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Population of the Region about Barriers to Effective Modernization (on the Materials of Social Research in Krasnoyarsk Krai)

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Basing on the content analysis of in-depth interviews, conducted with the residents of Krasnoyarsk Krai, the article studies the opinions of the respondents about the factors impeding effective modernization in the region. It is shown that the majority of the respondents, in general, understands the essence of modernization adequately and names a number of obstacles to its implementation. In the first place among these obstacles there are the factors connected with distortion of social institutions of power: inactivity of the authorities, corruption, incompetence of officials, their focus on their own interests. Many respondents mention insufficient funding and the impact of the "human factor": negative moral – psychological and professional qualities of the population of the region. In the light of this approach the role of regional elite and its main characteristics in the mass consciousness of the respondents are studied. It has been found that the main criteria according to which the respondents define the elite in the region are money and power. Such characteristics of the elite as education, culture, contribution to the development of the society play a secondary role. The conclusion is made that the analyzed obstacles to effective modernization of the region are a complex symbiosis of institutional and socio-cultural factors.

Keywords: modernization, region, obstacles to modernization, elite, socio-cultural factors, the distortion of social institutions.

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Introduction

The majority of domestic and foreign authors have no doubts that effective modernization in Russia faces serious difficulties. In most general terms, there are two main types of obstacles to effective modernization in the region (krai): socio-cultural and institutional. Of course, they are closely connected and have considerable mutual influence. The regional authorities and their activity can be classified as institutional obstacles, although they exist in a certain socio-cultural context. Certainly, the following

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opinion is quite correct:" …the impediment to modernization in Russia is the existing system of social relations and institutions. The principal impediment to modernization breakthrough, which reduces its probability, with the "top"-initiated nature of Russian modernization taken into account, is the State machinery, to be more exact, corruption of some part of this machinery" (Is Russian society ready.., 2010: p. 179). The process of implementation of modernization in the region and the country as a whole is reflected to a large extent by mass consciousness in the form of corresponding social notions. Among these notions are the following: about modernization and the reasons for its ineffective implementation, about the regional and municipal authorities, and also about the elite of the region and the country as a whole, about the qualities of people living in the region–all those who are among the direct actors of the process of modernization in the region. Of course, there is no clear distinction in the mass consciousness between institutional and socio-cultural obstacles.

2. Method of research

The present article is based on the results of the research conducted with our guidance by the sociologists of Siberian Federal University within the framework of the Program "Socio-cultural evolution of Russia and its regions", developed by the Centre for studying socio-cultural changes of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Head- Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences N.I. Lapin). We have formulated additional indicators as well as corresponding research tools for the study of socio-cultural and modernization processes in Krasnoyarsk Krai and the obstacles to their effective implementation.

In 2012, 100 in-depth semi-structured interviews with the residents of the city of Krasnoyarsk were conducted; the sample frame is represented according to gender and age and educational structure of the population of the city. The data of the in-depth interview conducted among the population of the whole krai were also used for comparison. The sample frame of the research of the population was calculated on the basis of the gender and age, territorial structure of the region, as well as the level of education of the respondents, thus representing the population of Krasnoyarsk Krai. It amounted to 192 people living in 22 villages on the territory of Krasnoyarsk Krai.[1]

3. The notions of the population of the region of modernization and opinions about efficiency of its implementation

In 2012, a content analysis of responses to the questions in-depth interview was carried out, during which the question was asked: "A lot is said and written about innovation and modernization nowadays. In your opinion, what do they mean? What are they for?". The most common understanding of modernization and innovation among the people of the region is the understanding of it in the form of "empty, unimportant words": "in our country it is nonsense, it does not exist, they are just words, even if something is done, it is done without much thought or planning, there is nothing to modernize in our country, because everything is destroyed". Such answer was given by one respondent in five – 21 %. 16 % of the respondents understand modernization as improvement of the existing things and innovation as invention of new things. Also, 16 % of the respondents in the region explain these concepts quite correctly – as "new technology". Almost as many respondents – 15 % interpret these concepts as "improvement in manufacturing." 6 % of the population of Krasnoyarsk Krai explained the proposed terms

as "innovation" or "science". A small proportion of answers – 4 % associate "innovation and modernization" with "nanotechnology, Chubais and Skolkovo", as well as "improvements in the sphere of medicine," 3 % – "improvement in the economy," 2 % – "modernization in the army." 3 % of the surveyed residents of the region perceive modernization and innovation as "money laundering". 6 % of respondents found it difficult to answer this question.

37 % of the respondents believe that modernization and innovation are "necessary." Therefore, we can assume that more than a third of the respondents in the region perceive these concepts only on the verbal level, without understanding their meaning sufficiently. In the second place is the opinion "for the development of the society and achieving a new level of progress" – 30 % of the respondents. For some respondents, modernization and innovation are associated with some improvements: for 14 % – in their lives, for 6 % – in the workplace. Only 5 % believe that modernization and innovation are necessary for our country to achieve the world level. 2 % of the respondents connect modernization and innovation with preservation of the environment. Negative attitudes towards these concepts were expressed by 6 % of respondents, who perceive "modernization and innovation" as one of the political "moves" of the Government. Finally, a further 6 % of the inhabitants of the region could not answer this question.

In the course of semi-formalized interviews in 2013, the respondents were also asked: "Lately, a lot has been said about modernization of Russia. What, in your opinion, is it?" The results were very similar to the data of 2012. The important characteristics of the data of in-depth interviews with residents of the regional center compared to the population of the region as a whole are more detailed and in-depth answers due to greater awareness and a higher level of education of this category of respondents. But the principal content of the responses remained the same; all of the answers of the respondents can be divided into two main groups. **The first:** understanding of modernization as introduction of technological and social changes that will improve life for people living in the country: "it is some innovation and new technology, progress, something new," "it development of the country in all sectors, improvement in every sphere of activity, some changes for the better" etc. They were given by 77 % of the respondents. But some of them were not quite sure of the correctness of their answers. **The second:** opinions about the absence of modernization, of its "irrelevance to ordinary people" – 22 % of the respondents. They can be exemplified by such answers: " I do not see any modernization , for me no modernization occurs", "if it does take place, it happens only in the higher echelons of power, where they have something to share between themselves", "think it was invented to extort more money from people. It almost does not exist", etc. 1 % could not answer the question.

Thus, the majority of the respondents in Krasnoyarsk Krai as a whole and in Krasnoyarsk in particular understand the meaning of the terms "modernization" and "innovation" correctly, perceiving them positively. However, purely superficial understanding of these terms as temporary political slogans, that have no real grounds, is quite common. Some residents of the region and the regional center -respondents of in-depth interviews, do not understand the purpose of these processes, which consequently is as one of the most important socio-cultural barriers to effective modernization of the region.

Of particular interest, in our view, is the analysis of the respondents' opinions about the success of the modernization process in the Krai,

Siberia, Russia as a whole, which we carried out in 2013.

In particular, the question was asked: "In your opinion, how successfully is modernization being implemented in Krasnoyarsk Krai?" (Fig. 1). The most common answer was "modernization is practically not being implemented" (38 % of respondents). About a third of respondents believed that modernization is being implemented "quite successfully", and one in four believes that "there are certain difficulties in its way".

Answers of the residents of Krasnoyarsk to the question "And what do you think about modernization in Siberia as a whole?" turned out, on the one hand, to be more critical, as compared to their assessment of the results of modernization in the region, on the other hand, a more significant proportion of respondents found it "difficult to answer", which seems to us quite natural (Fig. 2). For example, only about one in five of the respondents believe that modernization in Siberia is being carried "quite successfully", and one in three said: "there are certain difficulties in its

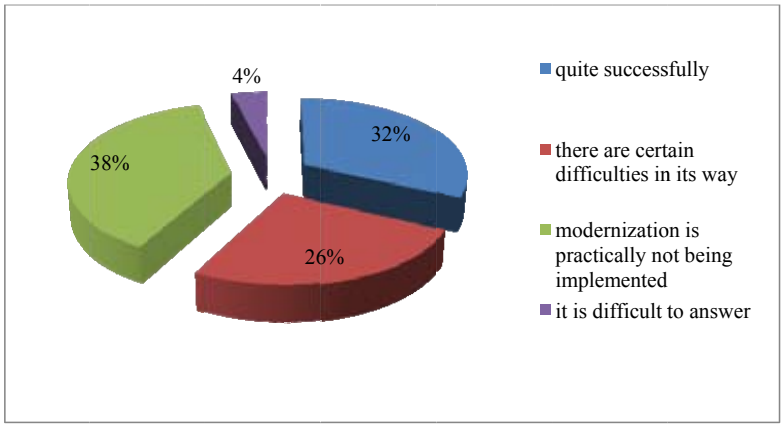

Fig. 1. Distribution of answers to the question "In your opinion, how successfully is modernization being implemented in Krasnoyarsk Krai?" (%)

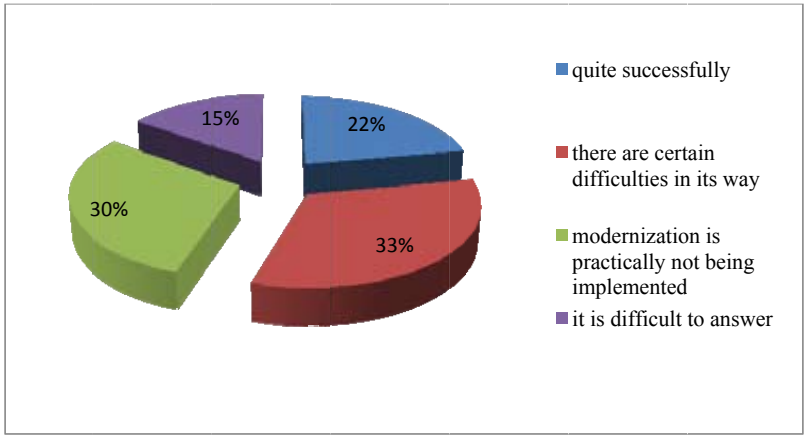

Fig. 2. Distribution of answers to the question "And what do you think about modernization in Siberia as a whole?" (%)

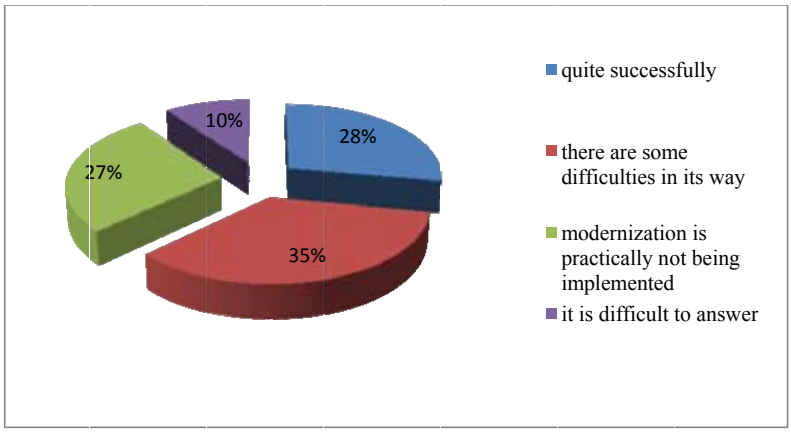

Fig. 3. Distribution of answers to the question "What can you say about modernization in Russia as a whole?" (%)

way". Finally, 30 % of the respondents said that "modernization is practically not carried out".

As for Russia as a whole, 28 % of the residents of Krasnoyarsk think that modernization is being implemented "quite successfully", 35 % see certain difficulties in its way, and 27 % of the respondents were of the view that modernization is practically not being implemented in the country (Fig. 3)

As a large proportion of respondents mentioned difficulties in implementing modernization in the Krai, Siberia and Russia as a whole or, in fact, believe that modernization is practically not being implemented, it is important to elicit their understanding of the causes that impede effective modernization.

4. Opinions of residents of Krasnoyarsk about the causes of difficulties in the way of effective implementation of modernization in the region

The content – analysis of the responses of residents of Krasnoyarsk to the question, "What, in your opinion, hinders effective implementation of modernization in our region (name three major obstacles, in your opinion)? Arrange them in order of importance" revealed the following picture.

In the first place in importance, almost half of the respondents (47 %) put such institutional obstacles to the modernization of the region, *as the activities of officials, bureaucrats, the state in general, any authorities* (Table 1). One in three of the respondents among the most important obstacles named *lack of money, poor allocation of funds*, 8 % in the course of the interview talked about *corruption* , 7 % – about *human factor*, 5 % mentioned *territorial and economic specifics of the region.*

The second place according to the in-depth interviews was given to *human factor* by 29 % of the respondents-residents of Krasnoyarsk, a quarter of them named *officials, bureaucrats, government, authorities* as an obstacle to effective modernization in our region, almost as many respondents pointed to *lack of funding*, 17 % – *corruption*, 5 % mention *territorial and economic specifics of the region*.

The third place in the content analysis of the results of in-depth interviews is occupied by: *human factor* – 42 % of those surveyed, one in three named *officials, bureaucrats, the state as a whole, any authorities*, 16 % complain about *lack of funding*, 8 % pointed *to geographical and economic specifics* of the region.

Table 1. The results of the content analysis of responses to the question: "What, in your opinion, impedes effective implementation of modernization in our region (name three major obstacles, in your opinion)? Arrange them in order of importance" (%)

1st place		
Categories	***Characteristics given by the respondents***	***%***
Officials, bureaucrats, state, authorities	Our officials who only care about themselves and about their money in the first place. There is, in general, no concern for the country and its interests and causes	47
Lack of money, poor allocation of funds	The distribution of cash flows for the benefit of the oligarchs; oligarchs and bureaucrats take all the money for themselves, and nothing is left for us; misuse of budgetary funds	33
Corruption	Corruption of the authorities, the prevalence of corruption, massive corruption	8
Human factor	Laziness, adherence of people to old things; perhaps, the reluctance of people to break what has already been formed; our people are not at all interested in it; reluctance of people to study, education is most important thing; culture is not taught to children	7
Territorial and economic specifics of the region	The remoteness of Siberia from the Centre; the most important obstacle is the distance: we are still far from the place where it all is implemented in full; raw material orientation of our industry	5
2nd place		
Categories	***Characteristics given by the respondents***	***%***
Human factor	Total lack of responsibility, most people simply do not want to accept what is offered by Medvedev and Putin; people are not yet ready, really ready for this modernization; silly people; people's reluctance to change things; the lack of qualified professionals in many sectors who can implement this modernization	29
Officials, bureaucrats, state, authorities	Our officials who only care about themselves and about their money; the sluggishness of local authorities; bad power; solving problems of only a narrow circle of people	25
Inadequate funding	Inadequate funding; lack of funding of science; very large region, a lot of money is necessary	24
Corruption	Corruption	17
Territorial and economic specifics of the region	Processing plants, which are not related to raw materials complex, have been eliminated, so there is simply nothing to modernize. Lack of modern technologies	5
3rd place		
Categories	***Characteristics given by the respondents***	***%***
Human factor	Alcoholism, drug addiction; disorder, and the majority of people do not want to accept what is introduced by our President; imitation of modernization; there is no discipline among the officials from top to bottom	42
Officials, bureaucrats, state, authorities	Administrative barriers, bureaucracy, the state has bad influence; activities of administration are not good enough, poor management	34
Inadequate funding	Low salaries; little funds for development of the economy; little "infusion" from the outside, lack of investment in industry, science and agriculture	16
Territorial and economic specifics of the region	Raw-material model of the economy; remoteness of the Krai from the central regions of the country, lack of developed infrastructure in the region	8

As we can see, in the mass consciousness of residents of Krasnoyarsk, in the first place among the causes impeding effective modernization in our region, is the activity of officials, bureaucrats, the state in general and its consequences: corruption, embezzlement of public funds, lack of funding of modernization projects, improper allocation of funds, lack of investments, etc. Human factor plays an important, though somewhat less significant, role, according to the respondents, which is also directly or indirectly related to the effectiveness of management activities and their results. It is, therefore, considered appropriate to analyze opinions of inhabitants of the region about the administrative subjects that act as "impediment" to the effective modernization of the region. Thus, in the mass consciousness of the respondents, institutional factors are, to some extent, more important obstacles to effective implementation of modernization in the region than socio-cultural factors.

5. Opinions of the respondents about leaders, regional and municipal authorities

As activities of officials are considered the most important obstacle to effective implementation of modernization of the region, occupying the first place in the mass consciousness of residents of Krasnoyarsk, we will consider these actors of modernization process.

The research by the method of in-depth semi-structured interviews in 2013 found in the mass consciousness of the respondents sharp contradiction between their assessment of the representatives of managerial staff at all levels and ordinary employees. On the one hand, 88 % of the respondents in one way or another ("agree completely" + "partially agree") share the opinion that all chiefs *are primarily concerned about their own well-being* (Fig. 4). On the other hand – 84 % of the respondents in one way or another support the opinion according to which The majority of ordinary employees work out of necessity, without thinking about the interests of the company (see Fig. 5).

In the course of the in-depth interview, the residents of Krasnoyarsk Krai were asked the question: "How do you imagine the federal authorities? Give three most important characteristics. "

According to the results of the content analysis, the vast majority of respondents in Krasnoyarsk Krai view the federal authorities in the negative light (44 %), 28 % see only its positive aspects, some of the respondents – 16 % – found it difficult to answer (see Fig. 6).

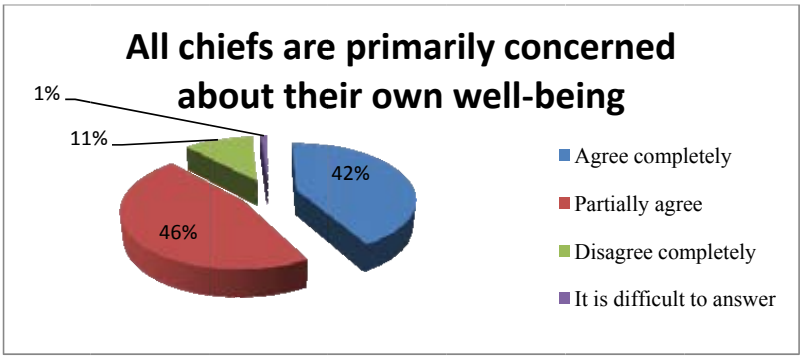

Fig. 4. Distribution of responses to the question: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following opinion?" (%)

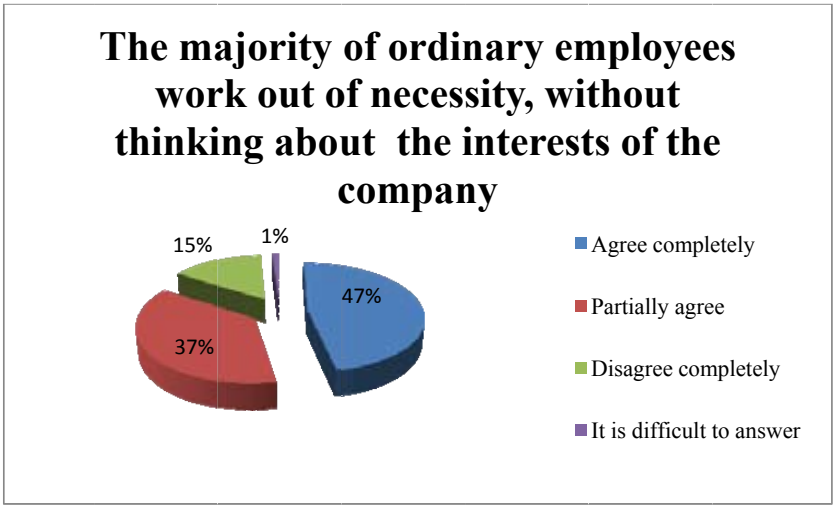

Fig. 5. Distribution of responses to the question: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following opinion?" (%)

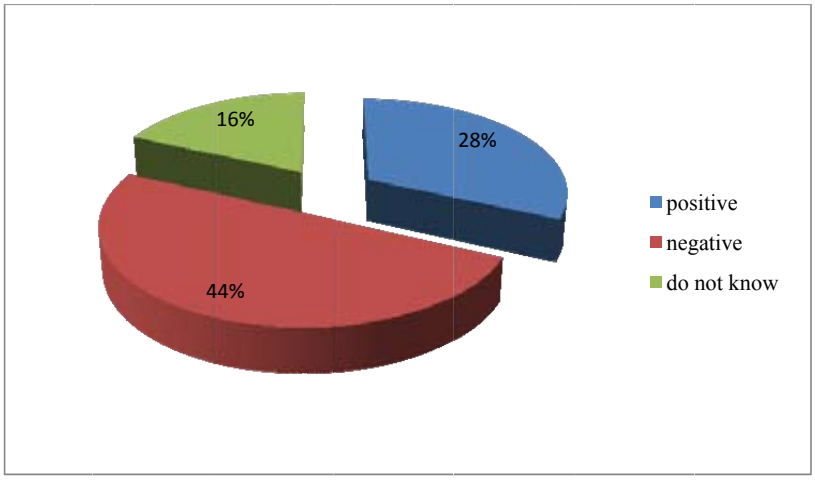

Fig. 6. Opinions of respondents about the federal authorities

Others have an ambivalent view of the federal authorities, noting both good and bad sides in its activities (12 %)[2].

Most of the respondents are more positive about the regional authorities than about the federal ones: 64 % have a positive attitude in one way or another (Fig. 7). 28 % of the respondents use negative characteristics to describe the regional authorities, 8 % could not decide on their attitude.

The content analysis revealed in the mass consciousness of the respondents who positively evaluate the regional power, three sets of characteristics:

1. Strong, fair, independent, caring, democratic, fair, works for ordinary people, perspective – 47 %.

2. Closer and better than the federal government, closer to us than Moscow, is interested in its success, knows the problems of

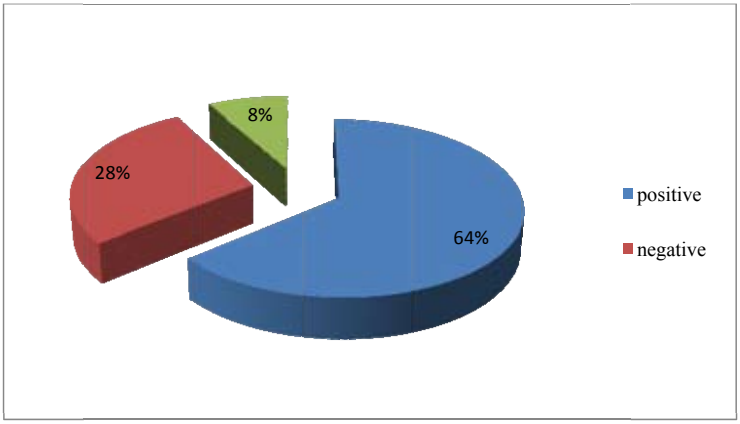

Fig. 7. The attitude of respondents to the regional authorities

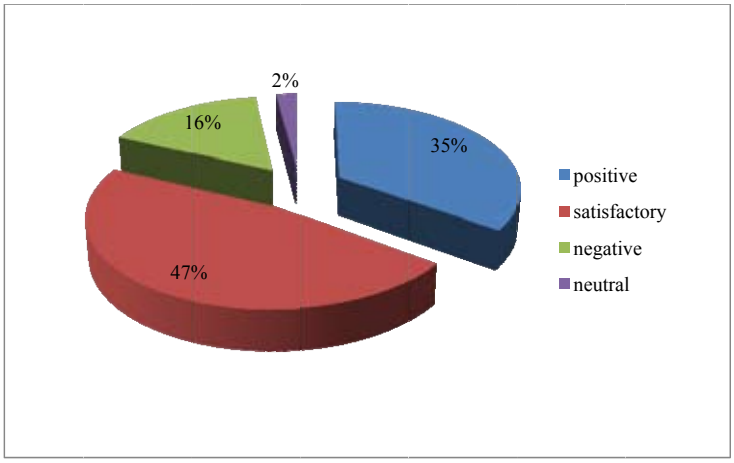

Fig. 8. The distribution of responses of the population to the question: "What mark would you give to the work of the regional authorities?".

the local population better, is interested in the development of the region – 46 %

3. "Kuznetsov carries on Khloponin's policy"[3] – Khloponin was a good leader, a good attitude to Kuznetsov as a successor of the policy of Khloponin, competence and professionalism of Kuznetsov's team – 7 %.

The following components of the negative perception of the residents of Krasnoyarsk Krai of the regional authorities were identified:

1. Bureaucracy, incompetence and ignorance of the problems of the population, isolation of the authorities from people, failure to adhere to the given promises, evasion from solving problems of various territories of the region – 52 %.

2. Corruption, crime, theft – 39 %.

3. The negative attitude of the population to the party "United Russia" – 9 %.

On the basis of the in-depth interviews the respondents' assessment of the regional authorities was analyzed. Almost half of the respondents (47 %) gave the authorities a "satisfactory" mark (Fig. 8). The marks "normal", "positive", "good" were given to the authorities by 35 % of the

respondents. Negative evaluation of the activity of the regional authorities was expressed by 16 % of the survey participants.

Thus, the opinion of the population about the regional authorities and their activities include not only positive assessment, but also indicate the existence of serious institutional distortions at this level of regional society, that hinder its effective modernization.

6. Opinions of the population of the region about the regional and federal elite

The most important role in modernization of both the region and the country as a whole belongs to the elite of the society. In particular, its members can both dramatically speed up the processes of modernization in all spheres of public life, and, vice versa, significantly slow them down. Using content analysis of the responses of respondents to the question of in-depth interviews, two main features by which they relate this or that member of the society to the elite were elicited: **money –** 37 % of the responses and **power** – 26 %. Other characteristics of the elite play a secondary role: education – 12 %, culturedness – 7 %, contributing to the development of the society – 6 %. Some residents of the region divided the elite into those "who should be considered the elite and those who we consider to be the elite" – 6 %. 6 % of respondents found it difficult to answer the question.

Therefore, first of all, the government officials – 47 %, and businessmen – 21 % were named as the regional elite. Men of culture, as well as scientists, are included into the elite much less frequently (14 % and 13 % of responses, respectively). 14 % of the respondents named professorate. 5 % of the respondents could not decide on their answer.

These data suggest low social evaluation of education, culture and real contribution of the individual into the development of the society, which, of course, is a major obstacle to effective modernization of our region and the whole of Russian society.

According to the results of content analysis of responses to the question: "Who can be considered to the elite of the country?" very similar answers were received: they are, first of all, the authorities – 47 % of the respondents, owners of large fortunes – 21 %, men of culture – 13 %, scientists -14 %. It is remarkable that those people, who are real patriots, work for the benefit of the society, i.e. doctors, teachers, were classified as the elite by only 5 % of the respondents.

As we can see, in the regional elite, compared to the country's elite, the proportion of businessmen and scientists is slightly higher; the proportion of men of culture and show-business is lower. Among the specific personalities dominate V.V. Putin and D.A. Medvedev – 14 % of the responses.

In principle, the elite, belonging to which is based primarily on wealth and power, is quite able to efficiently modernize both the region and the country as a whole. Nevertheless, the opinions of the residents of Krasnoyarsk Krai (Fig. 9) in response to the question "To what extent do the elite represent the interests of the society, the region?" in general were distributed in the following way: 49 % believe that the Russian elite to some extent represent the interests of the society, region, and 36 % – think the elite do not represent the interest of the society or represent them to a little extent. So, we conclude that the acceleration of modernization processes as one of the major tasks of development of the modern Russian society, according to the respondents, is also not always a priority for our elite; for some representatives of which wealth and power are an end in itself.

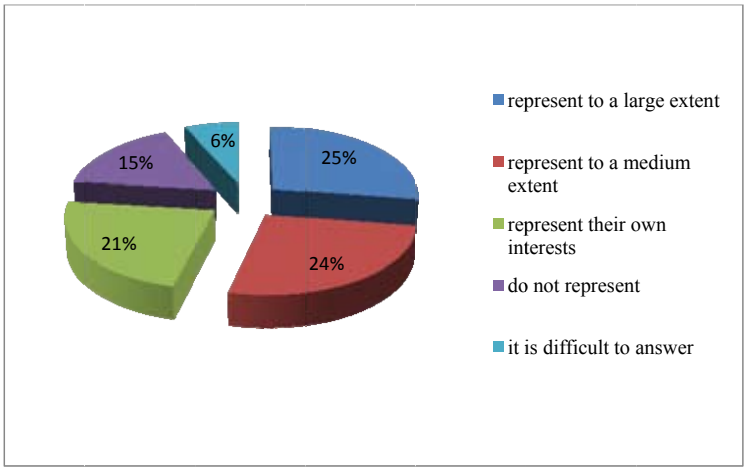

Fig. 9. Distribution of responses of the population to the question: "To what extent do the elite represent the interests of the society, the region?"

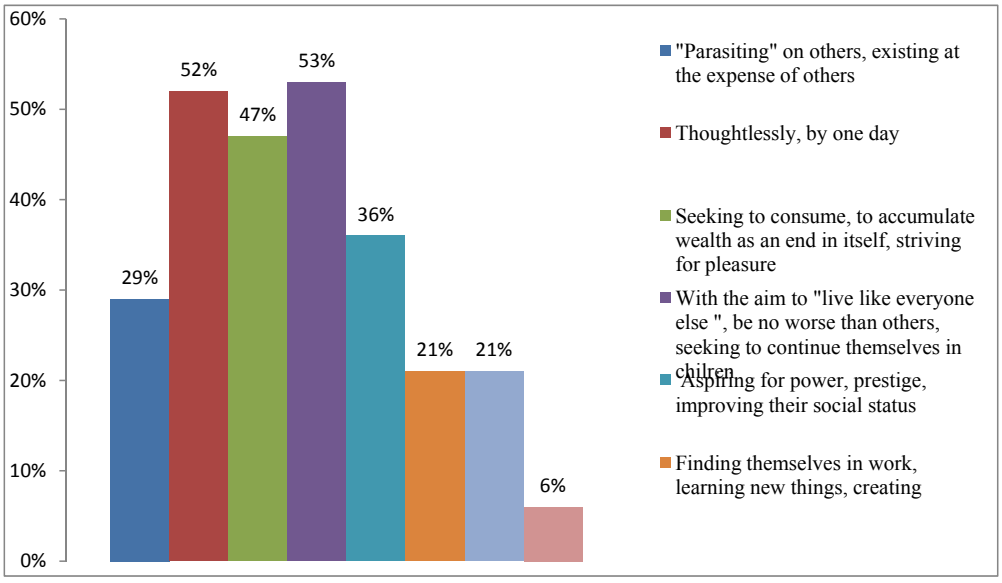

Fig. 10. Distribution of responses to the question: "Imagine people around you. Each of them behaves differently in different situations. How, in your opinion, do the people around you live? (you can choose not more than three variants of the answer)" (%)

7. Opinions of the respondents about people around them

We will analyze the evaluation of "human factor" by the population of the region, which many respondents view as an important obstacle to effective modernization of the region. In the course of the in-depth interview in 2013, the respondents were asked the following question: "Imagine people around you. Each of them behaves differently in different situations. How, in your opinion, do the people around you live?" (Fig. 10). According to the results of the research, more than half of the respondents said: *thoughtlessly, by one day* (52 %), with the aim to "live like everyone else", *be no worse than others, seeking to continue themselves in children*

(53 %). Slightly less than half of the respondents believe that the people around them live, *seeking to consume, to accumulate wealth as an end in itself, striving for pleasure* (47 %). More than a third of the residents of Krasnoyarsk believe that people live *aspiring for power, prestige, improving their social status* (36 %), while 29 % were of the opinion that the surrounding people *"parasite" on others*, *existing at the expense of others*. Only one in five of the surveyed residents of the regional center chose the options: people live, *finding themselves in work, learning new things*, *creating* (21 %), and *aiming at self-fulfillment, creativity* (21 %). According to the respondents, people who live, for *spiritual and moral self-improvement*, are extremely rare: 6 % of the respondents. Thus, the quality of "human factor" in the region, according to the respondents, to put it mildly, leaves much to be desired: the standards, norms and values of the "consumer society" are acquired by the majority of our fellow countrymen as guiding principles.

8. Conclusion

The analysis of the opinions of the residents of Krasnoyarsk Krai about the obstacles to the effective implementation of modernization of the region elicited a number of factors, which are a symbiosis of institutional and socio-cultural ones. They are expressed in bureaucracy of some government institutions, various kinds of corruption, incompetence of some officials, because formation of the "team" is often based on "personal devotion". Judging by the above given data, the elite do not sufficiently represent the interests of our society. This is not surprising, since the main feature of the elite, named by the respondents is money, and only then – belonging to the authorities, whose immediate duty is to carry out effective policies to modernize the country. In our opinion, the men of science and culture are poorly represented in the regional elite. Thus, it is not surprising that "human factor" is among the main obstacles to the effective modernization of the region and, in particular, according to the respondents, low socio-moral and professional qualities of many of people around them.

Therefore, one cannot but agree with the opinion that modernization "demands from the society and, above all, from the so-called" elite "extraordinary effort of will and energy. Russian society is faced with the need to resolve many of the existing and emerging problems of modernization. Perhaps the most important among them is the task of strengthening and improving the two fundamental pillars of innovative development: human capital (the creative potential of the social individual, the whole complex of its knowledge, skills, talents and abilities) and social capital (the capacity for public cooperation and solidarity, mutual trust and support" (The alternatives of development, 2013: p. 9). However, it is impossible without systematic improvement of the institutional structure of the society, the distortions of which are an important barrier to effective modernization of the region.

[1] In 2012, research was conducted with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for the Humanities as part of the research project "Features of formation of social structure and development of social capital in Krasnoyarsk Krai" № 11-03-00250.

[2] For details see [Nemirovskiy, 2012: p. 119-133].

[3] L.V. Kuznetsov has been the Governer of Krasnoyarsk Krai since February, 17, 2010., A.G. Khloponin was the Governer of this region since September, 2002 to January, 19, 2010.

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Население региона о препятствиях на пути эффективной модернизации (на материалах социологических исследований в Красноярском крае)

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В статье на основе контент-анализа глубинных интервью, проведённых с жителями Красноярского края, исследуются представления респондентов о факторах, препятствующих эффективной модернизации в регионе. Показано, что большинство опрошенных в целом адекватно понимают суть модернизации и называют ряд препятствий для её реализации. Среди таких препятствий первое место занимают факторы, связанные с искажением социальных институтов власти: бездеятельность властей, коррупция, некомпетентность чиновников, их ориентация на собственные интересы. Многие респонденты указывают недостаточное финансирование и влияние «человеческого фактора»: негативные нравственно-психологические и деловые качества самого населения региона. Через призму данного подхода рассматривается роль региональной элиты и её основные характеристики в массовом сознании респондентов. Установлено, что основные признаки, по которым респонденты выделяют элиту в регионе, – наличие денег и власти. Такие характеристики элиты, как образованность, культурность, вклад в развитие общества, играют второстепенную роль. Делается вывод, что рассматриваемые препятствия на пути эффективной модернизации региона представляют собой сложный симбиоз институциональных и социокультурных факторов.

Ключевые слова: модернизация, регион, препятствия на пути модернизации, элита, социокультурные факторы, искажение социальных институтов.

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