watch the news (TV, news feed in the Internet). Thus, the students get secondary information. Just a few young people are ready to study public administration (reading biographies of political figures, literature of political orientation) and participate in political discussions (4%, respectively).

³ It should be taken into account that students of the Research-and-Educational Center at ISED T RAS are a priori more informed about the political and economic life of the country, as these issues are included in the curriculum.

The senior pupils claim that the country has not solved a number of serious problems yet, such as the state of roads, the need to improve the transport network, the state of environment, corruption and the low level of personal income.

According to more than a third (36%) of the respondents, the presence of these problems is likely to affect the intent of young people to leave Russia in the future. But these problems do not cause pessimism among young people regarding the future prospects of socio-professional activity: 94% of them believe that they have all possibilities for self-realization. Only 5% of the respondents are not optimistic about their own future.

The survey conducted by ISED T RAS confirms that the youth is proud of their country. Only 10% of the respondents do not have a sense of community with compatriots or they are indifferent to this issue. However, the pupils are a bit critical to the manifestation of patriotism as a socio-political phenomenon. The analysis of the respondents’ answers shows that they respect patriotic feelings, but only peaceful and passive forms of their manifestation. The seniors do not sympathize with aggressive and extremist forms. The manifestations of ethnic intolerance, xenophobia observed in the everyday life, the news on TV and the Internet are associated primarily with the negative expressions of patriotism.

The Vologda high school pupils do not only highlight the issues relevant for the country, but adequately perceive the current foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Most respondents (77%) mention that

Table 4. Distribution of answers to the question: “Who would you call Russia’s friends and enemies on the world stage?” (in % of the respondents number)

“Friends”	In %	“Enemies”	In %
China	42.6	USA	72.1
Belarus	39.3	EU (Europe)	23.0
Ukraine	9.8	Japan	6.6
Kazakhstan	9.8	Ukraine	6.6
Japan	6.6	China	3.3
Israel	4.9	Belarus	1.6
Cuba	4.9	Canada	1.6
Germany	3.3	NATO countries	1.6
DPRK	3.3	All countries	1.6
EU countries	1.6		
Finland	1.6		
Mongolia	1.6		
Syria	1.6		

Source: Data of the pilot phase of the study “Socio-cultural portrait of the youth”. Sixty-one people (16 boys and 45 girls aged 16–18) attending classes at the ISEDТ RAS were surveyed.

in the modern political space Russia is surrounded by the states-“friends” and states-“enemies”. The pupils consider China (43%) and Belarus (39%; *tab. 4*) as “friends”. Taking into account the positive experience of diplomatic and good-neighborly relations between these countries and Russia, we can say that the respondents are more or less objective. The young people view the U.S. (72%) and the European Union (23%) as states that have malevolent intentions towards our country, probably due to the actively imposed “Ukrainian” sanctions of the aforementioned states against Russia in May–July 2014.

The Vologda students’ opinions coincide in general with the point of view of their peers

in different regions of the Russian Federation. So, according to the study “Political consciousness of adolescents: successful students vs street children”, almost a half (48%) of Russian pupils called the U.S. as “Russia’s enemy” [4, p. 70].

The senior pupils assess the Ukrainian political collapse negatively. They describe the current situation in this country in terms of “wrong”, “stupidity”, “nonsense”, “illegality”, etc. As for this situation, many young people have anxious feelings associated with “compassion for the civilian population”, on the one hand, and fears that it may occur in Russia, on the other hand (“...I would not like that to happen in our country”). Many pupils mention an

Examples of answers:

M., aged 17: "I think that Ukraine will become part of Russia".

M., aged 16: "I am against. The situation seems crazy".

F., aged 16: "I think that Ukraine is not doing right, and America, supporting it, looks silly".

F., aged 16: "Most of all I feel pity for the Ukrainian population. To kill innocent people is terrible!"

F., aged 16: "I think that the new Ukrainian authorities have acted stupidly and illegally".

F., aged 16: "I do not share the views of the Kyiv authorities supporters. Yanukovich should have broken up this".

F., aged 16: "It is very tragic that people repeat mistakes of the past. God forbid being in such a place".

M., aged 16: "The Nazis have come to power, and Europe encourages it".

M., aged 16: "The Ukrainian authorities are fascists with Yatsenyuk who obey America".

F., aged 16: "What is happening in Ukraine is horrible, and I don't want that to happen in our country".

F., aged 16: "I think that is wrong when citizens of one country fight against each other"

F., aged 16: "I believe that it is consequences of the USSR collapse".

F., aged 17: "It is a political conflict between the United States and Russia on the Ukrainian soil".

F., aged 17: "Senseless military coup".

F., aged 18: "I believe that the conflict can be resolved peacefully".

F., aged 17: "It is a time bomb".

F., aged 18: "It is a pointless war of Western and Eastern Ukraine".

“invisible hand” of the West regarding the Ukrainian events. There are a few judgments of the respondents (in the age and gender structure) on this matter.

According to the survey results, the senior pupils of Vologda schools choose future occupation consciously. According to the survey, only 23% (14 people) have not made a choice yet.

The most popular occupations among schoolchildren are the following:

- economist – 23%;
- programmer – 11%;
- doctor, physician – 11%.

The young people’s interest in medical specialties is a positive trend, as the staffing situation in this sphere is still critical. If in 2006 there were 339 doctors per 10 thousand people, in 2012 the doctors number dropped to 333 people. In 2012 the staffing of health facilities accounted for 86% of the available vacancies [13, p. 5].

Nowadays, Russian pupils are known to have a number of opportunities to exercise their social activity. This is temporary employment, volunteering.

However, the share of volunteers in the Vologda Oblast is not great – 48% of the respondents. According to the survey, only 20% of the young people are ready to work as volunteers. In the Yaroslavl Oblast the share of people willing to participate in the volunteer movement is significantly higher (62%). This situation reveals that the public organizations in this region are passive to inform pupils about volunteering and provision of social guarantees to volunteers.

Thus, summarizing research findings regarding socio-cultural values of high school

pupils, it is possible to identify a number of distinctive features of this phenomenon in the “pilot” group.

So, young people often do not have serious problems regarding their social identity, they have their own vision of their place in modern society.

However, their self-realization as subjects of political and public life is often limited to passive forms. The commitment to historical and cultural roots is an important socio-cultural trait, characteristic of both younger and older age groups of students.

It should be noted that the findings of the “pilot” stage can not be applied to all senior pupils, as the children attending ISEDT RAS are a group of talented pupils that take a more complex course. The main research stage will address the research problems on a broader scale.

In the first quarter of 2015 the scientific research “Socio-cultural portrait of the youth” will include the survey of students of 9th and 11th forms in the Vologda Oblast schools. In the future it is planned to survey students, young people under 30 working at enterprises and organizations of the region in order to identify sustainable intergenerational relation.

At the same time, the received data emphasize the separateness of school age, its importance as a starting point for the formation of social, political, economic and professional mentality of older age groups. In this regard, to understand how the layers of generations’ consciousness “overlay”, what tools can be used in the management of these processes is an ambitious research task for modern science.

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Methodological issues of assessing the effects of social inequality in Russia's regions*



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Abstract. The article deals with the issue concerning the assessment of the impact of social inequality on the socio-demographic characteristics of society. The authors evaluate the impact of the social inequality growth in the Russian Federation subjects on the basis of the analysis of the decile ratio dynamics. They propose a methodological approach to determine the degree of dependence of crime rate on the growth of social inequality. The authors compare the influence of the decile ratio and purchasing power on mortality rate in the regions of Russia.

Key words: social inequality, assessment of consequences, socio-demographic characteristics of the population, purchasing power.

Russian scientists who analyze poverty and social differentiation often take into consideration only economic factors and pay less attention to social factors. From the viewpoint of the European Community, the citizens, whose material, cultural and social resources are limited so that they are deprived of a minimally decent way of life within their resident country, are considered poor. In accordance with this definition, we can prove that it is necessary to take into account the social minimum, because people are not able to take active participation in the life of their society, or to maintain relations accepted in their society, if their resources fall below a certain minimum.

Social inequality as one of the key socio-economic factors that influence the state of health is more or less characteristic of all countries. It is also one of the most critical issues in modern Russia; it should be handled in order to promote Russia's socio-economic development and improve the demographic situation in the Russian regions. The decile ratio is the traditional indicator of social inequality that shows how many times the minimum income of 10% of the richest population exceeds the maximum income of 10% of the poorest population. The decile ratio is 3–4 times in the Scandinavian countries; 5–6 times in the

European Union; 4–6 times in South and East Asia, Japan and North Africa; 9 times in the United States; 10 times in South Africa; 12 times in Latin America. The decile ratio in the USSR was about 3, and in modern Russia it is 14 times [1].

People tried to achieve *social equality* ever since the emergence of concepts such as wealth and poverty; however, differences in incomes and consumption of the population were and are one of the main characteristics of society. Various social sciences show interest in this issue and in its causes and consequences. For instance, French sociologist E. Durkheim argues that social inequality stems from the division of labor: mechanical (natural, age and gender-related) and organic (arising from the training and professional specialization) [2]. P. Sorokin defines social inequality as the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. Its basis and essence lie in the uneven distribution of rights and privileges, responsibilities and duties, in the presence or absence of power and influence among the members of the society [3].

P. Bourdieu concludes that opportunities for social mobility are determined by different types of resources or “forms of capital” – economic, cultural, and symbolic that are at the disposal of individuals [4].

According to V. Pareto, social inequality emerges from the lack of optimality in the allocation of resources, when it is impossible to make one person better off without necessarily making someone else worse off [5]. M. Weber’s concept of social stratification distinguishes three factors – wealth, prestige and power – that divide a society into strata [6].

All theories have social inequality as their starting point. The views differ in what should be considered the main component of inequality – wealth, power or prestige. In any case, inequality is a situation, when people do not have equal access to social benefits. Stratification describes the ways in which inequality is transmitted from one generation to the next, thereby forming the classes or social strata.

Ideas about modern mechanisms of social differentiation are expressed by V.L. Makarov [7]. He compares the concept of “social category” to his concept of “social cluster”. According to Makarov, a social cluster is a jurisdiction with its own ethics, rules of conduct, its own laws and currency. The standards, the compliance with which is crucial for being part of a particular social cluster, are of essential importance.

At that, with regard to modern society, Makarov proposes to distinguish social clusters based on professional occupation or employment sphere rather than on income or parentage.

The issue of social inequality and the consequences of the choice of the ways of its solution are very accurately defined by the well-known French economist L. Stoléru: “The country in which individual’s incomes grow slowly, can be a happy country; a country in which the average income grows very rapidly, but at the same time income inequality also grows, is heading for its own destruction” [8].

Social inequality causes upsurge in crime and infringement on democracy; it corrupts public health and slows down economic development. That is why developed countries keep social inequality at a relatively low and “balanced” level.

The study of the correlation between crime rate in Russia and the value of the decile ratio shows that the higher the value of this indicator, that is, the higher social inequality in the country, the higher the values of crime rate (*tab. 1*).

When the value of the decile ratio is more than eight, the number of victims increases

Table 1. Influence of the value of the decile ratio on crime rate in Russia in 2008–2012 [9]

Group by the level of the decile ratio	Decile ratio	Number of registered crimes (per 100 thousand people)	Homicide and attempted murder	Number of offences for which the victims are identified	Number of victims of criminal actions
Minimum (less than 6)	5.65	1733	118	3253	12526
Excessive (6–7)	6.41	1841	173	4850	19200
Dangerous (7–8)	7.38	2119	332	9768	36635
Insufferable (over 8)	8.95	2007	358	12422	53860
Total	6.53	1851	196	5716	22534

four odd times (from 12526 to 53860 people), and homicide rate increases threefold (from 118 to 358 per 100 thousand population).

Naturally, the question arises: is the impact of social inequality limited to only the criminal aspects of society or does it apply to the main demographic processes that are reflected, for example, by mortality rate?

In order to investigate this issue, a research has been conducted that studies the impact of the decile ratio on the total mortality and mortality from external causes in the Russian Federation within five years (2008–2012) (*tab. 2*).

The result appears paradoxical: the less social inequality, the higher mortality. In order to understand the reasons for this contradiction, we, first of all, confirmed a previously discovered dependence of mortality rate on the value of purchasing power (PP).

To adjust for differences in local consumer prices, the purchasing power of the population was assessed not in rubles, but in relative units that show how many times the average monthly money incomes of the population exceed the subsistence level (SL) (*tab. 3*).

The dependence of the rates of total mortality and mortality from external causes remains as usual: the less the purchasing power of the population, the higher its mortality. With the exception of the group with a very low purchasing power, where its influence on mortality rate from external causes has no obvious manifestation; this can be caused by other factors: a significant part of the population dies before they reach retirement age in the areas that receive most part of subsidies. It is the reduction in the share of retirement age persons that entails the decline of mortality rates [10, 11].

Table 2. Effect of the value of the decile ratio on the total mortality and mortality from external causes in the subjects of the Russian Federation in 2008–2012

Group of the RF subjects by the value of the decile ratio	Decile ratio, times	Total mortality per 1000 people	Mortality from external causes (per 100 thousand people)
Minimum (less than 6)	5.65	14.60	177.70
Excessive (6–7)	6.41	14.43	165.79
Dangerous (7–8)	7.38	13.20	177.76
Insufferable (over 8)	8.95	11.72	145.73
Total	6.53	13.97	168.80

Table 3. Influence of the value of purchasing power in the Russian Federation subjects on the total mortality and mortality from external causes in 2008–2012 [9]

Group of the RF subjects by the level of purchasing power	Purchasing power	Total mortality (per 1000 people)	Mortality from external causes (per 100 thousand people)
Excessive (over 4 SL)	4.60	11.72	165.04
Median (3.5–3 SL)	3.70	13.64	176.05
Low (3–3.5 SL)	3.22	14.45	176.86
Very low (less than 3 SL)	2.73	14.62	159.53
Total	3.33	13.97	168.80

After that the Russian Federation subjects with the highest decile ratio (DC) and the lowest PP were compared. The comparison has proved to be extremely revealing (*tab. 4*).

Analysis of the decile ratio dynamics suggests that the greatest value of DR and the highest social inequality are observed in the wealthiest regions with high purchasing power, including Moscow, and Saint Petersburg and northern regions specializing in oil and gas production (Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrugs).

Poverty and income differentiation of the population in Russia are assessed mainly by the indicator of absolute poverty, based on the correlation between people’s incomes and the subsistence level. In this case citizens

are considered poor, if their incomes do not exceed one SL. Note that the parameters of SL are characterized by the lowered standards for what is needed. As V. Roik points out, some of them are below the level typical for military time [12]. Currently, the average income in Russia only slightly exceeds three SL nationwide and in most of the regions.

There is a significant differentiation of income and wages in the regions, which is caused mainly by the current economic specialization of the regions. For example, the Kurgan Oblast, being an agro-industrial region, is characterized by the lowest purchasing power of wages (2.63 SL in 2008; 2.98 SL in 2012) among all the RF subjects within the Ural Federal District.

Table 4. Russian Federation subjects with the lowest purchasing power* and with the highest decile ratio** in 2008–2012 [9]

RF subjects with the lowest purchasing power	Purchasing power	Decile ratio	RF Subjects with the greatest value of the decile ratio	Decile ratio	Purchasing power
Altai Krai	2.33	5.7	Moscow	11.8	4.68
Altai Republic	2.43	5.5	Tyumen Oblast	8.8	4.15
Republic of Dagestan	2.52	6.6	Nenets Autonomous Okrug	8.7	4.56
Kostroma Oblast	2.59	5.5	Samara Oblast	8.5	2.88
Karachay-Cherkess Republic	2.61	5.7	Saint Petersburg	8.3	4.83
Ivanovo Oblast	2.64	5.4	Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	8.3	5.46
Republic of Adygea	2.64	6.0	Republic of Bashkortostan	8.1	3.59
Republic of Kalmykia	2.66	5.8	Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug	8.1	5.00
Kurgan Oblast	2.68	6.8	Krasnoyarsk Oblast	8.0	3.72
			Sverdlovsk Oblast	8.0	3.62

* Purchasing power is calculated as the average value over the years of observation. If during the years of observation the RF subject fell out of the 4th group with the lowest purchasing power, then the decile ratio was calculated according to this period.
 ** The situation is similar with the decile ratio: if during the years of observation the RF subject fell out of the 4th group with the highest decile ratio, then its mean value was calculated and the value of purchasing power was calculated corresponding to the same period.

The regions engaged mainly in raw materials extraction, such as Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrugs, have the highest level of purchasing power of labor incomes (in 2008 – 5.00 and 5.41 SL, in 2012 – 5.35 and 5.84 SL, respectively) not only among the Federal District regions, but also nationwide, being on the same level as Moscow. At the same time, old-industrial regions of the Ural Federal District such as the Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk oblasts are characterized by low purchasing power, which amounts to a little more than three subsistence levels (in 2008 – 3.62 and 3.28 SL, in 2012 – 3.76 and 3.77 SL, respectively) [9].

In fact, there is a constant reproduction of a deeply flawed situation, when the regions that have labor-intensive industries with high added value of manufactured products ultimately have significantly lower wages than the regions that specialize in the extraction of raw materials.

The purchasing power of money incomes of the population is minimum and social inequality is not so significant in the North Caucasus, in Altai, and in the Ivanovo and Kostroma oblasts. High purchasing power of the population in the wealthy RF subjects partially masks the negative impact of social inequality on public health.

The achievement of social justice in the sphere of labor remuneration requires active involvement of the state in the formation of an effective and socially equitable distribution of newly created value by factors of production [13]. The cardinal increase in the wages of employees is associated not only with

the achievement of the principle of “social justice”; it also stems from objective economic necessity.

There is a contradiction between social equality, on the one hand, and economic growth and production efficiency on the other hand; this contradiction should be taken into account and the means and methods for its timely resolution should be found, namely: striving to achieve social equality and acquiring the income of the richest population groups in favor of the poor, the government reduces the opportunities of entrepreneurial organizations for expanding production and increasing economic activity.

At the same time, the completely opposite situation is also unjustified: we mean the uncontrolled growth of incomes of the richest population groups, on the one hand, and the impoverishment and social differentiation, on the other hand. Excessive disparities in incomes and consumption disrupt the balance of interests of various social groups and provoke economic, social and political conflicts [14].

In this regard, it is necessary to find a comprehensive solution to the pressing issue concerning the growth of social differentiation; the government should pursue a clear and sensible policy in the sphere of income and wages. When elaborating such policy, it is necessary to use scientific research findings in the sphere of socio-economic and demographic processes that are going on in Russia's regions, in particular, the data of the new integrated science, called “social biology” [15].

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Regional sociology and management: a “roadmap” for interaction



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Abstract. The article considers the main directions of development of the domestic regional sociology in modern conditions. It contains several research findings of the Russian Academy of Sciences fundamental programs. The author outlines the main directions (“roadmap”) of the interaction between sociological forces and actors of regional administration. The conclusion, substantiated in the article, is that the main mechanism of interaction between regional sociology and administration subjects consists in bilateral and multilateral partnership between academic and university centers, authorities, business and non-profit organizations (NPOs). In addition, the author provides some characteristics of the potential of regional sociology in the implementation of the roadmap.

Key words: sociology of the region, sociology in the regions, social space, regional administration, interaction between sociology and administration subjects.

Domestic sociological science along with the research in national and international character is traditionally interested in regional social problems. It is caused by the fact that in the 1960–70s domestic sociology revived not only in Moscow and Leningrad; the Ural, Siberian, Volga schools formed actively as well.

So, the societal problems were embodied in the primary representative material obtained directly in the regions.

Its analysis gave an opportunity to identify special, geographically-specific features, consider common features and develop a certain “mosaic” sociological picture of the country.

Over the past 25 years the new regional sociological schools have been developed, such as the Tyumen, Rostov, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Belgorod, Saratov, Saransk, Kaliningrad, Nizhny Novgorod, Yakutia, Vologda schools, etc. The distinctive feature of both old and new regional sociological schools and the guarantee of their success is their close cooperation with regional authorities, the leaders' high authority in scientific and public circle and prominence in Russian and international sociological communities. The schools leaders usually head major research groups and educational centers that train sociologists. Some specialists are demanded in the sphere of management.

Therefore, the phrase “regional sociology” in the title of the article means two interrelated aspects: regional sociology and sociology in the regions [Gorshkov, 2007: pp. 5-7].

In contrast to diverse foreign interpretations of the concept “region” (from Latin *regere* – to operate in the territorial aspect), the Russian science defines the region as a subject of the Russian Federation. The praxeological approach justifies it: the bigger subject is considered as a macro-region (for example, a “federal district” or an “economic region”), the smaller – a sub-region, an intra-regional, a local establishment (an urban *okrug*, a municipal district or a settlement).

However, it is required to further categorize the definition “region” as one of the basic concepts of sociology of the territorial community. In this context the region is a fairly isolated part of the overall social space according to certain indicators

(a complex of physical-geographical, economic, political, administrative and socio-cultural indicators) that serves as a transformer of socio-spatial regulation in the network of global (international), national (state) and local (settlement) management with the feedback in both directions [Markin, 2008, p. 130].

Therefore, the subject of regional sociology as sociology of the regions is at the intersection of these directions. Sociological studies in this aspect should identify the special features that the region has in its social configuration (specific conditions, factors and mechanisms of social organization of human activity in a particular territorial community), its regional identity in the aspect of social differentiation by the territorial indicator, and the involvement of the community in the societal connections (network), i.e. the socio-spatial integration (consolidation). In this case the scientists single out two sides of social organization of regional communities: object (conditions, vectors and factors of human activity in this territory) and subject (actors and their relationships (interactions) in the localized regional social space and in the relations with the external environment in relation to this region.

The general field of interaction between regional sociology (understood as sociology of the regions and sociology in the regions) and regional management subjects (authorities, business-structures, non-profit organizations) is territorially differentiated social space of Russia, considered in a broad sense as geo-socio-economic space, where various social institutions and social actors interact.

The Center of Regional Sociology and Conflict Resolution at the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with other academic institutions and regional partners according to the programs of fundamental research of RAS no. 27–28 “Fundamental problems of spatial development of the Russian Federation: an interdisciplinary synthesis” (in 2009–2011, the coordinator – Academician A.G. Granberg), the Program no. 31 “Role of space in the modernization of Russia: natural and socio-economic potential” (in 2012–2014, the coordinator – Academician V.M. Kotlyakov) and the Program of fundamental research of the Department of Social Sciences of RAS “Economic, social and political environment of Russia in the globalizing world” (in 2007–2011) has put forward the concept of regional identity and regions’ social simulation in the discourse of differentiation and consolidation of Russia’s social space.

At the beginning of the work on the above mentioned programs two fundamental questions were raised:

- Has the transformation of social space in the new entity ended? Have its components achieved internal consistency or not? Is the process of transformation of social space far from accomplishment? Is it subject to disintegration risks?;
- Has the socio-humanistic vector become leading in the social space transformation [Lapin, Markin, Drobizheva, Hali, 2013, pp. 162-163].

Our studies show that the transformation of social space into the new entity is still far

from accomplishment and it can be subject to disintegration. To a great extent, this statement is confirmed by the answer to the question about the socio-humanistic vector, which has not become the leader in transformational processes taking place in the Russian society and in some significant regional dimension. Moreover, it is inconsistent with other vectors (economic and political), relevant factors and components of the consolidation of Russia’s social space, the interaction between the main actors on its individual space.

The transformation occurs primarily in the interests of big business (corporations) and the so-called “elite”, high income groups, which, in fact, are extraterritorial in nature and not focused on the humanistic vector. They exercise their social responsibility very limitedly in the regions where they operate, giving preference to their corporate interests. It is indicated in this survey of 450 experts conducted in 30 subjects of the Russian Federation, in all federal districts, where all the main types of regions according to their level of development (high, medium, low) are presented (*table*).

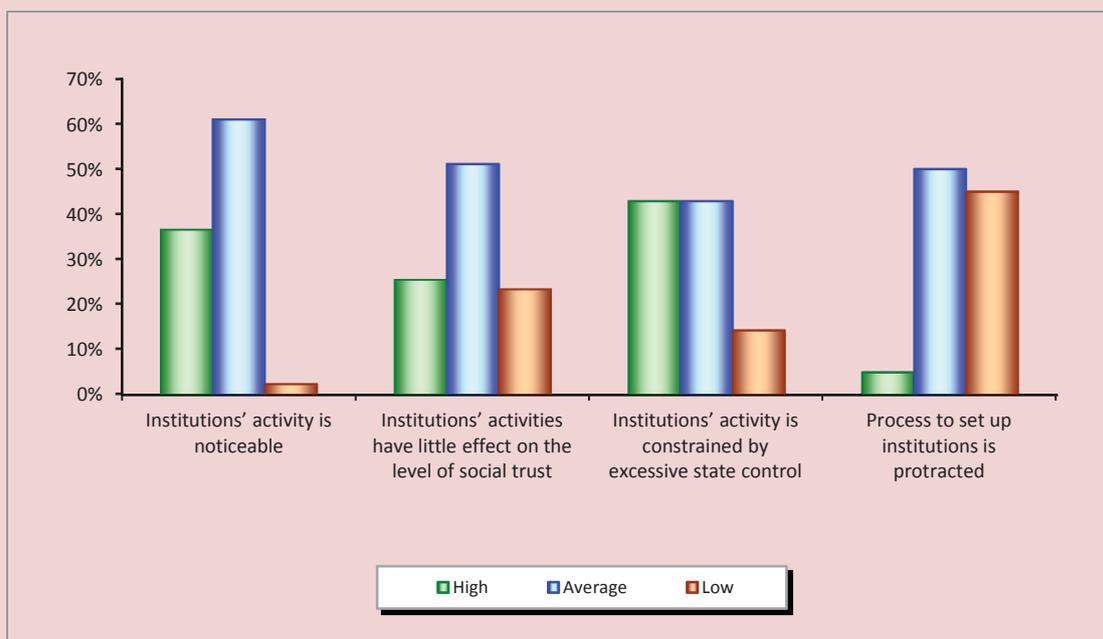
In this case, the expert evaluation has also identified the weak influence of the civic society institutions (non-profit organizations) in the regions (*figure*).

The regional government is between the rock and the hard place (big business and the population). Moreover, it is corporations that form their structures of influence in the government bodies and promotion of its members in these bodies. The people do not virtually have institutional “lobbyists” of

Evaluation of the role of the “elite” in the development of the region
 Concurrence (contradiction) of interests of the regions with plenty of resources
 (on the data of the survey of 450 experts in 30 regions of the Russian Federation, 2009)

		From the assessment of the overall development of the region		
		Average	Low	High
		Column N %	Column N %	Column N %
In the political sphere	Largely coincide, and the elite plays a leading role	48.4%	45.8%	17.6%
	Partially coincide, the elite is quite closed	48.4%	37.3%	58.8%
	The interests are opposite, the elite uses opportunities	3.2%	16.9%	23.5%
In the economic sphere	Largely coincide, and the elite plays a leading role	32.3%	30.5%	17.6%
	Partially coincide, the elite is quite closed	58.7%	40.7%	35.5%
	The interests are opposite, the elite uses opportunities	9.4%	28.8%	47.1%
In the spiritual-cultural sphere	Largely coincide, and the elite plays a leading role	30.8%	39.7%	38.9%
	Partially coincide, the elite is quite closed	53.8%	46.6%	55.6%
	The interests are opposite, the elite uses opportunities	15.4%	13.8%	5.6%

Assessment of civic society institutions in the region and their impact on the level of trust and solidarity in the regional society, observance of the rights and freedoms of citizens



their interests, they are sometimes forced to demonstrate their will quite spontaneously in the form of protests, etc. The bodies of regional and municipal management have to meet this challenge.

What role does sociology play in cooperation with the regional administration, including not only government bodies, but also business-structures and civic society institutions? What kind of interaction would it be?

First of all, this is continuation of basic research in the main factors of differentiation of Russia's social space and opportunities of its consolidation on the basis of shared values and coordinated activities of the main actors in the vector of socio-humanistic approach to the processes of transformation of the Russian society, in relation to regional features.

This direction, in our opinion, requires further work according to the programs of the Russian Academy of Sciences with extensive involvement of regional partners, especially authorities, business structures and NGOs.

Fundamental research should be associated with a wide range of pilot studies of this direction, such as research in Eurasian content, differentiation and consolidation of the Russian space; characteristics of transformational processes in the azimuths "North–South" and "median" regions of Central Russia, Volga Region, the Urals on the basis of the macro-regional approach, etc.

Applied research should be based on fundamental and pilot studies. The software solutions to the problems of social significance should be developed together with government bodies, business-structures and NGOs.

The main mechanism of interaction between regional sociology and subjects of regional governance is two- and multilateral partnership between academic and university centers, authorities, business and NGOs.

The main areas for partnership are the following:

1. Programs of fundamental research of the RAS; joint research grants, primarily in regional areas. Nowadays, these areas are indicated only in the RFH with the co-financing from regional authorities. It is necessary to expand this practice among other scientific and public funds, including the newly formed Russian Science Foundation.

2. Joint participation in tenders for state and municipal orders of social problematics.

3. Joint scientific and educational centers at the leading regional universities, which activity has recently become widespread.

4. Participation in dissertation councils for sociology and other social sciences. Today, though their number has decreased, the requirements to them have increased significantly, therefore the assessment of theses (leading organizations, opponency, reviewing, comments on abstract, etc.) and work in these councils demands professional competence and inter-regional cooperation.

5. Cooperation with foreign sociological centers on the basis of comparative regional studies, including those on issues of border (cross-border) territories.

6. Formation of regional test sites for the development and testing of joint projects, preparation and implementation of model-based software solutions for the most significant social problems.

The “road map” of this interaction has the following directions. The socio-humane estimate of draft laws and other normative legal acts of social significance should be of great importance along with legal and financial-economic assessment. Probably, it is necessary to start implementing this initiative in the regions and then in the country, as a whole. The main indicator is social efficiency of a draft law or another normative legal act, which requires appropriate methodological and methodical study.

We should also pay attention to the sociological component of the monitoring evaluating the activities of regional government bodies and other social establishments including business and civil society institutions. Moreover, under the RF President decrees no. 825 (modern edition no. 1199) and no. 607 since 2007 this work has been conducted in all RF subjects and single municipalities under the auspices of the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation.

The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences has a direct contact with the executors of this monitoring, but there remain some substantial methodological and methodical issues requiring a solution. It is important to carry out such monitorings on social responsibility in the regions (together with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Russian Federation) and on the influence of civil society institutions in the regions (the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation).

There is also a sociological component of the law enforcement practices monitoring in the regions.

The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences has some experience of such cooperation with the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law under the Government of the Russian Federation and the Russian Law Academy of the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice by single RF subjects. This experience is important to spread in other regions.

Undoubtedly, it is important to study the sociological component of regional programs, especially those meeting social requirements, and the development of appropriate model-software complexes.

The question is raised: does regional sociology have sufficient potential to implement such an ambitious task? In our opinion, it has the potential:

- three specialized sociological institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a number of developed sociological departments in other academic institutions;
- university sociology is presented in almost all regions; only more than 80 state classical universities train specialists in sociology and have such departments and research centers (laboratories, groups);
- more than 10 nationwide centers, conducting the population surveys, have an extensive regional network (branches, representative offices);
- a number of information-analytical centers in the government bodies, corpo-

rations, NGOs have specialized sociological departments that are associated with regional themes (approximately more than 200);

– consulting, marketing, recruitment agencies and PR centers (public relations), which also has sociological groups or individuals (approximately 1000);

– the Russian Scientific Fund, the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund and other scientific and public funds, which support sociological projects in the regions;

– the Russian Society of Sociologists, the Russian Society of Professional Sociologists, the Russian Sociological Association, the Society of Sociologists and Demographers, the Sociological Society named after M.M. Kovalevsky and other sociological scientific and public organizations with their regional representatives (many scientists are members of several organizations).

Thus, the potential is really significant, and its implementation requires coordination.

We should pay attention to the structure and forms and develop relevant proposals for the sociological community in Russia.

The interest of the authorities and other actors in the regional governance is crucial for the implementation of this roadmap. Where the government is interested, there is effective cooperation. This is particularly true in the regions with a high level of socio-economic development. Unfortunately, we have to admit that in the regions with a middle and low level the sociologists' initiatives are delayed.

As it is known, due to the renewal of elections of RF subjects heads, the new order of formation of bodies and heads of local self-government in 2014–2015 the elective campaigns will be carried out in most regions. The sociologists will have opportunities to promote their electoral ideas (voters' preferences survey) and to participate in the formation of social strategies of regional development and their implementation mechanisms.

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Alleviation of pensioners' poverty – a key task for the state and society in contemporary Russia



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Abstract. Russia is shifting to market economy under the lingering post-crisis stagnation, and the aggravation of economic stratification of its population creates additional risks to the pension system that is in a state of constant reforming. The relevance of the research is substantiated by the fact that in scientific terms the issue of poverty has been studied very poorly: there are no socially and economically reasonable criteria and indicators for assessing poverty and welfare in specific categories of the population; the factors influencing the formation of conditions for poverty have not been revealed; there are no tools of the long-term government policy to overcome poverty, etc.

Key words: poverty, demographic risk groups, pensioners, subsistence level, retirement pension.

Nowadays the steadily increasing economic stratification of the population and, as a consequence, the increase in both relative and absolute poverty is one of the most serious socio-political problems in Russia. The problem of poverty is particularly acute for pensioners, the most vulnerable category of the population.

The problems to measure the level of poverty and create the state system of minimum social guarantees are solved with the help of special regulatory instrument of social policy – a subsistence level of various categories of the population, including pensioners. This indicator remains the only social standard of quality of life, which is

protected by law and has specific economic parameters. So, the poor are people, whose income does not allow them to obtain physiologically necessary minimum of living benefits, products, services, whereby they are deprived of the opportunity to earn a decent (but not excessive) living.

Socially oriented states consider the problem of overcoming poverty and reducing disparities in the level of material welfare of the population as one of the main goals. This problem is stated as a priority in the policy documents of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the International Social Security Association (ISSA). There is a regular monitoring of the dynamics of the financial security level of socio-demographic groups and the population in general. The regional (geographic) characteristics are taken into account. Russia requires such state monitoring of poverty, both absolute and relative¹.

Analysis of the current poverty level of pensioners

The current demographic changes are characterized by accelerated growth of a cohort of elderly persons. So, in 2012 the number of pensioners in the Russian Federation exceeded 40 million people (more than 28% of the total population). Therefore, it is important to consider this age category by living conditions in order to ensure social protection of pensioners.

The main and often the only source of income for most pensioners is retirement

pension. There are several types: labor (old-age, disability, survivor's pensions) and state-provided pension.

Under the Federal Law "On state social assistance" of 17 July, 1999, no. 178-FL (article 12.1), the total amount of material provision of the pensioner who lives in the Russian Federation and does not work (is not engaged in other activities) can not be less than the pensioner's subsistence level stipulated by section 4 of article 4 of the Federal Law "On subsistence level in the Russian Federation".

This means that nowadays the problem of absolute poverty of pensioners is elaborated at the regulatory level. However, at the household level when per capita income is determined by the family structure and income of all its members, the pensioners can fall into the category of the poor. For this reason, even after pension growth to the subsistence level in 2010 there was no radical reduction of poverty among pensioners.

The most economically important indicator to assess the living standard of pensioners is "a ratio of average labor pension and subsistence level of the pensioner" (*tab. 1*).

In 2002 the ratio of old-age labor pension to the pensioner's living wage was quite low (115.3%) and remained at this level until 2007. In 2007–2009 during the financial crisis in order to maintain the standard of living of low-income pensioners the government implemented the policy of preemptive increase in labor pension (in relation to the statutory mechanism to maintain the purchasing power of retirement pension) and set up a new rate of the basic component of

¹ There are concepts of absolute and relative poverty in literature. In Russia relative poverty is one of the most urgent problem, by the growth of the income gap between the bulk of the population and the small group of people.

Table 1. Dynamics of the ratio of average labor pension and the pensioner's subsistence level in the Russian Federation in 2002–2012, %

Year	Subsistence level, rubles	Ratio of average labor pension and the pensioner's subsistence level			
		state-provided pension	old-age pension	disability pension	survivor's pension
2002	1 379	107.5	115.3	83.7	57.2
2003	1 605	110.5	118.9	84.8	62.8
2004	1 801	114.4	123.1	87.4	67.6
2005	2 418	106.5	114.3	81.8	61.6
2006	2 731	106.0	113.5	79.8	61.9
2007	3 065	121.9	129.6	93.4	68.9
2008	3 644	127.7	134.7	95.5	75.6
2009	4 100	154.0	161.7	116.3	90.9
2010	4 521	172.8	180.6	112.8	106.4
2011	5 032	169.1	176.4	109.2	105.8
2012	5123	183.6	191.1	118.2	116.1

pension with the advance growth regarding the indexation of its ensured part: by 24% in December 2007, by 31.4% in December 2009.

As a result, in 2009 this figure increased to 161.7%. However, its average ratio to living wage was still not high enough, thus the purchasing power of pensioners remained low and demanded additional measures to further increase the level of pension provision.

As a result, in 2010 due to the valorization (rise) of citizens' pension rights, obtained before 2002, the pensions of almost all seniors (36.6 million recipients of retirement pensions) increased and the ratio of the average old-age labor pension and subsistence level of the pensioner grew by 180.6% and by 191.1% in 2012. But on the background of a sharp increase due to the valorization of old-age labor pensions in 2012 the value of this indicator regarding disability and survivor's

pensions was significantly lower: 118.2 and 116.1%, respectively. The reason is a lack of labor experience, subject to valorization. It should be noted that for these categories of retirement pension recipients the ratio exceeded a 100% level only after the above mentioned measures.

Nowadays, according to the Russian legislation, there are social additional payments to pensions to subsistence level of the pensioner in the RF subject. For instance, in 2012 the federal social additional payments were made in 67 subjects of the Russian Federation, where the pensioner's subsistence level was fixed at 5564 rubles under the Federal Law of November 30, 2011, no. 371-FL "On the federal budget for 2012 and the planned period of 2012–2014".

The number of the recipients of federal social additional payments to pensions in the country was 2894.3 thousand people at the

beginning of 2012, and at the end of the year it decreased to 2479.9 thousand people (14.3%). More than 6% of all Russian pensioners received additional federal social payments to pensions in 2012, with the Republic of Ingushetia, the Kabardino-Balkar Republic and the Tyva Republic leading in the amount of such payments (15–18% of the total number of pensioners in the region). The national average payment ranged from 1251 rubles in January 2012 to 1107 rubles in December.

Moreover, that year the additional regional social payments to pensions in 17 regions of the Russian Federation were paid (“Northern” regions, Moscow and the Moscow Oblast). The average number of the recipients amounted to 2445.2 thousand people, and the average payment totaled 3960 rubles.

Thus, in 2012 the pensions of almost 5 million pensioners (over 12% of the total number of pension recipients) were below the subsistence level, and they received social payments. This demonstrates significant problems of the pension system, which does not allow every eighth insured person to secure even the minimum level of pension provision during the working period of life.

Replacement ratio – a performance indicator of the pensioners' living standard

When conducting the factor analysis of the causes and conditions of pensioners' poverty in order to get more objective information about the quality of their lives, it is proposed that the ratio of average pension to subsistence level be supplemented by the indicator “replacement rate”, indicating the level of replacement of lost earnings by pension payments.

In particular, the replacement rate is calculated as a ratio of average pension to average wages in the economy:

$$R_r = \frac{P_{AV}}{WAV} \times 100 ,$$

where P_{av} is average pension,

WAV is average monthly wages in the economy.

In the international practice several indicators are calculated:

- the gross replacement rate – a ratio of pretax pension to average pretax earnings;
- the net replacement rate – a ratio of net pension to average net earnings.

The calculation of a replacement rate (the information base for the calculation is the state statistical reporting on nominal accrued wages, Form no. P-4 “Information on the number and wages of employees”) requires reduction of nominally accrued gross salary to net salary by subtracting 13% individual income tax. Standard tax deductions from wages are applied when the taxpayer is disabled or has dependent children.

To calculate an average monthly pension taking into account a gender factor one can use the data of Form no. 94 “Information on the number of pensioners and the amount of imputed pensions”, which provides separate information about women, including new assignments of the reporting year.

As of January 1, 2013, the number of pensioners in the country totaled 40.6 million: of them there were 27.2 million women (67.1%) and 13.3 million men (32.9% of the total number of pensioners). The average women's pension was by 5.9% lower than men's (8967.1 and 9533.6 rubles, respectively).

In 2012 the difference between pensions of men and women rose to 9.2% (6982.0 and 7686.1 rubles). In the future the gender differences in pensions will grow due to the increasing dependence of pension payments on the amount of paid insurance premium.

This is especially true for women receiving old-age labor pensions, because their salary and work experience are lower than those of men. Their number is 23.7 million people (87.0% of all women-pensioners and 70.8% of the old-age labor pension recipients).

In the Russian Federation the replacement rate of nominal gross wages by average pensions amounted to 33.7 and 38.7% (26.2 and 30.1% by new assignments) for women and 35.8 and 41.2% (28.9 and 33.2% by new assignments) (gross/net coefficients, respectively).

As of January 1, 2013, the old age pensioners had the highest replacement rate: 36.8 and 42.3% (30.0 and 34.5% by new assignments) (gross/net coefficients). Their number is 33.5 million people (89.8% of all recipients of retirement pensions).

The recipients of a disability pension have a lower replacement rate that in 2013 amounted to 22.7 and 26.1% (22.7 and 26.0% by new assignments). The number of such pensioners is 2.4 million people (6.6% of the number of retirement pension recipients).

The recipients of a survivor's pension have a lower replacement rate: 22.7 and 26.1% (18.7 and 21.5% by new assignments). The number of this category of pensioners is 1.4 million people (3.6% of all retirement pension recipients).

As of January 1, 2013, more than 11 million people got an old-age labor pension

earlier due to the right of early retirement (articles 27–28 of the federal law on labor pensions).

The number of early retirement pension recipients is 11.1 million people (33.1% of all old age pensioners). There are the following types of pensions:

- for work at enterprises accredited as harmful (list 1) or in heavy and dangerous conditions (list 2) – 5.1 million people, or 46.5%;
- for long-term work in the Far North regions and equated areas – 2.7 million people, or 24.3%;
- for long service of some categories of workers – 1.8 million, or 16.4%;
- by medical and social parameters (mothers with many children, persons disabled as a result of war injuries, sight-disabled persons, lilliputians, etc.) – 1.4 million, or 12.7%.

The average early pensions are much higher than basic pensions, especially for work in the Far North regions and equated areas.

As of January 1, 2013, the average pensions were as follows: basic – 9388.4 rubles, early – 10602.6 rubles (108.3% of a basic pension, including for work in the Far North and equated localities – 12 877.5 rubles (131.5%).

The results of the replacement rate calculations are presented in *table 2*.

According to the data presented in the table, as of January 1, 2013 the old-age labor pension replacement rate in Russia as a whole amounted to 35.3 and 40.5% (28.5 and 32.8% by new assignments), whereas the early retirement pension rate – 39.8 and

Table 2. Old-age labor pension replacement rate

Pension type	Replacement rate, %			
	gross		net	
	All years of assignment	New assignments	All years of assignment	New assignments
Average nominal monthly wage	26 628.9		23 167.1	
Old-age labor pensions	36.8	30.0	42.3	34.5
Including: basic pensions	35.3	28.5	40.5	32.8
early retirement pensions	39.8	33.7	45.8	38.8
Of them: Preferential conditions	33.0	27.7	37.9	31.9
List 1	39.5	32.7	45.4	37.6
List 2 (including similar terms of assignment)	38.5	33.8	44.3	38.9
Far North	48.4	40.7	55.6	46.8
Length of service	35.0	29.1	40.2	33.4
Others	34.1	29.2	39.2	33.6

45.8% (33.7 and 38.8% by new assignments), including for work in the Far North regions and equated areas – 48.4 and 55.6% (40.7 and 46.8% by new assignments) (gross/net coefficients, respectively).

For the RF subjects the replacement rate is calculated as a ratio of average labor pension to average nominal accrued wages in the region:

$$R_r = \frac{P_{reg}}{W_{reg}} \times 100,$$

where P_{reg} is an average pension in the subject of the Federation;

W_{reg} is an average monthly wage in the subject of the Federation.

Taken into account significant economic differences due to nature-climatic and social features of the region, the replacement rate

should be differentiated by three groups of RF regions that vary in salary rates, length of service, living conditions, recipients' family structures and other socio-economic characteristics:

- group 1 – northern regions, including 24 regions of the Far North and equivalent areas;
- group 2 – southern regions, including 13 regions of the Southern and North Caucasian federal districts;
- group 3 – central regions, including 46 of the regions of the Central Federal District and other regions not classified in groups 1 and 2 (*tab. 3*).

According to the table, in 2012 in 59 RF subjects in all federal districts, except for the Far Eastern Federal District, the old-age pension replacement rate amounted to 40%

Table 3. Distribution of the RF subjects – pension recipients – by pension replacement rate

Labor pensions	Number of subjects with the gross replacement rate, %					Number of subjects with the net replacement rate, %				
	Below 30	30-40	Above 40	Of them: above 60	Above the national level	Below 30	30-40	Above 40	Of them: above 60	Above the national level
Old age	5	19	59	0	66	2	10	71	14	66
Including regions:										
northern	4	14	6	0	10	1	8	15	0	8
southern	0	0	13	0	13	0	0	13	4	13
central	1	5	40	0	43	1	2	43	10	45
Disability	54	26	3	0	69	27	47	9	0	69
Including regions:										
northern	22	2	0	0	13	19	4	1	0	13
southern	4	6	3	0	13	0	7	6	0	13
central	28	18	0	0	43	8	36	2	0	43
Survivor's	46	34	3	0	63	32	34	17	0	63
Including regions:										
northern	24	0	0	0	7	20	4	0	0	9
southern	4	8	1	0	13	2	5	6	0	11
central	18	26	2	0	43	10	25	11	0	43

and above. In 2010 there were 65 such regions in all federal districts of the country.

As of January 1, 2013 the highest replacement rate was observed in the Republic of Dagestan (59.0%) and the lowest – in Moscow (20.6%).

The 30.01–40% replacement rate was recorded in 19 regions of all federal districts, except for the Southern, North Caucasian and Volga federal districts.

Out of them there were fourteen northern regions: two – in the Northwestern Federal District (the Murmansk oblast and the Komi Republic), one – in the Ural Federal District (the Tyumen Oblast, except for autonomous districts), four – in the Siberian Federal District (the Irkutsk

Oblast, the Tomsk Oblast, Zabaykalsky Krai and Krasnoyarsk Krai), seven – all regions of the Far Eastern Federal District, except for the Sakhalin Oblast and Jewish Autonomous Oblast.

The other five regions are central, including those that are not part of southern and northern territories: one – in the Central Federal District (the Moscow Oblast), two – in the Northwestern Federal District (the Leningrad Oblast and Saint Petersburg), one – in the Ural Federal District (the Sverdlovsk Oblast) and one – in the Far Eastern Federal District (the Jewish Autonomous Oblast).

In 2010 there were 13 such subjects (the regions of the Ural, Siberian and Far Eastern federal districts joined later).

As of January 1, 2013 the replacement rate did not reach 30% in five subjects of the Russian Federation. They are Nenets (26.5%), Khanty-Mansi (28.8%), Yamalo-Nenets (23.3%) Autonomous okrugs, the Sakhalin Oblast (29.1%) and the city of Moscow (20.6%). The low replacement rate due to high wages and the cost of living is recorded in the Far North and the city of Moscow.

In 2012 the 40% net replacement rate was observed in 71 subjects out of 83 in all federal districts of the Russian Federation. It amounted to 30% only in two subjects: Nenets Autonomous Okrug (26.8%) and the city of Moscow (23.7%).

The same rate of disability pensions is observed in 3 and 9 regions and that of

survivor's pensions – in 3 and 17 regions (gross/net coefficients, respectively) (*tab. 4*).

According to the data given in the table, the replacement rate of old-age labor pensions awarded in the reporting year was significantly lower than that of the pensioners of all years of assignment.

As of January 1, 2013, only the 23rd and 49th subjects of the Russian Federation had an appropriate old-age pension replacement rate, the 1st and 10th subjects – a disability pension replacement rate (gross/net coefficients). As for survivor's pensions, only in two central regions (the Belgorod Oblast and the Penza Oblast) the ratio has reached the specified level in comparison with net wages.

Table 4. Distribution of the RF subjects – pension recipients – by the pension replacement rate (by new assignments)

Labor pensions	Number of subjects with the gross replacement rate, %					Number of subjects with the net replacement rate, %				
	Below 30	30-40	Above 40	Of them: above 60	Above the national level	Below 30	30-40	Above 40	Of them: above 60	Above the national level
Old age	15	45	23	0	68	8	26	49	0	68
Including regions:	12	11	1	0	13	6	13	5	0	12
northern	0	7	6	0	13	0	1	12	0	13
southern	3	27	16	0	42	2	12	32	0	43
central	52	30	1	0	68	26	47	10	0	68
Disability	22	2	0	0	12	18	5	1	0	13
Including regions:	5	7	1	0	13	0	9	4	0	13
northern	25	21	0	0	43	8	33	5	0	42
southern	70	13	0	0	65	55	26	2	0	65
central	24	0	0	0	12	23	1	0	0	10
Survivor's	11	2	0	0	11	6	7	0	0	11
Including regions:	35	11	0	0	42	26	18	2	0	44

Changing the pension structure as the necessary factor to ensure the pensioners' subsistence level in terms of the pension system reform

In the Russian Federation up to 2010 the labor pension consisted of three parts with the following independent sources of funding:

- basic pension – funds of unified social tax, since 2005 – transfers from the federal budget for the payment of the basic part of a labor pension;
- insured part – insurance contributions for compulsory pension insurance;
- cumulative part – insurance contributions for payment of the funded part of the labor pension.

Due to the cancellation of unified social tax in 2010 the labor pension structure was simplified: its basic part, financed by the federal budget, was liquidated; and the insured part of labor pension was supplemented with a fixed basic component.

Thus, nowadays the labor pension nominally consists of two parts: insured (*IP*) and cumulative (*CP*).

The typical formula for determining the insured part of an old-age labor pension (*IP*):

$$IP = PC / T + B,$$

where *PC* is a sum of notional pension capital of the insured person, accounted for the first day a person receives the insured part of the old-age labor pension;

T is a number of months of the expected period of the old-age labor pension payment, used to calculate the insured part of this pension, amounting to 19 years (228 months);

B is a basic component of the insured part of the old-age labor pension.

According to this formula, the amount of the insurance part of the old-age labor pension is calculated by summing two institutionally different parts.

The first part is based on the amount of the so-called notional pension capital (NPC) of the citizen, accumulated during person's employment and other activities. The second part is a fixed basic component (FBC) of the insured part of the old-age labor pension, set at a fixed sum regardless of the employment contribution (length of employment and insurance contributions).

Its value in rubles is institutionalized depending on the category of pensioners, the presence of dependents and long-term employment in the Far North. The duration of the insurance period must be not less than five years.

As the basic component is nominally an insured component of the pension, it is funded at the expense of insurance contributions for compulsory pension insurance.

At the same time, the economic function of the basic pension is to provide retirees with the minimum level of financial security. The insured and mandatory cumulative parts of the labor pension perform the function to achieve equivalence of the rights and obligations of pension benefits under the national pension law.

As noted above, the replacement rate is calculated by the notional evaluation index. The scale of the labor pension correlates with wages or another income of the insured person indirectly, through the notional pension capital, consisting of insurance premiums.

Hence, the second component that does not depend directly on the results of the insured person's employment (a basic component of the insured part) is contrary to the insurance principles of the pension security.

The 2010 reform resulted not only in increasing the scale of the labor pension in the Russian Federation, but also in the significant changes in its institutional structure (*tab. 5*).

According to the table data, the average old-age labor pension at the end of 2012 amounted to 9790.1 rubles (the growth by 6.2 times to 2002), to 7988.0 rubles (by 5.3 times) by new assignments of the reporting year. If at the end of 2002 the share of the insured

part accounted for 60.0% of the average labor pension, at the end of 2012 it decreased by 14.6% to 45.4% (60.2 and 47.2% by new assignments).

As a result, as of January 1, 2013, the replacement rate of the average nominal gross wage in the Russian Federation the average old-age labor pension amounted to 36.8%, and of these only 16.7% directly accounted for its insurance part without the amounts of the basic components and valorization (30 and 14.1% by new assignments, respectively).

The replacement rate of disability and survivor's pensions as an average pension without the amounts of the basic components and valorization is much lower. The reduction trend remains in dynamics.

Table 5. Dynamics of the structure and the replacement rate of the old-age labor pension (LP) in the Russian Federation in 2002–2012

Year	Average size of the old-age labor pension, rubles					Replacement rate, %		Share of the insured part in the average LP, %
	Total	FBC	Insured part (without FBC, valorization and AP)	Valorization sums	Accumulative part	Total	Insured part (without FBC, valorization and AP)	
2002	1 590.3	576.7	953.7	0.0	0.0	36.5	21.9	60.0
2003	1 908.2	664.3	1 180.7	0.0	0.0	34.7	21.5	61.9
2004	2 216.7	763.9	1 388.7	0.0	0.0	32.9	20.6	62.6
2005	2 763.6	1 117.7	1 564.4	0.0	0.0	32.3	18.3	56.6
2006	3 098.8	1 221.5	1 794.0	0.0	0.0	29.1	16.9	57.9
2007	3 972.7	1 874.5	1 990.7	0.0	0.0	29.2	14.6	50.1
2008	4 909.7	2 167.2	2 635.5	0.0	0.0	28.4	15.2	53.7
2009	6 630.1	3 102.6	3 395.2	0.0	0.0	35.6	18.2	51.2
2010	8 165.7	3 301.2	3 611.3	1 130.4	0.0	39.0	17.2	44.2
2011	8 876.0	3 589.0	3 979.8	1 191.1	0.0	38.0	17.0	44.8
2012	9 790.1	3 962.7	4 441.7	1 271.7	0.1	36.8	16.7	45.4

* A basic part of labor pension until 2010.

We should dwell on the structure and rate of the pension basic component that can be average and increased. The average rate is provided to all persons of a certain age entitled to a labor pension and having the necessary length of service. People who need constant care or have dependents can get an increased pension. In addition, under federal law "On the increase in the basic part of labor pension of persons living in the Far North regions and equated areas" of 29 November 2003, no. 154-FL the basic component of labor pension is raised.

Prior to the adoption of this law, the rate of the labor pension basic component was established in the same amount, regardless of the pensioner's place of residence. The scale of labor pensions was differentiated only in the assessment of pension rights of the insured persons when determining the insured part of labor pension. Since 2010 the fixed basic component (FBC) of the labor pension in the Russian Federation has been set (Federal Law No. 173) at 2562 rubles and has been indexed annually in the prescribed manner. As of January 1, 2013 the rate of FBC increased by 28.0%, i.e. up to 3279 rubles.

Its differentiation also depends on other factors.

For the defined categories of citizens the sum increased constituted: for people at the age of 80 – twofold; for people working in the Far North regions and equated areas – by 30–50%; for I group disability – twofold (II group disability – the average rate of the FBC, III group disability – 1/2 of the average

rate of the FBC) and for people caring for dependents – 1/3 to 1 of the average rate of the FBC.

The recipients of survivor's pensions have 1/2 of the average rate of the FBC, except for children who have lost both parents, or children of the deceased single mother. Orphans get the average rate of the FBC.

Table 6 presents the data on the number of the recipients and the actual rate of the fixed basic component of the labor pension insured part by the categories of recipients, according to the report No. 94 (pensions) (*tab. 6*).

As of January 1, 2013 in the Russian Federation there were 33.5 million old age pensioners, the average basic component of the insured part of the labor pension amounted to 3962 rubles, of the disability pension – 3355 rubles (2.4 million people), of the survivor's pension – 1698 rubles (1.4 million people).

The lowest rate of pensions was observed among the III group disabled – 1665 rubles (787 thousand people) and the highest – among the I group disabled having three dependents – 10 097 rubles (4 thousand people). Just 1.49 million recipients of the old-age labor pension (4.4% of the total number in this category) have dependents. In addition, 0.72 million people or 29.3% of the total number of the disability pension recipients have dependents.

Thus, the pensioners remain the least protected category of citizens in Russia. In this context, the key objective of the strategy

Table 6. Data on the recipients of the fixed basic component of the labor pension in the Russian Federation as of January 1, 2013

Categories of pension recipients	Bcero		Dependents							
			No		One		Two		Three	
	thousand people	rubles	thousand people	rubles	thousand people	rubles	thousand people	rubles	thousand people	rubles
Old age pensions:	33520	3962	32033		1351		106		29	
under the age of 80 and I group disabled	4727		4648	6696	78	7759	1	9027	0.2	10064
other recipients of the old-age pension	28793		27385	3442	1274	4674	105	5983	29	6955
Disability pension:	2444	3355	1729		452		179		85	
I group	200		156	6758	31	7909	10	9057	4	10097
II group	1087		785	3440	179	4545	73	5634	50	6662
III group	1157		787	1665	242	2791	96	3922	31	5055
Survivor's pension:	1352	1698								
children who have lost both parents, or children of the deceased single mother (orphans)	15	3495								
other disabled family members of the deceased breadwinner	1337	1678								

for long-term development of the pension system in the Russian Federation, adopted in December 2012, was defined as “provision of the average old-age labor pension at the level of 2.5–3 subsistence minimums of the pensioner” by 2030.

The annual monitoring and structural analysis of regional and sectoral factors of pensioners' poverty will help adjust and develop the tools of state regulation of the long-term policy to address the pension poverty.

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Trust and its role in the modernization development of the region



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Abstract. The purpose of this article is to analyze theoretical approaches to the concept of social trust, to assess the level of confidence, to show its role in the modernization and development of the region. According to the author, trust is a set of socially responsible and socially confirmed expectations of individuals in relation to other individuals, organizations, institutions, rules and regulations that constitute the fundamental content of life and support sustainability and cohesion of society. Based on the popular typology of trust proposed by Anthony Giddens, the author analyzes the state of institutional trust in the Vologda Oblast. Using the data of the public opinion monitoring carried out by ISEDT RAS, the article analyzes the Vologda Oblast residents' trust in major political institutions. The author identifies factors that generate trust, studies the composition of the groups of people according to trust, and shows the effects of a low level of institutional trust. They are manifested in the lower level of social activity and in the fact that the people are not ready to unite and interact with each other. Besides, the author points out that civil society is atomized. The article also raises the problem of low efficiency of the structures of civil society, despite the fact that there is a significant amount of NCOs in the region, according to the statistics. Based on the data of ISEDT RAS polls, the article points out an extremely low assessment of performance of NCOs, a low involvement of citizens in their activities and a low level of awareness concerning the existence and activities of these organizations. The author notes that the development of the region, and implementation of effective modernization on its territory require not only assessment of available social resources and, first of all, social capital, the main indicator of which is the trust, but also the development of targeted policy to increase the level of trust in the regional community, to overcome the factors that generate and support a culture of distrust.

Key words: region, trust, institutional trust, distrust culture, modernization.

A factor such as social trust is becoming more important in the life of society in general, in the activities of its political and economic structures and the everyday life of individuals. The unfolding processes of modernization attract attention to this phenomenon [1, 8, 18]. The population's readiness to support modernization initiatives is largely based on the level of trust in the institutions established to solve problems of this type. Trust is present "in all directions of modernization of economy and politics, social and spiritual life of society. Trust or its temporary absence temporarily determines (narrows or expands) the strategies chosen by the subjects of the change" [5].

Social trust is important due to its ability to provide a predictable nature of the world around us. Trust that exists in the society strengthens cognitive stereotypes and attitudes, ensuring and maintaining intergroup understanding, tolerance and cooperation. Trust is especially crucial, as the modernization processes in the regions acquire its specificity due to their differences and features thus determining plural modernization. This thesis is based on the concept of multiple modernities developed by Sh. Eisenstadt and others [20].

Trust reflects interaction processes in politics and economics, in institutions, in different groups (professional, territorial, ethnic, socio-economic, organizational). The various branches of knowledge are interested in trust; it emphasizes the multidimensionality of this phenomenon. Trust is studied in terms of economic, socio-psychological, cultural, political and sociological paradigms.

The researchers consider various aspects of this phenomenon, such as the analysis of causes, characteristics of types, levels, forms of trust, analysis of its functions and identification of features of the culture that causes trust.

Many scientists of the past and the present have been paying attention to this issue. J. Locke, I. Kant, A. Smith, E. Durkheim, M. Weber considered it in the context of the social contract concept; P. Blau and J. Homans – the social exchange theory; E. Giddens, N. Luhmann, R. Putnam, A. Seligman, F. Fukuyama – the transformational change concept. P. Sztompka used the sociocultural analysis to study trust.

According to A. Seligman, "trust is a consequence of the role uncertainty associated with the structural opacity of roles in the situation when systemically certain expectations are no longer viable" [13]. Anthony Giddens defines social trust as a connection of faith and confidence based on knowledge [2]. The field of trust includes political and economic relations, extends to social institutions and organizations and the social order, in general. This can be the government, insurance, banking transactions, democracy principles, scientific or professional knowledge, etc.

P. Sztompka considers trust as a "guarantee" (confidence and actions based on it), indicating that the uncertain future actions of other people or the operation of equipment or institution will be useful for us" [19]. He identifies vertical and horizontal trust, noting that trust in state and its institutions is defined as "public or vertical trust, as opposed

to horizontal that exists between citizens” [19]. The category “vertical trust” means that trust exists between partners at different levels of social hierarchy. It is citizens’ trust in government that controls people’s actions, even against their will, and restrict the range of their actions (legitimacy). Any government has to justify citizens’ trust. So, there is a set term of office to evaluate the authorities’ performance and an electoral system for people to solve their “further fate”.

The study of the nature of trust and the identification of its essence, the factors that influence it, the practices that cause, strengthen or weaken trust, the features of its formation depending on the cultural environment, the opportunities for trust-building is an important direction of modern sociology of trust.

Different conceptual approaches give us an opportunity to single out the most interesting and promising aspects of its analysis. First, various factors have an impact on the level of trust. They can be grouped by the sphere of its application: political, social, legal, psychological, etc. In each specific case there can be different combinations and the dominance of factors over each other. The issue of dominant factors and their underlying conditions remains little studied in sociology, and especially trust in terms of a region. Second, the representatives of various social groups are carriers of trust. Traditionally sociology singles out groups by socio-demographic, political and economic characteristics. However, today the processes of globalization and informatization of the society are unfolding, which create other

reasons for the formation of communities and their identity. The social society and social space structures are changing. The issue how trust is developed and widened remains unstudied. Third, there is a change in the sources of trust. The society evolution leads to the emergence of other sources of trust; the new types to be studied appear. Fourth, it is important to consider the impact of regional characteristics in terms of historical and cultural characteristics, traditions and values more profoundly. In most cases, the state of trust in the regional society is just identified and compared with the all-Russian. This article tries to analyze the factors that can be singled out at the regional level on the basis of available social data.

The complex structure of the society results in different types of trust. Moreover, the typology of trust can be multivariate in nature. Some types of trust are based on internal structural factors, others – on outside factors. Our research takes into consideration the popular typology by A. Giddens. There are two main types of trust: personalized or interpersonal trust and trust in abstract systems [2]. Trust in abstract systems, as a product of “late modernity”, performs an essential function in the society – ensures the sense of reliability in everyday relations. E. Giddens’ ideas lead to the conclusion that the sphere of trust covers political and economic relations, institutions and organizations, that is, the entire social order.

Trust helps to set up formal institutions and organizations, start households and families, as well as constitute a network of

friends and acquaintances. In addition, despite the technological progress and significant increase in knowledge about the world, the modern society still remains a “risk society”. In this case, trust is a constructive response to risks, means of overcoming uncertainty. N. Luhmann believes that trust becomes a necessary condition for social development due to people’s growing diffidence caused by the increased complexity and opacity of modern society [21].

As a combination of socially sound and socially confirmed expectations of individuals in relation to other individuals, organizations, institutions, norms and rules that constitute the essence of life, trust supports sustainability and integration of the society. It acts as a basis for horizontal and vertical social relations.

In the conditions of Russian reality, characterized by a considerable diversity of social and cultural factors developed in different regions of the country it is interesting to study how the phenomenon of trust is extended in the specific regional social space. We consider a Russian region as a unity of social, economic, political, cultural and territorial principles. At the state level due to this integrity it is a subject of socio-economic relations that performs certain functions in the domestic division of labor and forms (as a socio-political entity) certain political relations with the Center and other regions. Moreover, these relations are not reduced to the dichotomy “dominance – submission”. The region can be viewed as a dynamic self-organizing, self-replicating system (autopoiesis) [10].

The state of social trust of a territorial community, such as the Vologda Oblast

residents, and the underlying factors are studied in the public opinion monitoring carried out by ISEDТ RAS¹. We should mention that the Vologda Oblast is a rather developed region economically, and it has strong industrial potential. The population numbers about one million one hundred ninety thousand people, or almost 1% of the entire population of Russia. Despite all the difficulties created by the economic crisis the Vologda Oblast ranks higher by many indicators in comparison with other regions of the country. In terms of GRP per capita in 2013 the region ranked 38th in Russia [12].

Being industrially developed, the region makes a significant contribution to the socio-economic life of the country. The Vologda Oblast can be considered as a miniature model of Russia, even reproducing the configuration of geographical boundaries.

The territorial community gives its region predominantly positive assessment: two-thirds of the Vologda residents (75%) are “happy” and “satisfied in general that they live in their region”. Defining their attitude to the region, the residents mentioned its “beautiful

¹ The article uses data for the 2000–2013 period. The survey was conducted by ISEDТ RAS (Vologda) by a representative sample. The sample is purposeful and quoted. Representativeness of the sample is ensured by the observance of the proportions between the urban and rural population, the proportions between the inhabitants of settlements of various types (rural communities, small and medium-sized cities), age and sex structure of the oblast’s adult population. The polls are in Vologda, Cherepovets, Babayevsky District, Velikoustyugsky District, Vozhegodsky District, Gryazovetsky District, Kirillovsky District, Nikolsky District, Tarnogsky District and Sheksninsky District. The volume of a sample population is 1500 people aged over 18. The method of the survey is a questionnaire poll by place of residence of respondents. Sampling error does not exceed 3%.

nature” (about 60%), kindness and warmth of people (about 30%), considered the region as “perspective for life” (about 20%). The residents of Cherepovets, a major industrial center where the metallurgical giant Severstal is located, singled out characteristics such as “the region’s perspective for life” (48%), “many opportunities for enterprising people” (38%) [16].

Against this background there forms trust in the main political institutions, both at the federal and regional level. In such circumstances it is important to analyze institutional trust on the example of trust in the state, as it generates and maintains the standards and rules that organize the life of society. Institutional trust manifests itself most vividly through trust in the Government and the President. At the regional level institutional trust is revealed in trust in

regional authorities, government departments and non-governmental organizations.

The analysis of the public opinion polls results in the division of political institutions into groups. The first group includes the institutions with a relatively high level of trust (the President and the RF Government). At the level of regional structures it is the Governor and the regional government. The second group with an average level includes representative authorities – the State Duma and the Federation Council. At the local level this can include bodies of local self-government (LSG). The third group where the estimates are quite low includes public organizations, trade unions and parties (*tab. 1*).

The first group is the most influential. There are several reasons. The institutions represent the executive power in the state and in the region. It is that very power with which

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question “Please, indicate your attitude to the government bodies and social structures” (the response options are “I trust completely” and “I trust basically”; in % of the total number of respondents)

Answer	Survey year					
	2000–2006 (average)	2007	2008	2009	2010	2013
President	51.1	60.3	65.2	51.6	56.7	44.6
Government	38.9	41.9	60.2	46.7	52.3	38.6
Federation Council	29.1	34.9	47.6	35.9	38.3	32.7
State Duma	24.5	29.5	42.0	33.5	34.8	31.1
Oblast authorities	30.8	40.6	48.6	34.9	41.1	36.4
Local self-government	26.6	32.3	40.9	33.1	34.3	31.6
Trade unions	26.5	28.6	35.9	28.1	30.2	25.3
Public organizations	20.0	24.4	32.6	23.8	27.7	24.1
Political parties	14.7	17.6	26.8	20.0	23.7	18.1

Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISEDT RAS in 2010–2013.

we associate the state, we ask for help and support and with which we can be unsatisfied. It is the structures that have real power and material resources.

Despite the apparent downward trend in the level of people's trust in the higher authorities, nevertheless occupies a leading position among other institutions and social structures. Almost all major groups of the population associate their interests with the state to a certain extent. It is this institution that consolidates the social space of the region, giving a sense of involvement in the social space of the country.

However, this is not the only factor that supports a high level of trust in the state and the people it represents. The second aspect, in our opinion, is rooted in the political history of Russia. The method to transfer power is the following: the ruler obtains power "by fact" If earlier it was an inheritance mechanism, in the modern history it is elections. But even now politician receives power at first and then the elections are launched. There is no practice of power rotation, providing its transition to opposition political force. There have been no cases of such power delegation in the modern history of the country. This means that there is no ruler participating in the election who has not been in office before, as well as there is no opposition in the European sense of the word. There is the same practice at the regional level.

What is more, cultural memory stores the traces of events such as the Time of Troubles and the Civil War, supplemented by remembrance of "the raucous 1990s". In fact, trust is endogenous in nature, i.e. based on domestic factors. The modern history has experienced

economic crises. In the public consciousness these periods are associated with anarchy or serious difficulties in the government performance.

In the end any authorities are viewed as a lesser evil than its absence. However, nowadays the idea to elect the highest Russian officials has begun to develop in the society as the current generation grew up in totally different social and political conditions. The events on Bolotnaya square and Sakharov prospect demonstrated that this requires, first of all, "fair elections". As for the electivity mechanism, the Russians trust it.

We share L. Gudkov's point of view about institutional trust: trust in the institutions of an authoritarian character is higher and trust in the institutions of a democratic character is lower. Thus, according to the survey conducted by Levada-Center, in October 2012 fifty-two percent of the Russian population expressed their trust in the President, 50% – in the Government, 22% – in the Federation Council, 21% – in the State Duma, 23% – in local authorities, 16% – trade unions and 10% – in political parties [4]. The same trend is observed in the Vologda Oblast. The low level of trust of the region's residents is not a phenomenon or local specificity. The institutional matrices concept by S.G. Kirdina considers this aspect [6]. According to this concept, Russia is characterized by the predominance of the X-matrix, which tends to the unitary organization of power structures and formation of the vertical of power. In the Russian conditions these institutions are more efficient, as they are more common and take into account historical and cultural features of the country.

The economic and social factors along with political and historical are sources of trust. First and foremost it is economic prosperity.

Economically prosperous social groups of the population trust the institutions that provide them with this economic status. According to the public opinion monitoring carried out by ISED T RAS, 60% of the respondents with high and average income level have trust in the highest authorities (*tab. 2*). According to the research results, this level has been maintained since 2000. The level of

trust in the Government in this group is also above average and amounts to approximately 50% for this period. The level of trust in other structures is higher than in other groups. As a whole it is higher than the average level for the region as a whole.

In our opinion, trust of this population group is mostly rational and based on the understanding of the effectiveness of the state policy. However, according to the monitoring data, the share of those who belong to this group is about 40% of the respondents. It consists of wealthy people, confident

Table 2. Distribution of answers to the question "Please, indicate your attitude to the government bodies and public structures" (the response options are "I trust completely" and "I trust basically" – among the respondents with high and average income level)

Answer	Social identity: high and average income level						
	2000	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	April 2014
<i>RF President</i>							
I trust	62.1	64.2	69.0	57.2	62.3	60.6	62.7
I do not trust	8.0	10.1	3.6	8.4	11.4	12.8	10.7
<i>FR Government</i>							
I trust	48.5	43.1	50.3	52.0	59.0	53.8	54.0
I do not trust	16.3	24.3	15.3	11.8	12.4	17.2	17.3
<i>State Duma</i>							
I trust	27.4	32.4	36.8	39.6	43.0	43.7	40.3
I do not trust	30.9	30.9	23.9	18.5	21.4	21.6	25.2
<i>Oblast authorities</i>							
I trust	33.7	39.2	46.9	42.3	48.8	49.1	41.0
I do not trust	22.7	25.3	17.5	18.2	18.7	17.9	27.5
<i>Local self-government</i>							
I trust			40.8	42.2	45.5	42.9	38.5
I do not trust			21.6	20.0	21.0	21.9	29.9

Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISED T RAS in 2010–2014.

in the future: the business environment, professionals and employees. This is the potential to rely on when implementing modernization in the region. We should pay attention to entrepreneurs, a social group that provides economic growth and can contribute to the creation of a representative layer of socially responsible citizens. Today, according to the government estimates, small and medium business amounts to about one-third of total employment in the economy [3]. Investment and support for small business will develop. For this group trust has a multi-factor value. It provides interaction within business networks; it is required in cooperation with various state agencies. Thus, this group requires the most careful study. There will be research in this direction in the future.

The low level of institutional trust as a whole has noticeable consequences, with the low level of the population’s social activity being one of them (*tab. 3*).

Fifty percent of the Vologda residents consider their participation in public and political life as passive and rather passive. Such decrease is caused by the fact that people do not share the goals the state and social structures are pursuing. There are no target programs at the state or regional

level, which can unite people. Moreover, the population does not participate in social activities, as this type of activity has lost its relevance at the society level. Such activity is not encouraged any more; it is discussed neither in society, nor in the media. If the Soviet period considered public activities as a feature of a citizen and had sustainable institutional forms for its implementation beginning with little stars and ending with the party or the state leadership, nowadays civil activity remains unclaimed.

The public organizations either solve concrete problems of the organization or exist formally. Both the low level of citizens’ activity and the low efficiency of public organizations indicate the alienation of these subjects from the state, authorities and public life. The formation of civic society in this country and in the Vologda Oblast, in particular, is a long and complicated process.

Citizens’ activity in other areas decreases as well. The study conducted by ISEDT RAS in 2008–2010 in the framework of the project “Socio-cultural portrait of the region” [9, 14] revealed the changes in the way the region’s residents spend their free time. People visit public places and cultural establishments less frequently; there is an obvious decline in demand for cultural services. And this trend

Table 3. Distribution of answers to the question: “How would you assess the degree of your participation in public and political life?” (in % of the number of respondents)

Answer	2011	February 2013
Active and rather active	27.1	23.0
Passive and rather passive	48.3	49.8
Difficult to answer	24.6	27.2

Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISEDT RAS in 2010–2013

Table 4. Distribution of answers to the question: "Do you feel responsible for the state of affairs?"* (in % of the number of respondents)

Indicator	2011	2013	2014	Dynamics (+ / -) 2014	
				to 2013	to 2011
<i>In your family</i>					
Yes	77.9	80.4	82.0	+2	+4
No	13.3	10.5	10.5	0	-3
Index	164.6	169.9	171.5	+2	+7
Difficult to answer	8.8	9.1	7.5	-2	-1
<i>At your work</i>					
Yes	52.7	49.1	48.3	-1	-4
No	27.8	29.5	31.8	+2	+4
Index	124.9	119.6	116.5	-3	-8
Difficult to answer	19.5	21.4	19.9	-2	0
<i>In your house, in the neighborhood, where you live</i>					
Yes	38.0	37.2	38.2	+1	0
No	40.7	38.1	43.4	+5	+3
Index	97.3	99.1	94.8	-4	-2
Difficult to answer	21.3	24.7	18.4	-6	-3
<i>In your city, district</i>					
Yes	15.6	10.9	14.8	+4	-1
No	57.1	57.6	60.5	+3	+3
Index	58.5	53.3	54.3	+1	-4
Difficult to answer	27.3	31.5	24.7	-7	-3
<i>In the Vologda Oblast</i>					
Yes	9.2	5.8	8.2	+2	-1
No	63.5	61.4	66.0	+5	+3
Index	45.7	44.4	42.2	-2	-4
Difficult to answer	27.3	32.8	25.8	-7	-2
<i>In the country in general</i>					
Yes	9,8	4,9	7,8	+3	-2
No	62,9	60,9	66,2	+5	+3
Index	46,9	44,0	41,6	-2	-5
Difficult to answer	27,3	34,1	26,0	-8	-1
* The question is asked once a year. Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISEDT RAS in 2010–2014.					

is universal and does not depend on the type of settlement. The region's residents prefer passive forms of leisure, such as watching TV, using the Internet [16].

The innovative activity of the population reduces as well. According to the supervisor of the project "Socio-cultural portrait of the region" Doctor of Economics A.A. Shabunova, "over the last 5 years 14% of the Vologda Oblast residents have taken part in the creation or introduction of something new, of which 4% have been organizers, and 10% have participated on the equal basis with the others. The question has remained unclear for one in five Vologda residents. However, it should be noted that 14% is a kind of a standard for active participation in innovation. So, the innovation activity of the population in the region is close to the standard; at the same time, the low index of innovativeness suggests that the population does not use their potential fully [17].

The negative consequences of the low level of institutional trust are the following: reduced responsibility of the citizens for what is happening in the country, region, city, etc. – the wider the scale of social space is, the lower the self-esteem of the citizens and the higher the level of alienation from what is happening around them are. People take into account the interests of their family, friends and work.

The state of alienation that accompanies the low level of institutional trust, leads to the fact that the Vologda residents demonstrate a higher level of unwillingness to participate in the public life of the country and a lack of faith in their own strength. The data presented in *table 4* fully correlate with the data in *table 5*,

which indicate that the Vologda citizens do not believe in the opportunity to influence the state of affairs around them.

Moreover, this indicator will decrease in the future.

These data allow us, on the one hand, to get additional information regarding the level of trust in public institutions, and, on the other, to identify the state of affairs in the community where interpersonal communication is manifested. In this regard, it is interesting to evaluate interpersonal trust, which is a basis for institutional trust (*table 6*). Trust is formed due to interpersonal interaction and cooperation, exists in formal and informal institutions. That is why it becomes a basis for creating social networks, contributes to the strengthening of trust in existing institutions. Personalized trust appears as a source of "feeling of honesty and authenticity of a person" [2].

In other words, according to Giddens the trust mechanism minimizes the threat of "the loss of personal meaning".

It is necessary to distinguish the assessment of people's activity and willingness to participate in the activities of any communities (*tab. 7*). Therefore, the increase in the level of willingness of people to interact, unite with others can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it is the potential that helps to improve the effectiveness of civic society structures. It requires the work of NGOs and local authorities, considered as a boundary structure between the civic society and the state. Local government reflects the level of the society–state integration, the boundaries of citizens' participation in the discussion of the issues important for the state.

Table 5. What do you think, you can personally influence the state of affairs today?* (in % of the number of respondents)

Answer	2011	2013	2014	Dynamics (+ / -) 2014.	
				to 2013	to 2011
<i>In your family</i>					
Yes	77.1	76.9	77.5	+1	0
No	12.7	12.8	13.2	0	+1
Difficult to answer	10.1	10.3	9.3	-1	-1
<i>At your work</i>					
Yes	50.7	42.9	40.9	-2	-10
No	29.6	36.1	38.3	+2	+9
Difficult to answer	19.7	21.1	20.9	0	+1
<i>In your house, in the neighborhood, where you live</i>					
Yes	35.6	34.5	33.5	-1	-2
No	42.7	41.1	47.1	+6	+4
Difficult to answer	21.7	24.5	19.4	-5	-2
<i>In your city, district</i>					
Yes	12.3	7.1	9.4	+2	-3
No	62.1	65.7	68.6	+3	+6
Difficult to answer	25.7	27.2	22.0	-5	-4
<i>In the Vologda Oblast</i>					
Yes	7.7	3.0	4.1	+1	-4
No	66.6	69.1	73.3	+4	+7
Difficult to answer	25.7	27.9	22.5	-5	-3
<i>In the country in general</i>					
Yes	6.6	2.5	3.7	+1	-3
No	67.4	69.5	73.5	+4	+6
Difficult to answer	26.0	27.9	22.8	-5	-3
* The question is asked once a year. Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISEDT RAS in 2010–2014.					

Table 6. Distribution of answers to the question: “Who can you trust?”*
(in % of the number of respondents)

Answer	Date	Vologda	Cherepovets	Districts	Oblast
Nowadays you can trust nobody	Apr. 2014	26.8	24.6	30.3	27.9
	Feb. 2013	25.1	21.6	32.5	27.9
	Dec. 2011	27.9	23.3	24.0	24.7
	Aug. 2010	18.7	22.6	31.3	26.1
Only close friends and relatives	Apr. 2014	57.9	55.2	50.0	53.4
	Feb. 2013	51.5	61.5	48.3	52.5
	Dec. 2011	57.5	54.1	57.3	56.5
	Aug. 2010	67.8	63.4	51.1	58.1
I can trust most people I know	Apr. 2014	11.2	15.2	11.1	12.2
	Feb. 2013	19.6	14.8	13.3	15.2
	Dec. 2011	11.8	20.7	15.7	16.1
	Aug. 2010	10.9	12.5	13.8	12.8
It is necessary to trust all people without exception	Apr. 2014	2.1	0.8	5.0	3.1
	Feb. 2013	1.9	0.5	2.0	1.6
	Dec. 2011	2.3	1.8	2.9	2.5
	Aug. 2010	0.9	1.0	3.5	2.3

* The question has been asked since 2010.

Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISEDT RAS in 2010–2014.

Table 7. Are you ready to cooperate with other people for any joint action to protect common interests? (in % of the number of respondents)

Answer	2011	2013	2014	Dynamics (+ / -) 2014	
				to 2013	to 2011
Ready and rather ready	47.1	43.0	54.6	+12	+8
Not ready and rater not ready	25.2	19.9	15.1	-5	-10
Index of readiness to cooperate	121.9	123.1	139.5	+16	+18
Difficult to answer	27.7	37.1	30.3	-7	+3

Source: data of the monitoring of the economic situation and social well-being of the population in the Vologda Oblast carried out by ISEDT RAS, 2010–2014.

On the other hand, the increased index of readiness to cooperate can indicate a higher degree of dissatisfaction with the activities of local governments and state bodies. This is potential for cooperation aimed at expressing people's own interests.

It is very important to identify which social groups can support the processes of modernization and become their subjects. The study of institutional trust in the region can help identify these groups. We have noted above that the middle class can be considered as support. The support group includes the residents of Vologda and Cherepovets, two largest cities in the region, its administrative, cultural and industrial centers. They give their assessments most actively. This suggests that they are aware of the performance of state bodies and public organizations, have cooperated with them or monitored their activities. About 70% of the citizens express their attitude to the institutions. But almost 30% of the respondents find it difficult to answer, or trust no one, or refuse to answer this question. As for rural areas, the share of those expressing trust/distrust to different structures is less than half (about 45%). A large part of the population abstains from evaluation.

This fact can testify not only languor of the villagers, but also a lack of necessary information. It is possible that the residents of small towns and rural settlements do not expect positive changes due to the authorities' performance. The low estimates and assessment activity in rural areas requires a deeper analysis of the current situation and can indicate reduced social capital in communities of this type and a lack of

conditions to realize their potential due to the loss or limitation of physical, social and cultural resources [7]. Trust contributes to the accumulation of various assets in society, such as social, political, economic and cultural. They ensure the society reproduction in a particular area.

Let us consider those assets, which are formed in the political sphere, as an example. The institutions of an authoritarian nature are supported. They are the state, the military, the Church.

The activities of the civic society structures are weak; however, the statistics reveals a significant number of NGOs in the region. Thus, according to the Civic Chamber of the Vologda Oblast, 1892 NGOs function there. Among them there are public associations (507), trade unions (332), religious organizations (140), regional branches of political parties (38), public associations (17), social movements (14) and public funds (9) [10]. Although the nonprofit organizations are numerous, the level of trust on the part of the population is low (*tab. 8*).

In our opinion, there are several reasons. First of all, NGOs express interests of a narrow circle of people. Organizations for veterans, people with disabilities, stamp collectors, animal lovers, etc. work mainly with those who belong to their group by the main indicator (veteran, disabled, amateur). Their activity is characterized by the focus on concrete interests of the group and unwillingness to unite with other structures to solve common tasks. Most organizations do not direct their effort to meet the needs of the general public. Hence, we get extremely low assessments of NGOs, observe citizens'

Table 8. Vologda citizens' notion of the activities of public organizations (in % of the number of respondents)

Do you know about the activities of non-governmental organizations (regional offices of political parties, trade unions, religious, human rights, charitable organizations, societies, etc.) in the Vologda Oblast?				
I have interacted with them, I definitely know	11.2	9.9	3.3	7.1
I have heard something	34.0	35.4	37.1	35.9
I do not know anything	35.3	42.3	31.9	35.5
Difficult to answer	19.5	12.4	27.6	21.5
Do you take part in their activities? Are you a member of any of them?				
I am a member of the organization	4.7	7.1	3.8	4.9
I participate as a volunteer	5.5	10.1	4.9	6.4
I do not participate and I am not a member	88.6	79.0	90.6	87.0
What do you think, to what extent non-governmental organizations affect life in the region?				
They have a great impact	5,2	5,6	5,3	5,3
They have a little impact	22,6	23,0	20,0	21,5
They have no effect	25,7	37,0	17,2	24,6
Difficult to answer	46,5	34,4	57,5	48,6
Source: ISEDT RAS monitoring data (news release, no. 12 (1068), 2014).				

low participation in their work, low awareness of the existence and activities of these organizations.

It reduces both the potential of civic society and the level of social capital of the region.

Summing it up, we should note that to develop the region and launch the effective modernization processes it is necessary to assess current social resources and social capital, with trust being their main indicator. Trust can not be considered as static. It is very dynamic in nature, diverse in forms and social functions. The carriers of trust are different actors. To build modernization policy it is important to understand what social groups are carriers of the modernization potential, how they are ready to use it.

It is important to understand the reverse side of the process: the level of trust of government structures in its citizens. This would give an opportunity to assess the level and nature of the existing reciprocity. The study of government's trust in the population would place the partners on equal footing.

In this context it is necessary to develop and implement the program focused on the revival of social trust, containing measures that can improve civic engagement. Such a program should be based on the social policy of regional authorities. This document should highlight the following areas of their activity: providing citizens with the environment to create a decent life and realize creative potential; ensuring access to quality education; minimizing social

risks and protecting certain social groups; guaranteeing social partnership and balance of economic freedom and public interests; forming the middle class and reducing the levels of social polarization; developing local self-government, the main indicator of real democracy.

The elaboration of such a program requires not only the analysis of the situation,

but also the search of the ways to influence the actors: on the one hand, to improve competence and promote innovation activity and, on the other hand, to reduce the level of aggressiveness. The program should result in the assessment of the achieved level of trust, the maturity of the civic society and the achievement of the modernization objectives.

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ROUND TABLE: SOCIETY AND SOCIOLOGY IN MODERN RUSSIA

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Power and society: search for the ways of formation of mutual trust



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Abstract. The article considers the issues associated with the low level of political trust in modern Russia and its consequences for the political regime; it also considers the sources of political trust and the ways of its formation. The article summarizes the most important theoretical and practical aspects using the works of researchers specializing in this field and fundamental texts on the subject. The author emphasizes the special responsibility of the government for the building of mutual trust in politics. He offers some ways to build political trust, focused on public awareness, education, and involvement of society in joint activities.

Key words: trust, political trust, sources and ways to develop political trust.

The phrase "search for the ways of formation of mutual trust" suggests that nowadays there are no ways or they are ineffective. The article poses a problem of the low level of trust of the Russian population in

political institutions, authorities and political figures, regularly observed by the sociologists [1]. In other words, we are talking about political trust, because the parties in this case are assumed to be "society" and "power"¹.

¹ This statement by itself is too broad, because these very general and ambiguous categories hide a wide range of different phenomena that deserve separate consideration. Society can be understood as population in general and as its socially and politically active, involved part – public, civil society – the concept is as popular as empirically elusive, etc. Power is even a deeper concept: it is a process, a state and a subject. However, for the purposes of this article the broad definition of political trust parties seems justified without special discussion.

In this work we will use the following framework: “power” is a set of political institutions, government bodies (political system), political leaders and the bureaucracy as a specific socio-professional group, “society” – broad masses of the Russian population, frequently acting as “electorate” in elections of different level and “respondents” in sociological surveys.

The concept of trust

Trust, in general, is presumption that the object of trust will behave in compliance with the positive expectations and values of the subject of trust, confidence in the correctness and predictability of its actions, confidence, which makes mutual cooperation and commitment possible [2, 3]. Trusting a person, group or organization avoids anxiety and the need to control the partner’s behavior partially or completely. In this sense, trust is an effective means to reduce transaction costs in all social, economic and political relations.

Trust, considered in political terms, (so-called political trust) occurs when citizens evaluate the authority and its institutions, politics in general and/or individual political leaders as fulfilling their promises, effective, fair and honest. Political trust, in other words, is citizens’ judgment that the political system and politicians are sympathetic to their interests, comply with their values and attitudes and they will do what is right even in the absence of continuous monitoring [4]; it is society’s belief that the future reality (due to the performance of the ruling group) will coincide with social expectations, and the resources will be for the common good.

Consequently, the lack of trust in the government means that the society does not consider the authorities’ distribution of resources as fair and consistent with the common good, and the elite as honest. Feeling distrust on the part of the society and fearing that in the crisis they will not be able to rely on it, the authorities, in turn, do not trust the society and strive to keep it aside from making really important decisions.

The aspects of trust

Political trust is a multidimensional phenomenon, associated with many other important socio-political constructs. We will mention only the key ones.

Legitimacy (legitimacy, legality, propriety or diffuse support – in terms of D. Easton [5, 6]) – a feeling that the institutions and authorities are formed, the leaders are elected (appointed) and act (take and implement decisions) on the basis of universal moral principles of dominant morality and generally accepted norms of behavior. This aspect of trust is rooted in the culture and history of the society, sustainable over time and varies usually due to profound social trauma or long-term gradual adaptation to changes.

Efficiency (effectiveness, commitment, professionalism, competence, specific support in the concept of D. Easton) is a feeling that the relevant institutions, authorities, political leaders and executors can achieve the stated goals, know and fulfill the population’s expectations. This aspect of trust is related to the expected or perceived performance and has a more situational, volatile nature.

Overlaying both of these aspects define a specific level of political trust in the society at the moment, as well as a level of political trust of the individual.

These aspects are connected with “feedback loop”: the high level of trust gives the heads an opportunity to take measures to improve economic and political efficiency; the effectiveness strengthens trust. The opposite is true: the policy that does not produce positive results quickly undermines trust in the authorities, which narrows the possibilities of their political action.

Importance of political trust

The modern theories consider political trust as a key element of the network of causal relationships, including political socialization, the institutions' performance, political support, citizens' participation in political life [7, 8]. In these theories, trust is an important measurement of political culture and political trust is perceived as a reflection of a level of trust prevailing in the society. Trust, in other words, is an underlying emotion of the “social contract” between the managers and the managed – promises in exchange for trust and support.

In general, trust becomes a central indicator of the attitude the society has towards politics, a fundamental condition for the political system viability. The relationship between trust in the government and effective governance is circular: while trust in the authorities and its representatives facilitates effective management, the effective governance, in turn, creates and strengthens trust in all its variants.

Trust becomes especially important in the periods of profound socio-economic and

political change, modernization shifts and reforms. The credit of trust is the “permission” the government gets due to a high level of trust to take even unpopular measures, based on the expectation that the actions will, ultimately, result in social or financial benefits and improve the state of affairs. If not, then, as a rule, the level of trust becomes low.

The certain level of mistrust and suspicion towards the authorities among some citizens is a necessary condition for the viability of the non-totalitarian political regime, therefore it is quite dynamic and should not be considered as a threat to political stability [4; pp. 46-48].

Where does political trust/distrust come from?

According to the modern concepts, *at the macro level* trust is a constellation of national values and current assessment of the effectiveness of the political system and its elements. It is based on the degree of coincidence of interests and values of the subject and object of political trust, evaluated through the prism of public statements, plans and programs of the object and compliance of the object's activities with the previously made statements. *At the micro level* individual trust is formed both in the process of intergenerational socialization and due to the experience of interaction with others [9].

Thus, in Russia mistrust is rooted in the cultural features of the Russians and caused by their negative assessment of the current institutions performance. The frame of the government perception got during socialization forces citizens to perceive any interaction with the government as a problem.

The negative personal experience with a particular politician or official negatively influences the citizen's perception of the authorities and reinforces generalized distrust.

Creation of the preconditions of political trust in Russia

First of all, the authorities, the ruling elite should recognize the fact of distrust on the part of society and realize that it is impossible to overcome political distrust only by means of propaganda ("PR"). Even with the highly authoritarian propaganda machine the high level of trust can emerge only as a consequence of the mobilizing potential of the unifying ideology or value system. As soon as this ideology breaks down, the car loses "fuel".

You can not rely on the spontaneous formation of trust on the basis of self-organization of civil society [10]. The development of civil society in the conditions of radical distrust leads to the formation of counter-elites, unable and unwilling to cooperate with the authorities. The recent events in Ukraine are another example and an unambiguous lesson.

Foundations of political trust

The careful study of theoretical foundations and empirical findings of the political trust concept in relation to the effective management shows that the political leaders, the "authorities" in a broad sense, can create and maintain trust by implementing the following strategies:

- To show genuine concern for the society welfare, while maintaining the unity between words and deeds and demonstrating acceptable behavior, shaping MORAL TRUST.

- To strive to represent effectively the interests of their voters, while keeping the ultimate goal of serving the common good. It creates ECONOMIC TRUST, focused on economic efficiency and its consequences: creation of a favorable (safe, comfortable) social environment, protection of citizens from internal and external threats, provision of an acceptable standard of living.

- To implement political reforms, such as decentralization and implementation of innovations in public administration, etc., with political legitimacy and real fight against corruption being in focus. The prevention of corruption and scandals is a precondition for the maintenance of political trust. Corruption (the feeling of corruption) undermines trust so much that it takes a lot of time to restore it.

Together with political reforms to carry out social reforms that will strengthen the civil society representation. This will strengthen SOCIAL TRUST, aimed at catalyzing effects of social capital.

Technological prerequisites and ways of building trust

Obviously, the problem of distrust and the task of restoring trust are diversified and reciprocal. It is impossible for one party to build trust, for example, by means of enlightenment of the ignorant masses "from above".

Both parties need to take steps towards each other, encouraging forms of cooperation, when the sustainable stereotypes of mutual distrust are gradually overcoming and the experience, structures and the culture of mutual trust are forming.

The society needs to acquire knowledge and understand the character and results of

the government performance, learn to put forward and defend both their demands and initiatives, develop forms of participation. It is the only way for it to feel involved in the public affairs, committed to the common goal and to overcome the alienation. The government has to take pains to build trust using a wide range of tools. Some of them are presented below:

- information is a mandatory, but not the only and, certainly, not the universal, way to build trust in the government and its representatives;
- training is a necessary part of ensuring citizens' participation in the discussion and solution of management tasks and social problems;
- research, obtaining feedback, which gives knowledge, understanding of the society's interests and values;
- transparency of the procedures to exercise power and make decisions;
- creating infrastructure of participation and vertical lifts, support of social projects and initiatives;
- removal of excessive administrative barriers, simplification and automation of routine procedures, elimination, where possible, of a human factor, standardization of business conduct of "front offices" – employees who work directly with the population;
- correct behavior of authorities, absence of double standards, prevention of corruption procedures and regulations;
- delegation of public powers, resources and responsibilities to the society;

- involvement of society in various forms of collective discussion and decision-making, monitoring and evaluation activities of the institutions performance, formation of government bodies.

The most traditional and largely discredited, but practically the only way of political participation is participation in the elections. **Confidence in the just and fair competition in the elections** along with the very fact of the victory of one of the parties is a basis for trust in the winner, even if the voter has not voted for the winner. Doubt in the fact of victory (fraud, manipulation of results) or confidence in its unfair nature (use of illegal methods of struggle, administrative resources) is a source of distrust, deprivation of support and, in some cases, active protest against the formed government.

However, in the modern context, we should actively analyze and use **unconventional forms of political participation**, including on the basis of modern information and communication technologies, accept technological innovation to make the authorities more efficient, transparent and accessible to citizens, ensure real transparency of government procedures and effective channels of political participation, such as electronic government, electronic participation and "crowdsourcing".

The risk here is that the authorities can just maintain the illusion of effective participation of the population. People become disappointed in such pseudo-democratic forms quickly and it takes the government a lot of time to gain trust.

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Cultural identity as a factor in strengthening the integrity of Russia



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Abstract. The article discusses cultural identity as a driving force and a reserve for strengthening the integrity of the Russian state. The author analyzes the modern social and cultural situation in Russia, reveals the foundations of the phenomenon of contemporary culture, its role in society; he outlines the main directions of research into modern culture as a factor promoting the integrity of Russia.

Key words: cultural identity, norms of identification, productivity of culture as a factor in the integrity of Russia.

Understanding the essence of identity processes in the Russian society is possible only with understanding the content of modern Russian culture, its features and current state.

As part of the global civilization process, the Russian culture still maintains its unique nature. While serving the interests of the state, culture meets neither the challenge of state building nor the requirements to strengthen the integrity of Russia.

However, evaluating the cultural state of our society, it is necessary to take into account the priorities of traditional cultural patterns in the value system of the population. According to the VTSIOM studies (2013), the Russians (75% of the respondents) consider domestic culture and art as one of the main sources of pride. This suggests that the Russian culture is the expression of national power and, consequently, the potential to facilitate the statehood and the political system integrity.

Considering culture as an indicator of potential integrity of the Russian society, we will touch on the most essential aspects of its manifestation. However, we believe that the modern Russian culture is multifunctional, diverse and is a means of certain creativity, creative activity of a person, embodied in cultural values (products) and spirituality of a person (according to the concept of cultural activities by V.E. Davidovich and Yu.A. Zhdanov). Thus, culture is a measure of social progress, which is manifested through specific culture indicators. Cultural life embodies humanistic goals of society's development in practice. They, in turn,

determine the values of cultural socialization, giving a person access to identification processes.

The identification processes require the analysis of the culture functioning in the society, particularly from the point of view of the cultural influence of different social groups. In addition, the activities of cultural institutions, mass media and leisure activities at the level of institutions and personal preferences of citizens should be taken into account when analyzing the identification process of strengthening the integrity of Russia.

Among the most important socio-cultural factors that have an impact on cultural identity we can single out the following:

First, culture contributes to the formation of creativity standards, which affects the development of new trends in art, science, boosts innovative discoveries in general and encourages the development of knowledge and the transformation of the world. Culture promotes the development of new territories and communication, thus creating favorable conditions for life. However, this can also have negative consequences, such as expansion of nature, undermining common cultural ties, manifestation of different kinds of fanaticism and distribution of the negative impact of mass media.

Second, cultural identification is implemented in work, recreation and procreation. The voice channel of communication is very relevant as it expresses a certain level of culture. Development and improvement of the Russian language is of paramount

importance for this type of identification processes. Russian is currently becoming a more significant form of identification, which updates the language of the different professions, the voice channel of politicians and youth relations.

Third, the feature of identification processes taking place in Russia today is that they are carried out in the context of global accumulation and storage of information. In the modern socio-cultural environment there are many different information flows. In this regard, cultural identification can promote renewal of oral and written speech, radio- and telecommunications and spread of the social experience of moral and religious attitudes. The conditions of information explosion, the modern Russian society is experiencing nowadays, on the one hand, globalize these processes, and, on the other hand, create additional conditions for new risks.

Fourth, culture helps to shape the regulatory and normative conditions of identification. It is culture that supports sustainability of traditions, helps to relate the identification theory to specific actions, coordinate the various types of the society's identification potential. Culture develops identification standards (technical, moral, aesthetic, natural-climatic or environmental) that provide subjective and objective conditions of life.

Fifth, culture relieves stress in the identification process. The kinds of artistic culture – theatre, cinema, literature, painting, music – play a special role here. This hedonistic component is manifested in

different types of leisure activities. Special identification efforts are required when addressing the economization of culture and its productivity in market conditions.

Sixth, nowadays the identification of culture and consideration of socio-cultural content of these processes set a task to create effective mechanisms for their protection. Cultural security can be implemented through the products of material culture (drugs, clothes, shoes, weapons, chemical countermeasures) and through spiritual culture (leisure, decent music, art, technical design, etc.).

Today when we find ourselves in the risk society, cultural security becomes crucial in identification processes.

Using culture as an identifying factor of strengthening the integrity of the Russian society, it is necessary to bear in mind that the social paradigm of this phenomenon involves the selection of number of levels: conceptual (research methods), empirical (specific sociological study of culture) and applied (management, economics, organization of cultural institutions).

The conceptual level is characterized primarily by the complex content and multifunctionality of culture as a sociosystem. At this level we develop the identification theory according to the specific laws of culture functioning. In this regard the identification of the lifestyle, education, science, mass media, national relations and even religious beliefs are possible. Obviously, it is caused by the updated categorical framework and scientific language of the theory and

sociology of culture, which, in turn, is based on the social experience of culture and the processes of cultural self-identification of the society.

The conceptual structure and methodological content of sociocultural identity are largely determined through the empirical content of culture as a social institution. The sociological studies help to indicate a variety of empirical indicators and specific forms of the identification process implementation by means of cultural activities.

The emphasis on the empirical component gives an opportunity to define the content of the sociocultural system of one or another institute of the cultural-spiritual sphere and reveal moral values, aesthetic standards and cultural behavior parameters required for successful identification.

This, in turn, helps to solve the identification problems of applied nature, offer effective specific proposals on the improvement of the society's integrity and the management of these processes.

The identification can be carried out properly only with the cultural analysis of the society and the process of culture functioning in the society as the most important conditions to learn all socio-cultural aspects of life. Building identification paradigm, it

is necessary to consider not only economic factors, but also to define clearly the non-economic components of this process. Obviously, culture is becoming increasingly dominant today. It should be noted that the humanistic nature of identification processes in the Russian society makes culture a priority to strengthen the integrity of Russia. The spiritual part of the society as a whole and its individual members, in particular, has a significant influence on the processes of identification and promotes the effective solution of the identification integrity of the society.

Considering culture as identifying potential of these processes, it is necessary to rely on the images of culture, which are traditional for the Russian society and which reflect moral foundations of the Russian people. This is one of the important requirements for the appropriate use of culture as identification potential.

The analysis of the real state of society, its spiritual and cultural life, the use of the results of sociological understanding of these processes allow us to hope for a successful solution of the problems of cultural identification as a precondition for further development of the modern Russian state's integrity.

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Sociological analysis of the efficiency of social interaction between law enforcement agencies, civil society and population at the regional level



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Abstract. The article describes the capabilities of sociological analysis of condition and results of social interaction between law enforcement bodies, population, and civil society institutions; it also sets out the tasks to be solved in the course of such analysis at the regional level (case study of the Republic of Bashkortostan).

Key words: law enforcement agencies, civil society, social interaction, social efficiency, region.

The reform of law enforcement of the Russian state as a whole and its individual structures (the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federal Service of Punishment Fulfillment) and the adoption of the new legislation regulating public relations in the field of law enforcement (the Federal

Law "On police", which came into force January 1, 2011) aim to improve social efficiency of law enforcement agencies. This efficiency means a socially approved level of public safety and law enforcement, high satisfaction with the performance of law enforcement bodies and trust in them,

willingness, commitment and real assistance to law enforcement agencies by the citizens and civic society institutions.

The national historical and foreign contemporary experience indicates that social efficiency of law enforcement agencies can be achieved only on the basis of close cooperation between state law enforcement agencies and civic society.

Such interaction can not only contribute to a more successful solution of law enforcement agencies' professional tasks (disclosure, prevention of crimes, detection of persons who have committed criminal acts or have been witnesses, victims, etc.), but expectedly affect the changes in the structure, dynamics and scale of crime. Criminality will be restrained, its most dangerous forms minimized and its scale significantly reduced.

In addition, close cooperation between law enforcement bodies and civic society contributes to the development of the civic society itself through the self-organization of the population by means of associations of law enforcement orientation and pursuit of public law enforcement activities.

However, this potential forming at the level of legislation as a necessary condition to form and develop the rule of law is still not realized. In most cases, such social interaction is just declared, but not actively and widely implemented. It causes distrust in law enforcement among the population.

According to our research¹ conducted in 2010–2013 in the Republic of Bashkortostan (the sample was 1200 units annually), 48.8% of the respondents trusted judicial bodies in 2012; 49.2% – prosecutors, 40.8% – internal affairs bodies and 52.6 – the Federal Security Service. The low level of trust is based on dissatisfaction with the state of law and order in the republic (29.0% of the respondents in 2012 and 31.4% in 2013). In 2012 51.8% of the respondents felt safe due to the work of law enforcement agencies against 32.2% of the respondents who did not; in 2013 – 55.0 and 27.9%, respectively.

At this level of trust and satisfaction with the work of law enforcement agencies it is difficult to create an effective mechanism of social interaction between them and civic society. In 2010–2011 the respondents assessed the level of interaction of the population with law enforcement agencies as average – 44.4 and 33.4%, respectively and as low – 35.9 and 43.4%. In 2013 24.0% of the respondents estimated the level of interaction as average and 43.7% of the respondents as low.

Unrealized potential of interaction with civic society is caused by the incomplete character of the state judicial system reform and, above all, the reform of the internal

¹ The survey was conducted in the Republic of Bashkortostan by the Laboratory at Eastern Humanities Academy of Economics and Law annually in 2010–2013 by means of the questionnaire method. The sample volume was 1200 units. The sample included five characteristics: gender, age, place of residence, occupation, education of the respondents. The given percentages were calculated of the total number of respondents.

affairs bodies. Thus, 52.2% of the respondents in 2012 and 37.8% in 2013 do not witness major changes in the work of internal affairs bodies after the adoption and implementation of the federal law "On police". Only 12.6% and 15.8% of the respondents mentioned significant positive changes in 2012 and 2013, respectively.

The problem of interaction of law enforcement bodies with civic society is different in regions.

Depending on the region it is possible to speak about the presence and maturity of the socio-economic, legal and organizational conditions for the development of such interaction.

The society's participation in ensuring public safety and order, as well as crime, its characteristics and dynamics have regional features.

This naturally assumes the special, including sociological, research in the crime rate characteristics in the region, the analysis of the factors determining this situation in the region, the study of the features of regional law enforcement bodies' performance, including the practice of social interaction with civic society in the law enforcement sphere and the results of this interaction.

At the regional level it is necessary to analyze the measures of the conditions maturity (social, legal and other), determining the mechanism of interaction.

The key conditions are the following: maturity of civic society; the level of legal culture and social activity of the population,

including activity in the sphere of law enforcement; development of social interaction between civic society institutions and law enforcement agencies; potential willingness of society and law enforcement employees to cooperate.

It is also important to consider the overall features of interaction of law enforcement bodies and society and the specificity of the interaction of each of these bodies.

It is possible to solve the following problems in the course of the sociological analysis:

- to analyze the state and characteristics of the crime situation in the region and the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in its stabilization;
- to consider domestic and foreign practice of interaction between law enforcement bodies and civic society institutions aimed at combating crime and enforcing the law;
- to describe the contents and results of the reform of state law enforcement bodies in the context of interaction with civic society;
- to analyze the current and forming legal framework and social conditions for the formation of a new mechanism of interaction between law enforcement bodies and civic society institutions in combating crime and enforcing the law;
- to review the current forms and directions of social interaction between law enforcement bodies and civic society in the republic and to assess their performance using the developed indicators system; at the same time, this

system should include not only legal and administrative, but also social performance indicators;

- to reveal the contents of public law enforcement through the ratio of its public and professional principles;

- to justify the ways of increasing the efficiency of social interaction between law enforcement bodies and civic society in the republic.

However, it is impossible for sociology to fully study the issue of effective interaction between law enforcement bodies and civic society, as the problem is complex.

Therefore, it is important to consider and use methodological approaches and methods of legal science, political science, social psychology, ethics and pedagogy.

Professional vocation: on the subject of non-economic factors in economic growth



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Abstract. The article substantiates the relevance of sociological analysis of a phenomenon such as professional vocation. Professional vocation is considered a characteristic feature of human potential. The author proposes to study the phenomenon of vocation as part of non-economic factors in economic growth.

Key words: professional vocation, human potential, social well-being, work motivation, innovation development of society.

In the conditions of society's innovative development people pay attention to the importance of human potential, the issues of motivation, incentives of creative and professional activity, the mechanisms forming the spiritual and emotional connection between people and their profession, the strategic goals of profession and social values. The phenomenon of professional vocation is considered as a source of innovation activity motivation and a "point of growth" of human potential.

The phenomenon of professional vocation attracts attention of a wide range of specialists.

This phenomenon reflects spiritual connection between people and their profession and is associated with a high level of commitment and dedication, selflessness and creative attitude to work.

The phenomenon of professional vocation and its role in ensuring economic growth is interesting due to the following reasons.

First, the sociological study of the economic growth factors is based on the fact that modernization is a process, first initiated and directed by human activity.

Second, modernization should be considered as a creative process. N. Luhmann focuses on the non-obvious measures implemented during the modernization and the risks of the functional systems misalignment (political, financial, etc.), including those associated with inclusion in the “world society”¹. Modernization is not a clear and unambiguously positive process.

Third, economic growth does not always act as a guarantee of social well-being and mental health. E. Fromm gives an example, when on the background of economic prosperity the United States and several Western European countries witnessed a high rate of suicide and homicide². The scientist believes that the problem can be solved due to overcoming alienation in work, creating such an environment in production when labor is justified and an employee participates in the decision making.

Fourth, the population is ageing; the number of older people is growing. The question to reconsider the social role of the elderly in modern society arises. The studies carried out by Russian scientist V. Dobrokhleb reveal that in Russia a certain share of the older

age cohorts has resource potential (health, the high level of education, intelligence, the need to continue a working career, participate in public affairs)³.

Fifth, the modern social research is mostly focused on the study of deviancy, while the issues of standards are neglected. There is a practice to define the society’s states, relevant to the standard, through the concepts, representing the variances. In our opinion, the growth factors have the same research value as the degradation factors.

The ethical aspects of vocation are of particular importance in modern foreign publications. So, some people believe that profession chosen not in compliance with vocation can not meet the society’s needs; that is why it can not perform its social function. So, the author of numerous works in the field of theological and applied ethics James M. Gustafson says: “Considering profession as vocation reveals two features: 1) a high level of motivation and 2) a deeper vision of goals, profession serves⁴”. According to the scientist, “profession without vocation has no moral and humanistic roots; it loses its humanistic essence and limits the vision of the purposes it (profession) serves⁵”.

We agree with M.K. Gorshkov that the economy’s humanization is considered as the main imperative underlying the economic

¹ Luhmann N., Antonovskii A., Skuratov B., Timofeeva K. Modernizatsiya [Modernization]. *Samoopisaniya* [Self-description]. Translated from German. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “Logos”, ITDGK “Gnozis”, 2009, pp. 233-239.

² Fromm E. *Zdorovoe obshchestvo* [Healthy Society]. Izdatel'stvo: OOO “Izdatel'stvo ACT”, 2005.

³ Dobrokhleb V.G. Resursnyi potentsial pozhilogo naseleniya Rossii [Resource Potential of the Elderly Population in Russia]. *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* [Sociological Studies], 2008, no. 8, pp. 55-61.

⁴ Gustafson J.M. Professions as “Callings”. *The Social Service Review*, 1982, vol. 56, no. 4, p. 509.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 501.

growth models; and the success of the Russian society's modernization is associated with the improvement of the social environment, the spiritual development of the society and the moral values of people⁶.

Professional vocation is considered as an economic growth factor, a spiritual regulator of professional activity. It is connected with the moral and emotional attitude to work, developed labor motivation and creativity.

These assumptions are based on theoretical principles of German sociologies, such as M. Weber, G. Simmel and F. Tönnies. They disclose the essential features of the professional vocation phenomenon⁷.

There are some results of the research carried out by the author.

1. The conducted study reveals high prevalence of vocation as an identification characteristic of a person⁸.

The managers and employees most frequently give a positive answer to the question: "Does your profession (main occupation) coincide with your vocation, abilities and interests?" (in % of the respondents number):

managers of

- high-level 94.0;
- mid-level 79.8;
- lower level 57.9;

employees of

- production sphere 65.5;
- non-production sphere 75.9;

people with

- higher education 63.2;
- with secondary special education 49.8.

The unemployed (23.2%) and housewives (22.9%) admit the compliance of profession (main occupation) with vocation more rarely.

2. The results of the 2011 study⁹ indicate that the choice of profession in accordance

⁶ Gorshkov A.K. Ob aksiomatičeskoj traktovke vliyanija neekonomičeskikh faktorov na ekonomičeskij rost [On the Axiomatic Interpretation of the Economic Factors' impact on Economic Growth]. *Ekonomičeskie i sotsial'nye peremeny: fakty, tendentsii, prognoz* [Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast], 2014, no. 3 (33), pp. 46-48.

⁷ Weber M. *Izbrannye proizvedeniya* [Selected Works]. Moscow, 1990, p. 734; Simmel G. *Izbrannoe* [Selected Works]. Translated from German. In 2 volumes. Moscow, 1996, vol. 2, p. 524.

⁸ The study, the national survey, was conducted by the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Belarus according to the author's method within the framework of the task 5.01. "Social innovation is a source of sustainable development of the Belarusian society: human and institutional capacity" of GPSR "Economy and society" (scientific supervisor – Doctor of Sociology S.A. Shavel, July 2009, sampling size – 2101 persons over 16). The sampling is random and quoted. The survey method is a poll by place of residents, gender, age and education. The representativeness of the sample is ensured by the following conditions: the observance of the proportion between the population of Minsk (with separation of Minsk), Mogilev, Vitebsk, Grodno, Gomel and Brest regions; between the urban and rural population; the observance of the proportion between the population of the six "zones" within the regions (1 – Minsk and regional centers; 2 – cities with the population from 100 to 250 thousand people; 3 – cities with the population from 50 to 100 thousand people; 4 – cities with the populations from 10 to 50 thousand people; 5 – urban-type settlements with the population of less than 10 thousand people; 6 – rural population). Each "zone" is proportionally represented by the population with such characteristics as gender, age, education.

⁹ The national survey was conducted by the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Belarus in 2011. The sampling size – 2101 persons over 16. The sampling is random and quoted. The survey method is a poll by place of residents, gender, age and education. The representativeness of the sample is ensured by the following conditions: the observance of the proportion between the population of Minsk (with separation of Minsk), Mogilev, Vitebsk, Grodno, Gomel and Brest regions; between the urban and rural population; the observance of the proportion between the population of the six "zones" within the regions (1 – Minsk and regional centers; 2 – cities with the population from 100 to 250 thousand people; 3 – cities with the population from 50 to 100 thousand people; 4 – cities with the populations from 10 to 50 thousand people; 5 – urban-type settlements with the population of less than 10 thousand people; 6 – rural population). Each "zone" is proportionally represented by the population with such characteristics as gender, age, education. The group of young people aged 20–29 (363 people) was singled out in the survey database.

Table 1. Satisfaction index value in case of the question: “Does your profession (main occupation) coincide with your abilities and interests?”

Are you satisfied with...?	Satisfaction index		
	Does your profession (main occupation) coincide with your abilities and interests?		
	Yes.	No.	Difficult to answer
Your health	0.424	0.329	0.385
Your financial situation	-0.341	-0.635	-0.422
Your work	0.428	-0.373	0.009
Relationship in your family	0.729	0.473	0.609
Your life in general	0.640	0.507	0.486

Table 2. Satisfaction index value in case of the question: “Does your profession (main occupation) coincide with your vocation?”

Are you satisfied with...?	Satisfaction index		
	Does your profession (main occupation) coincide with your vocation		
	Yes.	No.	Difficult to answer
Your health	0.472	0.229	0.453
Your financial situation	-0.308	-0.575	-0.417
Your work	0.506	-0.236	0.094
Relationship in your family	0.728	0.562	0.638
Your life in general	0.667	0.529	0.547

with abilities, interests and vocation is associated with higher satisfaction of life, work, the financial situation and a higher level of professional optimism.

The satisfaction indices in the group of young people aged 20–29 are presented in tables 1 and 2.

The satisfaction index ranges from “1” to “-1”, provided that the index value marked as “+” shows the numerical superiority of positive answers and as “-” – of negative ones. The index value equal to “1” corresponds to 100% frequency of the answers “satisfied”;

the value “-1” – to 100% frequency of the answers “not satisfied”.

The satisfaction indices are calculated by the formula:

$$I_{sat} = (A - B) / 100 ,$$

where

A is a frequency of the answers “satisfied”;

B is a frequency of the answers “not satisfied”.

The research into the indicators of subjective well-being in conjunction with the indicators of professional vocation

shows heuristicity of the proposed approach and considerable possibilities of its practical use.

The article does not represent all the study results.

At the same time, the concept “professional vocation” can be considered under the axiomatic approach due to the prevalence of the phenomenon, the sustainability of the data and the significant value essence.

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Macrosocial determinants and public health risks in Russia's regions*



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Abstract. The article presents the results of the comprehensive analysis of the macro-economic factors that determine the medical and demographic situation in Russia, using the methods of mathematical modeling. The authors have constructed regression models to determine the proportional contribution of macro-social determinants to a negative deviation of population health indicators. The authors have carried out the cluster analysis and highlighted six types of territories with similar socio-economic and demographic situation. They have also calculated additional cases of general and infant mortality determined by macro-economic factors for each type of territories. In addition, the authors have assessed health risks associated with the effect of social factors at the macro-level.

Key words: health, mortality, macro-social factors, medical and demographic situation, risk.

Introduction. The enhancement of health and life expectancy in the Russian Federation are called the key strategic priorities of both national and regional policy for a long term. The importance of addressing demographic issues and the relevance of stabilization and growth of Russia's population was highlighted repeatedly by the President in his Address to the Federal Assembly [7, 8]. The focus on the adoption of urgent measures in the field of demography and public health is declared in the Concept of long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020 [5]. The state program for development of health in the Russian Federation aims to increase life expectancy at birth up to 74.3 years in 2020 [1]. The solution of tasks set out in the strategic documents, and the achievement of the stated values of the indicators requires effective management decisions at all the levels of government concerning the health care of the population.

The population health management includes identification of factors that make the greatest contribution to its formation [2]. Among all the managed determinants of health, special importance is attached to those associated with the environment – both natural and social.

The impact of ecologically troublesome areas, expressed in the pollution of atmospheric air, drinking water and soil, on the health of the population as a whole and individual age-sex groups is proved [3, 4, 14, 17]. It is also possible to consider undeniable the effects of macrosocial and macroeconomic characteristics on public health [16, 18]. However, quantitative parameterization of the influence of environmental factors is the issue, which is much more complex and which can be solved only if considered in relation to specific territories and the actual situation. This fact is proved by the differences in assessing the contribution of socio-economic [6] and anthropogenic factors in the formation of health problems. For example, the contribution of environmental pollution in the population health varies, according to different researchers, in the range from 10 to 57% [13].

The purpose of the study is to establish the priority macroeconomic factors that create negative trends in the health of the population in Russia's regions, in order to solve the problems of management of the medico-demographic situation and ensure the sanitary and epidemiological welfare of the territory.

Materials and methods. Empirical base of the research is the materials provided by the Federal information fund of the data of the socio-hygienic monitoring, and the data of the Federal State Statistics Service for the period from 2009 to 2011 [10, 11].

Among all of the indicators included in the system of socio-hygienic monitoring (the list approved by the order of the Federal Service for Supervision of Consumer Rights Protection and Human Welfare, dated November 17, 2006, No. 367) we have selected several indicators that describe the macroeconomic determinants of health, according to the following criteria:

1) the integrity of the indicator, its ability to describe holistically any determinant (the level of socio-economic development, standard of living, living conditions of the population);

2) the availability of the data for the study period on all the subjects of the Russian Federation. The original list of indicators is presented in *table 1*.

We assessed the interrelationships between the indicators by conducting the correlation and factor analysis, which allowed us to arrange the macrosocial factors into groups of related indicators, each of which was characterized by a single indicator.

According to the results of the correlation analysis the following was revealed:

a) the indicators “Proportion of the total area of housing stock not equipped with running water”, “Proportion of the total area of housing stock, not equipped with sewerage” and “Proportion of the total area of housing stock that is not equipped with central heating” are closely related (x4, x5, x7); the further analysis included the indicator “Proportion of the total area of housing stock, not equipped with sewerage” (x5);

b) the indicators “Share of persons with income below the subsistence level” and “Ratio of average per capita money income of the population to the subsistence level established on the territory” (x6 and x11) are dependent; we left the integral indicator

Table 1. Indicators of the macroeconomic factors for the regions of the Russian Federation

x1	Subsistence level established in the territory, rubles
x2	Total area of residential premises, on average by 1 resident, m ²
x3	Gross regional product (gross value added) per capita, rubles
x4	Proportion of the total area of housing stock not equipped with running water, %
x5	Proportion of the total area of housing stock, not equipped with sewerage, %
x6	Share of persons with income below the subsistence level, %
x7	Proportion of the total area of housing stock that is not equipped with central heating, %
x8	Average per capita money income of the population, rubles
x9	Average monthly nominal accrued wages of employees of organizations, rubles
x10	Cost of the minimum set of food products, rubles
x11	Ratio of average per capita money income of the population to the subsistence level established on the territory
x12	Proportion of old and dilapidated housing in the total area of housing stock, %

“Ratio of average per capita money income of the population to the subsistence level established on the territory” (x11) for the subsequent analysis;

c) the indicators “Subsistence level established in the territory”, “Average per capita money income of the population”, “Ratio of average per capita money income of the population to the subsistence level established on the territory” and “Cost of the minimum set of food products” (x1, x8, x10 and x11) are dependent; this group of indicators is described by the integral indicator “Ratio of average per capita money income of the population to the subsistence level established on the territory” (x11);

d) the indicators “Total area of residential premises, on average by 1 resident” (x2), “Gross regional product per capita (x3) and “Proportion of old and dilapidated housing in the total area of housing stock” (x12) not are closely related. All the indicators are included in the analysis.

The health status of the population is described by the following demographic and health indicators: mortality (y1), standardized mortality rate (y2), infant mortality (y3), overall morbidity rate for all classes of diseases (y4), primary morbidity rate for all classes of diseases (y5), life expectancy of the population (y6).

The correlation analysis allowed us to find strong feedback between standardized mortality rate of the population and life expectancy (the value of the Pearson correlation coefficient amounted to $(-)$ 0.98 if $p < 0.05$), and total and primary morbidity of the population (the value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.9 if $p < 0.05$). We

have also found out weak feedback between the overall and infant mortality (the value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is $(-)$ 0.40 if $p < 0.05$).

The results of correlation analysis allowed us to select two demographic and health indicators to be included in the cluster analysis: the standardized mortality rate (cases per 100 thousand population) (y2) and primary morbidity rate (cases per 1 thousand population) (y5).

The general algorithm of analytical data processing is a sequence of two stages. During the first stage the linkages between macrosocial factors and population's health status indicators were simulated and the contribution of individual factors was determined. During the second stage the spatial classification and typing of the territories were carried out and the major classes (clusters) and their characteristics were defined.

The relationships between the macroeconomic indicators (x2, x3, x5, x11, x12) and medico-demographic responses (y1 – y6), which were selected on the basis of the results of the correlation analysis, were determined using the regression analysis. The multiple linear regression model describing the dependence of changes of the medico-demographic indicators on the set of macrosocial factors is as follows:

$$y = \alpha_0 + \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i f_i(x_i), \quad (1)$$

where x_i is the control factors (macrosocial indicators);

y is the response (medico-demographic indicators), which depends on the control factors;

α_i is the model parameters.

The macrosocial factors that are included in the model were tested for multicollinearity. A determination coefficient R^2 (the proportion of the explained variance), which indicates how well the model describes the dependence between the variables, was determined for each regression model. The models with the highest determination coefficients were selected out of all the models.

The obtained regression models served as the basis, on which we determined the proportional contribution of the set of macrosocial factors to the negative deviation of the indicator of the health of the population. It is necessary to use the minimum levels of factors to determine the contribution of the factors to the variance of the health indicators. The minimum level of the factor (\hat{x}_i) was the best value of the indicator among the areas under consideration (RF subjects).

We calculated the additional cases of morbidity (mortality), defined as the difference between the morbidity (mortality) set in accordance with the regression models for the current value of the macroeconomic factors and the minimum, adjusted for the determination coefficient of the model:

$$\Delta y = [y(x_i) - y(\hat{x}_i)] \cdot R^2, \quad (2)$$

where

Δy is additional cases of morbidity (mortality);

R^2 – is the determination coefficient.

The set of medico-demographic indicators and macrosocial factors obtained in the

course of the analysis served as the basis for the clustering of the regions using a probabilistic approach (method of K-means). Having performed the cluster analysis, we arranged the subjects of the Russian Federation into six groups with similar values of the considered factors. The median, minimum and maximum values were calculated for each cluster.

Results and their discussion. The regression analysis of the dependence of medico-demographic indicators on macrosocial factors indicates the presence of a relationship between the standardized mortality rate, standard of living and living conditions in the territory.

This relationship is described by the following equation:

$$y_2 = 13,89268 - 0,77648x_3 - 0,08877x_4, \quad (3)$$

where

y_2 is the standardized total mortality rate;

x_3 is the ratio of average per capita money income of the population to the subsistence level established on the territory;

x_4 is the proportion of old and dilapidated housing in the total area of housing stock.

The determination coefficient is 0.12, the multiple determination coefficient is 0.347.

This connection indicates that if the proportion of dilapidated housing in the total area of housing stock increases and the indicators of per capita income approach the subsistence level, the standardized mortality rate of the population in the territory tends to increase.

Besides, we found a link between infant mortality and the indicator of comfortable housing; the link is described by the following equation:

$$y_3 = 6,38942 + 0,27501x_4, \quad (4)$$

where y_3 is infant mortality;

x_4 is the proportion of old and dilapidated housing in the total area of housing stock.

The determination coefficient is 0.18, the multiple determination coefficient is 0.296.

We selected six types of territories according to the results of the cluster analysis of the RF regions using the set of macroeconomic and medico-demographic indicators.

The first type comprises the regions with extremely intense medico-demographic and social situation in the context of high level of economic development. This group consists of the territories that are rich in natural resources and, consequently, a significant share of extractive industries in their economy: the Magadan Oblast, the Sakhalin Oblast, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. This was the reason for the high level of GRP per capita – 646.14 thousand rubles, high ratio of income to consumer basket – 2.99. However, the proportion of old and dilapidated housing in these areas is 10.2% on average. The mortality rate is high – 15.3 cases per one thousand people, and the incidence rate is the highest among all the groups (984.6 cases per one thousand people).

The number of additional deaths (standardized indicator) caused by the influence of macrosocial factors in this cluster ranges from 0.21 cases per one thousand population

(Chukotka Autonomous Okrug) to 0.36 cases per one thousand population (the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)), which can be classified as a median level of risk¹.

The number of additional cases of infant deaths associated with the influence of macrosocial factors on the territories of the cluster varies from 0.33 cases per one thousand newborns (Chukotka Autonomous Okrug) to 0.66 cases per one thousand newborns (the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)). The risk can also be classified as median. This level of risk requires dynamic control and in-depth study of the sources and consequences for deciding on the measures of risk management.

The first group could include Nenets Autonomous Okrug, which in general has the same structure of socio-economic and medico-demographic indicators like all the territories of the first cluster. However, according to two indicators – GRP per

¹ The risk of damage to the health of the population was characterized on the basis of the following criteria: a) the risk equal to or lower than 1×10^{-6} , which corresponds to one additional case of illness or death per 1 million exposed persons is perceived by people as negligibly small, not different from normal, everyday risks (De minimis level). Such a risk does not require any additional measures for its reduction, the level of risk is subject to periodic monitoring; b) the risk of more than 1×10^{-6} , but less than 1×10^{-4} corresponds to the maximum permissible risk, i.e. the upper limit of acceptable risk. This level is subject to continuous monitoring. In some cases of such levels of risk additional measures for their reduction can be carried out; c) the risk more than 1×10^{-4} , but less than 1×10^{-3} is not acceptable to the population in general. The occurrence of such risk requires the development and implementation of planned recreational activities. The planning of measures to reduce risks in this case should be based on the results of a more in-depth evaluation of the various aspects of the existing problems and establishment of the degree of their priority in relation to other hygienic, environmental, social and economic problems in the given territory; d) the risk throughout life equal to or more than 1×10^{-3} is not acceptable neither for the public nor for professional groups. This range is denoted as De manifestis Risk and when it is reached, it is necessary to give recommendations for the persons who make decisions on urgent measures to reduce the risk.

capita and the level of primary morbidity of the population – this region differs from the others, because its values of these indicators are significantly higher. For instance, GRP per capita in the okrug is 3254.6 thousand rubles (5 times exceeding the average for the cluster), and the incidence is 1757.3 cases per one thousand population (exceeding the average for the cluster by 1.78 times).

The high morbidity rate of the population may be explained by factors such as uncomfortable climatic conditions; low population density; lack of roads; severe weather conditions in winter for ambulance aircraft flights; remote, small villages with population in long-term isolation; nomadic way of life; the presence of endemic foci of some parasitic diseases and disposition to spread due to the mentality of the indigenous and small-numbered peoples of the North; favorable conditions for distribution of some socially significant diseases, reduced physiological reserves of a human organism, leading to various diseases [9, 15].

The second type comprises the regions with acute medico-demographic problems, which are formed on the background of the average level of socio-economic development of the territories.

The regions of this type are characterized by mortality level of 12.8 cases per one thousand population (the values range from 11.2 cases per one thousand population in the Astrakhan Oblast to 14.3 cases per one thousand population in Kamchatka Krai), and the incidence rate is at the level of 871.6 cases per one thousand population (the values range from 673.8 cases per one thousand population in the Pskov Oblast to 1098.5

cases in the Republic of Karelia). With an average GRP per capita in the regions (190.5 thousand rubles), the actual standard of living is quite low: the ratio of average per capita income to the subsistence level established in the territory is 2.53. In addition, there is the high proportion of emergency and dilapidated housing – 4.59%.

This cluster is the largest – it includes 33 subjects of the Russian Federation. The basis of the cluster is formed by the regions of Central Russia (the Vladimir Oblast, the Vologda Oblast, the Ivanovo Oblast, the Kirov Oblast, the Kostroma Oblast, the Novgorod Oblast, the Pskov Oblast, the Smolensk Oblast, the Tver Oblast, the Ulyanovsk Oblast, the Yaroslavl Oblast) and the Volga region (the Astrakhan Oblast), the Republics of Mari El and Chuvashia. The cluster also includes some regions of the Urals (Perm Krai, the Republic of Udmurtia, the Komi Republic, the Kurgan Oblast, the Orenburg Oblast), Siberia (Altai Krai, Zabaykalsky Krai, the Kemerovo Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Krai, the Republic of Altai, the Republic of Buryatia, the Khakassia Republic, the Tomsk Oblast, the Irkutsk Oblast), the Far East (Kamchatka Krai, Primorsky Krai and Khabarovsk Krai) and the North-West of Russia (the Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Republic of Karelia).

Note that the quality of life is low in most of the identified regions. For instance, according to LLC “Rating Agency “RIA Rating”, which has made the ranking of Russia’s regions by quality of life based on 64 indicators in 2012, only three regions of the second cluster were among the top thirty regions (the Yaroslavl Oblast ranked 13th, the

Tomsk Oblast – 24th, and Perm Krai – 29th). Most of the territories were in the fourth and fifth tens [12].

The number of additional deaths (standardized indicator) associated with the influence of macrosocial factors in this cluster varies from 0.2 cases per one thousand population (the Kemerovo Oblast) to 0.31 cases per one thousand population (the Republic of Mari El), which can be classified as the medium level of risk.

The number of additional cases of infant death associated with the action of macrosocial factors on the territories of the cluster varies from 0.05 cases per one thousand newborns (the Ulyanovsk Oblast) to 0.46 cases per one thousand newborns (the Republic of Komi). The risk should be categorized as low in some territories (the Ulyanovsk Oblast, the Chuvash Republic, the Smolensk Oblast, Altai Krai). In the other territories the risk can be considered median.

The third type consists of the regions with moderate prosperity, without acute medico-demographic or socio-economic problems.

This group differs from the regions of the second type by slightly lower mortality rates (11.52 cases per one thousand) and significantly lower incidence rate (785.8 cases per one thousand). The ratio of income to the subsistence level is above average – 3.13; the share of dilapidated housing is low – 2.05%, GRP per capita is medium – 191.2 thousand rubles.

The group of regions of the second type includes 22 subjects of the Russian Federation. Moreover, we have not detected any specifics associated with the geographical location of the territories.

The group includes, first of all, the regions of Central Russia that are located to the south, west and north-west of Moscow: the Bryansk Oblast, the Belgorod Oblast, the Kaluga Oblast, the Kaliningrad Oblast, Krasnodar Krai, the Kursk Oblast, the Lipetsk Oblast, the Moscow Oblast, the Murmansk Oblast, the Orel Oblast, the Rostov Oblast, the Samara Oblast, the Tambov Oblast, the Tula Oblast, the Republic of North Ossetia – Alania. Second, this group includes the Volga and Ural regions: the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Tatarstan, the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast, the Sverdlovsk Oblast and the Chelyabinsk Oblast; third, the regions of Siberia: the Novosibirsk Oblast, the Omsk Oblast.

The quality of life is high in many of these regions compared to other regions of the Russian Federation. For example, the Moscow Oblast ranked 3rd, the Republic of Tatarstan – 4th, Krasnodar Krai – 5th, and the Belgorod Oblast – 6th in the ranking of regions by the quality of life of the population [12].

The number of additional deaths (standardized indicator) due to the influence of macrosocial factors in this cluster ranges from 0.1 cases per one thousand population (the Republic of Tatarstan) to 0.24 cases per one thousand population (the Tula Oblast). The level of risk is median.

The number of additional cases of infant death associated with the influence of macrosocial factors, on the territories of the cluster varies from 0.01 cases per one thousand newborns (the Kursk Oblast) to 0.27 cases per one thousand newborns (the Tula Oblast). The level of risk is low (maximum risk) in

most of the territories included in this cluster, except for the Tambov Pblast, the Tula Oblast, the Novosibirsk Oblast, the Kaluga Oblast, and the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania. These territories are characterized by the median level of risk.

The fourth type includes the territories of relative prosperity with the high level of socio-economic development and relatively favorable medico-demographic indicators for the Russian Federation. The regions included in this group as a result of the clustering have virtually the lowest mortality rate – 9.86 cases per one thousand population (the value varies from 7.4 in Moscow to 11 in the Tyumen Oblast). At the same time the primary morbidity rate seems to be quite high – 913 cases per one thousand population; the values range from 717 (Moscow) to 1193 (Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug). However, the high levels of primary morbidity are not typical of most areas of the analyzed cluster. Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug makes the main contribution to the formation of the high values.

The territories of this group are characterized by the highest level of GRP per capita (926.310 thousand rubles, which is two times higher than the average value in the cluster that follows this one by the level of socio-economic development), and by the highest average ratio of per capita income to the consumer basket – 3.97. The share of rundown and dilapidated housing in the total housing stock is 4.64%.

This type includes the cities of federal importance: Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the Tyumen Oblast, and Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrugs.

Note that these areas in general have a high level of quality of life. Almost all of them (except for Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug) are among the top eight regions ranked by the quality of life in 2012 [12].

The number of additional deaths (standardized indicator) conditioned by the influence of macrosocial factors in this cluster ranges from 0.01 cases per one thousand population (Moscow) to 0.21 cases per one thousand population (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug). The risk is within the boundaries of the maximum permissible for the cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg; and the risk is assessed as median for the Tyumen Oblast, Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrugs.

The number of additional cases of infant death associated with the action of macrosocial factors on the territories of the cluster varies from 0.01 cases per one thousand newborns (Moscow) to 0.47 cases per one thousand newborns (Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug). Again, the level of risk for the cities of federal importance can be classified as low, for other regions of this cluster – as average.

The fifth type consists of the regions with a relatively favorable medico-demographic situation, emerging against the background of a low level of socio-economic development.

Its main features are: low mortality rate (10.95 cases per one thousand) and low morbidity rate (627 cases per one thousand) of the population; the lowest average ratio of per capita incomes to the consumer basket – 2.36; practically the lowest level of GRP per capita – 128.8 thousand rubles (it is lower only in the Republics of Dagestan and Ingushetia); but at the same time the

proportion of rundown and dilapidated housing is low – 1.85%. This group is represented by the central and southern regions of Russia: the Ryazan Oblast, the Volgograd Oblast, the Voronezh Oblast, the Penza Oblast, the Saratov Oblast, the Republics of Adygea, Kalmykia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia, Mordovia, the Chechen Republic and Stavropol Krai.

The Leningrad Oblast that has the highest GRP per capita (293.3 thousand) occupies the edge position among the regions of the second group. However, according to the other indicators, the region represents this group in general. For example, the Leningrad Oblast is characterized by a relatively low ratio of income of the population to the subsistence level (2.83). In the Voronezh Oblast and the Republic of Adygea, also included in this group, this indicator is 2.8 and 2.7 respectively. For comparison: in Saint Petersburg the value of the index is at the level of 4.34 (it exceeds the value for the Leningrad Oblast by 1.5 times).

The number of additional deaths (standardized indicator) conditioned by the influence of macrosocial factors in this cluster varies from 0.2 cases per one thousand population (the Voronezh Oblast) to 0.33 cases per one thousand population (the Republic of Kalmykia). In all the cases the risk is assessed as median.

The number of additional cases of infant death associated with the influence of macrosocial factors on the territories of the cluster varies from 0.02 cases per one thousand newborns (Stavropol Krai) to 0.12 cases per one thousand newborns (the Penza, Leningrad, Ryazan and Saratov oblasts). The

level of risk is low on eight territories of this type and it is median on five territories of this type.

Finally, the sixth type is characterized by the extremely low level of socio-economic development, but at the same time – the most successful medico-demographic situation. Mortality here is at the level of 7.9 cases per one thousand, and morbidity rate is at the level of 885 cases per one thousand. While GRP per capita is only 75.3 thousand rubles, the ratio of incomes to the subsistence level is 2.9, and the share of rundown and dilapidated housing is 19.4%. This group comprises only two subjects of the Russian Federation – the Republic of Dagestan and the Republic of Ingushetia.

Additional deaths (standardized indicator) in the Republic of Dagestan constitute 0.31 cases per one thousand population (median level of risk), in the Republic of Ingushetia – 0.48 cases per one thousand population (median level of risk). Both regions are characterized by very high values of the indicator of additional infant deaths conditioned by macrosocial factors (0.9 cases per one thousand newborns).

Conclusions. The medico-demographic situation in Russia today depends largely on social determinants. The key social factor affecting mortality (standardized indicator) is the level of welfare of citizens, which is derived from the level of socio-economic development of the territory. That is why in Moscow, which is characterized by high incomes and the largest difference between average per capita incomes and established subsistence minimum, the number of additional deaths (standardized indicator)

determined by social factors is minimal. Infant mortality is determined largely by the conditions of living rather than by the standard of living. The indicator of the degree of comfort of the housing stock is the key one among all social factors affecting infant mortality in the territory.

The effective managerial decision-making in the field of public health implies the reliance on actual data on the state and dynamics of the demographic situation in the territory, as well as on the specific effects of macro-factors on morbidity and mortality. In addition, it requires adequate tools to study the optimal distribution of material and other resources of the society for various activities associated with the preservation and enhancement of the health of citizens.

The establishment of the leading factors influencing the demographic and health situation can serve as a starting point for choosing the priorities of both state and regional policies on management of population health. The development of strategies for socio-economic development of regions, and the formation of the target comprehensive programs can be based on the understanding which factors of risk in reducing the quality of human capital require

immediate response, and in respect of which the countermeasures can be delayed for some time.

Russia's regions differ significantly by the level of public health, which indicates the heterogeneity of living conditions and quality of living environment (both natural and social). A comprehensive analysis of demographic and health indicators, socio-economic development levels and living conditions of the population in the Russian Federation subjects allowed us to identify the territories where the number of additional deaths (standardized indicator) and infant mortality that are determined by macrosocial factors is the greatest. First of all we are talking about the republics of Tyva, Ingushetia and Dagestan.

The policy focused on preserving and strengthening the health of citizens cannot be the same in all the regions. Understanding the importance of an integrated approach to the management of health, it is necessary to recognize the importance of a targeted impact on individual macro-factors of risk related to social environment, the minimization of which will help achieve optimal results when realizing the task of protecting the health of citizens.

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Efficiency of implementation of the regional target program for the treatment of patients with arterial hypertension at the regional level (experience of the Vologda Oblast)



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Abstract. The authors have performed a monitoring medico-sociological research aimed to study the system for organizing the treatment of patients with arterial hypertension (AH) at the territorial level. The survey was conducted among physicians in 2010. The results of this examination are presented as a set of filled-in expert assessment charts. The randomized sample (338 people) was effected by random selection. Sampling error does not exceed 5% ($\alpha = 0.95$). The authors have analyzed the representative data in order to assess the quality of implementation of the program “Prevention and treatment of arterial hypertension in the Vologda Oblast population” and provide analytical support in management decision-making. The authors have also assessed the demographic and economic losses due to health deterioration caused by diseases of the circulatory system. In addition, the authors have proposed the measures to improve health care practices in order to enhance the efficiency of using people’s labor and life potential.

Key words: arterial hypertension, risk factors, target program, expert assessment charts, economic and social efficiency of treatment, data analysis, decision making.

Diseases of the circulatory system (DCS) constitute 54–56% in the structure of the total mortality of the population. In 2010 mortality in the Russian Federation (per 100 thousand population) from DCS was as follows: from heart attack – 47.2; from stroke – 154.7; from arterial hypertension – 17.9. But arterial hypertension (AH) is the most important risk factor in the development of DCS, including coronary heart disease and cerebrovascular disease.

Scientific research reveals the high prevalence of AH in adult population. It is 35–40% in different countries and regions. However, the incidence of hypertension in the official medical statistics that gather data according to the incidence of outpatient visits is much lower than the prevalence that is considered in scientific research; this fact is reflected in federal and regional laws and regulations [12; 14; 15; 16].

And in this respect it is important that the target program “Prevention and treatment of arterial hypertension in the Vologda Oblast population” (oblast target program) has been functioning since 1998. The program helps identify patients with AH at early stages. Besides, a technology of implementing the system for early detection of patients with AH in hospitals (the model for detection, registration and monitoring of patients with AH) also serves the same purpose. Due to dedicated work of primary care physicians, the number of identified patients with AH increased from 22549 in 1998 to 105476 in 2010 [2; 20].

According to medical statistics provided by the Vologda Oblast Department of Health Care, these activities helped stabilize mortality from DCS.

This study aims to assess the quality of implementation of the program “Prevention and treatment of arterial hypertension in the Vologda Oblast population”.

The research carried out in different years in Russia and in the Vologda Oblast shows that the number of cases of AH depends on the methods used: a full-design, family, sampling research. Much less is detected by primary health care physicians through the incidence of outpatient visits.

The number of identified patients with arterial hypertension at health care facilities (hospitals) depends on the availability of primary health care physicians. A significant factor is the training of the population in health schools, motivation of personal responsibility for one’s own condition, compliance (the degree of consistency between the patient’s behavior and the recommendations obtained).

Basic regulations that provide dynamic monitoring of patients with AH are the ambulatory medical record on the form No. 025u approved by the Ministry of Health Care of the RSFSR of October 04, 1980 No. 1030, and the record of regular medical check-up. The Order of the Ministry of Health Care of the Russian Federation of January 23, 2003 No. 4 “On the measures to improve the organization of medical care of patients with arterial hypertension in the Russian Federation” recommended the record of case monitoring of patients with AH (form 140/4-02, Appendix No. 3).

The Vologda Oblast Department of Health Care has approved the record of expert assessment of efficiency of treatment of patients with AH, which provides an

opportunity to assess the effectiveness of efforts undertaken to reduce cardiovascular risk. The examination is performed by a physician, a head of department, a deputy chief physician of a health care facility, an employee of the Territorial Fund of Compulsory Medical Insurance.

The expert examination:

- contributes to a more efficient identification of patients with AH in the early stages of the disease;
- helps the attending physician to assess underlying risk factors in the patient, diseases of target organs, and associated clinical conditions;
- helps to reduce the impact of specific risk factors;
- helps the patient to achieve the desirable blood pressure level.

The record of expert assessment allows primary health care physicians to improve the organization of preventive and medical work during regular medical check-up of patients with AH.

The record includes 21 points and it is a type of a sociological survey with nominal characteristics. Six variables are categorical (two-digit nominal). Fifteen are treated as variables with multivariate responses (multi-valued nominal). The characteristic of reducing the impact of major risk factors when processing is specified as a multi-dimensional dichotomy for six variables. The stage of arterial hypertension (first, second, third) and the degree of risk of cardiovascular complications (from low to very high) are determined in accordance with the recommendations of the All-Russian Scientific Society of Cardiologists

(ARSSC). The monitoring by specialists in the health care facility is established by the presence or absence of their records in the outpatient record. Information on major risk factors, associated clinical conditions in patients is also determined on the basis of their outpatient records. The possibility of missing data (*not available* – *NA*) is taken into account when filling in the records.

Efficiency is assessed using ordinal scales that have scores from 0 to 5. The highest score is the best. Ten characteristics are estimated according to the instruction. The integral assessment of efficiency is made after the summation:

- efficiency is sufficient (30 points);
- efficiency is low (16–29 points);
- treatment is inefficient (15 or less points).

The approach under consideration is basic and it is individual for each patient. The most frequent task, in the decision of which one has to deal with nominal characteristics, is the processing of the questionnaires by type of sociological research. The set of the filled expert assessment records contains different combinations of symptoms that occur with varying frequency.

When conducting the research in 2010, the Vologda Oblast Department of Health Care has sent its institutions the expert records for assessing the effectiveness of treatment of patients with AH (according to the ambulatory medical record No. 025u). Three hundred and thirty-eight questionnaires were received from medical institutions of the oblast municipalities. Out of them 86.1% was included in the register of AH (291 questionnaires).

For $n = 338$ and for the accuracy of the estimate in the range from 0.01 to 0.1 the quantiles and their orders were calculated (for reliability in ensuring the given accuracy). The calculation has shown that the volume of generated sample provides the necessary precision of the estimate within 0.05 with a confidence probability $\alpha = 0,95$. The accuracy of not less than 5% of the share of objects with properties under consideration seems to be quite reasonable, and it meets the requirements for the research of this kind¹.

The study of the sources and their analysis were compared with the aims and methods presented in the literature.

A comparative assessment of the quality of primary health care for patients with AH in various outpatient medical institutions of Saint Petersburg is given in [3]. The expert assessment of outpatient records revealed differences in the quality of their filling-in. The main disadvantages are: the lack of records on the examination of patients, on their consulting on risk factors for cardiovascular complications of AH. A higher quality of health care is observed in institutions that are organized by the type of general practice.

The results of the first survey conducted in the framework of the federal target program "Prevention and treatment of arterial hypertension in the Russian Federation" are presented in [1].

¹ Sample size depends on the required accuracy and reliability of the result and on the plan of sampling. In addition to simple random sampling plans one uses complex design sampling: stratification of sampled population; stratified, quoted and cluster selection and multistage sampling [4; 5; 9]. The choice of a particular sampling plan is often determined by financial and organizational limitations of the study.

The representative random samples were created according to nested design among men and women aged 15–75 living in seven federal districts. The prevalence of arterial hypertension was as follows: 40.4% – women, 37.2% – men. Awareness of its presence: women – 80.3%, men – 75%. Receive treatment: women – 63.1%, men – 53.1%. Out of them are treated effectively: women – 22.5%, men – 20.5%. The following drugs are prescribed most frequently: ACE inhibitors – 70.7%.

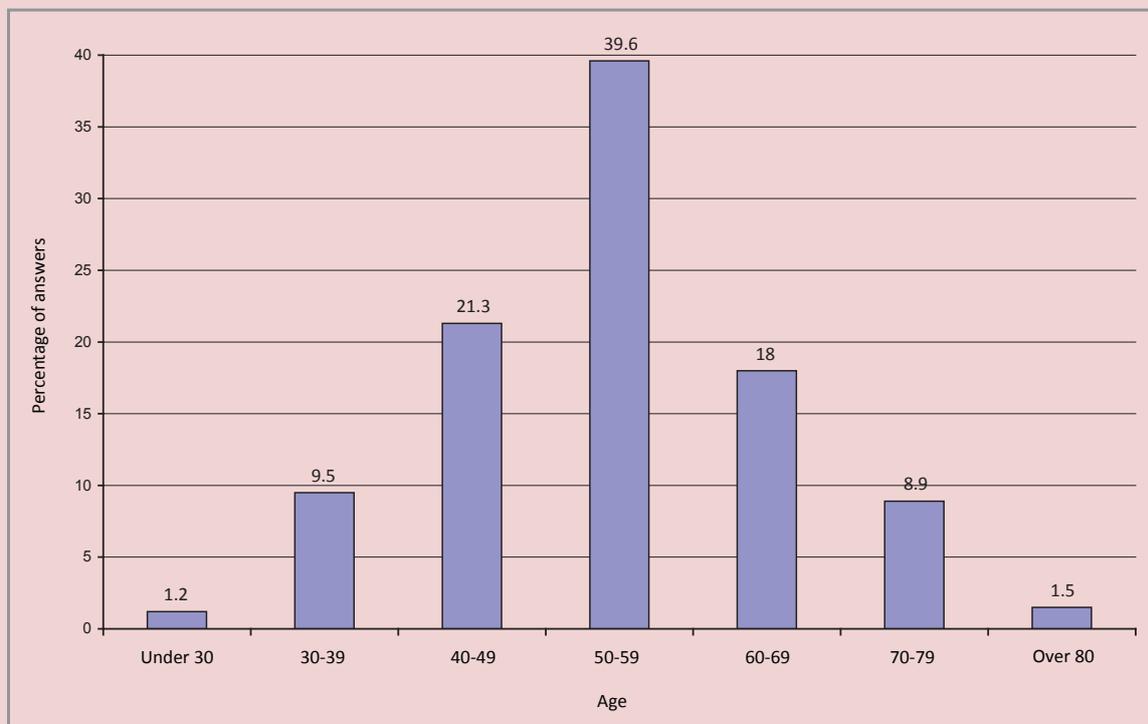
The work [10] is devoted to the impact of social factors on the prevalence and treatment of AH at the regional level (in Yakutia).

The studies on the impact of psychosocial factors on the development of "hypertension in the workplace" consider the development of AH depending on the profession, lifestyle and risk factors, including chronic stress and emotional burnout syndrome [6].

The use of modern technologies in sociological research and scientific observation as a methodological basis of medico-sociological monitoring makes it possible to evaluate the significance of medical and social problems, to carry out the situational analysis, and it also improves the quality of managerial decision-making. The development of comprehensive indicators makes it possible to quantify the population's health in the region, the socio-economic efficiency of health care and quality of medical aid [21; 22; 23].

The comparison of published works and our research shows that a significant part of the results is very similar. This confirms the importance, relevance and reliability of the assessments.

Figure 1. Distribution of patients with arterial hypertension by age, in %*



* Hereinafter: the proportion of significant indicators is given as a percentage of the total number of responses received.

What have we found out in the course of our research?

First, it has been revealed that with the increase in the age the number of patients with AH increases nonlinearly (*fig. 1*): in the period from 30 to 39 years – in 7.9 times, in the period from 30–39 to 40–49 years – in 2.2 times, and in the period from 40–49 years to 50–59 years – in 1.9 times. By the age of 50–59 the total percentage is 71.6% (242 questionnaires) of the number of responses. The distribution of answers by age shows that the maximum number – 39.6% of patients with AH (134 questionnaires) falls on the age of 50–59.

Second, in 67.5% of the patients (320 questionnaires) there are changes that affect one or more target organs (*fig. 2*).

Third, 43.5% of the patients (147 questionnaires) have a median risk of cardiovascular complications, and the risk is high and very high in 49.4% of the patients (167 questionnaires) (*fig. 3*).

Fourth, the duration of the disease in 38.8% (131 questionnaires) of the patients ranges from 5 to 10 years (*fig. 4*).

We have also found out that 82.2% of the patients (278 questionnaires) have a tonometer; 89.3% (302 questionnaires) of the patients undergo regular medical check-up;

Figure 2. Distribution of patients by stages of arterial hypertension (recommendations of ARSSC 2008), in %



Figure 3. Distribution of patients by level of risk of cardiovascular complications (recommendations of ARSSC, 2008), in %

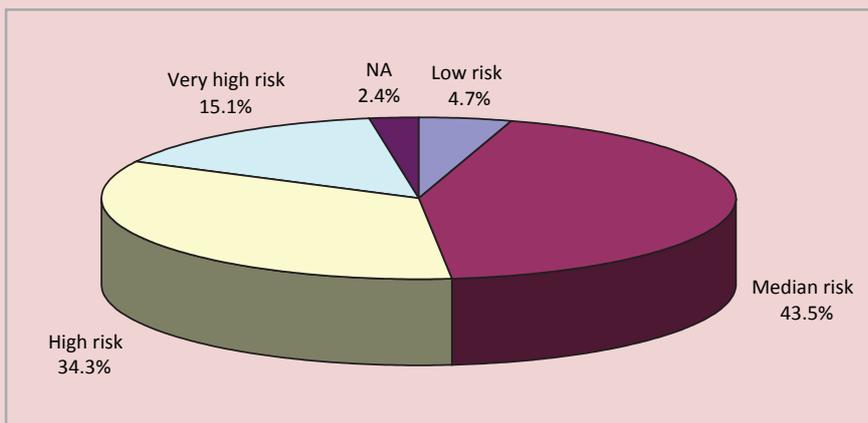
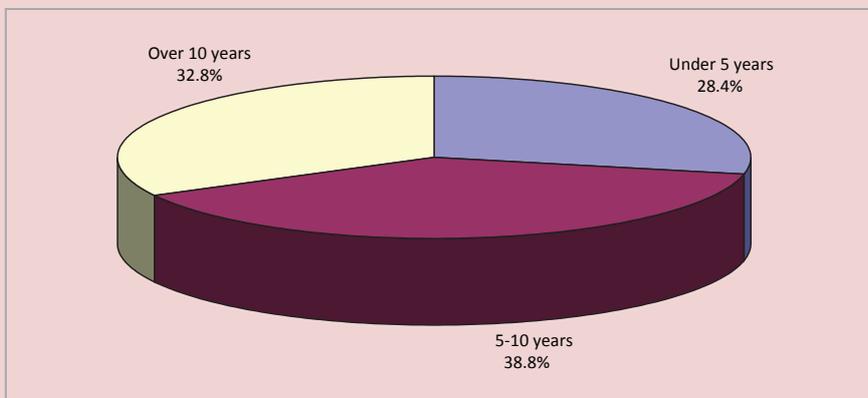


Figure 4. Distribution of patients by duration of the disease, %



55% (186 questionnaires) are followed up by a therapist, and 18.3% (62 questionnaires) – by a family doctor, 22.5% (76 questionnaires) by several specialists. No cases of examination by a neurologist and vascular surgeon have been detected.

Fifth, we have found out that additional data on major risk factors of AH contains no information about alcohol. 54.4% of the patients (184 questionnaires) have 2–3 factors. No data are available on 12.6% of the patients (43 questionnaires) (*fig. 5*).

Sixth, 27.8% of the patients (94 questionnaires) have two or more associated clinical conditions. There is a high percentage of data not available – 40.3% (136 questionnaires) (*fig. 6*).

Antihypertensive therapy has been prescribed in the polyclinic in 82.2% of the cases.

Seventh, antihypertensive therapy is carried out continuously for 93.5% of the patients (316 questionnaires) (*fig. 7*).

Eighth, antihypertensive therapy in 28.7% of the cases is performed by using a single drug; moreover, for 18.3% of the total number of patients (and, respectively, for 63.8% of the cases of use of a single medicine) ACE inhibitors are prescribed (*fig. 8*).

Combined antihypertensive therapy has been noted in 70.4% of the cases (238 questionnaires). Two medicines are prescribed for 42.9% of the patients (145 questionnaires) – in 60.9% of the cases when combined therapy is used (206 questionnaires); three medicines

are used for 21.9% (74 questionnaires) and 31.1% (105 questionnaires), respectively; four and more medicines are used for 5.6% (19 questionnaires) and 8.0% (27 questionnaires), respectively (*fig. 9*).

Ninth, 46.7% of the patients (158 questionnaires) were trained in the school for patients with AH.

The achievement of the target level of AH (systolic blood pressure below 140 mm Hg, diastolic blood pressure below 90 mm Hg) was noted in 57.7% of the cases (195 questionnaires) (*fig. 10*).

12.7% of the respondents (43 questionnaires) were registered as having a disability due to AH.

The results of the analysis of the sample for the characteristic “the reduction of the impact of major risk factors” are summarized in *table 1*.

As we can see from the table, the situation with physical activity is relatively favorable (30 minutes daily): 49.7% of the patients (168 questionnaires) note the reduction of risk. The situation with alcohol is worse: there is no reduction of risk for 85.2% (288 questionnaires). There is a contradiction: item No. 10 of the expert assessment record of additional data on major risk factors of AH has no information concerning alcohol. It is obvious that the cause of dissonance is of a cognitive nature. For the remaining four factors the reduction of risk is absent for 72.8–79% of the patients (246–267 questionnaires).

Figure 5. Major risk factors of hypertension, %

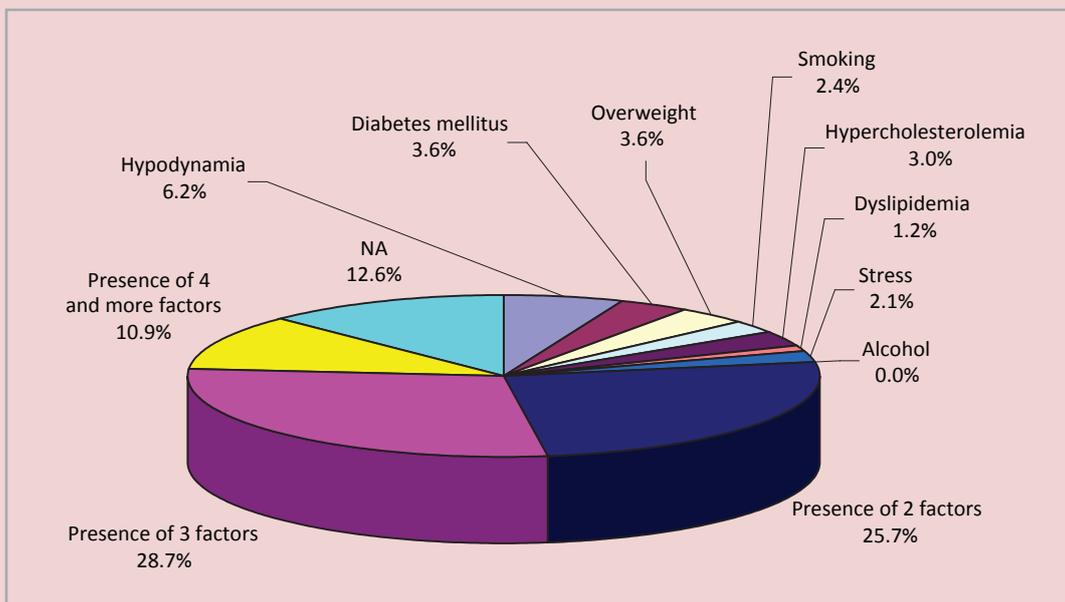


Figure 6. Distribution of patients according to the share of associated clinical conditions, in %

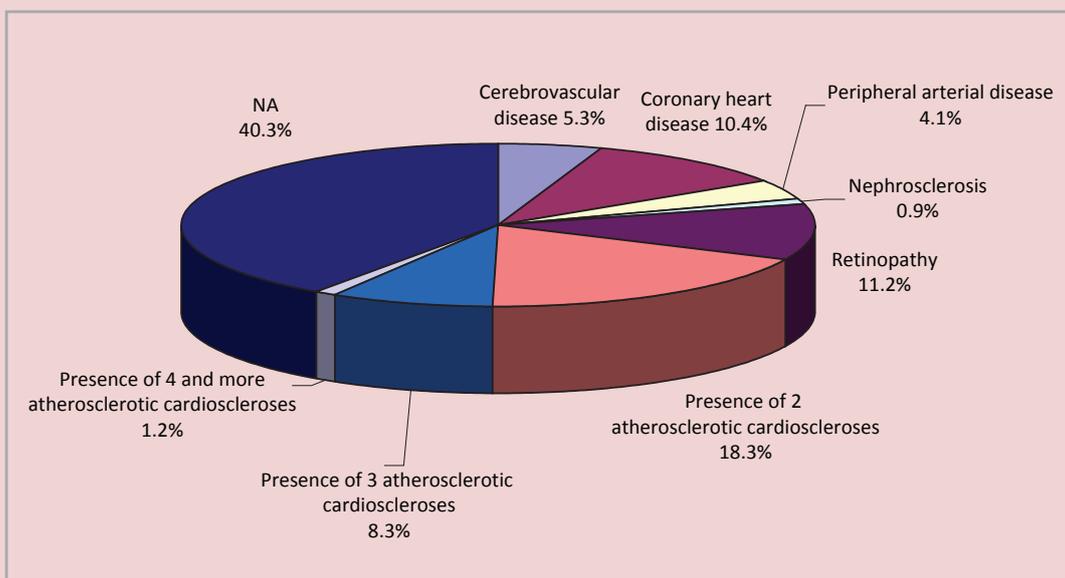


Figure 7. Distribution of patients by type of antihypertensive therapy,%

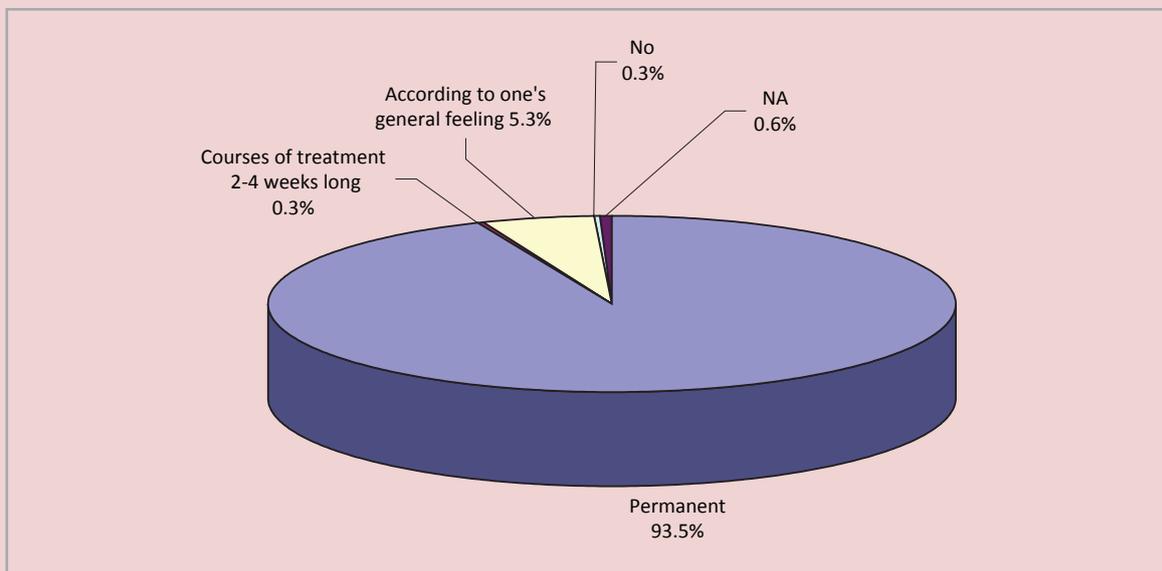


Figure 8. Proportion of patients by application of antihypertensive therapy with a single drug,%

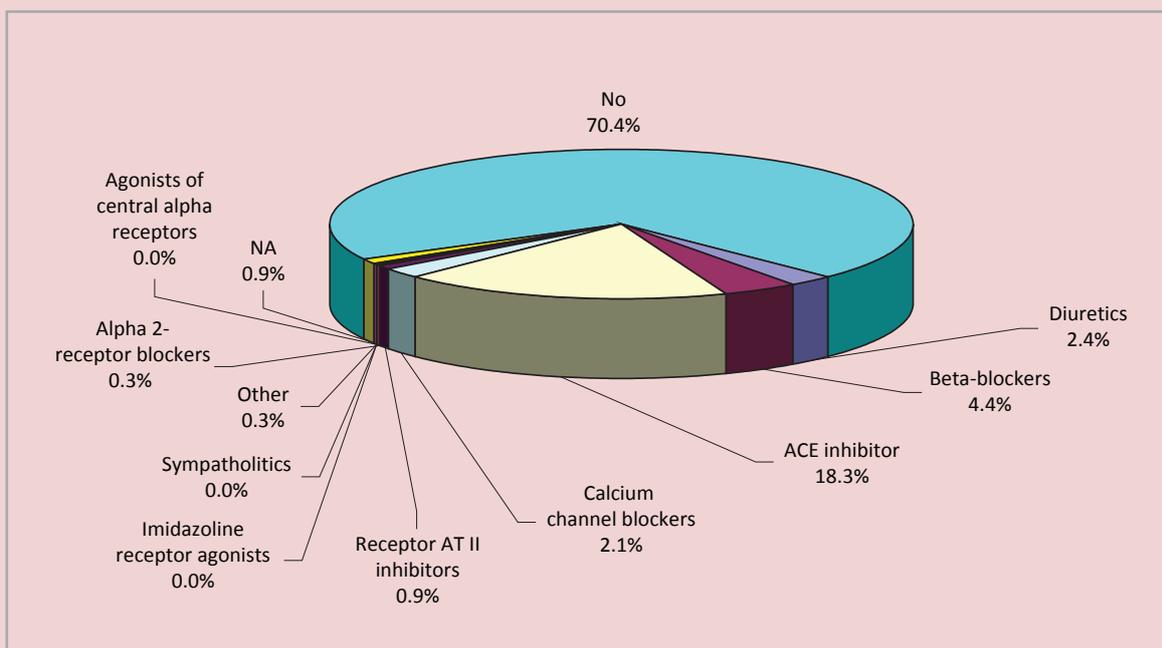


Figure 9. Proportion of patients who use combined antihypertensive therapy, %

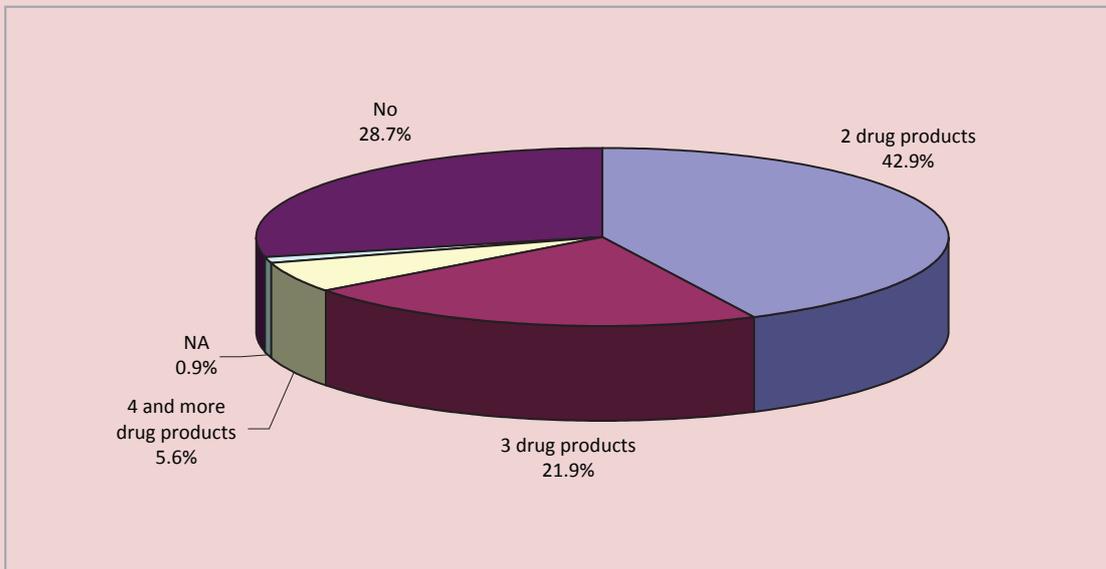


Figure 10. Distribution of patients by achievement of the target level of blood pressure, %

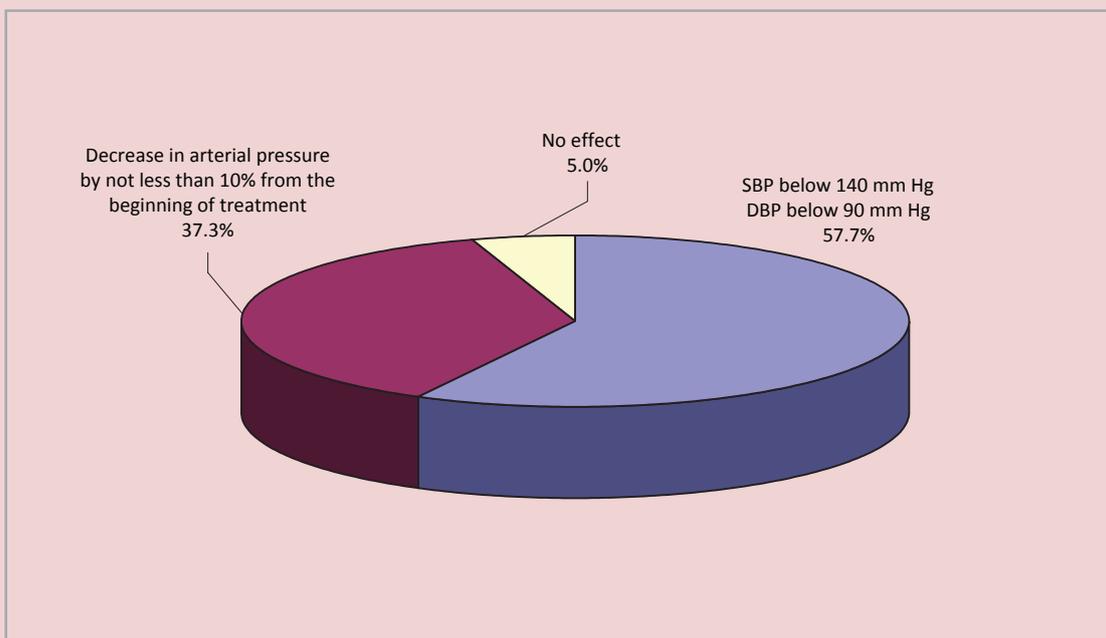


Table 1. Impact of major risk factors in patients with arterial hypertension

Types of reduction of influence	Major risk factors					
	Physical activity (30 minutes daily), %, number of questionnaires	Normalization of blood sugar, %, number of questionnaires	Weight loss under impaired fat metabolism, %, number of questionnaires	Smoking cessation, % number of questionnaires	Normalization of lipid metabolism, %, number of questionnaires	Consumption of not more than 120–150 ml of alcohol a week, or total abstinence, %, number of questionnaires
There is a decrease in the impact	49.7% (168)	21% (71)	27.2% (92)	23.1% (78)	24% (81)	14.8% (50)
There is no decrease in the impact	50.3% (170)	79% (267)	72.8% (246)	76.9% (260)	76% (257)	85.2% (288)

Table 2. Evaluation of the effectiveness of prophylactic medical examination of patients with arterial hypertension

Group of patients by integral effectiveness of treatment	%, number of questionnaires	Assessment of effectiveness
5-15 points	0,89% (3)	Treatment is not effective
16-29 points	16,27% (55)	Effectiveness is insufficient
30-45 points	82,84% (280)	Treatment is sufficiently effective

Reduction in the influence of risk factors of AH is observed only in four patients out of 338 examined (1.18%).

The expert assessment records indicate that although 84.3% of the patients (285 questionnaires) were informed about non-drug therapy, it is not used sufficiently by the patients with AH.

The studies [28] show that effective non-drug therapy can reduce systolic blood pressure by 11 mm Hg and diastolic blood pressure – by 6.8 mm Hg. Self-preservation activity of the citizens should become socially attractive and beneficial for the society, and self-preservation behavior should become standard practice [7; 11; 27].

The results of the analysis of the sample by scoring the effectiveness of treatment of patients with arterial hypertension are

presented in *table 2*. As we can see from the table, 82.84% of the patients (280 questionnaires) receive effective antihypertensive therapy (30 points and more).

Thus, despite the implementation of the oblast target programs, the treatment still has a large reserve for identifying and reducing arterial hypertension risk factors in the early stages.

Economic losses due to health deterioration in the Vologda Oblast population caused by diseases of the circulatory system were estimated according to the methodology presented in [24, 25, 26].

The full calculation of economic costs is hindered. It requires the full consideration of numerous socio-economic factors and reliable statistical data over a long period of time.

Tables 3 and 4 give the estimated value of lost profit for 2009–2010 caused by diseases of the circulatory system, in connection with temporary disability and social insurance payments, disability pensions, and premature mortality of the working-age population.

The total value of lost profit is 1.5 billion rubles per year according to only these two indicators.

One of the main criteria of public health is the indicator of “years of potential life lost” (YPLL). According to the Territorial Office of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Vologda Oblast, life expectancy in 2004–2009 ranged from 62.8 to 67.3 years with a mean of 65.42 years (73.22 years in

women and 58.6 years in men). The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends to consider the basic level of life expectancy to be 65 years.

The results of calculating YPLL for the Vologda Oblast in 2010 according to the methodologies [17, 26] are presented in table 5.

The table shows that in 2010, due to premature mortality in the working-age population, the oblast lost 110562 years of potential life and, therefore, a significant amount of gross regional product.

Environmental factors contribute to the indifferent attitude of citizens to their own health status. The Federal Law of the Russian Federation of November 21, 2011 No,

Table 3. Profit lost due to temporary disability caused by diseases of the circulatory system (the Vologda Oblast)*

Indicator	2009	2010
Number of days of temporary disability due to diseases of the circulatory system	534360	485840
Average nominal monthly accrued wages of those employed in the economy, rub.	16566	18536
Average payment per day	552	618
Cost of one day by social insurance, rub.	276.10	308.93
Lost profit per year, million rub.	442.5	450.2

* Calculated using the following data: Osnovnye pokazateli deyatel'nosti uchrezhdenii zdravookhraneniya Vologodskoi oblasti za 2010 god [Key Performance Indicators of the Health Institutions of the Vologda Oblast for 2010]. Vologda: Department of Health Care, 2011; and the data provided by the Territorial Office of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Vologda Oblast.

Table 4. Profit lost in GRP production due to the reduction in the number of people employed in the economy due to premature mortality in the working-age population from diseases of the circulatory system*

Indicator	2009
Mortality of the population aged 15–59. Diseases of the circulatory system	6221.2
Gross regional product at current basic prices per capita, rubles	176179.00
Lost profit in the production of GRP per year, million rubles (diseases of the circulatory system)	1096.045

* Calculated using the following data: *Demograficheskii ezhegodnik Vologodskoi oblasti* [Demographic Yearbook of the Vologda Oblast]. Vologda: Rosstat, 2011; and the data provided by the Territorial Office of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Vologda Oblast.

Table 5. Years of potential life lost due to premature mortality of the working-age population in 2010*

Age groups	Oblast		City/Town		Village	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
15-19	2064	384	1008	288	1056	96
20-24	6192	1419	3569	903	2623	516
25-29	8094	2394	4902	1596	3192	798
30-34	10131	2772	6699	1848	3432	924
35-39	10192	3304	6692	2212	3500	1092
40-44	11178	2990	7268	1840	3910	1150
45-49	14292	4410	8478	2700	5814	1710
50-54	15067	4407	8736	2600	6331	1807
55-59	11272		6960		4312	
Total YPLL	88482	22080	54312	13987	34170	8093
Disparity	4.01		3.88		4.22	

* Calculated using the following data: *Demograficheskiy ezhegodnik Vologodskoi oblasti* [Demographic Yearbook of the Vologda Oblast]. Vologda: Rosstat, 2011

323-FL “About the fundamentals of health protection of the citizens in the Russian Federation” in article 27 “Duties of citizens in the sphere of health protection” in item 1 states: “The citizens have a duty to care for the preservation of their health. It is necessary to change the social paradigm, to introduce the system of health protection and to develop the culture of healthy lifestyle. The further improvement of the regulatory framework will

help motivate the conscious responsibility of each member of the society for their own health”.

Adjustment of risk factors in the development of DCS, effective non-drug therapy and self-preservation behavior of the population are essential for reducing premature mortality that impedes economic modernization, decreases productivity and hampers Russia’s sustainable development.

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Evaluation of the efficiency of regional health-preserving educational space formation



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Abstract. The article is devoted to the urgent problem of preserving children’s health. The author presents detailed characteristics of health-preserving educational space formation. It is regarded as a complex multilevel and multispectral system. The article defines the principles, methods, mechanisms of the health-preserving process on the municipal level.

The subject of research includes the background, conditions and resources of health-preserving educational space formation. The participants of educational process (students, teachers, parents) and representatives of local authorities are the object of the research. The study aims to evaluate the efficiency of health-preserving educational space formation within various conceptual and methodological approaches and the degree of involvement of the municipal authorities.

In the course of the experiment the author tests the method of estimating the models of regional health-preserving educational space formation and healthy lifestyle training, developed by the author. The article pays considerable attention to the justification of choosing the optimal strategy within the implementation of health preserving technologies on municipal level. It shows the crucial role of constructive inter-agency cooperation between the education system, health care and the authorities for effective and productive activities in this sphere.

Key words: children's health, health-preserving educational space, a comprehensive systematic and synergetic approach, health-preserving activity, inter-agency cooperation.

The federal target program of education development for 2011–2015 sets the most important task to improve the education quality by means of preservation and promotion of health and implementation of health saving forms and technologies in the pedagogical process. Nowadays the health of minor citizens is one of significant indicators of the state welfare.

In this regard, the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the physical and psychological state of children reflect the real situation of the state of children's health [1, 5, 9, 10, 11]. The demographic crisis and decline in living standards that occurred in Russia in the 1990s (*tab. 1*) had a negative impact on all indicators of children's health. In 2000–2010 general morbidity of the population aged 0–14 increased by 31% in the country and by 38% in the Vologda Oblast [2, 3].

Today the regulatory support of health maintenance of pupils is presented by a wide range of legislative acts of all levels. The main provisions of health saving in this category of the population are reflected in Article 41 of the RF Federal Law of December 29, 2012, No. 273 [8].

It is very important to involve education departments, medical institutions and local

authorities in the process of children's health maintenance. Under the Federal Law of September 24, 2003, no. 131-FL "On general principles of organization of local self-government in the Russian Federation" the authorities should create favorable conditions for comprehensive development and life activity of children. It requires interagency cooperation of all actors interested in this activity at the level of municipality.

Therefore, since 2004 the Vologda Oblast has been conducting an experiment to test a model assessing the effectiveness of regional health saving educational space (RHSES) with different levels of the municipality's involvement in this process.

The Vologda Oblast consists of 26 municipalities and 2 urban districts. Within the framework of existing programs the following municipalities take active part in the RHSES formation: Vologdsky District, Cherepovetsky District, Kirillovsky District, Velikoustyugsky District, Gryazovetsky District, Kharovsky District, Vozhegodsky District, Totemsky District, Nyuksensky District, Nikolsky District, Tarnogsky District, Chagodoshchensky District, Kaduysky District.

Table 1. Natural movement of the population in the Vologda Oblast (VO) and the Russian Federation (RF)

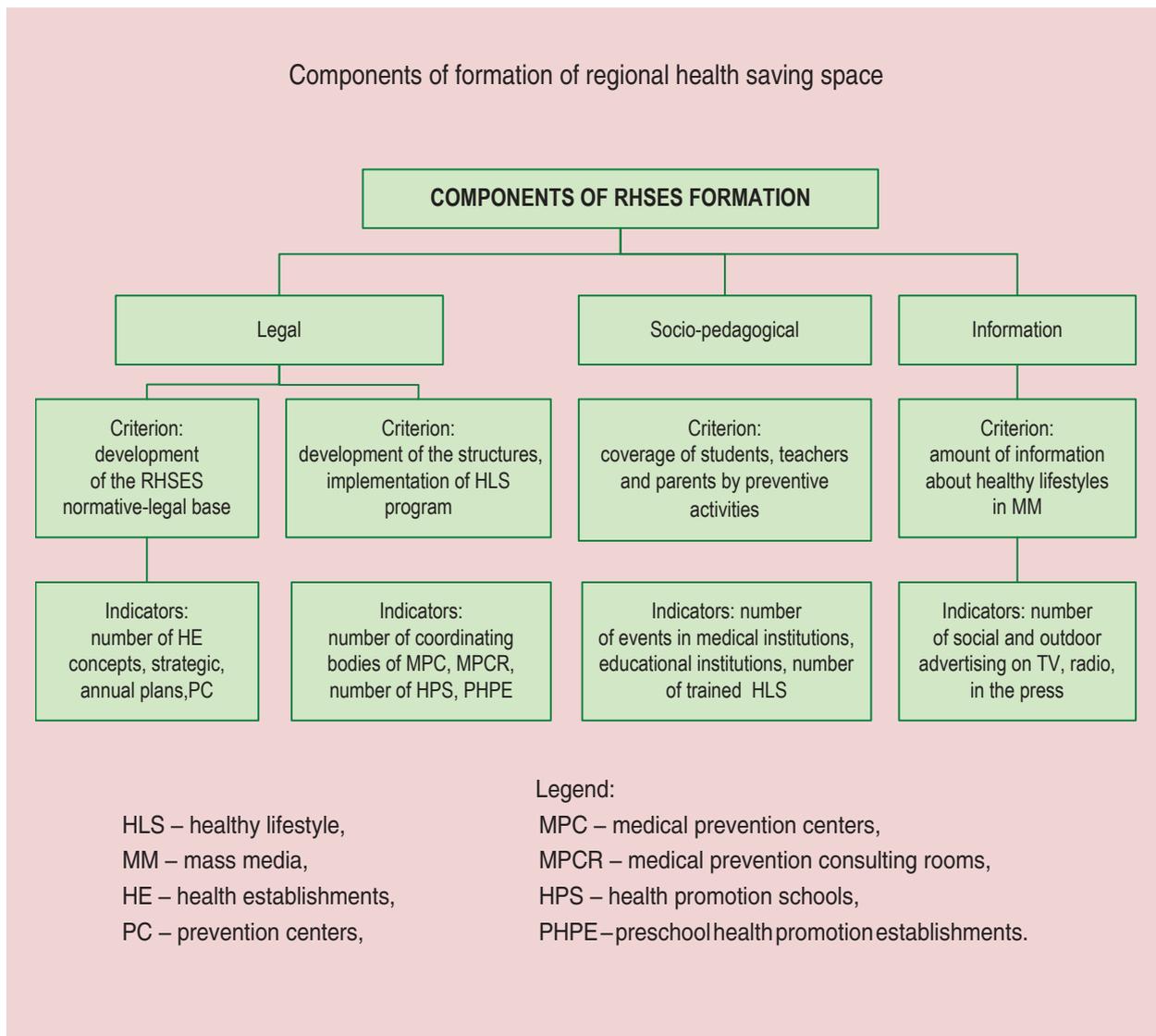
Year	Population*, thousand people		Total fertility rate, ‰		Overall mortality rate, ‰		Natural decrease (increase), ‰	
	RF	VO	RF	VO	RF	VO	RF	VO
1990	147 969.4	1 354.1	13.4	13.4	11.2	12.0	2.2	1.4
1992	148 538.2	1 352.5	10.7	10.2	12.2	13.1	-1.5	-2.9
1995	148 375.8	1 336.2	9.3	8.7	15.0	16.4	-5.7	-7.7
1999	147 214.8	1 304.7	8.3	8.0	14.7	16.1	-6.4	-8.1
2000	146 596.9	1 295.0	8.7	8.8	15.3	16.0	-6.6	-7.2
2001	145 976.5	1 284.5	9.0	9.4	15.6	17.4	-6.6	-8.0
2002	145 306.5	1 272.7	9.7	10.1	16.2	18.4	-6.5	-8.3
2003	144 648.6	1 261.4	10.2	10.4	16.4	19.8	-6.2	-9.4
2004	144 067.3	1 250.8	10.4	10.7	16.0	19.1	-5.6	-8.4
2005	143 518.8	1 240.4	10.2	10.5	16.1	18.8	-5.9	-8.3
2006	143 049.6	1 230.4	10.4	10.9	15.2	17.1	-4.8	-6.2
2007	142 805.1	1 222.8	11.3	11.6	14.6	15.9	-3.3	-4.3
2008	142 742.4	1 217.0	12.1	12.0	14.6	16.3	-2.5	-4.3
2009	142 785.3	1 211.2	12.4	12.4	14.2	16.2	-1.8	-3.8
2010	142 849.5	1 204.8	12.5	12.5	14.2	16.8	-1.7	-4.3
2011	142 960.9	1 199.9	12.6	13.0	13.5	15.7	-0.9	-2.7
2012	143 201.7	1 197.4	13.3	14.0	13.3	15.1	-0.02	-1.1

* Yearly average
Sources: *Edinaya mezhvedomstvennaya informatsionno-statisticheskaya sistema* [Unified Interdepartmental Statistical Information System]. Available at: <http://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/data.do>; *Estestvennoe dvizhenie naseleniya v razreze sub'ektov Rossiiskoi Federatsii za yanvar'-dekabr' 2012 goda* [Natural Movement of the Population in the Subjects of the Russian Federation in January–December 2012]. Available at: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/2012/demo/edn12-12.htm

Vozhegodsky District and Kharovsky District are selected for the experiment. They have typical economic activity, demographic and administrative structures (the administrative centers of the greater part of districts are small towns). In the future it will be possible to extend the results to all territorial units of the region.

We single out the main components of the RHSES development: **legal, socio-pedagogical, information** (*figure*).

The RHSES development levels are classified on the basis of the analysis of national, regional and foreign concepts and strategies for protecting and promoting public health.



The efficiency of formation of health saving educational space is assessed on the basis of the analysis of its components dynamics.

The state statistics institutions monitor one of the main indicators of the efficiency of RHSES formation, a level of health. However, it can not give information about the performance of the target technologies implementation.

Therefore, we require such indicators, which could reveal the dependence of this process efficiency on the specific measures taken by the RHSES subjects.

The evaluation criteria and indicators of its development should be quite informative, transparent, covering the full range of the analyzed data. In this regard, the level of formation of regional health saving educational space should be evaluated

according to the following indicators: **high, average and low**. This rating will allow us to analyze the effectiveness of this process comprehensively, taking into account all components. The level of the RHSES development was determined by the coefficients assessing the effectiveness of legal, socio-pedagogical and information criteria and indicators by comparing the obtained results [4].

All secondary schools in Vozhegodsky District took part in the experiment due to the decision of the local executive authorities in the sphere of education; 5 schools in Kharovsky District decided to participate independently. The coordination and evaluation of the results was carried out by the education departments, with the scientific and methodological support provided by the SHI Vologda Regional Center for Medical Prevention. The experiment included the study of health saving space in the municipality as a center of the integrated health environment. The study aimed to compare the effectiveness of health saving technologies according to the following approaches: synergistic (in Kharovsky District) and system (in Vozhegodsky District).

In 2004 the state of students' health in the pilot areas was characterized as bad. The experiment registered not only a significant proportion of smokers and drinkers, but also several cases of substance use, and it revealed the trend of the loss of spiritual and moral values (including healthy lifestyle) among the pupils, contributing to decreased physical activity and increased morbidity. However the regions, rural settlements and educational

institutions have not developed the programs protecting children's health.

Let us note that at the regional, municipal and local levels the experiment was preceded by the implementation of the package plan that had promoted the health saving processes in these areas:

- in accordance with the Vologda Oblast Governor Decree “On the concept of long-term policy for protection and promotion of health in the Vologda Oblast “The Vologda Oblast – Health-21” of May 15, 2000, No. 416, the main task was to protect and strengthen children's health;

- in 2002 in accordance with this document the Strategic plan for protection and promotion of health in the Vologda Oblast for 2002–2010 was adopted;

- in 1999–2002 under the EU TACIS international program “Preventive Health Care Systems” the WHO program “Health promotion school”, which showed high efficiency, was implemented in three pilot schools (secondary schools No.18, 24, 3 in Totma);

- the leaders of educational departments participated in the regional interagency conference devoted to the results of the WHO project “Health promotion school” in Totma in 2003. The recommendations on the study of this experience and its use at local health institutions were adopted;

- in 2004–2014 the municipalities of the region regularly hosted interagency training conferences (31 in total) concerning the development and implementation of the programs to promote healthy lifestyles among children and adults;

- the Vologda Institute of Education Development and the Vologda Regional Center for Medical Prevention carried out seminars on the development of health saving technologies in the specialized institutions for their heads;

- the seminars for teachers to develop health saving programs were conducted. The rural educational institutions were attended by the specialists of the Vologda Regional Center for Medical Prevention, other health care centers and dispensaries, the laboratory of health and the center of prevention of drug addiction among children and adolescents of the Vologda Institute of Education Development.

The regional concept and strategic plan for the protection and promotion of the population's health, the experience in the implementation of school health programs with international participation and the training events have become a methodological basis for the health processes development in the educational institutions in Kharovsky and Vozhegodsky districts.

The experimental study included: narrative recitals, a forming part, comparative-analytical components and findings.

To promote a healthy lifestyle among children it was necessary to expand the range of preventive activities of first-aid stations and consulting rooms of medical prevention, created by the decision of the regional administration. The medical staff studied special programs; their job responsibilities included those related to primary prevention of non-communicable diseases in children.

Thus, the qualitative content of the functions and activities of medical institutions expanded, including in areas such as:

- coordination of interaction between medical services and education in the framework of health care;

- informational and methodological support for the implementation of health programs in schools, with the regional prevention centers and dispensaries being attracted in it;

- monitoring of the implementation of health programs in educational institutions;

- assessment of the effectiveness of health care activities in the educational institutions in cooperation with the regional education department and the regional center for medical prevention.

To implement these measures the network of medical institutions has been formed. They aim to protect and promote children's health. The next stage is combining the resources of different society sectors and their actions in this direction, increasing the responsibility for children's health of all participants of the educational process, expanding the functions of medical institutions.

Thus, the medical prevention structures have begun to perform the functions of the centers responsible for health maintenance due to the synergetic effect. The region has created a two-tier network of responsibility centers: at the municipal level it is a department for medical prevention in the central regional hospital; in the rural areas it is consulting rooms of medical prevention at district hospitals or first-aid stations.

The responsibility centers are solving the following tasks:

1. Participation of government officials in the process to develop a healthy lifestyle in educational institutions.
2. Preparation of the meetings of the interdepartmental coordinating councils on the protection and promotion of health.
3. Coordination of the interagency working groups elaborating health care programs.
4. Provision of methodological assistance in developing and implementing programs for healthy lifestyles at school.
5. Interaction with the regional education department in order to organize pedagogical support for healthy lifestyles programs, spread information about health and healthy lifestyles among students by means of mass media.
6. Monitoring development and methodological support of health saving programs in educational institutions.
7. Evaluation of the effectiveness of health programs implemented by educational institutions.

The analysis of the activities of the health responsibility centers has revealed that they

are able to effectively exercise their functions when cooperating with local authorities; municipal governance and educational institutions; other government departments, public organizations and business representatives interested in solving the children's health problems; pupils' parents; volunteer groups, movements for a healthy generation; mass media.

Considering the subject and experimental nature of the study, we assessed the implemented measures by means of a questioning poll. The target audience was junior and high senior students, their parents and teachers.

The educational institutions were selected by means of a random number generator in Excel. The study covered 3 secondary schools in Vozhegodsky District and 4 schools in Kharovsky District, including 25% of the pupils in the 5–7th and 8–11th grades, taking into account the ratio between the pupils of the district center (46–48%) and villages (52–54%). The adult population was represented by parents and teachers. The experiment was conducted in the following years: 2004/2005, 2007/2008, 2013/2014 academic years (*tab. 2*).

Table 2. Sample size of the study, people

Number	Years of the study		
	2004–2005	2007–2008	2013–2014
Pupils (Vozhegodsky District)	246	241	116
Pupils (Kharovsky District)	227	232	120
Teachers (Vozhegodsky District)	64	55	9
Teachers (Kharovsky District)	63	60	10
Parents (Vozhegodsky District)	214	203	116
Parents (Kharovsky District)	207	226	120

The statistical database was processed by means of SPSS Statistics. The research tools were developed on the basis of a standard questionnaire of the international program for the integrated prevention of noninfectious diseases developed by the world health organization “CINDI” (“CINDI–Children”, “CINDI–adults”) with the changes, made by the authors, to meet the goals of the study.

The basic conditions for the effective formation of health saving educational space are characterized through the dynamics of the **legal component development**:

1. Regulatory indicators:

- the number of the developed and implemented concepts for the protection and promotion of children’s health (at the regional and municipal levels);

- the number of the developed and implemented long-term interdepartmental strategies (plans) for the protection and promotion of children’s health (at the regional and municipal levels);

- the number of the developed and implemented annual interdepartmental plans for the protection and promotion of children’s health in the municipalities and rural settlements;

- the number of the developed and implemented regional and municipal interdepartmental target programs for healthy lifestyles of children and adolescents.

The RHSES effectiveness in terms of the normative-legal base indicators can be evaluated by the representation coefficient, defined as a ratio between the number of the elaborated normative-legal acts to their

required number either in the region or in the municipality or in the rural settlement.

2. Organizational and structural indicators:

- the number of established and functioning regional, municipal and rural interagency coordinating bodies on the health problems of children and adult population;

- the number of regional and municipal centers of medical prevention;

- the number of departments (consulting rooms) of medical prevention in the health care organizations;

- the number of preschool institutions implementing the program of healthy lifestyle formation;

- the number of schools implementing the program of healthy lifestyle formation;

- the number of the organizations and enterprises implementing the program for healthy lifestyle formation at the workplace (organizations and enterprises employing over 100 in urban areas and over 50 people in rural areas).

The RHSES effectiveness in terms of the actors involved can be assessed by the participation coefficient, defined as a ratio of the number of structures that implement healthy lifestyles programs to the total number of such structures either in the region or in the municipality or in the rural settlement (or to the required number).

The dynamics of the **socio-pedagogical component** characterizes the effectiveness of the process and the result of the formation of a healthy lifestyle among the subjects of the educational process.

At the first stage the effectiveness of the socio-pedagogical component was estimated by the indicators identified on the basis of the analysis of theoretical material and experimental work in educational institutions, and by such an indicator as the coverage of students, teachers and parents by preventive activities.

The following indicators are taken into account:

- the number of preventive measures implemented by medical institutions and their coverage of the educational process participants at the regional and municipal levels;

- the number of preventive measures implemented by educational institutions and their coverage of the educational process participants at the regional and municipal levels;

- the number of preventive measures implemented by other institutions and their coverage of pupils, teachers and parents at the regional and municipal levels;

- the number of experiment participants trained in healthy lifestyle.

The participation of municipalities in the formation of health saving educational space was evaluated by the monitoring of annual plans for protection and promotion of the population's health in the municipalities and rural settlements, for training in a healthy lifestyle.

The number of conducted events and the number of people trained in healthy lifestyle in absolute numbers (per month, quarter and year) are necessary for comparative evaluation of the educational process participants' activity.

At the second stage the following indicators were identified: dynamics of physical activity, dynamics of medical activity and dynamics of psychological activity.

The development of **the information component** characterizes the efficiency of the process of information support for the RHSES formation.

The evaluation indicator is the amount of information on TV, radio and in the press, contributing to the formation of a healthy lifestyle.

The indicators are the following:

- the number of released TV shows, published articles, sections on the topics such as behavioral risk factors and healthy lifestyles (regional and municipal TV channels);

- the number of newsletters, newspapers, magazines, covering the topic of behavioral risk factors and healthy lifestyles, published in the region and municipality, and their circulation;

- the frequency of social advertising on disease risk factors and healthy lifestyles (regional and municipal mass media);

- the number of units of outdoor social advertising on disease risk factors and healthy lifestyles and its display per day (in the regional center, municipality, rural settlement).

The effectiveness of the RHSES formation in terms of the amount of information about a healthy lifestyle, spread in mass media, is assessed by means of the monitoring that requires an information support sufficiency coefficient.

We should mention an additional source of information necessary for the analysis, such as data on the number of pupils assigned to different health groups, the number of lessons missed due to illness and a number of days the teachers have been on sick leave in the current academic year. These data are also compared with the previous year. For the same purpose the objective indicators of the schoolchildren's health can be compared, such as the results of periodic health examination and medical examination.

Health saving activities of parents and teachers are theoretical knowledge and practical skills for healthy lifestyles. The main task of adults is to teach their children not only knowledge, skills, but also a healthy lifestyle. The obtained data help to evaluate the effectiveness of the formation of healthy lifestyle among pupils and their immediate environment – parents and teachers, and the dynamics of health saving educational space in the educational establishments and municipality, in general.

According to the analysis of morbidity in pupils in Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts, the implementation of the programs "Health saving school" had a positive impact on promotion of children's health. The results of the experiment show that Kharovsky District is marked by the growth of pupils' physical, environmental and psychological activity at schools implementing health saving programs.

The research into the formation of health saving educational space in two municipalities

of the Vologda Oblast (Kharovsky and Vozhegodsky districts) in the context of synergistic and systemic approaches confirms the hypothesis, put forward in our work, and indicates high performance of municipal education authorities.

However, the research analysis reveal the advantage of the synergistic approach applied in the educational institutions of Kharovsky District over the systematic approach applied in the educational institutions of Vozhegodsky District (*tab. 3*).

According to the experiment results, Kharovsky District is marked by the growth of pupils' physical, environmental and psychological activity at schools implementing health saving programs. In Vozhegodsky District there is an increase of only two types of activities – physical and medical.

The objective indicators of the health state of children include health groups singled out in accordance with the recommendations of the Institute of Hygiene of Children and Adolescents. Health group I includes children who do not have deviations by all health indicators, or have minor deviations that do not affect the state of health and do not require special treatment.

Group II includes healthy children with high load according to the biological, genealogical, social anamnesis and with the risk of chronic diseases development. Group III includes children with chronic diseases or congenital disorders. Groups IV and V include children with rare and chronic diseases, who constitute a small part of pupils or undergo training in special educational establishments.

Table 3. Comparative analysis of the health saving educational space formation in the municipalities by the dynamics of the types of health saving activities in the educational institutions of Kharovsky and Vozhegodsky districts

No.	Types of health saving activities	Dynamics of the formation of the types of health saving activities	
		Educational institutions of Kharovsky District	Educational institutions of Vozhegodsky District
1.	Physical	+	+
2.	Environmental	+	0
3.	Medical	0	+
4.	Psychological	+	0
5.	Moral	0	0
6.	The sum of the effectiveness indicators: - activities growth	3	2
	- unchanged activities	2	3
	- reduced activities	-	-

Legend of the dynamics of the formation of activities:
 "+" – growth or a growth trend of activities;
 "-" – reduction or a reduction trend of activities;
 "0" – unchanged activities.

Table 4. Dynamics of pupils' health at schools of Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts in accordance with health groups

Region	Health group	9 grade		10 grade		11 grade		Growth rate (+ or -)
		2004–2005		2005–2006		2006–2007		
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Vozhegodsky District	1	85	30.5	42	32.1	48	38.4	7.9
	2	180	64.5	81	61.8	66	52.8	- 11.7
	3	14	5.0	8	6.1	11	8.8	3.8
Kharovsky District	1	82	28.8	37	25.8	24	21.1	- 7.7
	2	121	42.4	70	49.0	66	57.8	15.4
	3	82	28.8	36	25.2	24	21.1	- 7.7

To facilitate the assessment of the health technologies effectiveness in educational institutions in practice, as a rule, the first three groups of children's health are used.

The objective data on the health state of pupils at schools of Kharovsky and Vozhegodsky districts, obtained due to the study of medical cards, are presented in *table 4*.

In 2004–2007 the number of children with health group I at schools of Vozhegodsky District increased by 8%, in Kharovsky District this indicator declined by 8%. The positive changes in Vozhegodsky District are caused by the influx of healthier junior senior students. Accordingly, the number of children with health group II declined (12%) in Vozhegodsky District and increased (15%) in Kharovsky District.

Moreover, the share of children with health group III in Vozhegodsky District increased by 4% and in Kharovsky District decreased by 8%, which proves insignificant advantages in the implementation of health programs at schools of Kharovsky District.

In 2004–2007 the number of teachers being on sick leave declined in both regions insignificantly (*tab. 5*): by 4 cases in Vozhegodsky District and by 15 in Kharovsky District. However, the number of work days missed due to illness and the average

duration of one case increased by 113 days and 1.8 days, respectively in Vozhegodsky District and by 6 days and 1.6 days in Kharovsky District.

The number of cases and days of teachers' temporary incapacity to labor in the 2004/2005 academic year in Kharovsky District exceeded those in Vozhegodsky District, in the 2006/2007 academic year the opposite situation was observed.

The parents and teachers take active part in promotion of a healthy lifestyle among schoolchildren. In Kharovsky District there are more people interested in children's health maintenance than in Vozhegodsky District.

The study indicates that the factors that undermine the efficiency of measures aimed to promote teachers' health and disease prevention are the following:

- the average age of teachers: 57 years in Vozhegodsky District; 54 in Kharovsky District;

Table 5. Dynamics of teachers' morbidity in Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts (2004–2007)

Indicators of temporary disability	2004–2005	2005–2006	2006–2007
Vozhegodsky District			
Number of cases	89	99	85
Number of days	789	986	902
Average duration of one case, days	8.9	10.0	10.7
Kharovsky District			
Number of cases	99	105	84
Number of days	827	885	833
Average duration of one case, days	8.3	8.5	9.9
Note: Indicators of employees' disability per 100 people.			

– the high prevalence of chronic diseases and a low level of clinical observation and treatment of teachers. So, only 7% of the teachers in Vozhegodsky District and 15% in Kharovsky District undergo medical examination on their own initiative. The clinical examination of teachers increases significantly, if school principals participate actively. The rate of teachers' clinical examination conducted once a year has grown up to 65% in Vozhegodsky District and to 67% in Kharovsky District.

In 2004–2007 119 teachers in Vozhegodsky District and 123 in Kharovsky District were surveyed on the issue of smoking. The results reveal that the share of smoking teachers has declined from 8% to 2% in Vozhegodsky District and from 29% to 5% in Kharovsky District. It should be noted that smoking cessation of teachers in these municipalities has led to the reduction of the number of smoking adolescents. In Vozhegodsky District the number of smoking pupils has decreased by 5% by 2007 and by 17% in 2014. In Kharovsky District in 2007–2014 the decline was 3%.

The most important factor determining the effectiveness of the formation of health saving educational space is a degree of decision-makers' involvement. To determine the dependence of the RHSES formation results at the municipal level on the local authorities' competence the questionnaire was conducted in 2004. In Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts 13 experts representing the executive power were surveyed: the administration heads and their deputies.

According to the study, the heads of local executive authorities indicate the following factors hazardous to health:

- smoking (77% and 33% of the heads in Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts, respectively);
- excessive alcohol consumption (85 and 87%, respectively);
- a low level of life (85% and 80%).

All heads in Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts participating in the survey believe that the state of health of the younger generation depends primarily on the family. Seventy percent of the heads in Vozhegodsky District and 53% of Kharovsky District consider school as an important factor that affects children's health. Thirty-nine and thirty-three per cent of the respondents, respectively, mention the role of medical institutions in maintaining and improving the state of health of the younger generation.

So, the heads of local administrations contribute to the formation of health saving educational space in their municipalities.

The study identifies the main features of the formation of health saving educational space in Vozhegodsky and Kharovsky districts:

- coordination of the process to promote a healthy lifestyle by the subjects of the educational process;
- developing relations in this sphere between the subjects of the educational process;
- creation of healthy environment in educational institutions.

The study revealed that health saving processes are the result of either strategic management (a system approach) or self-organizing process (a synergetic approach). The level of the formation of health saving educational space in Vozhegodsky District where the system approach was implemented is characterized as average; this indicator in Kharovsky District where the synergetic approach was implemented is considered as high.

We should note the ambiguity of the synergetic approach application, both advantages and disadvantages of this process.

The advantages are the following:

- the process to elaborate health saving programs is not limited to the policy guidelines set by the higher education authorities and standard models, which allows to implement the activities promoting healthy lifestyles in the educational institutions;
- the decision to develop and implement health saving programs is taken by the school staff that forms a collective responsibility for the program results;
- there are possibilities to implement new health care technologies with the involvement of external scientific resources in the educational institution.

The disadvantages are the following:

- there is no single scientific approach to the implementation of health saving activities in the educational institutions;
- there is no system of interaction and exchange of experience between the educational institutions that implement health saving programs;

– the choice of the optimal program is limited to a small number of schools implementing health saving programs.

The analysis of such programs discloses that the conducted activities are focused on maintenance and promotion of children's health at school. The task to create a healthy lifestyle is reflected to a lesser extent.

The main tools to maintain children's health include modular, problem, project, socio-cultural and self-development training. Game and group teaching methods are widely used.

Thus, according to the survey, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. The effectiveness of the RHSES formation is determined by a complex of organizational-pedagogical, social-pedagogical, information and pedagogical conditions that can be evaluated in quantitative terms.
2. The parameters of the effectiveness of the RHSES formation are closely interrelated:
 - with the development of the main features of the investigated space formation;
 - with the process to promote a healthy lifestyle among the subjects of the educational process and its main components, types of health saving activity: physical, environmental, medical, psychological and moral.
3. The choice of the management strategy and the identification of the role of education, health care and authorities are key objectives of the efficient activity to form health saving space at the municipal and regional levels.

4. The high degree of involvement of local executive authorities in the process to create health saving educational space is one of the main conditions for the effectiveness of this activity.

5. The synergistic approach in general is more efficient than the system approach.

However, both approaches yield positive results in the formation of healthy lifestyles of students and teachers.

Therefore, the combination of their elements (an integrated system-synergetic approach) seems to be the best possible way to form health saving educational space.

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Application of standardization tools to improve the performance of executive authorities



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Abstract. The article considers the issues of improving the quality of public services through the development of standardization. The establishment of standards not only for performance, but also for processes, including management processes, is a characteristic feature of modern standardization. And management quality is very important for sustainable development of the region, country, and also for the quality of life. At present, it is necessary to create a modern system of public administration, working for the citizens and in the interests of the citizens.

In order to enhance the quality of government institutions' performance, several countries use the systems based on national and international standards, as well as on the models of national quality awards. The experience in the use of such systems has shown that a necessary condition for improving

the performance quality of executive authorities consists in introduction of modern methods of quality management, including quality management systems.

Nowadays Russia has established the Technical Committee 115 “Sustainable development of administrative-territorial units” (ATU), headed by Academician V.V. Okrepilov, Director General of the FBI “Test-St. Petersburg”. The task of the TC 115 is to develop criteria for assessing the activity of ATU management bodies and to create systems for ATO management. Technical Committee 115 “mirrors” the international TC 268 “Sustainable development in communities”.

Currently TC are working to create national standards, clarify terminology, establish a common conceptual framework, develop a system of performance indicators for management bodies, and methodologies for implementation of quality management techniques in them. The discussion of the draft national standard “Quality management systems – guidance on the application of ISO 900162008 in the executive power bodies” is in the final phase. The standard takes into account the specifics of activity of state executive authorities. This will help accelerate the introduction of modern methods of quality management in this sphere.

One of the directions for the improvement of the quality management system in the bodies of state executive power is its application to reduce corruption risks. The article considers the management system for combating corruption, developed on the basis of the quality management system. The authors describe the model of such a system and its cycle of operation.

Key words: standardization, innovations, public services, sustainable development, quality management system, management system for combating corruption.

At present Russia is shifting into a new phase of its socio-economic development characterized by the rise of interest in understanding the concept of “sustainable development” as a fundamental phenomenon that is essential for human activity. This is due to several reasons. The first one is globalization. It leads to the fact that Russia’s regions act more and more often as separate economic subjects by interacting and sometimes even competing with each other, for example, in the issues concerning attraction of investment. The degree of sustainability of the region’s development becomes an important criterion when a potential investor makes decisions on investing.

We can talk about the emergence of a kind of chain reaction of quality. People search for places where they could live better, and investors – where they could make profitable investment.

Regions with the high level of the quality of life, as a rule, are characterized by high sustainability, and therefore, they are more attractive for investment.

Investments, in turn, promote the growth of the quality of life, which leads to increased sustainability.

On the contrary, regions with low investment attractiveness experience gradual deterioration in the quality of life. This tendency can be overcome only if the government undertakes appropriate steps.

As we know, sustainable development is ensured by creating and applying innovation in economy, social development and environment. Innovation process always results in a higher level of quality. In other words, quality is the foundation of sustainable development. High product quality ensures seamless operation of enterprises, and the high quality of life provides social stability, enhances competitiveness of each region and nationwide [4].

It should be noted that the quality framework should be set out in legal and regulatory documents that also include standards.

Foreign research shows that standardization activities have great influence on the development of industry and business. With regard to interaction between suppliers and consumers, standards provide economic benefits such as the reduction of costs of business operations and assessment of market opportunities, the improvement of the quality and competitiveness of products, the elimination of market barriers.

Standardization, as one of the main elements of technical regulation under market economy, can provide a contribution to economic growth more significant than that from the introduction of patents and licenses. So, the studies conducted in several countries in the Asia-Pacific region show that the effective use of technical non-tariff regulation increases the share of profit by an average of 0.26% of GDP, while the profit from tariff regulation does not exceed 0.14%. Most studies indicate that the benefits of standardization can be considered

as a contribution to the gross profit of the company at the level of 0.15–5% of annual sales revenue [2].

According to the research carried out in the WTO countries (Germany, UK, Canada, Australia and France), the impact of standardization on GDP growth is more than 27%, and on the productivity growth – 30%.

A study conducted recently by experts from the ISO and specialists from Baltika Breweries shows that the application of standards along with a number of qualitative advantages saves 5.8% of the cost of the five core business processes: procurement, logistics, manufacturing, distribution and maintenance service.

According to ISO estimates, total benefits from the use of standards for the majority of cases range from 0.5 to 4% of the annual sales revenue of companies.

A characteristic feature of modern standardization is the establishment of requirements not only to performance indicators but also to processes, including management processes. If there are no innovations in management, innovations in other sectors of human activity become inefficient.

It is obvious that management needs innovations. Enhancement of the efficiency and quality of public administration is a key condition for promoting Russia's socio-economic development. After all, today the majority of our citizens assess the quality of state and municipal services as low and average [1], while the society expects and demands high quality from state authorities, namely:

- strict compliance with the law;
- effective and responsible governance;
- provision of high-quality administration and management services to the population as a whole and each citizen in particular;
- high qualification of managers.

Compliance with the interests of citizens, who are the main consumers of services, is a major condition to meet these requirements. It is necessary to establish a modern system of public administration, working for the population and in the interests of the population. In other words, public authorities need an effective management system that ensures the establishment of values that satisfy consumers. This system will enhance public confidence in the authorities, and therefore, improve the entire public administration system, which will lead to sustainable development and improve stability in the society.

However, the standards governing the quality of public and municipal services have not been developed so far. The methodologies and systems do not provide the opportunity to evaluate it. However, some countries have different systems of quality management of public services based on national and international standards and on the models of national quality awards. Such systems enable an authority to achieve effectiveness and performance efficiency and to build national ratings of agencies. In particular, 39 countries use the management valuation model in organizations financed from the state or municipal budget (Common Assessment Framework (CAF), the users of this model point out that this method of

quality management is the most accessible, cheap and adapted to the budgetary sphere. We can also mention the British “Good Governance Standard for Public Services”, the Latin American model of excellence, the Canadian model for assessing the quality and effectiveness of public administration, the Australian model of excellence. Quality awards in public administration are established in the UK, Denmark, France, Malaysia, Bulgaria, Ireland and several other countries [5].

The experience in the application of models and awards proves that the introduction of modern methods of quality management, in particular, the establishment of quality management systems (QMS) is a necessary condition to achieve comprehensive effect of enhancing the quality of executive authorities’ performance.

Scientific research shows that countries, which widely use quality management systems in state and municipal authorities, have a high human development index (HDI), which is considered an indicator of the quality of life. This is not surprising. The improvement of management quality provides for making more effective decisions with lower costs, and for rendering services of better quality. It directly affects, for example, the health of citizens, which, naturally, affects the increase in life expectancy, i.e. the increase in one of the components of the HDI.

Prerequisites for such actions are the following characteristic features of modern quality management:

- versatility of construction, when a single scheme and structure is used for different spheres of human activity;

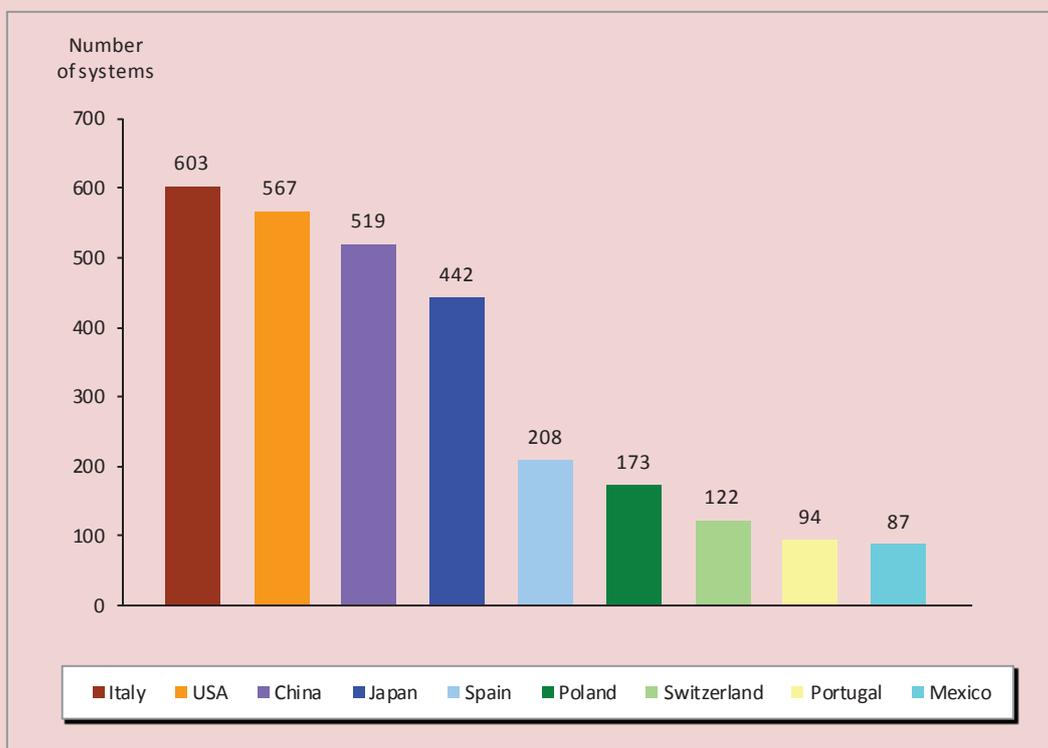
– versatility of application, when single quality management techniques in accordance with a “quality has no limits” principle are applied in any kind of human activity, for enterprises and organizations of any size and any form of ownership in any economic and political system, and they cover the entire economic space.

The United States in the 1970s was the first country to use quality management systems to improve the quality of government services. And today they are being implemented in many countries [3]. About three thousand state and municipal authorities in different countries use QMS in their activities.

Italy, the U.S., China, Japan, Spain, Poland, Switzerland, Portugal, and Mexico are leaders in this area (*fig. 1*).

Nowadays Russia also recognizes the need to introduce the standards for management systems in public authorities. For example, ISO 9001 is used by the Central Office of the Federal Antimonopoly Service and its territorial offices (in 2012 – in 5 territorial offices, in 2013 – in 6 offices). The standard is widely used by the administration of the city of Shakhty, the government and municipalities of the Chuvash Republic, the government and executive authorities of the Kaliningrad Oblast, etc.

Figure 1. Implementation of quality management systems in state and municipal authorities



However, the rate of implementation of quality management systems in public authorities is low. This can be explained by the fact that ISO 9001 was initially focused on organizations engaged in commercial activity, and does not fully reflect the specifics of public and municipal service.

This specificity is manifested, for example, in the fact that public authorities do not choose their mission and consumer. They have no competition and industry specifics. At the same time, the values and personal qualities of a government agency official affect the quality of services no less than his/her professional knowledge. The principles of interaction with the external environment and the approaches to this interaction should be established on the basis of the objectives of “transparency and information openness”. It is also necessary to identify the principles, approaches and methods to create a corporate culture that meets, among other things, the ethical requirements to a modern official. In addition, it is necessary to define approaches to work throughout the entire life cycle of an employee – from candidate to the position to termination of employment, including retirement.

We note that international community understands the importance of standardization as the crucial factor in management efficiency increase. The new technical committee ISO/TC 268 “Sustainable Development in Communities” was established in the beginning of 2012. The TC aims to develop criteria for assessing the activity of community management bodies and to create community management systems. A community is

understood as an administrative-territorial formation, whose goal is to provide safety and favourable conditions for human activity, to limit the negative impact of economic and other activity on the environment and to ensure protection and rational use of natural resources in the interests of the present and future generations. That is, we can say that municipality, city and oblast are communities.

The national TC 115 “Sustainable development of administrative-territorial formations”, headed by RAS Academician V.V. Okrepilov, General Director of the FBI “Test St.-Petersburg”, has been established in Russia. The technical Committee is a “mirror image” of TC 268: their tasks are similar. The TC 115 comprises two sub-committees (SC1 and SC2) in accordance with their main work directions; i.e., their task is to develop a methodology for the system approach to quality management in administrative-territorial units, and to develop performance indicators and methods of performance assessment.

The following activities are implemented within the framework of the TC: the creation of national standards, clarification of terminology, the formation of the common conceptual framework, the development of the system of performance indicators for government authorities, the development of methodologies for implementation of quality management techniques in them. Currently, the discussion of the draft national standard “Quality management Systems – Guidance on the Application of ISO 9001:2008 in the Bodies of Executive Power” is in its final phase.

In comparison with the international standard ISO 9001:2008, the national standard has a number of specific features. For instance, the introduction includes an additional paragraph that sets out twelve core principles of quality management system in state executive authorities. The wording of seven of them was taken from the international standards ISO 9000:2005 and ISO 9004:2009, but the content takes into account the specifics of this sphere of activity. The wording of the eighth principle is changed to “Mutually beneficial relationships with interested parties”. The other four principles: “Efficiency”, “Introspection and self-development”, “Transparency of activity”, “Ethical behavior” – are new.

The draft specifies that the quality management system is the means by which the executive authorities can plan and implement their actions aimed to meet the needs and expectations of interested parties, and to ensure high quality of their services. The quality management system is a set of plans, processes, procedures and resources required to achieve the objectives in the sphere of quality and aimed at ensuring continuous improvement of services.

The project specifies the application of the process approach. That is, special attention should be focused not on the functions of departments and employees, but on the main processes that integrate specific activities and are aimed at the performance results of a state executive authority. At that, horizontal relationships (between functional units) rather than vertical (hierarchical)

relationships are of principal importance. This kind of relationships is less stable and therefore it is more likely to impede the achievement of planned results.

Appropriate guidelines have been developed in order to facilitate the creation and implementation of QMS. The guidelines identify that the main stages of development and implementation of QMS are as follows: designing of QMS documentation of QMS, implementation of QMS and (if necessary) preparation for certification. This work should be organized according to the following principles: responsibility and dominating role of management, overall training and involvement of the staff, sequence of execution of work, and innovativeness. As for the latter principle, we can explain that the development and introduction of QMS is the innovation that affects all the aspects of activity and levels of management of a state executive authority. Therefore, when planning, developing and implementing QMS, one should take into consideration how well the executive authority as a whole and its individual components will respond to innovations.

The recurring external and internal assessment is a necessary condition for quality management. The research supervised by RAS Academician V.V. Okrepilov served as the basis for elaborating the concept of the National Rating Assessment of Agencies of Executive Authorities of the Russian Federation. The Concept is a comprehensive mechanism for assessing the level of efficiency and potential of activities

of executive authorities on the basis of integrated assessment combining qualitative and quantitative indicators.

This system includes not only the indicators of performance and achievement of immediate results – for citizens (consumers), for employees, for society, but also key indicators of opportunities that help evaluate the capacity of state authorities, their willingness and receptivity to change. We can name the following indicators: leading role of management, planning of the activity, employees, partnership and resources, processes carried out by the agency.

The CAF model, which was significantly improved with regard to Russian specifics and best Russian practices, is taken as the basis of the national rating. In particular, the model of prizes of the Government of the Russian for quality was used [6].

The system offers:

- the methodology for diagnostic self-assessment and expert assessment of performance of state executive authorities in Russia;
- the tools to identify strengths and weaknesses in the performance of institutions, the approaches to the development and implementation of measures to improve and enhance the quality and effectiveness of activities;
- the methods to determine the best examples of activities, collection and processing of information on successful experience in the field of public administration and the mechanisms to provide this information through a multi-level database.

The strength of this assessment system is that it is carried out on a regular basis according to established efficiency criteria, rather than randomly, by the results of inspections based on one-time complaints and alarms.

The quality management system can be applied to reduce corruption risks, which is one of the directions to enhance its quality. This helps to improve the use of available resources when implementing anti-corruption measures. In essence we are talking about the implementation of an anti-bribery management system (ABMS). ABMS is designed to meet the requirements of ISO 9000 series and also the requirements of the British standard BS 10500:2011 “Specification for an anti-bribery management system”, which allows this system to be an integral part of the overall system of quality management; and the basic principles of quality management applied by a state authority are supplemented with the principles to combat corruption.

The implementation of ABMS in the state power body has a necessary condition: the availability of a unified approach to risk management, including corruption risks that can occur when public authorities exercise their functions. This means that we need a single definition of concepts such as, for example, “risk”, “corruption risk”, and the development of methods and procedures associated with their management. At that, it is necessary to take into account not only the requirements of Russia’s legislation, but also the external and internal environment of a state authority, the requirements of

interested parties (e.g. citizens), as well as the professional ethics of the employees of the authority. A program for combating corruption and annual plans should be based on these definitions.

To facilitate the implementation of ABMS in a state authority, it is necessary to determine whether combating corruption would be an independent process. Otherwise it has to be determined which of the identified processes of the quality management system include anti-corruption measures. This will ensure the visibility of the link between the objectives and activities implemented.

It is advisable that the documentation of the quality management system include internal and external regulations, and anti-corruption methodological documents. The structure of the documentation, in addition to the Mission, Policies and objectives, can be supplemented by an element of ABMS, for example, a code of ethics.

The objectives in the field of quality can be supplemented by the objectives that reflect the reduction of corruption risks in a state executive authority. This extends the policy in the field of quality and spreads it to interpersonal relationships.

In accordance with paragraph 4.1 BS 10500 a state authority shall adopt and record an anti-bribery policy. The policy need only be a brief statement by the organization that it prohibits bribery and will implement reasonable and proportionate measures to prevent bribery and detect, report and deal with any bribery which occurs. But anti-corruption policy can be reflected in the adopted code of ethics as well.

In both cases the information that the state authority has developed and adopted an anti-corruption policy or that this policy is reflected in the code of ethics should be communicated not only to all the members of staff, but also to all the interested parties (primarily, the citizens). Moreover, the level of corruption can be used as the characteristic quality of a public service.

The report on the quality management system functioning can include an analysis of the implementation of anti-corruption measures. Thus, taking into account additions, the information on the functioning of the quality management system should reflect the following:

- the activities and processes of the quality management system are consistent with the policies in the field of quality, human resources management, code of ethics (anti-bribery policy); they are coordinated with the values of the state authority and its mission, and help achieve the goals in the field of quality;
- the implemented corrective and/or preventive actions are effective;
- the quality of services provided to meet the requirements of citizens;
- there is a decrease of significant corruption-related risks;
- there is an increase in the effectiveness of the processes and the overall functioning of the quality management system;
- the quality management system is appropriately resourced.

It should be noted that the process of development and implementation of the QMS should take anti-corruption policy

into consideration. For example, the analysis of functional duties, responsibility and authority of the staff involved in the development and functioning of the QMS should take into account the risk of corruption. A suitably qualified or experienced member of staff, who is allocated responsibility for overseeing implementation of anti-corruption measures should analyze the anti-corruption measures, assess their effectiveness, oversee compliance by the organization's members of staff with the anti-bribery policy; ensure that the anti-bribery policy and corresponding internal regulations are consistent with all relevant laws, and provide advice and guidance to members of staff on the established requirements in the issues relating to bribery.

We should pay special attention to the last statement, because it is the staff of a public authority that ought to implement anti-corruption policy in practice. In this connection it is necessary to expand requirements for the competence of a member of staff by supplementing them with knowledge of and adherence to not only the mission and values of the organization, its policies in the field of quality, human resources management, but also to the code of ethics (anti-corruption policy). In the course of training it is necessary that members of staff get a clear idea about the anti-bribery management system and about the risks and losses for the activities of a public authority, which can occur as a result of bribery, and under what circumstances there is a threat of a bribe, and what should be done to avoid such a threat.

Since the anti-bribery management system was developed on the basis of the quality management system, the model of such a system will be similar to the general model of QMS under ISO 9001 (*fig. 2*).

Organizational block includes the management of the state power body and the relevant organizational documents, the system management bodies.

The second block is the system's functioning mechanism, which consists of the following main elements:

- system of target indicators that reflect the dynamics of reduction of corruption risks;
- target anti-corruption plans and programs;
- monitoring and analysis of achievement of the targets;
- corrective actions.

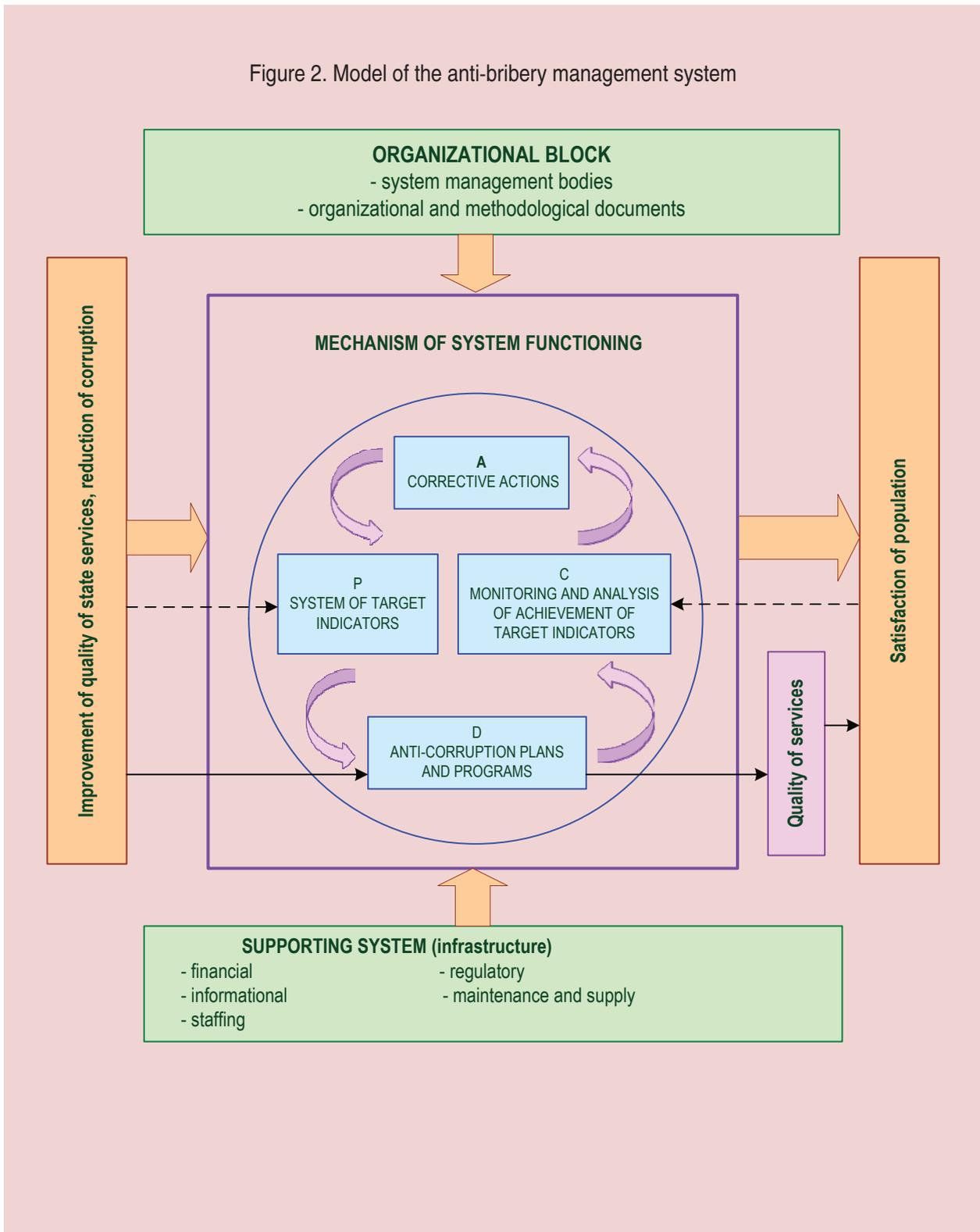
The third block is the supporting system (infrastructure). In this case, infrastructure refers to financial, regulatory, informational, maintenance and supply, and staffing provision of the system. This should include the legal framework (the legislation of the Russian Federation).

In accordance with the general theory of management, ABMS has the “input” and “output”.

The “input” of the system comprises the needs and requirements of the region's population. In this particular case we mean the necessity to improve the quality of public services by combating corruption.

The “output” is the satisfaction of the population achieved by implementing all planned activities and actions.

Figure 2. Model of the anti-bribery management system



The cycle of ABMS begins with the formation of target indicators, which should clearly reflect the results of anti-bribery activities. Therefore, these indicators can be expressed in numeric or descriptive form. For example, they can include the total number of training hours for employees or the total number of offences, or the establishment of regular analysis of the possibility of corruption risks arising in the functioning of a public authority.

In order to achieve the planned targets it is necessary to develop and implement the relevant target plans and programs that will determine what should be done, when and by whom.

Implementation of programs is assessed by comparing the current values of the indicators with those specified in the plans. This comparison is performed through internal audit of activities of a public authority, and by monitoring the customers' satisfaction. The results of the analysis provide the necessary

information basis for identifying the existing trends, for predicting the emergence of new needs and demands; and they also provide an opportunity for decision-making concerning the necessity of the next phase – corrective actions. Corrective actions conclude one cycle of ABMS and begin the next one. Steps are being taken to strengthen anti-corruption activities and, consequently, to accelerate the implementation of plans and programs. Improvement can be expressed, for example, in the increase of the amount of information communicated to members of staff, more severe penalties, improvement of internal regulatory documentation, etc.

We can hope that an integrated and system approach to the improvement of the quality of public services will ensure the formation of mobile modern system of public administration that will have the most favorable impact on the competitiveness of the domestic economy and welfare of the citizens.

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BRANCH-WISE ECONOMY

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Methodology for assessing the transport security of the territory for the availability of social services



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Abstract. The formation of a rational transport network and the development of vehicles should be marked by the achievement of socio-territorial justice, which is understood as a guarantee of transport accessibility of social services, increase and economy of man's free time, reduction in the degree of uncertainty of economic activity in the part that depends on transport factors. According to the author, the priorities of the assessment of transport security include the duration of the trip from the settlements to the centers of social services and year-round transportation. Each type of social services has normative values of transport accessibility, corresponding to the needs of a particular region, and they are the basis for strategic planning in the services sector. For instance, the standard time for provision of emergency medical aid is 40 minutes. The level of transport discrimination is defined as the proportion of the population living outside the standard time. The author proposes a formula for determining the weighted average costs of time that a transport user needs for reaching a certain destination (e.g., hospital, school, etc.) from any other departure point. Transport security is assessed on the example of the Komi Republic; the calculation includes all its settlements, considers the distance to the regional centers, condition of roads, obstacles to year-round road communications, transport vehicles, including animal-drawn transport, and going on foot, the speed of movement and other factors. The results of the developed differentiation methodology can be used for interbudgetary control and distribution of resources of the Fund of financial support of municipal formations according to the rate of transport increase in the cost of public services through the coefficients of transport security.

Key words: transport security, weighted average costs of time, availability and rise in the cost of public services.

Transport creates conditions for economic independence and development of RF subjects, including municipalities of districts, villages and settlements. Economic entities only benefit from transport infrastructure development. Transport remoteness of many settlements from centers of social services is one of the most important factors affecting the level of life of the population and expenditures of budgets and production.

The process to form a rational transport network and develop vehicles involves achievement of two goals:

1) socio-spatial justice, understood as a guarantee of transport accessibility of social services (education, culture, medicine, trade, consumer services, passenger traffic, etc.), growth and economy of people's free time [2];

2) decrease in the degree of uncertainty (risk) of economic activity in terms of transport factors. Reduction of time spent on freight service is of importance.

The problem to increase "transparency" of territorial levelling should be addressed through the improvement of methods of formal registration of remoteness indicators. The indicators of transport security are relevant in the standards of budget costs appreciation, used for the allocation of funds to support administrative-territorial entities of different level (from subjects to settlements) by means of fiscal capacity adjustment.

The priorities of transport security assessment aimed at the accessibility of social services include:

- taking timing into account when moving from settlements to centers of social services;
- year-round transportation.

The transport availability indicator can be defined as weighted average costs of time required for a vehicle user to reach a certain point of destination (medical and institutions, schools, educational institutions, clubs, shops, settlements, etc.) from any other departure point (settlements, etc.).

All types of services have normative values of transport availability, which should correspond to the needs of a particular region. It is important to consider them while developing each of the services.

For instance, the standard time for provision of emergency medical aid is 40 minutes, which corresponds to a 30-km distance that a medical ambulance passes. In the services sector the level of transport discrimination is defined as a share of the population living outside this normative time.

According to the preliminary calculations, the discrimination level is significantly lower in urban districts than in municipalities and settlements. The standards of transport availability should be taken into consideration when deciding on the location of new schools, tourist camps and other facilities.

The levels of transport provision and transport availability are the same for passenger traffic services. Timetables help transport users estimate the time from a point of departure to a point of arrival and choose means of transport, a trip and a route that satisfy their needs (time, money, a service level, etc.).

Let us consider the issues of internal transport provision of the territory when determining the transport availability of settlements.

The settlements have not usually developed real approaches to the formation of a transport network due to external and internal factors.

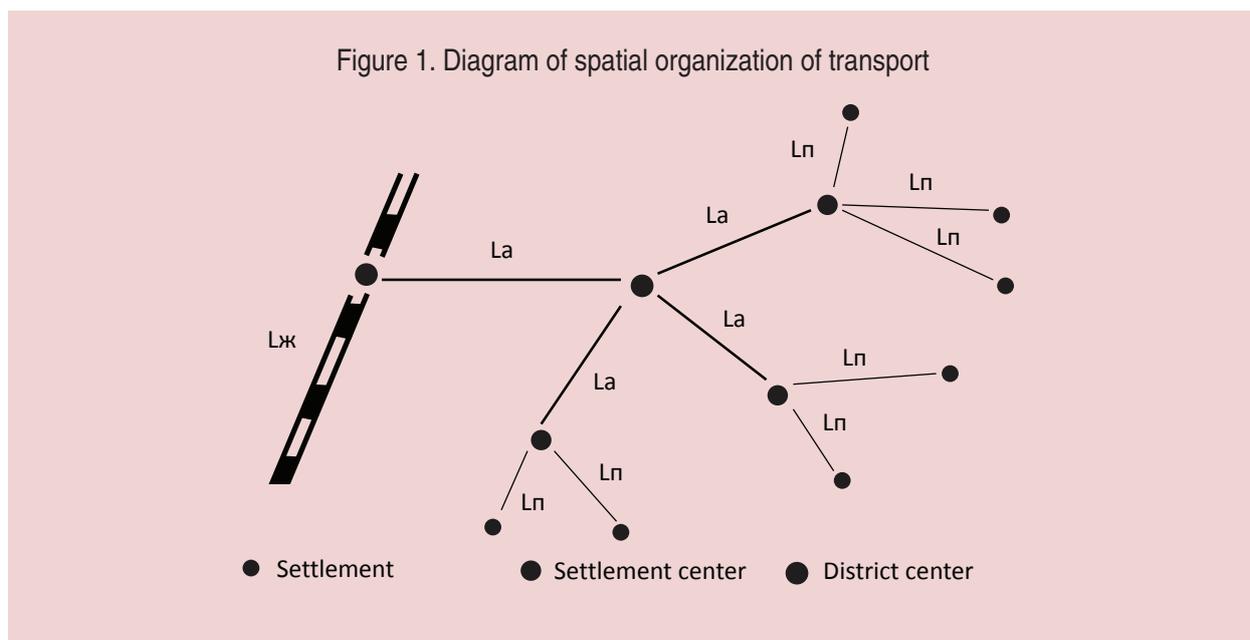
The external factors include underestimation of the role of transport infrastructure and the residual principle of its funding. The internal factor is associated with a diversified composition of transport infrastructure, a lack of a single customer, maintenance of transport infrastructure by different agencies, different standards and approaches to the development of transport infrastructure in different departments (agriculture, forestry, oil, gas industry, etc.).

Transport accessibility of settlements is characterized by remoteness and presence of obstacles in the traffic road. *Figure 1* shows that remoteness is defined through the indicators of the distance between settlements and settlements centers, and then, in turn, between them and district centers, railway stations, centers of RF subjects. One should

also take into account remoteness (closeness) from main road and rail routes, types of the upper surface of roads, seasonal roads (winter roads), ensuring communication between settlements even in winter, water crossings and bus service.

The location of settlements at highways, roads and in the areas of their immediate impact is the most important factor of the transport and geographic position determining opportunities for further growth and development.

The livelihood of the population depends on seasonality of transport connections. In spring and autumn at the time of freeze-up and thaw traffic service becomes problematic. In summer rivers are crossed by ferries and boats, in winter – by cars. Constant communication is only available in winter due to winter roads and ice crossings. Annual maintenance and upkeep of winter roads and ice crossings are expensive.



The bus route network and commuter trains reduce the temporary link between settlements. The 30 km distance from the “ordinary” settlement to the settlement or district center (a 6 hour “tourist” trip) includes walking. Small and medium-sized towns are covered by bus service only if the route is mapped through them or they are at a distance of not more than 5 km (a 1 hour walk). The problems in this sphere are the following: intensity of bus and rail links, number of trips, involving loss of time on waiting. People have to get to a place of destination by a car share.

The presence and nature of obstacles, leading to a decrease in the rate and seasonality of transportation vary greatly by municipalities. Taking into account the parameters of transport provision, one can distinguish municipalities with year-round (with minor exceptions), limited and discriminatory (in bad road conditions) transport links between settlements.

Year-round transport link provides transit communications through the territory of settlements. They are covered by railway, road and other communication networks. This may also include the settlements, which centers are not covered by a route network, but they are located near main roads and there are roads leading to federal and local highways.

Limited transportation is characterized by the presence of river obstacles that require maintenance of pontoons and ice crossings, purchase of ferries and boats; it is also characterized by a low level of development of the transport network (predominance of winter roads).

The territory maintenance requires investment support.

Discriminatory transport connection is characterized by a small share of hard-surface roads, a great length of winter roads and a lack of river crossings. These settlements also need investment support.

To calculate the weighted average cost of time within settlements, local systems, districts, the capital, etc., taking into account the presence/lack of bus, rail and other types of transport connection and the average speed of vehicles and walking (of a horse) we have suggested a formula¹:

$$T_i = \frac{\sum_1^n (t_a \times l_a + t_n \times l_n + t_{r/w} \times l_{r/w})}{\sum_1^n (l_a + l_n + l_{r/w})},$$

n is a number of settlements in the region;

l_a is a length of hard surface roads from the settlement n to the center of social services, the settlement, the local system, the district, the capital, etc.;

t_a is time costs associated with the trip by bus or other vehicles;

l_n is a length of dirt roads from the settlement n to the center of social services, the settlement, the local system, etc.;

t_n is time required to get to the place of destination on foot (by horse);

$l_{r/w}$ is a length of the railway from the settlement n to the center of social services, the settlement, the local system, the district, the capital, etc.;

$t_{r/w}$ – time costs associated with the trip by train.

¹ The given measures of transport security through the length of transport lines are generally accepted indicators in the UN system and are comparable among the countries.

To assess transport security in the Komi Republic the given study uses the formula to calculate the weighted average cost of time. The calculation includes all settlements (more than 700), takes into account the distance from the settlements to regional centers, state of communication routes, obstacles to year-round communication, transport vehicles, walking (horse-drawn traffic), speed of movement and other factors. The assessment is based on the data on the administrative-territorial division of the Komi Republic, data on the condition of roads, transport enterprises – on route networks, winter roads, water crossings, vehicle characteristics, speed of their movement and other sources.

The main land transport, connecting the settlements of the Komi Republic with the centers of municipalities, is motor transport.

The state network of public roads is divided into federal – within the boundaries of the republic (0.3 thousand km) and territorial – within districts (6.7 thousand km), of which 0.9 thousand km of roads are dirt roads [1]. Most settlements have local dirt and winter roads.

Figure 2 shows that the settlements with year-round accessibility are covered by a route network; the settlements are compactly located and have ferry and pontoon crossings. It is efficient to build local roads with the access to federal and territorial roads leading to regional centers and the capital and railway stations.

The group of settlements with limited accessibility is characterized by the presence of river obstacles that require maintenance of

pontoons, ice crossings, the purchase of ferries, boats, boats and by a very low level of development of the transport network (predominance of winter roads). This is a rather large group that needs investment support for infrastructure equipment of its territory. The settlements with discriminatory accessibility are characterized by a great length of winter roads, a lack of river crossings, aggravating the socio-economic situation of the population. This is the most remote settlements that require significant financial investments in the transport network.

Figure 3 discloses transport discrimination of the population in Ust-Tsilemsky (17 hours), Vuktylsky (15 hours), Usinsky (12 hours), Pechorsky (11 hours), Izhemsky (10 hours), Koygorodsky, Ust-Kulomsky, Intinsky, Udorsky and other districts.

To range districts by the types of transport accessibility we have used the time periods, characteristic of the Komi Republic (*table*).

Optimal transport accessibility implies the possibility to establish closer cultural and economic ties, joint use of resources and social infrastructure. High transport security is ensured by available railways and highways, good bus and other transport service, location of many settlements near the roads.

Acceptable transport accessibility involves the possibility to develop services and production. This group is characterized by a relatively well-developed network of surface roads. It includes the municipalities located near the railway and a small number of remote settlements. It demands the maintenance of the roads leading to highways and improvement of bus service.

Figure 2. Transport accessibility of settlements in the Komi Republic

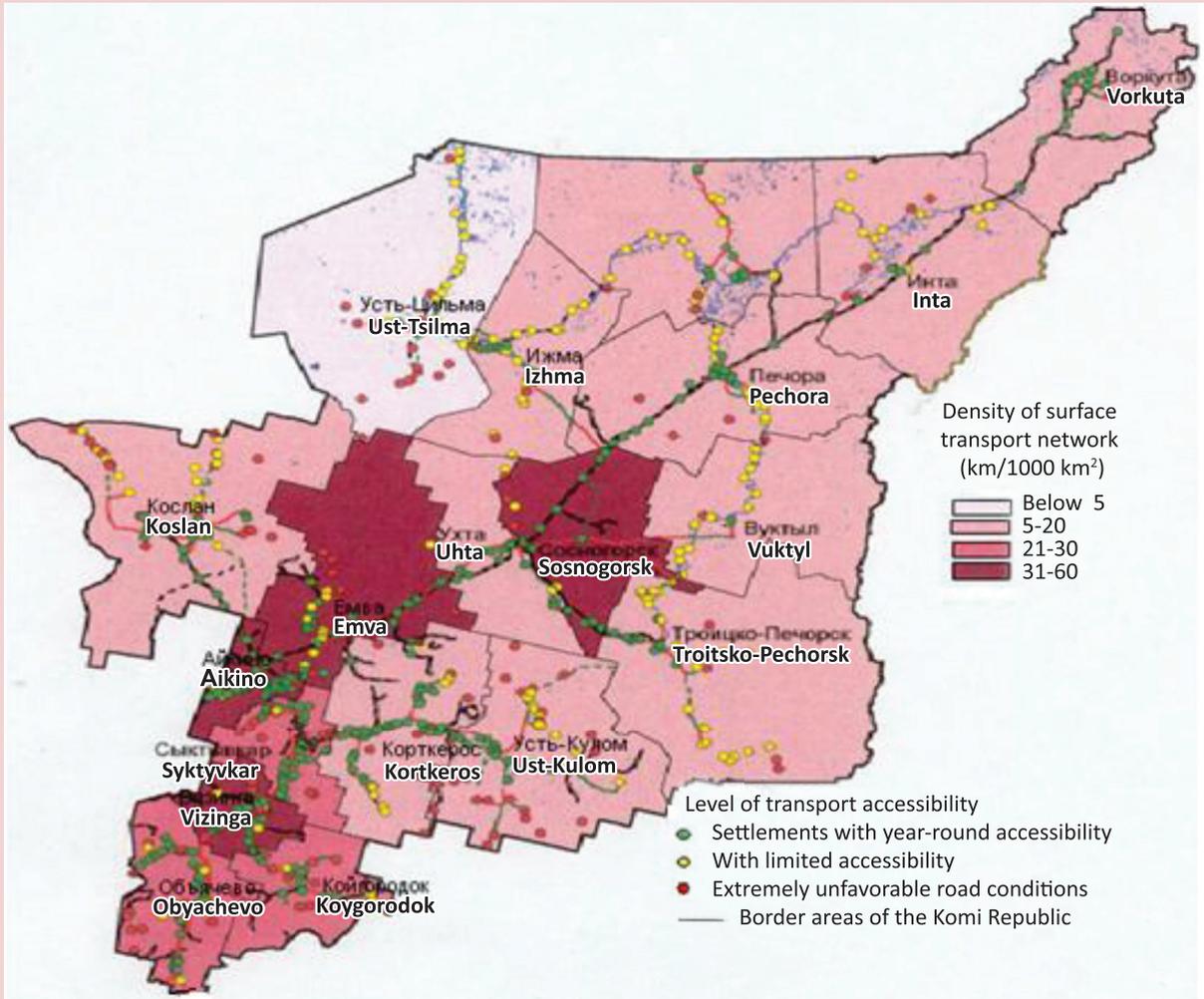
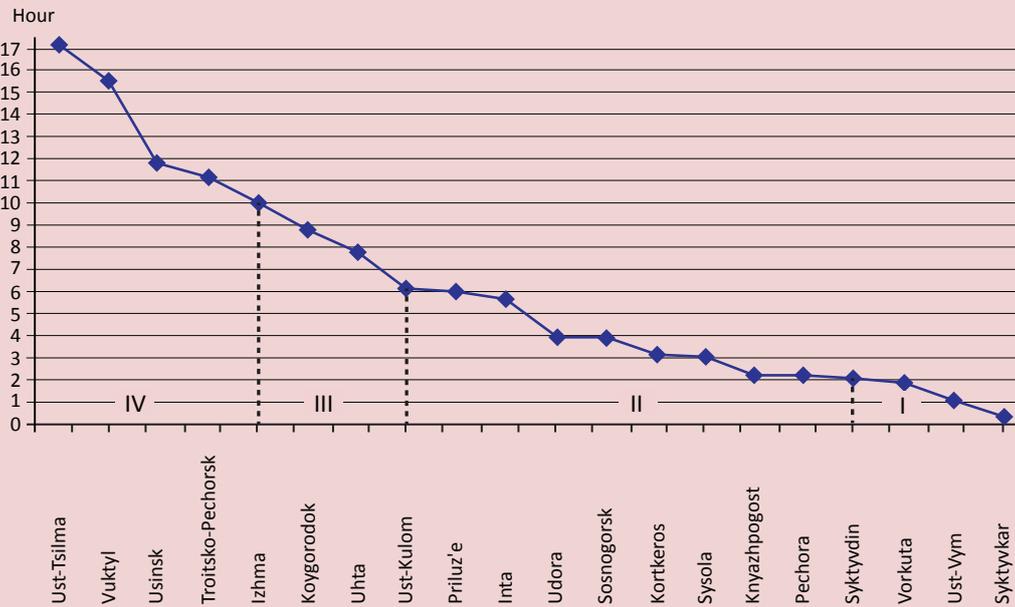


Figure 3. Weighted average cost of time required for the population's movement within certain districts of the Komi Republic



Type of transport accessibility

Weighted average cost of time required to get to the center	Accessibility	Type
0.1–2 hours	Optimal	I
2.1–6 hours	Acceptable	II
6.1–10 hours	Limit	III
More than 10 hours	Discriminatory	IV

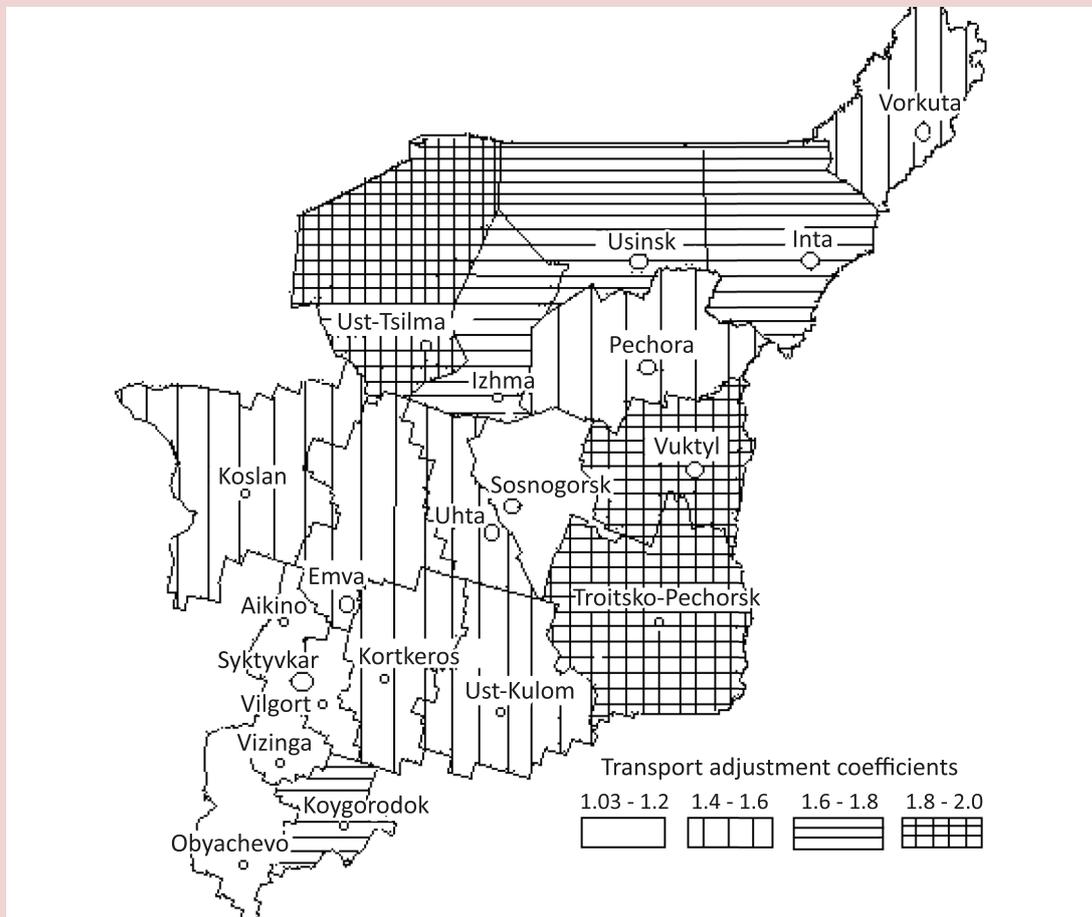
Limit transport accessibility presupposes a 6–10 hour time interval to get to the regional center. It is rural areas located far from the settlements. The most remote settlements of the municipality belong to the group “discriminatory accessibility” (10–18 hours).

The decrease in living standards in rural areas, rise in ticket prices, reduction and initial lack of bus routes, poor road conditions make it difficult for many villagers even to

get to the regional center. And therefore it is important to develop all rural settlements regardless of their type and the number of residents and select key rural settlements, centers of social services.

As it has been noted, the differentiation of transport provision areas can be used for budgetary control and distribution of funds, allocated by the Fund of financial support for municipalities.

Figure 4. Transport adjustment of the potential cost of public services in the municipal districts of the Komi Republic



The rise in the cost of public services is calculated by means of the ratio of transport security $K_i = (1 / T_i)$, according to the formula:

$$K_i^{increas.} = 1 + T_i \times (1 / T_{i\ max}) .$$

Figure 4 reveals that within the transport adjustment of the potential cost of public services in the municipal districts of the Komi Republic amounts to 1.03–2 points. The coefficients of transport provision and

transport adjustment of budget services value have been calculated at the request of the Ministry of Finance in order to improve budgetary control and distribution of funds allocated by the Fund of financial support for municipal formations of the republic.

The quantitative assessment of transport security in the region has resulted in the following conclusions:

- the relevance of the assessment results is high due to the impact, which the rise in

transportation prices has on the volume and cost of providing services to the population;

– the first assessment of the transport accessibility at the level of settlements that considers the influence of obstacles (the lack of hard surface roads, the gap in the transport network associated with the river obstacles that results in the limited bus routes and the level of highways) has elaborated on the idea of remoteness and connectedness of settlements within districts of the RF subject; the assessment results have revealed the

predominance of territories with limit and discriminatory accessibility.

It is possible to increase the social status and the efficiency of market processes in the economy of the Komi Republic only with government support for the development of the transport network. The main direction of the transport service enhancement is to strengthen the connection of the settlements with social service centers, villages, district centers, and the latter – with the capital and the nearest railway stations.

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YOUNG RESEARCHERS

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Welfare of the population as an indicator of modernization potential of the territory*



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Abstract. The article presents the results of a research into population's welfare as the basis of modernization processes. The authors carried out a comprehensive analysis of statistical and sociological data and highlighted the specifics of welfare in Russia and in the Vologda Oblast in terms of formation and use of money income; they also revealed the proportion of the population who are objectively ready to economic modernization.

The authors revealed the emerging positive trends that show increasing involvement of the population in the savings-and-credit models. However, the scale of changes is not so great, and it covers only a small part of highly well-off population.

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In order to assess regional specifics, the authors grouped the RF subjects according to the level of income inequality of the population and other parameters of welfare that have an impact on the modernization potential of a territory. Judging by the indicators of the selected four groups of regions, the largest socio-economic potential of modernization is observed in the subjects with high income inequality.

The authors have come to a conclusion that under the current circumstances modernization is possible only in the presence of legitimate and competent authorities capable of radical democratization and the strengthening of basic social institutions; besides, the formation of that part of the population, which is objectively ready for modernization transformation of the economy and society depends directly on the presence of conditions that promote the achievement of decent financial welfare of the people.

Key words: welfare of population, incomes and expenses, socio-economic inequality, modernization.

Modernization is currently becoming a high priority for those countries and regions that seek to enhance their economic development, because it is widely recognized that improvement, progress and innovation are important driving forces of growth. That is why Russia also considers economic modernization as a priority. At that, many research works aim to assess the degree of readiness of the Russian population to modernization. The diversity of approaches in these studies is determined by ultimate goals and by the data used. For example, E.M. Avramova [1] indicates that the conclusion concerning the readiness of a society for modernization can be made on the basis of the information about the presence of a mass layer with a relatively high level of financial welfare. M.K. Gorshkov [5], using the results of a public opinion monitoring, shows the influence of social inequality on the system modernization of economy; this influence, in his opinion, is manifested in the establishment of a sustainable “culture of inequality”, in the increase of apathy and civic passivity in certain strata of the population, in the development of confrontation, intolerance, and political

extremism. N.E. Tikhonova [13], on the basis of the allocation of normative and moral systems of the population concerning the basic principles of relations in the system “individual–society–state”, distinguishes the modernist-oriented groups, which are then evaluated from the viewpoint of the potential contribution of each group to modernization processes. The ambiguity of these findings, as well as the difference in researchers’ estimates with regard to the readiness of the Russian society for modernization has determined the need for consideration of this matter.

In a broad sense, the goal of modernization is to build a strong country in economic, political, military, scientific, and other spheres along with the growth of people’s welfare [10] that is a necessary condition for the formation of modernization potential and a result of progressive transformations. Therefore, the growth of welfare can be considered one of the main criteria for allocating the part of the population that is willing to get involved in the implementation of modernization processes.

In the last few years there was much talk about the sustained growth of people’s incomes and the expansion of their financial

opportunities. It is associated with implementation of modernization-oriented government programs. However, the situation is not so simple, and it is proved by the analysis of the level, structure and distribution of money incomes.

Indeed, in 2000–2012 the average per capita incomes in Russia increased considerably (*tab. 1*). For instance, in 2012 in the Vologda Oblast they amounted to 18125 rubles, which is 2.6 times higher (in comparable prices) than the same indicator at beginning of the period under consideration. The 2.9-fold growth is observed in Russia as a whole. Such dynamics results from a

continuous wage increase (especially in public sector employees) and a significant improvement of pensions provision beginning from 2008.

The growth of incomes is also confirmed by the data of sociological surveys carried out in the Vologda Oblast¹ (*tab. 2*). There is an increase in the share of the population that can be characterized as wealthy and rich according to the assessment of their incomes; and the share of those characterized as extremely poor and poor is reducing. These trends were particularly pronounced in 2004–2008. For example, the share of the “extremely poor” and the “poor” decreased

Table 1. Dynamics of incomes in the Russian Federation and in the Vologda Oblast in 2000–2012*

Indicators	2000	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2012 to 2000, times
<i>Russian Federation</i>									
Average per capita money income, rubles	7991	15005	19109	20259	20775	20978	22061	23058	2.89
Average monthly accrued wages, rubles	7787	15824	20614	23056	22929	23963	25250	26629	3.42
Average monthly accrued pensions, rubles	2431	4373	4725	6085	6386	8453	8742	9154	3.77
R/P 10% ratio, times	13.9	15.2	16.8	16.6	16.6	16.6	16.2	16.4	–
Gini Coefficient	0.395	0.409	0.422	0.421	0.421	0.421	0.417	0.420	–
<i>Vologda Oblast</i>									
Average per capita money income, rubles	6856	12077	15741	15995	14849	15597	16397	18125	2.64
Average monthly accrued wages, rubles	8683	16289	19362	20608	20270	20770	21467	22649	2.61
Average monthly accrued pensions, rubles	2966	4820	5643	6098	7706	8751	9018	9414	3.17
R/P 10% ratio, times	8	8.7	12.6	12.5	11.5	11.7	11.4	12.0	–
Gini Coefficient	0.318	0.329	0.383	0.382	0.370	0.373	0.369	0.376	–
* Population incomes are given in comparable prices of 2012. Source: <i>Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik: stat. sbornik</i> [Russian Statistical Yearbook: Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. 717 p.									

¹ The public opinion monitoring has been carried out by the Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ISED T RAS, Vologda) since 1996 using the method of questionnaires' distribution at the place of residence of the respondents. The survey is held once every two months. The sample size is 1500 people (9 thousand people a year). The respondents are persons aged 18 and older who live in two major cities and eight districts of the Vologda Oblast. Sampling error does not exceed 3%.

Table 2. Distribution of the Vologda Oblast population according to the assessment of personal income in 2000-2013, (as a percentage of the total number of respondents)

Year	Population groups according to the assessment of personal income				
	Extremely poor	Poor	Needy	Well-off	Rich
2000	16.0	46.8	31.5	4.2	1.4
2001	14.3	44.8	32.7	6.1	2.1
2002	13.0	41.6	36.0	6.3	3.1
2003	12.8	39.5	37.3	7.9	2.5
2004	10.0	37.3	43.2	7.1	2.4
2005	6.5	35.5	47.8	8.8	1.4
2006	4.4	35.3	49.1	9.6	1.6
2007	4.9	31.3	51.0	10.8	2.1
2008	3.2	27.2	58.2	9.1	2.3
2009	6.2	33.7	51.9	7.1	1.1
2010	5.5	30.3	54.1	8.6	1.5
2011	4.5	29.4	53.9	10.5	1.7
2012	3.7	28.8	55.9	10.2	1.5
2013	4.9	27.5	55.2	11	1.4
2013 to 2000, times*	-3.27	-1.7	1.75	2.62	1

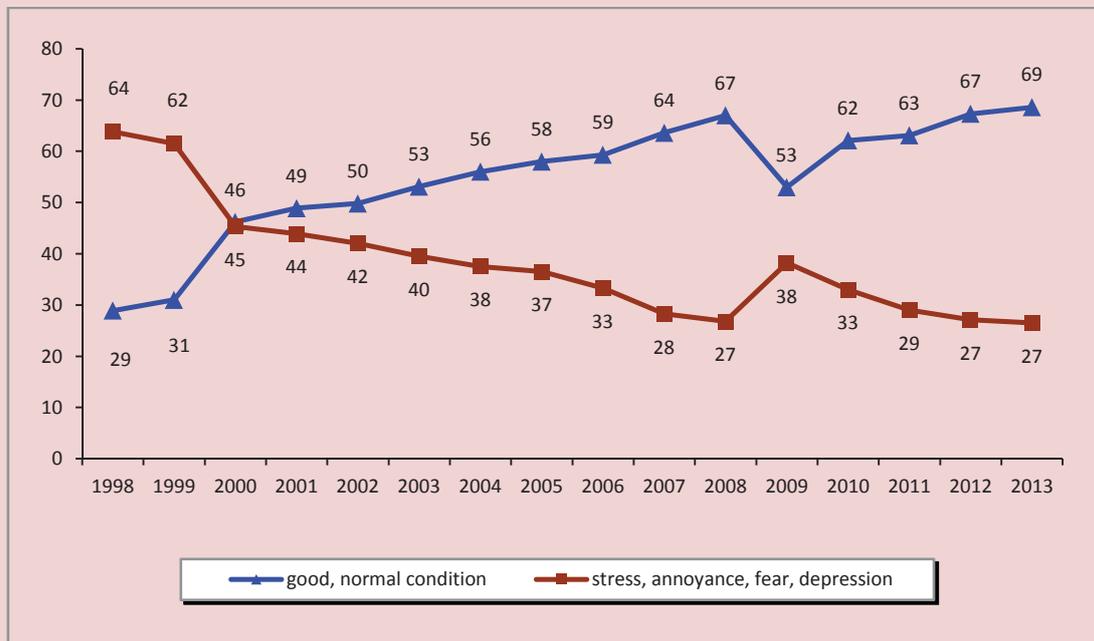
* Increment (+), decline (-).
Source: sociological surveys of the Vologda Oblast population, conducted by ISED T RAS in 2000–2013.

by more than 1.5 times (with a considerable 3% decline in the share of the “poor”, reaching in 2008 the minimum value for the entire observational period). The “needy” has become the dominant group by 2013 (55% versus 31.5% in 2000). The share of the “well-off” has amounted to 11% of the oblast population – vs. 4%, respectively. The “extremely poor” and the “poor” made up one third (against 63% in 2000), while the share of “rich” citizens after minor fluctuation has established itself at the level of 2000² (1.4%).

Stabilization of the socio-economic situation and growth of income had a positive impact on the **social mood of the population**: according to the monitoring conducted by ISED T RAS, it can be said that the Vologda Oblast residents have normal, stable condition (69% in 2013, against 29% in 1998), and they do not feel stress, anger, fear and depression, as in the late 1990s (26.5% against 64%, respectively; *fig. 1*). However, this positive trend in social mood is characteristic only for the averaged data on population. The assessment of the emotional state of the

² The classification is based on the respondents’ answers to the question: “Which of the estimates describes your income most accurately?”. The respondents who answered “We don’t have enough money even to buy food, we have to get into debt” were classified as “extremely poor”; those who answered “We have enough money only to buy food” were classified as “poor”; those who answered “We have enough money to buy the necessary food and clothing, but larger purchases have to be postponed” were classified as “needy”, those who answered “Purchase of most durable goods (fridge, TV) does not cause us difficulties, however, currently we can’t afford to buy a car” were classified as “well-off”; those who answered “We have enough money to buy whatever we want” were classified as “rich”.

Figure 1. Dynamics of the psychological condition of the poorest residents of the Vologda Oblast in 1998–2013, (as a percentage of the total number of respondents)



Source: ISEDT RAS public opinion monitoring, 1998–2013.

region's residents in terms of income groups shows that positive judgments on the part of the poorest groups of citizens began to appear somewhat later (since 2005, whereas in the group of the most well-off – since 1999), they were less common (on average 41% vs. 69% among the most well-off) and lasted for a relatively short time, having settled in 2013 at the level of average values of 2000 (45%; *fig. 2 and 3*).

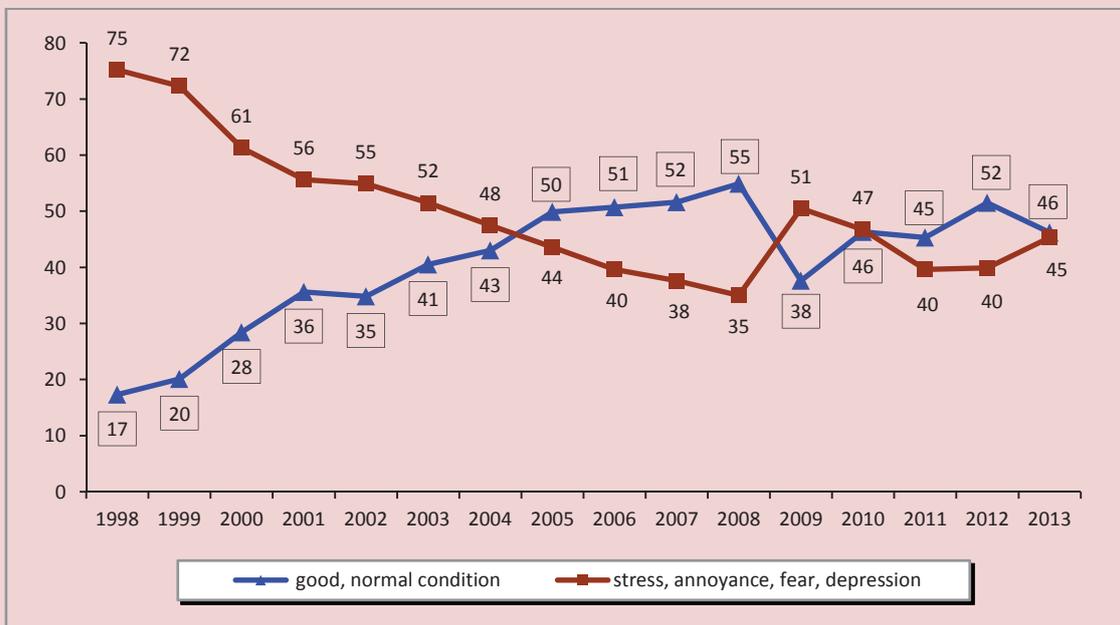
In addition, despite the positive dynamics of the average level of money incomes, it can be noted that social polarization and differentiation, resulting from accelerated growth of the highest incomes, have not decreased, but they continue to grow, as evidenced by constant upward dynamics

of the Gini coefficient and the ratio of the average income of the richest 10% to the poorest 10% (see *tab. 1*).

Earned incomes, i.e. wages and entrepreneurial income, constitute the basis of money receipts in Russia, as well as in all industrialized countries. The key role here belongs to labor remuneration: according to official statistics its share in the structure of incomes of the Vologda Oblast residents in the last decade is about 50%, although it is gradually reduced (52% in 2000, 47% in 2012, *tab. 3*)³.

³ In Russia in 2012 the national average share of labor remuneration in the structure of money incomes of the population was 65.7%.

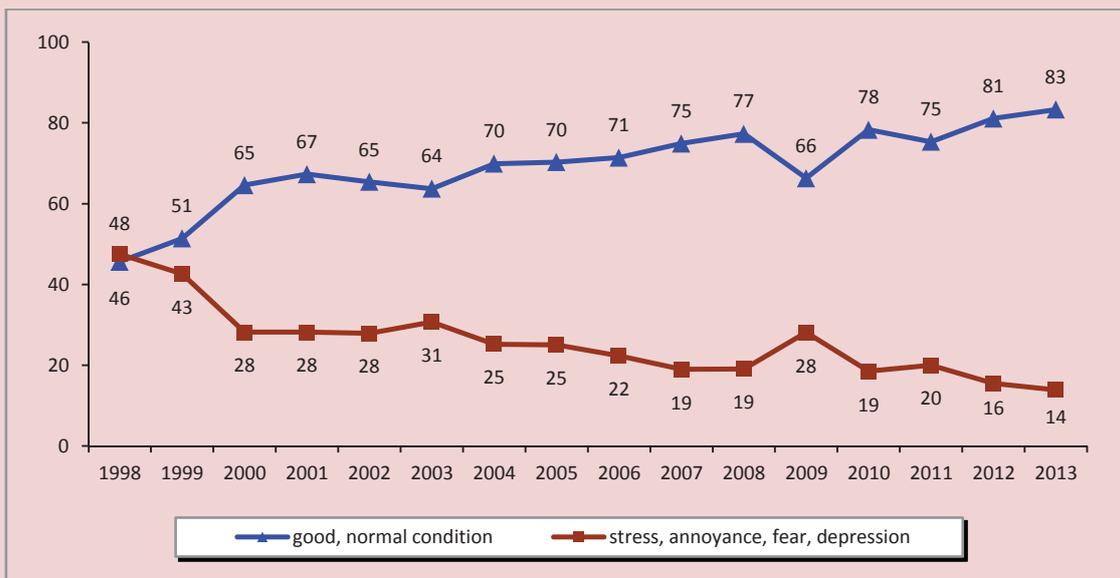
Figure 2. Dynamics of the psychological condition of 20% of the poorest residents of the Vologda Oblast in 1998–2013, (as a percentage of the total number of respondents)



Note. The data on the option “good, normal condition” are framed.

Source: ISEDТ RAS public opinion monitoring, 1998–2013.

Figure 3. Dynamics of the psychological condition of 20% of the most well-off residents of the Vologda Oblast in 1998–2013, (as a percentage of the total number of respondents)



Source: ISEDТ RAS public opinion monitoring, 1998–2013.

Table 3. Structure of incomes of the Vologda Oblast population in 2000–2012

Income sources	2000	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Incomes	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Including:								
labor remuneration	52.1	55.7	49.2	52.8	49.7	48.0	48.6	47.1
income of workers and employees of enterprises and organizations (excluding labor remuneration)	2.5	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.9
from entrepreneurial activity	10.1	10.1	8.8	10.0	11.5	10.9	10.6	9.3
social payments	14.8	17.7	15.4	17.3	21.3	24.7	24.7	24.9
from property	4.3	6.0	4.9	3.9	3.1	3.3	3.1	4.0
from sales of currency	2.3	1.4	0.8	0.7	1.5	1.0	0.7	0.6
other income	13.9	7.5	19.2	13.6	11.3	9.6	10.5	12.2

Source: *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik Vologodskoi oblasti: stat. sbornik* [Statistical Yearbook of the Vologda Oblast: Statistical Collection]. Vologdastat. Moscow, 2013. 371 p.

We should point out a significant increase in the contribution of social transfers in total money receipts of the population. Their share has been significantly increasing since 2008 (17.3%), reaching in 2012 a quarter of the total income. This stems from the fact that the increase of social payments was an attempt of the Russian Government to equalize income security at different stages of the life cycle of households. Moreover, the volume of social payments was increasing due to both social benefits and pensions.

However, as evidenced by the replacement rate, the amount of **retirement benefits** is small and it still does not provide adequate replacement of wages; and this is one of the barriers to modernization. In Russia, the replacement rate is defined as the ratio of average retirement pension to average monthly wage; in international practice – as the ratio of pensions to pre-retirement wages. It should be noted that neither of the two indicators provides a full description of the situation: the former says nothing

about the differentiation of pensions or their relationship to wages and experience, and the latter does not take into account the change in pensions after their initial establishment. The International Labor Organization (ILO) proposes to consider 40% of the lost earnings as the target value for establishing the old-age pension. But this standard, adopted in 1952 in a completely different socio-economic situation, has lost its relevance, as evidenced by international comparison (*tab. 4*).

The average replacement rate for the member-states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is 58%. Its value varies significantly even among the developed countries of the OECD. The maximum replacement rates are often observed in the countries with incomes below average, and the lowest replacement rates – in the wealthiest countries. For example, in Greece the figure is 1.5 times higher than in the UK, Japan or the U.S. (excluding voluntary insurance) [4].

Table 4. Replacement rates in different countries in 2013

Country	Rate, %	Country	Rate, %
Netherlands	91.4	Canada	51.0
Israel	86.7 (76.8)*	New Zealand	50.1
Denmark	83.7	Poland	48.8
Austria	76.6	Chile	45.5 (36.6)
Spain	73.9	Mexico	44.7
Iceland	73.8	Ireland	44.2
Hungary	73.6	Korea	43.9
Italy	71.2	Germany	42.0
Slovak Republic	67.9	Belgium	41.4
Turkey	66.8	USA	41.0
Greece	64.0	Slovenia	40.6
Australia	60.2 (55.8)	UK	37.9
Czech Republic	59.9	Japan	37.5
Luxembourg	59.3	On average across OECD	57.9 (57.2)
France	59.1	Saudi Arabia	100 (87.5)
Switzerland	58.4 (57.6)	Argentina	96.2 (88.9)
Sweden	55.6	China	82.5 (65.1)
Estonia	55.3	India	60.4 (56.3)
Portugal	55.0	Brazil	57.5 (52.3)
Finland	54.8	Indonesia	14.1 (13)
Norway	52.3	Republic of South Africa	11.8

* 86.7 (76.8) – in men and in women, respectively.
Source: *Pensions at a Glance 2013: Retirement-Income Systems in OECD and G20 Countries*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/pensions/pensionsataglance.htm>

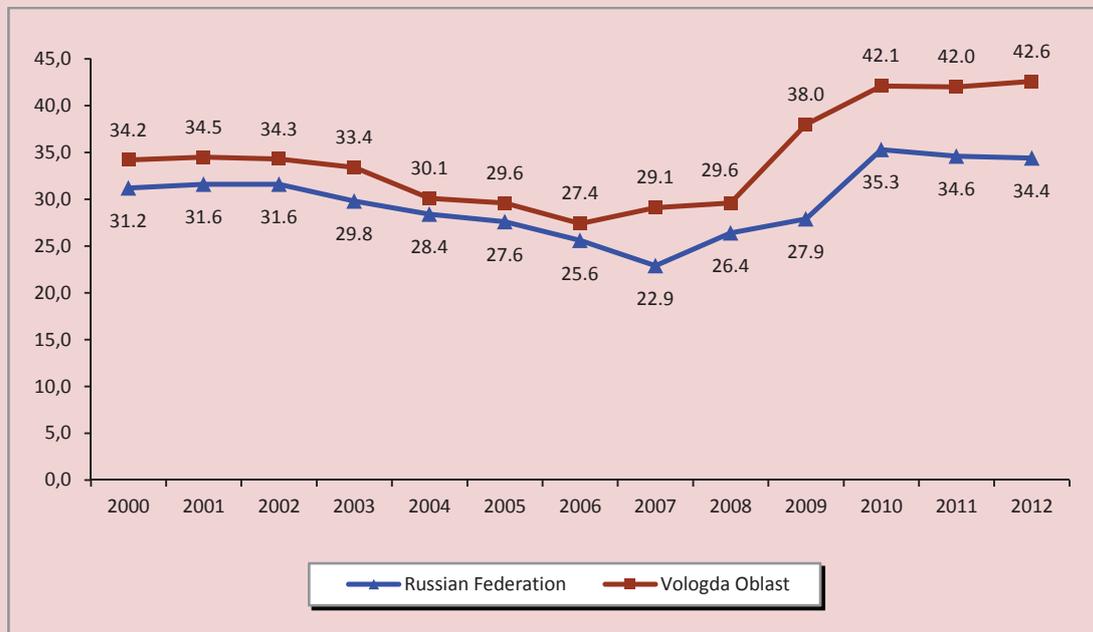
The ratio between the average pensions and wages in Russia exceeded 35% for the first time in 2010, but in the end of 2012 it was 34%. The replacement rate is somewhat higher in the Vologda Oblast than in the country as a whole, and it was 43% in 2012 (fig. 4).

However, the achieved level of the indicator is still lower than that in many other countries. For example, developed countries (Germany, Belgium), where the replacement rate for “mandatory” pensions is relatively low compared to that in Russia, as a rule, have

a widespread system of voluntary pension insurance, which provides a high overall level of pension payments. The full replacement ratio (including voluntary schemes) is comparable with the Russian only in few countries (Mexico, South Korea, Japan).

At present, only a small number of Russian citizens uses additional pension provision, that is why it is possible to predict the preservation of the relatively low level of old-age pensions compared with that in other countries, and a likely reduction of financial capabilities of elderly people.

Figure 4. Dynamics of the replacement rate in the Russian Federation and in the Vologda Oblast in 2000–2012



Source: *Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik: stat. sbornik* [Russian Statistical Yearbook: Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. 717 p.

An important indicator of modernization success is the **share of entrepreneurial income** in the population's total income structure. Development of entrepreneurship is considered by most experts as a driving force of modernization. However, during the period of the most rapid economic growth the role of this type of incomes declined slightly, and now their share is a little more than 9% (nationwide and in the Vologda Oblast).

According to ISED T RAS polls, the proportion of the Vologda Oblast population engaged in entrepreneurship as their main type of activity is not more than 6%. In this case, first, the majority is engaged in entrepreneurship through the exploitation of personal subsidiary plots (PSP); and second,

the representatives of the high-income group do not obtain income from the sales of agricultural products. Here it should be emphasized that the PSP is not a sign of modernization and development.

The readiness of the population to modernization processes can be estimated by **the share of property income**. According to Rosstat, property incomes and financial assets in Russia as a whole make up only 5–10% of the total income of the population, and they are even lower in the Vologda Oblast. Moreover, if we look at the dynamics of this indicator, it declined to 4% in 2012 (see tab. 3).

Thus, income generation based on new principles different from those that were used in the Soviet period is characteristic only for

3–5% of the oblast population (in Russia – about 8%). At the same time, 20–25% of the population in developed countries consider property and entrepreneurship incomes to be important sources of their earnings [12]. Taking into account the fact that in the post-perestroika years the total share of these types of income reached 20–23% (for example, 22.9% in Russia and 20.4% in the Vologda Oblast in 1995), we can talk about the possible potential for increasing the contribution of these types of income in the total income structure of Russia's population. Although in recent years our country has not experienced any institutional or economic changes that would enhance these figures.

Another prerequisite for the success of modernization consists in extensive involvement of the population in **the processes of investing and lending**. The citizen's savings traditionally serve as a source of domestic investment in the national economy, therefore they can be considered a resource for economic development. The people use bank deposits and other savings instruments more actively, which indicates the growing trust of the population in the institutions of the financial sector and in the state as a whole, which, in turn, favors the orientation of the economy on the “long” money and transition to the innovation type of development.

The social role of savings is significant as well: it implies a “margin of safety” in a crisis situation, and a support fund for implementing long-term economic strategies associated with investments in education, health, and ultimately, in the development of human potential. Credit behavior, along with the savings behavior, influences the volume of

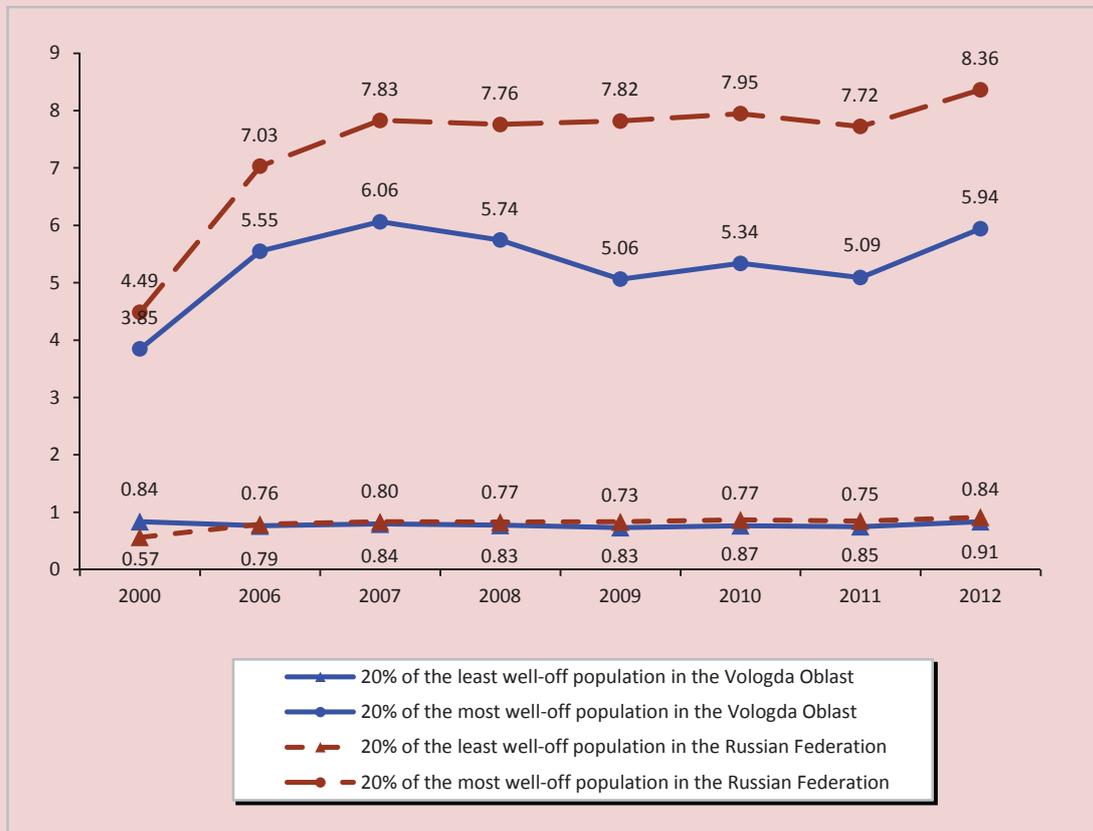
domestic demand and boosts economic activity. That is, the more complex and diverse the practices of financial behavior of the population, the greater their positive impact on the economy and social sphere [7].

Savings amount to about 5–6% in the expenditure pattern of the Vologda Oblast population during the twelve-year period under consideration. In comparison with the early 2000s there has been an increase in the share of compulsory payments and contributions, which include loan payments. The share of expenditures on the purchase of real estate has increased significantly: from 0.7% in 2000 to 2.6% in 2012.

According to ISED T RAS polls, the involvement of the population in savings and lending stabilized at the level of 20–30% after a significant increase in 2001–2004: 24% of the oblast residents had savings in 2013, and nearly 30% used bank loans [3]. However, it should be noted that the majority of households do not have savings and loans, or they implement the simplest forms of savings and lending behavior. Similar trends in financial behavior are observed in Russia as a whole [1].

The involvement of the population in more complex forms of financial behavior is limited by their financial status. The positive dynamics of incomes since the early 2000s is leveled by insignificant reduction in the population inequality according to their financial status. As can be seen from *figure 5*, for more than a decade the incomes of the least wealthy part of the population in the Vologda Oblast and nationwide remained at an almost unchanged level, compared to the subsistence level, which amounted to 80–90% of its value.

Figure 5. Ratio of average per capita money income to the subsistence level in different income groups in 2000–2012, times*



* Calculations are based on: *Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik: stat. sbornik* [Russian Statistical Yearbook: Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. 717 p.; *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik Vologodskoi oblasti: stat. sbornik* [Statistical Yearbook of the Vologda Oblast: Statistical Collection]. Vologdastat. Moscow, 2013. 371 p.

The regional specifics according to the above parameters of well-being that influence the success of modernization process was assessed with the use of the correlation and regression analysis; after that a group of RF subjects was defined according to the degree of income inequality of the population. All the cost parameters of the regions were made suitable for comparison with the help of the indicator of the cost of a fixed set of goods and services.

The relation between the indicators is described by the following multiple regression equation:

$$y = 6,84 + 0,0003178x_1 - 0,00000000008214x_2 + 0,001865x_3 + 0,000319x_4 - 0,0000000000004839x_5$$

$$F = 19,893; P < 0,00000$$

$$R = 0,757; R^2 = 0,573$$

where y is the ratio of the average income of the richest 10% to the poorest 10% (R/P 10% ratio), times;

x_1 is the average monthly nominal accrued wages, rubles;

x_2 is the average amount of pensions, rubles;

x_3 is the share of business income in the total income of the population, %;

x_4 is the share of property income in the total income of the population, %;

x_5 is the average size of deposit of individuals on ruble accounts in the Savings Bank of the Russian Federation, rubles.

The paired correlation coefficients did not exceed the value of 0.8, i.e. the factor characteristics were selected correctly and there is no close correlation between them. The value of the multiple determination coefficient $R^2 = 0.573$ indicates that a change of the R/P 10% ratio by 57.3% is caused by the influence of the changes in the levels of the factors included in the equation and, respectively, the 42.7% change is caused by the impact of changes of other factors.

Four distinct groups of regions were defined on the basis of the values of R/P 10% ratio. The distribution was based on international values of R/P 10% ratio in such a way that the first three groups were comparable with the threshold values of the ratio in OECD countries (such as the UK – 13.8 times, the USA – 15 times), and the fourth group – with Latin American countries (R/P 10% ratio is at the level of 18 or more times).

In general, we can see a similar trend for all the groups: when R/P 10% ratio increases from group to group, the level of incomes increases, as well as the amount of deposits in the savings bank. However, there are some differences (*tab. 5*).

Describing the first group, we emphasize that the values of selected indicators are below the national average, except for the share of entrepreneurial incomes and pensions. The regions of this group include mostly underdeveloped and depressed areas, such as the Republic of Ingushetia and the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, in which GDP per capita is at the level of third world countries. It is noteworthy that the Vologda Oblast is also in this group. Despite the fact that the indicators of the people's income differentiation for more than a ten-year period are significantly below the national average, the wages in the region do not reach the national level. However, it should be noted that the financial crisis has had a negative effect on the oblast and changed its status from a donor region to a recipient region [9].

The second group consists of relatively developed subjects: the territories with few settlements and with export-resource orientation, and the so-called agrarian regions. The values of indicators characterizing the standard of living are somewhat higher in this group, but they are levelled by the increase in the financial inequality of the population.

The third group represents more urbanized regions of the Center, North-West, Urals and Siberia. This group also includes the Republic of Dagestan, in which high income differentiation is provided by a high share of social transfers to the population.

The fourth group of subjects, which are characterized by the highest level of inequality (these include the cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the Samara and Tyumen oblasts), also has its distinctive features.

Table 5. Groups of the RF subjects according to the degree of inequality of the population*

RF subjects	Characteristics of the regions	2007	2012
<i>First group (28 subjects)</i>			
Tver Oblast (11.2), Volgograd Oblast, Kostroma Oblast, Altai Republic, Republic of Karelia, Ivanovo Oblast, Vladimir oblast, Karachay–Cherkess Republic, Tyva Republic, Altai Krai, Vologda Oblast, Republic of Mordovia, Kirov Oblast, Republic of Ingushetia, Chuvash Republic, Pskov Oblast, Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Smolensk Oblast, Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, Saratov Oblast, Kamchatka Krai, Ryazan Oblast, Udmurt Republic, Republic of Kalmykia, Kabardino-Balkar Republic, Republic of Khakassia, Tula Oblast, Leningrad Oblast (12.9)	R/P 10% ratio, times	11.2	12.1
	Average monthly wages, rubles	10743	20376
	Average monthly pensions, rubles	3871	9215
	Share of income from entrepreneurship, %	11.8	10.1
	Share of property income, %	4.0	2.5
	Average value of deposits of physical persons in the savings bank of the Russian Federation, rubles	4521	9520
<i>Second group (29 subjects)</i>			
Stavropol Krai (13.1), Penza Oblast, Khabarovsk Krai, Arkhangelsk Oblast, Mari El Republic, Amur Oblast, Orenburg Oblast, Tomsk Oblast, Primorsky Krai, Yaroslavl Oblast, Kaliningrad Oblast, Chechen Republic, Ulyanovsk Oblast, Kursk Oblast, Murmansk Oblast, Bryansk Oblast, Lipetsk Oblast, Republic of Adygea, Rostov Oblast, Kurgan Oblast, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kaluga Oblast, Orel Oblast, Zabaykalsky Krai, Astrakhan Oblast, Nizhny Novgorod Oblast, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Voronezh Oblast, Kemerovo Oblast (14.9)	R/P 10% ratio, times	13.9	13.8
	Average monthly wages, rubles	12242	22804
	Average monthly pensions, rubles	3782	9454
	Share of income from entrepreneurship, %	11.2	9.8
	Share of property income, %	5.2	2.7
	Average value of deposits of physical persons in the savings bank of the Russian Federation, rubles	4768	11276
<i>Third group (19 subjects)</i>			
Novgorod Oblast (15), Republic of Dagestan Republic of Buryatia, Belgorod Oblast, Sakhalin Oblast, Tambov Oblast, Novosibirsk Oblast, Irkutsk Oblast, Magadan Oblast, Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, Moscow Oblast, Krasnodar Krai, Omsk Oblast, Republic of Komi, Republic of Tatarstan, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Republic of Bashkortostan, Perm Krai, Sverdlovsk Oblast (17.7)	R/P 10% ratio, times	16.0	16.2
	Average monthly wages, rubles	13107	25354
	Average monthly pensions, rubles	3883	9333
	Share of income from entrepreneurship, %	11.8	9.8
	Share of property income, %	4.8	2.9
	Average value of deposits of physical persons in the savings bank of the Russian Federation, rubles	5014	11045
<i>Fourth group (4 subjects)</i>			
Saint Petersburg (19.5), Samara Oblast, Tyumen Oblast, Moscow (27.3)	R/P 10% ratio, times	22.9	21.6
	Average monthly wages, rubles	15445	31759
	Average monthly pensions, rubles	3577	8932
	Share of income from entrepreneurship, %	8.6	5
	Share of property income, %	8.2	7.2
	Average value of deposits of physical persons in the savings bank of the Russian Federation, rubles	7268	16776
* Regions are ranked according to R/P 10% ratio for 2012. Compiled according to: <i>Regiony Rossii. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie pokazateli: stat. sbornik</i> [Regions of Russia. Socio-Economic Indicators: Statistical Collection]. Rosstat. Moscow, 2013. 990 p.			

The first one is the high values of average monthly wages and bank deposits (the values for this group exceed those in the adjacent, third, group in 1.2 and 1.5 times, respectively). The second feature is the low share of entrepreneurial income in the income structure of the population. The third feature is the important role of property income (7.7% versus 2.8–3.7% in other groups).

It should be noted that according to ISED T RAS research findings [6] the subjects included in the third and fourth groups mostly have the greatest socio-economic potential for modernization, and it reflects the extent, to which the regional industrial relations, development priorities and social programs are aimed at solving modernization issues.

Thus, the welfare indicators objectively show the modernization potential of a territory. On the one hand, the active introduction and implementation of innovation in all spheres of public life, requiring appropriate training and initiative of employees, is certainly accompanied by the growth of financial well-being (both due to increase in wages, and more extensive social support).

However, on the other hand, production processes and relationship models that are becoming complex make new demands on human capital and create new differentiation factors, increasing the socio-economic polarization of the population. There are still insufficient values of the indicators that are considered important in the formation of a layer of people who not only understand the necessity of modernization, but are active

agents of progressive ideas and behavior. For example, in the Vologda Oblast the total share of well-off and reach individuals according to the assessment of their own revenue is 12.4%, the income from entrepreneurial activity is typical only for 2.7% of the population, the income from property – for 1.9%.

Russian researchers, who study similar issues, come to various conclusions. For instance, E.M. Avraamova notes that the recent small increase in financial well-being of the population is not accompanied by the expansion of socio-economic opportunities. In her opinion, the current socio-economic situation “is ..latently unstable and does not have an explicit public incentive to modernization” [1]. M.K. Gorshkov notes that “social inequality create an environment for confrontation and intolerance; they prevent the achievement of national harmony, generating a wide gap between the society and the authorities”, thereby slowing down the system modernization, economic development, and blocking its transition to the innovation stage [5].

Therefore, a policy aimed to improve the welfare and economic and civic activity of the population, cannot be based only on the growth of wages in certain spheres and on the increase of social transfers. The more so, the current system of distribution relations does not provide for the allocation of any reserves for the implementation of the above actions; it also does not contribute to the reduction of socio-economic inequalities, and enhances the existing disparities (which is indicated by the calculation results obtained with the use of the multiple regression equation).

Therefore, in order to promote continuous and consistent modernization in Russia's regions, it is necessary to develop a clear public standing and forward-looking policy that takes into account the interests of production and innovation, aims

to improve the quality of life, enhance economic activity of the population (also in science-intensive and budget sectors); all this would contribute to the full implementation of the country's modernization potential.

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On the role of the evolutionary and institutional theory in the solution of regional economic issues

(the 4th all-Russian summer school of young
researchers specializing in evolutionary and institutional economics)

The relevant and urgent issues that the country and its regions have to face require that federal and regional state authorities intensify their efforts to find ways of their solution and apply a wide range of methods and tools for management of socio-economic processes.

In the latest decades the institutional approach to the management of socio-economic processes has been widely acknowledged. Beginning from the 1970s–1980s the world economic science has been using it more and more extensively. According to this approach, the institutions in the widest sense are considered as formal

and informal “rules of the game” ordering and structuring the human activity. It is worth noting that quite a few representatives of institutional economics were awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics (R. Coase, D. North, R. Fogel).

Russia also shows an increasing interest in evolutionary and institutional economics. We agree with L. I. Abalkin who points out that at the present stage of development “the application of universal schemes of financial stabilization that inevitably ignore the originality of the country’s specific historical conditions is inefficient... Parameters such as historical traditions, moral and ethical



values of the population, sense of justice, in short, everything that serves as institutional components of a socio-economic system is of equal importance for growth¹.

Judging by practical experience, the management of socio-economic development in the region from the positions of the institutional approach requires, first of all, that the research institutions that define the “rules of the game” and motivation of activity of social subjects be included in the subject of the research.

Second, it is necessary to consider the relationship between political and economic institutions².

Third, the endogenous and exogenous factors in the formation of institutional environment should be subject to detailed analysis in development management. Endogenous factors are usually considered as economic factors in the development of economic systems of different levels, and, above all, the economic efficiency

of technology progress. This explains, in particular, special discussions on the issues of regional scientific and technological potential. Exogenous factors are non-economic social and political factors in regional development that are crucial in the functioning of public institutions.

Fourth, it is necessary to understand the relationships and contradictions between formal and informal institutions. Thus, one should agree with A. Mosesyan that “... in order to establish an effective economic system in Russia it is necessary to create the institutions that would be adequate for the current level of technological and economic development, taking into account the long-standing traditions and rules of economic activities”³.

The Center for Evolutionary Economics, headed by RAS Academician V.I. Maevskii was founded for the purpose of organizing the research into fundamental issues of evolutionary economic theory, including methodological issues, institutional and structural-and-technological change, socio-economic dynamics and reproductive processes. Prominent Russian economists, for instance, the full members of the Russian Academy of Sciences S.Yu. Glazyev, R.S. Grinberg, V.L. Makarov, V.M. Polterovich, A.Ya. Rubinshtein and others, who represent the leading academic institutions such as the RAS Institute of Economics, the RAS Central Economics and Mathematics Institute and so on, take active part in the work of the Center.

¹ Abalkin L.I. *Institutsional'no-evolyutsionnaya teoriya i ee prikladnye aspekty* [Institutional-Evolutionary Theory and Its Applied Aspects]. *Voprosy ekonomiki* [Issues of Economics], 1997, no. 3, pp. 4-5.

² According to T.I. Zaslavskaya, the political institutions governing regional political and economic cooperation in Russia include the administrative-territorial division of the state, the vertical of power of the local government headed by the Center. In her opinion, “the political institute of the power hierarchy vertical of the regional government, headed by the Center is being constantly improved. While maintaining the general principle of interaction between regional hierarchy levels, it is developing in the direction of more liberal mutual rights and obligations of the management levels with regard to the interests of the population living on their territories and to the contractual basis intensification with the identification of the competences of different levels of regional governance”. See: *Sotsial'naya traektoriya sovremennoi Rossii: Issledovaniya Novosibirskoi ekonomiko-sotsiologicheskoi shkoly* [Social Trajectory of Modern Russia: Novosibirsk Economic-Sociological School Research]. Executive Editor T.I. Zaslavskaya, Z.I. Kalugina. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1999. 272 p.

³ Movsesyan A. *Institutsional'nyi podkhod k strategii sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo razvitiya* [Institutional Approach to the Strategy for Socio-Economic Development]. *Ekonomist* [The Economist], 1998, no. 4, pp. 24-29.

The promotion of evolutionary methodology in economic research is an important direction of the Center's work. Since 2008 the Center has been organizing the All-Russian Summer School for Young Researchers in the Field of Evolutionary and Institutional Economics.

The session of the Fourth All-Russian Summer School for Young Researchers in the Field of Evolutionary and Institutional Economics organized by the Center for Evolutionary Economics and the Institute of

Socio-Economic Development of Territories of the Russian Academy of Sciences was held September 9–12, 2014 in Vologda. RAS Academician *V.M. Polterovich* and Doctor of Economics, Professor *V.A. Ilyin*, who delivered their speeches at the opening session, pointed out the importance of this event for the region and the city, the increased interest in this event on the part of young researchers and practitioners.

Leading Russian scientists, who represent evolutionary and institutional economics,

Topics of the lectures delivered at the all-Russian Summer School for Young Researchers in the Field of Evolutionary and Institutional Economics

№ n/n	Lecturer	Topic of the lecture
1.	V.I. Maevskii – RAS Academician, Director of the Center for Evolutionary Economics, RAS Institute of Economics	Main provisions of the new theory of reproduction
2.	V.M. Polterovich – RAS Academician, Deputy Director of the Moscow School of Economics at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Head of the Section for Macroeconomics at the RAS Institute of Economics, Honored Professor of the Russian Economic School	Economic reforms: prerequisites for success and reasons of failure
3.	B.G. Kleiner – RAS Corresponding Member, CEMI RAS Deputy Director	What economy does Russia need?
4.	E.V. Popov – RAS Corresponding Member, Rector of the Higher Economic School under the Institute of Economics, the Ural Branch of RAS	Transactional theory of institutions
5.	B.A. Erznkyan – Doctor of Sociology, Professor, Head of the Laboratory for Economic Development Strategy at CEMI RAS	Evolution of institutions, social structures and codes
6.	R.M. Kachalov – Doctor of Economics, Professor, Head of the Laboratory for Publishing and Marketing at CEMI RAS	Management of institutional deformations risks
7.	S.G. Kirdina – Doctor of Sociology, Professor, Head of the Sector for Evolution of Socio-Economic Systems at the RAS Institute of Economics	Specifics of evolutionary and institutional theories in Russia
8.	V.N. Livshits – Doctor of Economics, Professor, Head of the laboratory for Analyzing the Efficiency of Investment Projects at the RAS Institute for System Analysis	About the necessity of a paradigm change in the state policy of Russia The assessment of efficiency of investment projects
9.	R.M. Nureev – Doctor of Economics, Professor, Chair of the Macroeconomics Department at the Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation	Olympic political-and-business cycle: development trends
10.	T.V. Uskova – Doctor of Economics, Deputy Director for Science at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories	Contemporary institutions of development of territories: theoretical foundations and practice
11.	A. A. Shabunova – Doctor of Economics, Deputy Director for Science at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories	Demographic development in Russia: transformation of institutions

participated in the work of the School as lecturers. Among them were RAS academicians *V.I. Maevskii* and *V.M. Polterovich*, RAS corresponding members *B.G. Kleiner* and *E.V. Popov*, doctors of economics *B.A. Erznkyan*, *R.M. Kachalov*, *S.G. Kirdina*, *V.N. Livshits* and *R.M. Nureev*. Doctors of economics *T.V. Uskova* and *A. A. Shabunova*, who represented the Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories of the Russian Academy of Sciences, delivered their lectures on the practical application of the institutional approach in the regional economy. The topics of the lectures are presented in the *table*.

Representatives of research institutes and higher educational institutions from Moscow, Syktyvkar, Apatity, Yekaterinburg, Vologda and Cherepovets, representatives of the Vologda Oblast Government and Vologda City Administration attended the lectures.

The participants of the event assessed the level of its organization and the results of the Summer School as high: the average rating was 9.6 and 9.5 points respectively (on the 10-point scale).

The participants of the School see the usefulness of this activity primarily in the opportunity to meet and exchange ideas with leading scientists in the field of evolutionary and institutional economics, and also to broaden their horizons and acquire new knowledge and ways of its practical application.

The All-Russian Conference of Young Researchers "Evolutionary and Institutional Economics: Theory and Practice" was held on the last day of the Summer School. The conference was organized in three sections.

Over 30 people took part in the work of Section 1; they discussed a wide range of issues devoted to the development of economic and financial institutions in Russia. A significant number of papers dealt with the issues of the production sphere. In particular, *A.N. Anishchenko*, Junior Research Associate at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda), presented an analysis of the effectiveness of state support for the agro-industrial complex in the Vologda Oblast municipalities. *A.A. Biev*, Senior Research Associate at G.P. Luzin Institute of Economic Problems of Kola Scientific Center of RAS (Apatity), talked about the issues of upcoming gasification of the Murmansk Oblast.

A.A. Gasnikova, Ph.D. in Economics, Research Associate at G.P. Luzin Institute of Economic Problems of Kola Scientific Center of RAS (Apatity), focused on the specifics of energy supply in the Northern regions. *M.A. Shishelov*, Graduate Student, Junior Research Associate at the Institute of Socio-Economic and Energy Problems of the North, Komi Scientific Center, Ural Branch of RAS (Syktyvkar) substantiated the factors promoting the performance efficiency of the forest industry. *D.A. Polzikov*, Research Associate at the RAS Institute of Economic Forecasting (Moscow), spoke about the impact of price proportions on the development of Russia's agriculture. The report of *V.S. Uskov*, Junior Research Associate, Deputy Head of the Department of Editorial-and-Publishing Activity and Science-Information Support at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda), was devoted to modern

development institutions of the regional fruit-and-berry complex. *A.V. Galukhin*, Junior Research Associate at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda), spoke about the issues of stability of the region's budget system and ways of their solution.

Two reports touched upon the issue of investment development in the regions. *N.Yu. Ataeva*, Lecturer at the Vologda State University, analyzed the investment activity in the region, and substantiated the prospects of investment activity; *A.N. Chapargina*, Research Associate at G.P. Luzin Institute of Economic Problems of Kola Scientific Center of RAS (Apatity), revealed the institutional conditions of transformation of savings into an investment resource in the region.

The participants also discussed institutional aspects of governance at the municipal level. This research direction was covered by junior research associates from the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda): *N.V. Voroshilov* justified the necessity to use development institutions depending on the level of socio-economic development of territories; *S.A. Kozhevnikov* outlined the issues of implementation of public-private partnership in housing and utilities services in the region; *A.A. Zachesov* spoke about the role of the institute of social corporatism in the transformation of urban environment. *M.S. Kruglov* and *A.I. Volynskii*, graduate students at the RAS Institute of Economics (Moscow), highlighted the impact of economic risks on the formation of institutions.

The session of [Section 2](#) addressed the issues of the formation of the technological

mode in the context of globalization. Over 20 young researchers from Moscow, Cherepovets and Vologda attended the session.

E.A. Mazilov, Junior Research Associate, Deputy Head of the Innovation Economics Department at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda), presented his report on modern methods and mechanisms of development of the region's industry. The representatives of the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda) *V.N. Makoveev*, Junior Research Associate and *R.Yu. Selimenkov*, Deputy Head of the Department of the Issues of Socio-Economic Development and Management in Territorial Systems talked about the institutions of innovation development of regional socio-economic systems.

A.A. Shcherbakova, Ph.D. in Economics, Lecturer at the Vologda State University, informed the audience about the possibilities of transaction costs optimization in technology commercialization. The reports of *A.V. Velichkina* (Vologda) and *A.S. Eremeeva* (Cherepovets), junior research associates at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories, were devoted to the issues of tourism and road infrastructure development. *K.A. Zadumkin*, Ph.D. in Economics, Head of the Department for Strategic Planning and Investment Policy of the Vologda City Administration, considered the experience to implement the mechanism of public-private partnership. The environmental problems of regional development and management of natural risks were raised in the reports of *A.P. Kuznetsov*, Junior Research Associate

at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda) and *N.E. Terent'ev*, Ph.D. in Economics, Senior Research Associate at the Institute for Economic Forecasting of the Russian Academy of Sciences. *N.P. Kashintsev*, Junior Research Associate at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda) disclosed the results of modeling of social wellbeing of the region's population.

More than twenty people took part in the work of Section 3, devoted to the theory of evolutionary and institutional economics in solving social problems, of them thirteen scientists delivered their reports.

K.N. Kalashnikov, Ph.D. in Economics, Research Associate at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda) focused on the specifics of marketing in the market of medical services. the Junior research associates of the Institute spoke about the functioning of social institutions: *A.V. Popov* – about the minimum wage as a tool to regulate labor behavior; *A.I. Rossoshanskii* – about the connection of socio-economic income inequality and modernization processes quality; *A.M. Panov* – about the aspects of employment institutionalization.

M.V. Morev, Ph.D. in Economics, Head of the Laboratory for Studies of Social Processes at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda) presented the main trends in social health of the Russian society. ISED T RAS junior research associates *A.V. Korolenko* and *B.N. Barsukov* considered negative quality changes in the demographic processes, *L.N. Fakhradova* – living standards of socially

disadvantaged categories, *O. Yu. Mazepina* – the quality of life of the population as an economic category.

D.M. Kazakova, Graduate Student at the Institute of Economics, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Yekaterinburg), disclosed the role of the new institutional economics in the context of the modern economic paradigm. *V.S. Orlova*, Ph.D. in Economics, Lecturer at the Vologda State University substantiated the directions to develop health tourism. *E.D. Razgulina*, Junior Research Associate at the RAS Institute of Socio-Economic Development of Territories (Vologda) spoke about social partnership, which is a form of government-business interaction. *O.V. Barashkova*, Graduate Student at the Vologda State Dairy Farming Academy Named after N.V. Vereshchagin, suggested the ways to improve the efficiency of the use of the resource potential of dairy farming agricultural enterprises.

In our opinion, we should note the practical importance of this event. It expands interregional scientific contacts; makes it possible to test methods of the evolutionary and institutional analysis, to implement research results in the educational process. This is also confirmed by the conference participants' assessments – 9.6 points out of 10.

In general, the conference participants have concluded that the institutional transformation of Russia in the market transformations period makes the scientific community reconsider the relevant issues for the formation of a new technological paradigm, requires the development of

economic, financial and social institutions, interregional cooperation in the context of globalization, the prospects of socio-economic development of the country. Thus, it is important to attract young scientists to the development of theoretical and methodological approaches and methods of evolutionary and institutional economics and the analysis of modern problems of the Russian society. The conference participants give the following recommendations to solve these problems.

The scientific community should continue the research on the development of methodological approaches and tools of evolutionary and institutional economics, aimed at upgrading and restructuring the regional economy with a focus on the accelerated development of industries that form a basis for the new technological mode.

The regional government should follow the modern development concepts ensuring comprehensive development of the economy and the region, increase own tax revenues,

consolidate the income basis, use the potential of the territorial development centers that promote access of the population to quality education and health care more actively.

The representative and executive bodies, research institutions, higher education establishments should intensify their analytical, expert and organizational activities in order to identify the most effective institutional forms and methods of the socio-economic management.

It is necessary to develop cooperation between the authorities, business, science and mass media and to spread the positive experience to set up and manage social and economic institutions.

The participants appreciate the results of the joint work and consider it useful to hold such events on a regular basis. There are good grounds for believing that the knowledge and experience gained by the participants of the Summer School and the research-to-practice conference will contribute to the economic and social modernization of the Russian regions.

T.V. Uskova

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Requirements to manuscripts

The proposed articles should contain the results of the studies characterized by novelty and practical orientation. They should be available in the form of presentation for a wide range of readers and meet the scientific focus of the journal (economic and sociological researches).

The article should generally include the following aspects: the purpose of research; method and methodology of work, its results and the field of their application; conclusions. The findings may be accompanied by recommendations, suggestions and hypotheses, resulting from the contents of the article. When presenting the results of sociological research in the article, it is necessary to state the following information: methods and methodology; the date, place (territory) and organization which carried out the study; the structure of total population; the type, volume and sampling error; the description of methods of data collection and analysis. This information should be arranged according to one of the following options: in the special section (paragraph) of the article; directly in the text; in the footnote. When creating tables, it is necessary to specify, whether the percentage of persons is calculated out of the number of those who answered the question, or out of the total amount of respondents. References should demonstrate the author's professional outlook and the quality of the research.

Authors are responsible for the selection and authenticity of the facts, quotations, statistical and sociological data, proper names, place names and other information, as well as for ensuring that the article does not contain the data that cannot be liable to open publication.

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The volume of articles should be no more than 40 000 printed characters (1 author list), including spaces and footnotes, for doctorates and PhDs (including the co-authors having no degree). It should contain no more than 20 000 printed characters (0.5 AL) for the rest of the authors. Exceptions are possible only in terms of a preliminary agreement with the editorial board.

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