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Social Well-Being and Adaptive Practices of the Russian Population in the Context of Settlement Differentiation (A Case Study of the Rostov Region)

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Abstract:

In the article, the influence of settlement differentiation on social well-being and adaptive practices of the Russian population (using the example of the Rostov region) is considered. Based on the development level of industrial and social infrastructure and local labour market, as well as the breadth of possibilities for increasing human capital within a settlement as criteria for territory differentiation, the authors identified four main types of territorial locations: regional centre, district centres, urban-type settlements and rural settlements. Based on the results of empirical measurements, the authors make the case that a type of settlement shapes the social context, which in turn affects the nature of the general public's social well-being. Analysing the social adaptation model's relevance to the precarious socio-economic

situation (economizing, labour, savings, and self-reliance models), the authors come to the conclusion that the range of possible adaptive practices in the context of socio-economic instability, among other factors, is largely determined by a settlement type.

Bienestar social y prácticas adaptativas de la población rusa en el contexto de la diferenciación de asentamientos (Un estudio de caso de la región de Rostov)

Resumen:

En el artículo, se considera la influencia de la diferenciación de asentamientos en el bienestar social y las prácticas adaptativas de la población rusa (utilizando el ejemplo de la región de Rostov). Con base en el nivel de desarrollo de la infraestructura industrial y social y el mercado laboral local, así como la amplitud de las posibilidades para aumentar el capital humano dentro de un asentamiento como criterios para la diferenciación del territorio, los autores identificaron cuatro tipos principales de localidades territoriales: centro regional, centros distritales, asentamientos urbanos y asentamientos rurales. Con base en los resultados de las mediciones empíricas, los autores argumentan que un tipo de asentamiento configura el contexto social, lo que a su vez afecta la naturaleza del bienestar social del público en general. Analizando la relevancia del modelo de adaptación social a la situación socioeconómica precaria (economización, trabajo, ahorro y modelos de autosuficiencia), los autores llegan a la conclusión de que la gama de posibles prácticas de adaptación en el contexto de la inestabilidad socioeconómica, entre otros factores, en gran medida se determina por un tipo de liquidación.

resources. Helped to bring about the appropriate teaching skills. Improvement of teacher education is an improvement in education and schools. Educators have agreed that most of the educational problems are based on the lack of qualified teachers. There are many factors that depend on the success of the teacher in his work, but his educational preparation is the most important factor in this success. Teacher and good adoption with the utmost care in our educational systems. (Saeed, Saeed Mohammed and Abu Saud Muhammad, 2017)

Palabras clave: bienestar social, prácticas adaptativas, diferenciación de asentamientos, mercado de trabajo local, desigualdad social.

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Introduction

Social differences, in other words, differences in the quality of life, opportunities for professional development, as well as opportunities for expanding competencies and social mobility, are particularly noticeable in the countries with a vast territory which are marked by high inequality levels between different territory types. The problem in question, on account of profound impact that the restructuring processes of the Russian economy have on the development of urban and rural infrastructure, has been on the agenda of economists and sociologists over the past two decades. At the same time, whereas the “centre-region” dichotomy has been the core aspect of this type of research, nowadays many scientists recognize that a more complete picture of inequalities and constraints distribution can be obtained by taking a look at the hierarchical settlement system: from the largest cities to small ones, to even smaller towns, to the rural periphery. As noted by N.V. Zubarevich (2012), this approach allows us to identify three “Russias” within the country, each with different development levels of economy and infrastructure and the speed of social modernization. “Russia-1” includes cities with population of over 0.5 million people, “Russia-2” refers to cities with population from 50 to 250 thousand people (cities with from 250 to 500 thousand residents occupy an intermediate position between the first and the second groups); “Russia-3” consists of small towns, settlements and rural areas, even though any kind of rigid boundary is relative. All three “Russias” are more or less equal in terms of size and each implodes

about a third of the country's population" (Zubarevich, 2012).

Speaking of the reasons why a classification of this kind is hierarchical, it is prudent to pay attention to the three main trends that affect infrastructure development of selected settlement types: the restructuring of the agrarian sector that was integral to the rural economy; multi-industry cities and urban-type settlements losing their industrial functions; the transition of cities with population of more than half of a million people to service economy, which made these territories more attractive for migration from small towns and villages. As a result, there was a sharp polarization of territories based on power, economic, human, and cultural capital, while each territory type had formed its own labour market model. The context of macrosocial changes was bound to have an impact on the population's social well-being and significantly limited the range of potential adaptive practices in the face of socio-economic instability.

In this article, a study of social well-being and adaptive practices of men and women of different types of settlements is carried out using the materials of the Rostov region. As far as the above-described trends are concerned, this territory appears to be a typical Russian region, whose economic restructuring resulted in settlement differentiation. Restructuration of the coal industry and closure of mining enterprises were behind the crisis in the district centres and urban-type settlements where these industries were primary taxpayers, and in many respects, restructuring of the agricultural sector had a detrimental effect on the rural labour market development.

Literature Review

The growing polarization of urban and rural areas in the last two decades is a worldwide trend. With that in mind, the variety/scope of research papers, where the topic of spatial differentiation is brought up, is quite extensive. That said, if an economic aspect of this problem is connected primarily to the development analysis of industrial infrastructure, then sociologists view regional differentiation as a boosting factor when it comes to other types of inequalities (income-generating, professional and career-related, educational, and medical).

Analysis of scientific literature showed that the greatest differentiating effect, according to scientists, is noticeable with respect to population incomes and consumer activity. Thus, N.F.M. Gomes, A.L. de Carvalho Fiúza, M.A.M. Ferreira, and N.M. de Almeida Pinto, based on data from the National Household Survey (PNAD) analysed Brazilian households in terms of income, access to goods, services and information and communication technologies. The authors concluded that, despite the change in the rural way of life, the opportunities for consumer activity are ranked significantly by the settlement type (Gomes et al.,

2017). W. Ha, J. Yi, Y. Yuan, and J. Zhang (2016), based on a set of panel data covering a 14-year period from 1997 to 2011 for more than 100 villages in China, suggest that intensive migration from village to city increases income differentiation in different settlement types. Z. Goschin (2017) holds a similar view: after taking a look at the spatial differences in the per capita GDP in Romania, he sees the risks of further expanding income inequalities in urban and rural areas and associates this with an intensive outflow of human capital from villages and small towns (Goschin, 2017).

Limited capacity to strengthen both human and cultural capital is currently recognized as one of the most influential factors in reinforcing settlement differentiation. The work of W.T. Story and R.M. Carpiano (2017) focuses on inequalities in the ability to preserve the children's health in both urban and rural Indian settlements, which the authors associate with uneven development of medical infrastructure and the quality of medical services. D.W. Brinkerhoff, A. Wetterberg and E. Wibbels (2018), based on a survey of 21,000 respondents from 17 African countries, came to realize that with the decline in the territories' infrastructure development, the quality of basic social services goes down, which in turn cannot help but affect the public's quality of life and their human potential. Drawing on the example of London, K. Oakley, D. Laurison, D. O'Brien, and S. Friedman (2017) demonstrate that spatial inequalities reinforce other forms of social inequality associated with access to education and cultural achievements.

In regard to social mobility, the latest studies show that it is dependent on settlement characteristics in both developed and developing countries. It should be noted that while in developed countries this effect is mainly associated with the potential of local labour markets (Li et al., 2018), it is supplemented by the preservation of class and caste hierarchies in rural areas in a number of developing countries (Jacoby & Mansuri, 2015).

The problems of settlement differentiation in the sociological aspect are also being addressed by the Russian scientists. The impact analysis of industrial, social and domestic territory development on the living standards, social attitude and opportunities available to the Russians in the labour market remains a top priority of such studies. Therefore, the research team of the Federal Research Sociological Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the leadership of M.K. Gorshkov, capitalizing on the data from a series of monitorings (2014-2017), came to the conclusion that settlement type, among other factors, affects the population's social well-being. In addition, the authors analysed labour market behaviour of urban and rural residents, which allowed them to talk about differences in strategies when looking for secondary employment (Gorshkov & Tikhonova, 2016;

Gorshkov & Petukhov, 2017a).

Literature analysis allows for the conclusion that settlement differentiation is one of the most important determinants of social inequality. However, most researchers working within the framework of this issue tend to turn to objective factors in their work, not taking into account the subjective characteristics associated with social well-being, a subjective assessment of their own welfare. On top of that, it is essential to understand, what the scope of people's adaptive capacities is like in any given type of settlement, or, in other words, how social context determined by the territory type affects the model of population's adaptive practices.

Methods

This research was conducted on the basis of such general scientific methods as system and factor analysis. The empirical foundation of this work is presented by the results of sociological studies carried out with the authors' participation:

- 1) The seventh wave of sociological monitoring of the Federal Research Sociological Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the regional stage (June 2017). The representative sample amounted to 850 people.
- 2) The study of the South Russian branch of the Federal Research Sociological Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences called "25 Years of Reforms in Russia through the Eyes of Residents of the Rostov Region" (November 2017). The representative sample consisted of 1208 people.

The secondary data analysis of the following mass surveys was carried out:

- 1) The study of the South Russian branch of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences called "Poverty and Social Inequality in the Rostov Region" (2013). The representative sample was made of 851 people.

Aside from the results of empirical sociological studies, the paper's empirical foundation is backed by data from the federal and regional statistical offices (the Federal Service of State Statistics of the Russian Federation and its territorial body for the Rostov region).

In this study, settlement statistics that deal with spatial differentiation are represented by settlement types that differ primarily in terms of number of inhabitants and concentration of industrial and social infrastructure enterprises: regional centre, district centres, urban-type settlements and rural settlements.

Region's Settlement Differentiation as a Social Context

The Rostov region is a region with a rather high level of territorial urbaniza

tion. In the last two decades, urban population share had consistently grown, and as of 2017, it amounted to 67.8% (2873.1 thousand people) (Territorial Body of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Rostov Region, n.d.). First of all, it has to do with migration outflow from the countryside: if the city population increases every year, then the rural areas can be mostly characterized by the negative migration balance.

A review of the main labour market indicators makes it possible to draw a conclusion about its prominent territorial differentiation. To date, 78.3% of the region's enterprises and organizations are located in the urban areas (Territorial Body of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Rostov Region, n.d.). Consequently, it is the urban labour market that has a large number of open vacancies. It is also important to stress that the urban environment is represented by various types of enterprises and organizations. This determines the social and professional structure of employed population, in which the majority are workers employed in the sphere of service industry, management and highly skilled intellectual labour. Rural areas are characterized by a narrowed set of economic sectors, the basis of which is formed by agriculture. All this takes a toll on professional career opportunities: in rural areas and small towns, the absence of diversity of labour application spheres significantly narrows the freedom of professional choice. Moreover, even though many residents of these types of settlements possess the necessary level of competence, they are still forced to occupy "unfavourable" professional niches, which cannot help suppressing the potential of their upward professional mobility.

Inequalities in labour market opportunities in the urban and rural settlements are also overlapped by income inequalities. Turning to statistical data shows that the average monthly salary is higher in production fields that concentrate mainly in the urban areas (chemical and metallurgical production, production of electrical equipment and transport, financial activities, etc.). With regards to the workers' salaries in the public sector, among the employees being employed in the same category, the difference in wages in the urban and rural areas reaches 16%. In the matter of income derived from entrepreneurial activity, it also increases with the level of infrastructure development (Territorial Body of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Rostov Region, n.d.).

The current situation is exacerbated by the fact that under the conditions of settlement differentiation, the inhabitants of small towns and rural areas are also limited in the terms of opportunities for human capital development, namely, receiving quality education and familiarizing themselves with the culture. Addressing data on the concentration of higher education institutions in the region, it is easy to see that 84 out of 97 universities are located within

the urban district jurisdiction (Government of the Rostov region, n.d.). The same tendencies are observed when it comes to the placement of professional theatres, museums and public libraries.

Thus, settlement differentiation creates the social context that determines the population's opportunities in the sphere of labour, employment and human capital building. In this situation, it is important to understand how these factors affect social well-being of the region's population and establish the scope of adaptation opportunities and practices of urban and rural residents in the face of socio-economic instability.

Social Well-Being and Economic Status of the Region's Population in the Context of Settlement Differentiation

The starting point of this study was to identify the features of social well-being and economic status of the Rostov Region households in the context of settlement differentiation. The results of the seventh wave of monitoring organized by the Federal Research Sociological Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (2017), conducted using a regional sample, show that the respondents living in a regional or district centres often experience a feeling of emotional uplift; conversely, in urban-type settlements such estimates make up only 2.04%, while feelings of bitterness and aggression are significantly higher in comparison with other types of territories (the data are presented in Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question "How would you describe your usual, everyday emotional and psychological state?" depending on the settlement type.

Answers	Regional centre	District centres	Urban-type settlements	Rural areas
I feel elated	8.05%	6.57%	2.04%	5.78%
I feel calm, balanced	37.23%	37.71%	37.76%	31.56%
I am in a state of indifference, apathy	14.67%	12.86%	10.2%	18.67%
I feel anxious	17.4%	22%	19.39%	21.78%
I feel irritated	10.11%	10.86%	11.22%	10.67%
I feel resentful	4.33%	6.71%	7.14%	3.56%
I feel aggressive	2.96%	0.86%	6.12%	3.11%
Not sure	5.24%	5.43%	6.12%	4.89%

Source: authors.

General assessments of everyday social well-being are largely determined by the range of issues that a person faces in his or her daily life. As the scientists of FRSC of RAS emphasize, the problems that are reported by the country's citizens as the most relevant ones are indicators of socio-economic development of the country and the region: updating issues related to physical survival and material needs indicates that the crisis situation still noticeably transforms day-to-day life (Gorshkov & Petukhov, 2017b).

The results of the November 2017 data polling show that to date problems associated with the basic needs satisfaction (food, health, housing, personal safety) are not included by the locals in the list of the acutest issues. At the same time, differentiation of the estimates by settlement types indicates that material problems are somewhat more prevalent in small towns and urban-type settlements: their residents often report their dissatisfaction with housing conditions and their ability to clothe themselves. The above-mentioned labour market deformation affects the assessments of professional career opportunities in these settlements, which only gets worse with fewer opportunities to upgrade one's skills. Attention is drawn to the low health care quality assessments obtained in the UTS (69.2% versus 49.2% on the whole for the massif), which is a reflection of the problems in this area that have become particularly acute in small towns and villages (personnel shortages, reduction in the number of medical institutions, reduction in funding, etc. (Vyalykh, 2015)).

Therefore, the territory development level affects the population's day-to-day social well-being, and the degree of impact is strengthened in light of socio-economic instability. In this case, a frustration state peak falls on the urban-type settlements.

An important aspect for determining the nation's social well-being is to designate oneself to a particular group on the basis of subjective material well-being. The results of the November 2017 data polling revealed that the majority of the region's residents estimate their own financial position as satisfactory (63.3%). One out of five rated it as bad, and only 16.3% expressed satisfaction with this indicator.

As for the different settlement types, residents of urban-type settlements were in a less favourable position (30.8%). This is primarily due to sudden deceleration of social and industrial infrastructure development, which happened as a result of deformation of certain economic sectors, which were fundamental for the survival of these settlements. This situation is to a certain extent typical for rural areas; however, an opportunity to engage in homesteading has become a "life-saver" for many residents of the region's rural areas, with that said; only

12.3% of villagers expressed extremely negative gradations. In turn, the greatest potential lies in the polyfunctional environment of the large cities and the regional centre: the negative assessment level, in this case, is somewhat lower (20.2% and 11.3%).

A take on the prospects for changing one's own material well-being within different settlement types is somewhat different. High labour market competition in Rostov-on-Don in the context of social and economic instability is a deterrent to optimistic forecasts: only a quarter of respondents expect any kind of improvements. Residents of district centres and urban-type settlements, who mostly chose the option "remain unchanged" (57.6% and 61.5%, respectively), can be assigned to a group of pessimists, because of their low estimates of the current financial situation.

What is the reason for the estimate differentiation? The research findings showed that subjective assessments of one's own well-being correlate with the level of anxiety about the current situation in the local labour market. The data presented in Table 2 makes it possible to conclude that in the regional centre with its more extensive and more open labour market, the fears of potential unemployment are less common in comparison with other settlement types. Moreover, 22% of respondents from the regional centre were able to change jobs to a higher-paid one or receive promotion over the past three years. The epicentre of employment problems is located in district centres and urban-type settlements: the risk of losing jobs in these settlement types is higher than in the rest of the residents' assessments, and the opportunities to find a new job are slim (11.76% and 10.33%). In rural areas, already "depleted" by migration to larger communities, labour market competition is relatively small, which explains the lower level of fear of losing a job.

Table 2. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: "What, in your opinion, is the probability that you can be unemployed in the upcoming year?"

Answers	Regional centre	District centres	Urban-type settlements	Rural areas
This is out of the question	34.08%	27.48%	22.5%	28.18%
This is unlikely	37.9%	24.06%	12.5%	34.09%
This is highly likely	27.03%	48.46%	65%	37.73%

Source: authors.

Summing up the analysis of the population’s social well-being in the Rostov region specifically in the settlement section, spatial localization of inequalities in material well-being and abilities to satisfy the basic set of needs should be acknowledged. As a result, the “safety margin” for residents belonging to different settlement types is differentiated. In turn, this actualizes the sociological analysis of the population’s adaptive practices in different settlement types.

Population’s Adaptive Practices in the Region under the Conditions of Settlement Differentiation

In a situation when inequality of settlement types is a factor in the strengthening of other types of inequalities, and, above all, income inequality, it seems important to analyse the adaptive social and economic practices of the region’s population. The following models of such practices are singled out in the scientific literature: savings (accumulation of savings), an economizing model (reduction in consumer activity, including at the expense of essential goods), labour (secondary employment or additional paid workload at the main place of work) and self-reliance model (work at home, associated with natural homesteading, manufacturing of hand-made products, etc.) (Volkov et al., 2017). Let’s consider the breadth of these models in the selected settlement types.

First of all, it should be noted that with the added complexity of the economic situation, the savings model of adaptive practices has proved to be the least widespread. This is largely due to lack of a safety cushion in the form of savings for the majority of population and an additional burden in the form of loans, which is typical of rural areas (Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Which of the following do you (your family) have?”

Answers	Regional centre	District centres	Urban-type settlements	Rural areas
Enough savings so that my whole family and I can live off them for at least a year	13.36%	6.86%	11.11%	12.31%
Not enough savings to live off them for an extended period of time	32.72%	40.2%	44.44%	21.54%
Past due bank loans	34.56%	20.59%	33.33%	43.08%
Past due loans at one’s place of employment	3.23%	0.98%	11.11%	4.62%

Large individual debts	3.23%	0.98%	11.11%	3.08%
Accumulated small debts	16.13%	7.84%	66.67%	15.38%
Unpaid apartment utilities bills	5.53%	1.96%	33.33%	1.54%
None of the above-mentioned	27.19%	39.22%	0.00%	23.08%

Source: authors.

According to the study, the economy model was the most popular among the region's inhabitants, regardless of the settlement type. At the same time, the structure of savings has notable differences (the data are presented in Table 4). Thus, residents of district centres and urban-type settlements often save on essential goods: food, medicine and medical examinations. City residents have to limit their purchasing of clothing items and footwear. In turn, residents of the regional centre, also forced to save, by and large, have an opportunity not to cut spending on life necessities due to a decrease in leisure activities. When it comes to respondents who reported that there was no need to save money, most of them, according to the survey results, lived in rural areas. On the one hand, this is explained by the traditionally narrowed range of consumer activity among the villagers, but, on the other hand, it speaks of high compensatory function of farm households, which helps to maintain the usual level of consumption.

Table 4. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "If you decided to start putting money away, what you would save on?" (Check all that apply)

Answers	Regional centre	District centres	Urban-type settlements	Rural areas
On food products	35.21%	39.35%	55.56%	26.15%
On clothes and shoes	57.08%	50.51%	66.67%	41.54%
On vacation, including tourist trips	58.96%	51.52%	44.44%	50.77%
On leisure	45.75%	37.37%	55.56%	44.62%
On expensive long-term use products	46.23%	45.45%	33.33%	36.92%
On medicine, treatment and medical examination	18.4%	24.24%	11.11%	18.46%
On education and developing exercises	14.62%	9.09%	11.11%	9.23%
On material support that I used to provide to my relatives and friends	18.87%	9.09%	33.33%	16.92%
I'm not used to saving up, will continue living as before.	13.68%	17.17%	0%	23.08%

Source: authors.

About 12% of the region's inhabitants use the labour model of adaptive practices (or secondary employment strategy). Most of them live in the regional centre and in the countryside. At the same time, the nature of secondary employment in these settlement types will differ: while in the regional centre area a more common strategy has become to look for a part-time job because the residents have a good chance of finding it, then the villagers are more often satisfied with one-time earnings. District centres and urban-type settlements as territories with undeveloped labour markets do not provide their residents with ample opportunities for secondary employment. Having salary at the place of

work as their main source of income, they, as noted above, are forced to resort to the economy model more often than others (the data are presented in Table 5).

Table 5. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "What are your main sources of income?" (Check all that apply to your family)

Answers	Regional centre	District centres	Urban-type settlements	Rural areas
Salary from primary place of employment	66.51%	68.63%	77.78%	59.09%
Pensions, benefits, alimonies, help from the government, non-government organizations, etc.	28.90%	24.51%	11.11%	39.39%
Own business	10.09%	4.90%	0%	3.03%
Secondary job	21.01%	2.94%	7.11%	17.55%
One-time earnings, occasional wages	11.93%	9.80%	22.22%	10.61%
Property income, real estate property lease, interest on savings	2.75%	2.94%	0%	3.03%
Financial support received from relatives, friends, neighbours, etc.	18.35%	17.65%	11.11%	7.58%
Homesteading, summer house, farmland	5.96%	4.90%	0%	15.15%
Other	1.38%	0.98%	0%	1.52%

Source: authors.

The relevance degree of adaptive practices model among residents of different settlement types can also be observed in the analysis of potential behaviour strategies in a hypothetical situation of the financial situation deterioration. As can be seen in Table 6, the residents of the regional centre (34.16%) are more often ready to turn to the labour model (“I will change my place of work; I will make a career change”). Residents of rural areas, most of whom are not inclined to look for a new job, will continue to adhere to the self-reliance model, engaged in homesteading (44.44%). The population of urban settlements will continue to adhere to passive adaptive practices: 87.5% will reduce consumption in order to save; furthermore, one in four is ready to sell the property and live off savings made earlier.

It is important to note that, despite possible difficulties, migration to another region or another country as a possible adaptation strategy in case of the economic situation deterioration was unclaimed as a whole. The study results also elaborate on a rather low level of paternalistic attitudes towards institutions of power and society.

Table 6. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question “If your financial situation worsens, what you are prepared to do?” (Check all that apply)

Answers	Regional centre	District centres	Urban-type settlements	Rural areas
I will change my place of work, I will make a career change	34.16%	21.51%	12.5%	15.56%
I will open up my own business	9.9%	6.85%	0%	2.22%
I will lease my apartment, summer house, garage...	10.4%	15.07%	8.5%	4.44%
I will cut down my expenses, start to save money	47.33%	56.16%	87.5%	55.56%
I will sell one of my possessions	9.9%	16.44%	25%	4.44%

I will change my address in Russia	3.96%	5.48%	7%	6.67%
I will move to another country	7.92%	4.11%	17.5%	11.11%
I will grow food products in my homestead land	16.34%	20.55%	12.5%	44.44%
I will live off my savings	15.35%	6.85%	28.5%	13.33%
I will take a loan	11.39%	12.33%	20%	11.11%
I will ask the government for social support	9.41%	6.85%	0%	2.22%
I will turn to religious organizations for help	2.48%	1.37%	12.5%	0%
I will do nothing	7.43%	12.33%	0%	8.89%

Source: authors.

Conclusions

Based on the study results that have looked into social well-being and adaptive practices of the Rostov region population, a number of conclusions can be drawn in the context of settlement differentiation.

Analysis of the main parameters of social well-being indicates that nowadays the urban-type settlements are considered to be areas of minimal social optimism. This is reflected in both the assessments of everyday emotional and psychological state and subjective satisfaction with one's own material well-being and the ensuing dynamics. Similar results can be attributed to the fact that it was the urban-type settlements that lost their basic economic functions in the course of economic restructuring, which could not but affect the population's living conditions. In that regard, they fall short of the region's rural areas, where subsidiary farming makes it possible to less acutely feel the consequences of socio-economic instability. The residents of the regional centre stand out for the highest level of social well-being.

As a result, the residents' "safety margin" when it comes to different settlement types appears to be differentiated, which is supplemented by a wide range of adaptation opportunities to the current socio-economic situation. The findings of this study make it possible to state that the settlement type largely determi

nes the prevalence of any given model of the populations' adaptive practices. The labour model is more often used in the regional centre. Residents of rural areas, limited in their opportunities for finding secondary employment, adhere, for the most part, to the self-reliance model, engaged in homesteading or resort to the labour model to some degree through the search for offers for one-time earnings. The population of urban-type settlements, who are the most limited in their opportunities to obtain secondary employment and for whom it is impossible to resort to the self-reliance model, adhere to passive adaptive practices: reducing consumption (including cutting corners on essential goods), selling the property, saving costs.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that to date there are no clear-cut forecasts pertaining to the prospects of reducing social inequality among residents of different types of territories. Nevertheless, the majority of participants of this discussion agree that without a competent policy on behalf of the state, aimed primarily at overcoming social and economic isolation of small towns and rural settlements, territorial contrasts, as a factor of social well-being that will limit potential adaptation strategies, can become ground zero for the creation of social tension.

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