

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

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LABOR ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE RUSSIAN MACRO-REGION IN THE CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS



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In the paper within the framework of anthroposociocultural approach to the study of regional communities we propose to consider labor activity of macro-region population in two projections: societal-functional – as employment of population and its structure and anthroposocietal – as labor motivation. The purpose of the study is to identify and analyze the specifics of the structure of employment and labor motivations of the population of the Russian macro-region, their coherence in the case of the Central Black Earth region. The originality of this problem formulation and solution is associated with an appeal to the analysis of the Russians labor activity at the level of this macro-region and the regions included in it, the new empirical data introduction into scientific circulation and the determination the specifics of the population's labor motivation in the macro-region, its comparison with the objective trends of changes in the regional employment structure. The empirical basis of the study consists of data from state statistics and the results of a mass survey of the population conducted with the personal participation of the author in September – October 2020 in the Voronezh, Kursk and Lipetsk regions (N = 1200 people) by semi-formalized interview. In the societal-functional projection of labor activity of the macro-region population the characteristics of employment structure stand out, due to the structural changes in the regional labor markets: predominance of employment both in the traditional for the Central Black Earth region areas of manufacturing and agriculture, and in trade, repair, as well as employment in the private sector of the economy. The labor motivation of the macro-region population, manifested in the anthroposocietal projection, is distinguished by the predominance of paternalistic labor attitudes (employment in the public or private sector of the economy and stable low wages) and an insignificant prevalence of market motives for labor (employment in the private sector of the economy and higher wages). This indicates a mismatch between subjective attitudes in the labor and employment sphere and objective trends in the development of this macro-region sphere.

The acuity of this mismatch requires the development of a management measures set, and monitoring in further sociological research.

Labor activity, employment, labor motivation, region, macro-region, Central Black Earth Region, Russian society.

Introduction

The relevance of studying population's labor activity in the Russian regions and macro-regions is due to the need to identify the specifics of the employment structure and the Russians' labor motivation, the correlation of subjective labor orientations with objective trends in structural changes in employment, taking into account the characteristics of the socio-economic development of a certain territory. Currently, in Russia, as in most countries of the world, there are significant structural changes in the labor market associated with the development of market economic relations, private initiative and self-employment, precarious (unsustainable) employment, services, etc., which has a direct impact on the transformation of the structure of employment, its restructuring and people's labor activity. In this context, the study of the structure of labor motivation (preferences, attitudes, motives, etc.), which reflects the specifics of the Russians' economic consciousness and regulates population's labor behavior, as well as the consistency of dominant labor orientations with the development trends of regional economies, acquires special scientific and practical significance. At the same time, in Russian reality there is a significant spatial asymmetry of society, manifested in the socio-economic and socio-cultural differentiation of macro-regions, regions and local communities, which necessitates the study of the population's labor activity for the region.

An analysis of the current state of research in this area shows that recently the study of structural changes in national and regional labor markets, population's labor activity and labor motivation is in the focus of attention of foreign and Russian economists and sociologists. Researchers identify and analyze trends in the structural transformation of labor markets in countries with different levels of socio-economic development and different

types of political systems. At the same time, they pay attention to the analysis of the factors of changes taking place in labor and employment, new characteristics of the social and labor sphere of society and problems accompanying them. Thus, I.L. Sizova and I.A. Grigor'eva indicate such factors of labor transformation in Western countries as the increase in competition and the liberalization of economic relations, globalization, digitalization, gender transformation and other processes leading to ambiguous innovations in labor sphere: precarization (instability) and polarization of employment (with the formation of two poles – highly qualified employees and simple labor force), the employee's subjectivization and other consequences that cause the fragility of labor and employment (Sizova, Grigor'eva, 2019). As C. Alvarez-Alonso, A.S. Rodriguez and F. Debasia note, today the key factors of changes in the rapidly developing labor market in China are the internal migration of the labor force, the attractiveness of its availability and cheapness for foreign investors, however, these changes are accompanied by a number of acute problems in the field of social and labor relations associated with unfavorable working conditions and the vulnerability of employees' labor rights (Alvarez-Alonso et al., 2018). Analyzing the dynamics of the labor market in Brazil in recent years, A.P.F. Colombi and J.D. Krein draw attention to the ambiguity of the ongoing changes: the increase in the heterogeneity of the Brazilian labor market and its flexibility leads to increased insecurity and vulnerability of workers who are forced to accept unattractive work for employment and income (Colombi, Krein, 2020).

The report of HSE staff indicates that at present, the specifics of the Russian labor market, unlike most developed countries, is determined by its adaptation to fluctuations in the economic situation due to changes in the amount of wages of workers, and not

the level of employment and unemployment. Because of this, economic crises lead to a decrease in the wages of those employed in the economy, while maintaining a high level of employment and a low level of unemployment among the population. The approval of such a model resulted in the expansion of informal employment of the population, where low-tech and socially unprotected labor is concentrated (Gimpelson et al., 2017). VolRC RAS researchers name pragmatization of the population's value orientations, a decrease in the level of development of cognitive and creative potential along with the scaling informalization of labor relations among the new threats to the reproduction of labor potential in modern Russia (Shabunova et al., 2017a).

As A.L. Kalleberg shows, the liberalization of labor markets in modern countries leads to changes in employment, creating many non-standard labor relations and increasing the number of people who do not have traditional employers. This causes uncertainty in labor markets and difficulties in obtaining a strong position on them (precarity (instability) of employment), the main burden of which falls on young employees in various regions of both the Global North and the Global South (in Asia: China, South Korea, Hong Kong, Caucasus and Central Asia; Latin/South America: Mexico, Brazil; Eastern Europe (Lithuania); Western Europe; USA) (Kalleberg, 2020). According to a study supervised by V.N. Bobkov, in modern Russian society, high risks of employment precarization are typical not only for young people, but also for other social groups of the population: the older generation, women, low-skilled workers, and also, despite a higher level of employment, among people with higher education. The level of education is not a protection against unemployment (Bobkov et al., 2017).

In modern countries, both with developed and emerging market economies, including Russia, the risks are especially acute for those employed in the private sector of the economy: employed, self-employed and entrepreneurs. At the same time, researchers note that the problem of the risks of precarious (unsustainable) and informal employment and the vulnerability

of workers included in these labor relations in private business, especially those who are employed, is acute even for developed countries (Purser, 2019; Torres Marín, 2020). Thus, based on data from ethnographic studies in day labor agencies in Baltimore and Oakland, G. Purser describes the practice of "backdoor" hiring, when employers hire workers from the agency, but not through it, negotiating with dispatchers and the workers themselves bypassing written commitments. Along with this, the author notes the persistent attempts of dispatchers to cultivate the workers' dependence, limit their mobility and freedom in the labor market, which further infringes on the rights of hired labor (Purser, 2019). In turn, analyzing the number and composition of the self-employed in Spain in 2008–2013, A.J. Marín Torres draws conclusions about the great vulnerability of the self-employed during the economic crisis, associated with a reduction in their share in some sectors of the economy, increased instability of contracts and earnings, a change in their socio-demographic and professional profile towards an increase in the proportion of the male population, with a higher level of education and industry experience (Torres Marín, 2020). On the materials of RLMS-HSE P.M. Kozyreva reveals the difficulties of small business and self-employment of the population in modern Russian conditions: frequent changes in the conditions of economic activity, limited access to resources to support entrepreneurial activity, constant pressure and competition from large companies and other problems making this form of employment unattractive for the Russians (Kozyreva, 2015).

Along with the study of structural changes in the labor market and employment of the population, modern foreign and Russian authors pay attention to identifying the specifics of workers' labor motivation, the factors influencing its formation in the new conditions and its relationship with labor productivity and its quality. Thus, based on the analysis of data from Sweden and European countries, J. Westerman substantiates the need to study such a component of labor motivation as the employee's involvement in the task,

its role in the emergence of inequality in the labor market, and reveals three mechanisms of its favorable impact on labor productivity: individual's focus on the work process, their great interest in skill and issues solving, a strong focus on product quality (Westerman, 2018). As a result of studying the relationship between employees' labor motivation and labor productivity on construction sites in India, S. Johari and K.N. Jha come to the conclusion about the insignificant impact of external, material motivation on labor productivity of the majority of respondents, but at the same time about the significant impact of other types of motivation (external, social motivation; introjected regulation; identification) on a person's desire to stay and work at one specific object and their productivity (Johari, Jha, 2020).

Taking into account the specifics of the socio-cultural evolution of Russia, domestic sociologists in their studies consider population's labor motivation in the context of its transformation in the post-Soviet period, as well as the peculiarities of the Russian economic mentality in general. Researchers are interested in studying the degree of prevalence of market-oriented and non-market labor motives, paternalistic expectations in the sphere of regulation of social and labor relations among the Russians. For example, based on the results of surveys carried out in the Novosibirsk Oblast (2005–2014), M.R. Zazulina shows the prevalence of the attitude towards paternalism both in power and economic relations among the rural population, the importance of the state as a key addressee of paternalistic expectations for many villagers. She calls this phenomenon rural paternalism and outlines its transformation trends in the post-Soviet period: the shift of paternalistic expectations from regional to local authorities, while maintaining expectations of support from the federal government (the state), from economic structures (enterprises) to political institutions (local authorities) (Zazulina, 2019). Considering the evolution of paternalism in Russia from its patriarchal type in modern times to the corporate type in modern realities, A.L. Temnitskii argues that Russian civilization

is characterized by paternalism in labor sphere. Through the analysis of empirical research, he identifies a number of paternalistic attitudes and practices of Russian workers, which are currently becoming a serious barrier to the further evolution of labor relations in market conditions (Temnitskii, 2015).

In recent years, scientists have been trying to comprehend the content of labor behavior and motivation of the Russians, including certain social communities of the population (workers, women, youth, etc.), in the context of modern trends. A study of the labor activity of Russian workers, conducted by a team of authors, notes the inconsistency of changes in the world of work: against the background of the dominance of materialistic values, they find professional and sectoral differences in the key importance of values focused on personal development for workers (Efendiev et al., 2020). Based on monitoring data for the Vologda Oblast, A.A. Shabunova, A.V. Popov, T.S. Solov'eva reveal the differences in the labor potential of women compared to men, which, among other things, are manifested in the greater prevalence among the female population of an orientation towards obtaining low, but guaranteed, stable incomes at a state-owned enterprise, and to a lesser extent, the desire to be employed in a commercial enterprise or run their own business (Shabunova et al., 2017b). We can state that consideration of the dynamics of population's labor orientations and motives, and especially their current state, which is characterized by heterogeneity, is one of the most relevant areas of socio-economic research both at the national and regional levels.

The problem of employment and labor activity of the population of Russian regions and macro-regions makes up one of the areas of research within the framework of the scientific program "Problems of socio-cultural evolution of Russia and its regions" (headed by N.I. Lapin, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences). The field part of the study is carried out on the basis of the standard program and methodology "Sociocultural portrait of the Russian region", developed by N.I. Lapin and L.A. Belyaeva (Lapin, Belyaeva,

2010). Over the 30 years of this scientific program implementation, a number of large-scale regional studies have been carried out, the results of which are reflected in fundamental collective and authorial works (Atlas of Modernization of Russia..., 2016).

Analyzing the results of previous developments in this subject area, we can conclude that the study of population's labor activity, the specifics of employment and labor motivation in terms of individual regions and macro-regions of Russia is in demand due to the need for scientific understanding of the ongoing changes in this area, as well as due to maintaining a significant spatial asymmetry in Russian society (Pasovets, 2015). In this regard, the purpose of the work is to identify and analyze the specifics of employment structure and labor motives of the population of the Russian macro-region, their consistency as in the case of the Central Black Earth Region. The originality of the problem statement and solution is explained by addressing the issue of the Russians' labor activity at the level of the macro-region and the regions included in it; introducing new empirical data into scientific circulation and determining on their basis the key characteristics of the subjective attitude to work, labor motivation of the macro-region's population; their comparison with the objective trends of changes in the regional structure of employment.

Research methodology and technique

The sociological research, the results of which are presented in the article, is being implemented within the framework of the above-mentioned scientific program "Problems of sociocultural evolution of Russia and its regions", where the substantive results of specific studies appear in the form of sociocultural portraits of the Russian regions and macro-regions. Along with the systemic, structural-functional, socio-economic, sociocultural approaches, the theoretical and methodological basis of research in this program is made up by the anthroposocietal approach developed by N.I. Lapin (Lapin and Belyaeva, 2010). According

to its creator, it is the anthroposocietal (anthropo-socio-cultural) approach, acting as a modern anthropo-activity modification of the sociocultural approach, that makes it possible to implement a comprehensive study of the region and the macro-region as a socio-territorial community that has its own socio-cultural and socio-economic specifics, to reflect the anthroposocietal process as a change in the nature of the relationship between personality and society and the societal-functional process as an evolution of the structure and efficiency of the region's functioning in relation to society (Lapin, Belyaeva, 2010, p. 9; Lapin, 2018, p. 6–7).

Given the variety of interpretations of the concept of "population's labor activity", put forward in modern scientific literature, there is a need to give its interpretation in the context of the present work. Due to the versatility and multicomponent nature of the very phenomenon of labor activity, it seems possible to understand it as a general characteristic of the capabilities of social actors (individuals and social communities, groups) when implementing labor activity, including both consciousness activity aimed at forming labor motivation, and behavior activity associated with involvement in the sphere of labor and employment, the implementation of labor activity. In the development of the anthroposocietal approach to the study of regional communities, this paper proposes to understand population's labor activity in the context of the relationship between societal-functional and anthroposocietal processes. In the societal-functional projection, the employment structure of the population is considered as a key component of labor activity, reflecting the involvement of those employed in the economy in certain types of economic activity and sectors of the economy, which, on the one hand, results in a structural transformation of the regional economy at a certain stage of the region's evolution, on the other hand, characterizes population's labor activity within the framework of the socio-territorial community. In turn, the anthroposocietal perspective of considering population's labor activity reveals such

a component as labor motivation, which includes labor orientations, preferences and mindsets determining individuals' attitude to the characteristics of their employment, work, labor activity and performing the role of value-motivational regulators of labor behavior.

Among the indicators proposed in the standard program and methodology "Sociocultural portrait of the Russian region", the author used state statistics data on the number of people employed in the economy, the level of employment of the population, including able-bodied, the structure of employment by types of economic activity and forms of ownership of organizations and enterprises in order to analyze and characterize the state and dynamics of the structure of population's employment in the macro-region and the regions. To measure and evaluate the population's labor motivation, the author used results of a representative sociological survey on the questions of a standard questionnaire about the type of enterprise (organization) of the desired main job and the preferred characteristics of the job when choosing it. The survey data on the desired type (form of ownership) of the main place of work allows us to draw conclusions about the preference for the main employment in the public or private sector of the economy; the empirical data on the choice of desired job characteristics indicates focusing on market or non-market labor motives. According to the research tradition adopted within the framework of the scientific program, the five motivational attitudes for a certain job offered to the respondent as separate answer options are divided into two groups: market-oriented labor motives are evidenced by the choice of "small but solid earnings and confidence in the future", "small but solid earnings", "small earnings, but more free time"; non-market labor motives are demonstrated by the choice of answers "earning a lot, even without special guarantees for the future", "owning a business, running it at your own peril and risk". To describe the categories of respondents different in labor orientations, we used the characteristics of their social composition in the following

aspects, settlement (urban – rural population), age (youth (18–29 years old), middle (30–49 years old) and older generation (50 years and older)), gender (men – women) and educational.

In relation to modern Russian realities, the study of the labor activity of the should must be carried out taking into account regional specifics, which is determined by the dependence of the population's employment structure on the specialization of the regional economy, the system of vocational education that has developed in the region, and other factors. At the same time, this issue should be considered at the level of both individual regions and macro-regions.

Taking into account the ambiguity in the understanding of the region and especially the macro-region in the scientific literature (Pasovets, 2015, pp. 39–41), we consider the Central Black Earth region as a Russian macro-region formed by the Central Black Earth economic region, and the constituent entities of the Federation that are part of it (Belgorod, Voronezh, Kursk, Lipetsk, Tambov oblasts) – as regions. In economic terms, the specialization of the Central Black Earth region is associated with the production of agricultural products, in somef regions – with the production of market-demanded resources: metals, electricity and other minerals. So, for example, in the Kursk Oblast, the mining industry (the mining and enrichment of iron ores of the Kursk magnetic anomaly is carried out) and the electric power industry (electricity is generated at the Kursk nuclear power plant) are developed. This gives grounds for designating it as a macro-region of agro-industrial orientation.

The empirical base of the study is the data of state statistics and the results of a mass population survey conducted by us in September-October 2020 in the Voronezh, Kursk and Lipetsk oblasts (N = 1200 people) based on a unified survey methodology and procedure, uniform sample distribution (400 people were interviewed in each of the regions)¹. The survey was carried out among the regions' adult population (aged 18 and over) by the method of semi-formalized (semi-standardized) inter-

¹ The sociological survey was conducted within the framework of the RFBR scientific project No. 18-011-00739.

views. The sample of the study was formed as a stratified, multistage, random sample at the stage of selecting respondents. Controlled features of the sample are the type of settlement (urban – rural population), sex and age. The error for one controlled attribute does not exceed 3%. Thus, the field research was organized and carried out on the basis of the standard program and methodology “Sociocultural portrait of the Russian region” (modification of 2015), taking into account additional parameters and indicators.

Since the survey was conducted between the first and second waves of the pandemic of a new coronavirus infection, it is necessary to clarify our opinion about the possible impact of a difficult epidemiological situation on the content of labor preferences and motives of the population. It is important to take into account that such an impact is difficult to assess within the framework of one study; from the point of view of sociology, several repeated studies are required using a single methodology on the same empirical object. Since a one-time field study was carried out according to a single methodology in three regions of the Central Black Earth Region and its methodology did not provide for a retrospective assessment by respondents of the impact of the pandemic on their preferences, the data obtained are analyzed in the work without assessing their possible changes under the influence of the pandemic factor. Although, taking into account the available data on the relative stability of the hierarchy of labor preferences and motives of the population of the Kursk Oblast as one of the regions included in the empirical object of the research, obtained by the author in the framework of the regional sociological monitoring in 2007–2018 (Pasovets, 2018), we can assume that the majority of the population showed labor preferences as an element of the internal economic culture which turned out to be relatively stable and more resistant to drastic changes even in the first half of the difficult epidemiological situation.

Research results and their analysis

In recent years, in most regions of the Central Black Earth Region, as well as in Russia and the Central Federal District as a whole, the number of people employed in the economy has been declining (*Fig. 1*). Thus, compared to 2010, by 2019, in the Voronezh Oblast, the average annual number of employees decreased from 1158.9 to 1106.4 thousand people (or by 4.5%), in the Kursk Oblast – from 546.4 to 505.5 thousand people (-7.5%), in the Lipetsk Oblast – from 594.5 to 565.1 thousand people (-5%), in Tambov Oblast – from 504 to 454.1 thousand people (-9.9%). In 2019, in Russia, it included 71,064.5 thousand people, having slightly decreased compared to 2010 (71,493.1 thousand people). Among the regions of the Central Black Earth Region, the Belgorod Oblast is an exception for this indicator, where, despite fluctuations over the years, in general for the period of 2010–2019 the number of the employed increased slightly (from 749.8 to 754.1 thousand people²).

Currently, in the regions of the Central Black Earth Region, there is a fairly high level of employment. In 2019, it ranged from 54.1% (for the Tambov Oblast) to 61% (for the Belgorod Oblast). These values are close to the indicators of the level of employment of the population in Russia as a whole and the Central Federal District (59.4 and 62.3%, respectively³). At the same time, in all oblasts of the considered macro-region, the level of employment of the urban population is higher (from 55.7% in the Tambov Oblast to 62.7% in the Belgorod Oblast) than of the rural population (from 50.2% in the Voronezh Oblast to 57.5% in the Belgorod Oblast). There are more men employed in the economy (from 63.2% in the Tambov Oblast to 69.8% in the Belgorod Oblast) than among women (46.6% and 53.7% in the corresponding regions). The same characteristics of the employment structure by type of settlement and gender are characteristic of Russia as a whole and the CFD⁴. As for the level of employment of

² Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2020: stat. coll. Rosstat. M., 2020. P. 118.

³ Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2020: stat. coll., Rosstat. M., 2020. P. 182.

⁴ Ibidem P. 184.

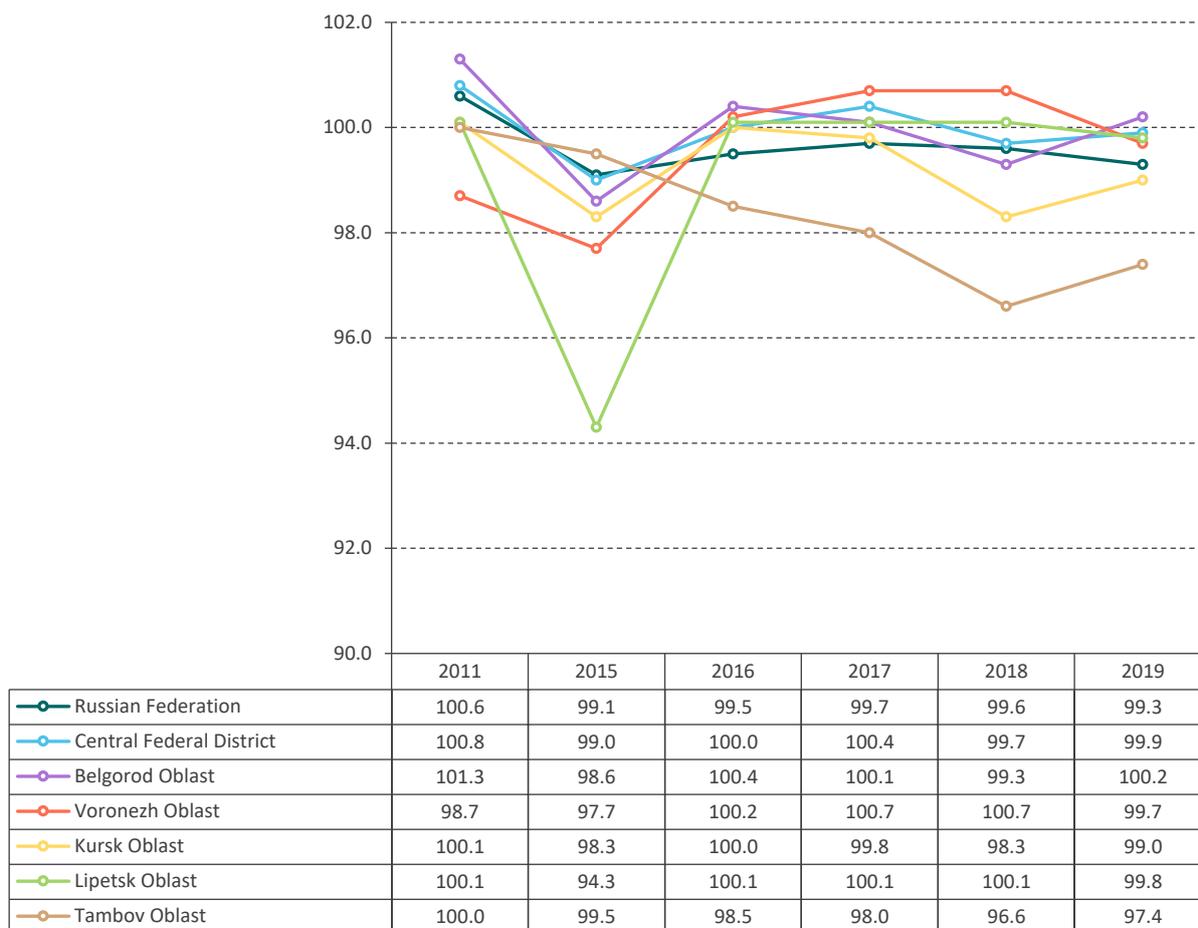


Fig. 1. Dynamics of the average annual number of the employed in the territories of the Central Black Earth Region in 2011–2019, % to the previous year

Source: Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2020: stat. coll., Rosstat. M., 2020. P. 120

the working-age population (men aged 16–59 and women aged 16–54, excluding the increase in the retirement age), it reaches about 80% of the number of this category in the oblasts of the Central Black Earth Region: in 2019, the highest value of this indicator is typical for the Lipetsk Oblast (82.9%), the lowest value is for the Tambov Oblast (76.8%). In Russia as a whole, the level of employment of the able-bodied population is 78.3%, in the Central Federal District – 82.3%⁵.

In most regions of the Central Black Earth Region, the main part of the employed population is concentrated in the areas of wholesale and retail trade, repair; manufacturing industries; agriculture and other economic activities (Fig. 2). On the one hand, this employment structure is due to the established economic specialization

of regional economies in the Central Black Earth Region, which is agro-industrial in its nature and is associated with the production of agricultural products and resources. In 2019, in most regions of the Central Black Earth Region, the share of people employed in agriculture and related industries was more than 10% of all the employed in the economy, in the Tambov Oblast this figure is much higher – 22.4%. The preservation of the agro-industrial specialization of the regions of the Central Black Earth Region to date determines a fairly high share of those employed in the agricultural sector of regional economies compared to Russia as a whole and the Central Federal District, where employment in this area is lower and covers 6.7 and 4.3% of the number of people employed in the economy respectively.

⁵ Ibidem P. 183.

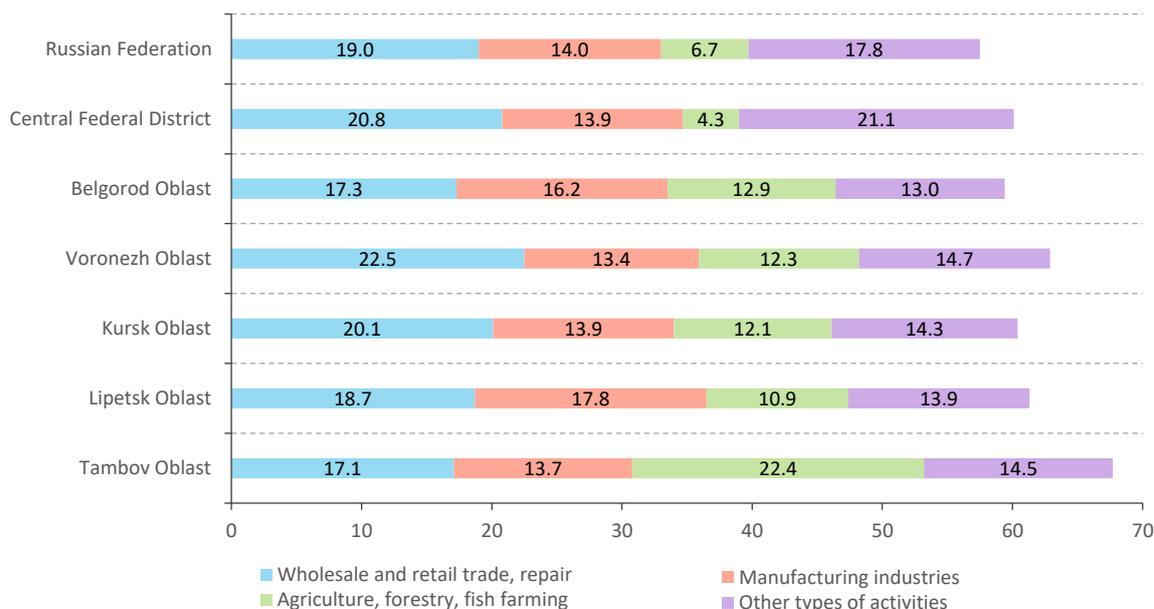


Fig. 2. Structure of employment by type of economic activity in the territories of the Central Black Earth Region in 2019, % of the total number of the employed

Source: Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2020: stat. coll., Rosstat. M., 2020. P. 166.

On the other hand, the processes of secondary modernization associated with a change in the proportions of the agricultural, industrial and service sectors in a broad sense in the structure of employment and contribution to value added, despite their heterogeneity in the Russian regions (Atlas of Modernization of Russia..., 2016), led to the formation a significant share of those employed in the wholesale and retail trade, repair in the regions of the Central Black Earth Region. According to 2019 data (see Fig. 2), their number is about 20% of all the employed. Similar indicators are typical for Russia as a whole (19%) and the Central Federal District (20.8%).

We should note that most of the employed population of the Central Black Earth Region work in the private sector of the economy. In 2019, organizations and private enterprises employed from 45.6% (in the Tambov Oblast) to 59.3% (in the Belgorod Oblast) of the average annual number of all the employed (Fig. 3). At the same time, in the regions of the Central Black Earth Region, the number of employees of state and municipal institutions also makes

up a significant, but somewhat smaller share: in the Belgorod, Voronezh and Lipetsk oblasts, it covers about a third of those employed in the economy (34.3, 34.7 and 32.7% respectively), in the Kursk and Tambov oblasts it is more than 40% (42.7 and 45%, respectively). A similar profile of employment structure by the forms of ownership of organizations and enterprises is typical both for Russia as a whole and for the Central Federal District, where the share of people employed in the private sector of the economy is greater than the share of employees in the state and municipal sphere.

If we take into account the structural transformation of the Russian and regional economies, then by 2000 the proportions of employment in the public and private sectors had changed both in the regions of the Central Black Earth Region and in Russia as a whole. Since that time, employment in the private sector of the economy has prevailed in the macro-region, despite the increase in the number of people employed in state and municipal organizations in 2015–2016⁶. In the context of the market economy development,

⁶ Regions of Russia: stat. Sat: in 2 vols. Vol. 2 / Goskomstat of Russia. M., 2001. S. 86; Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2015: stat. Sat. / Rosstat. Moscow, 2015, pp. 138–139; Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2017: stat. Sat. / Rosstat. M., 2017. S. 187.

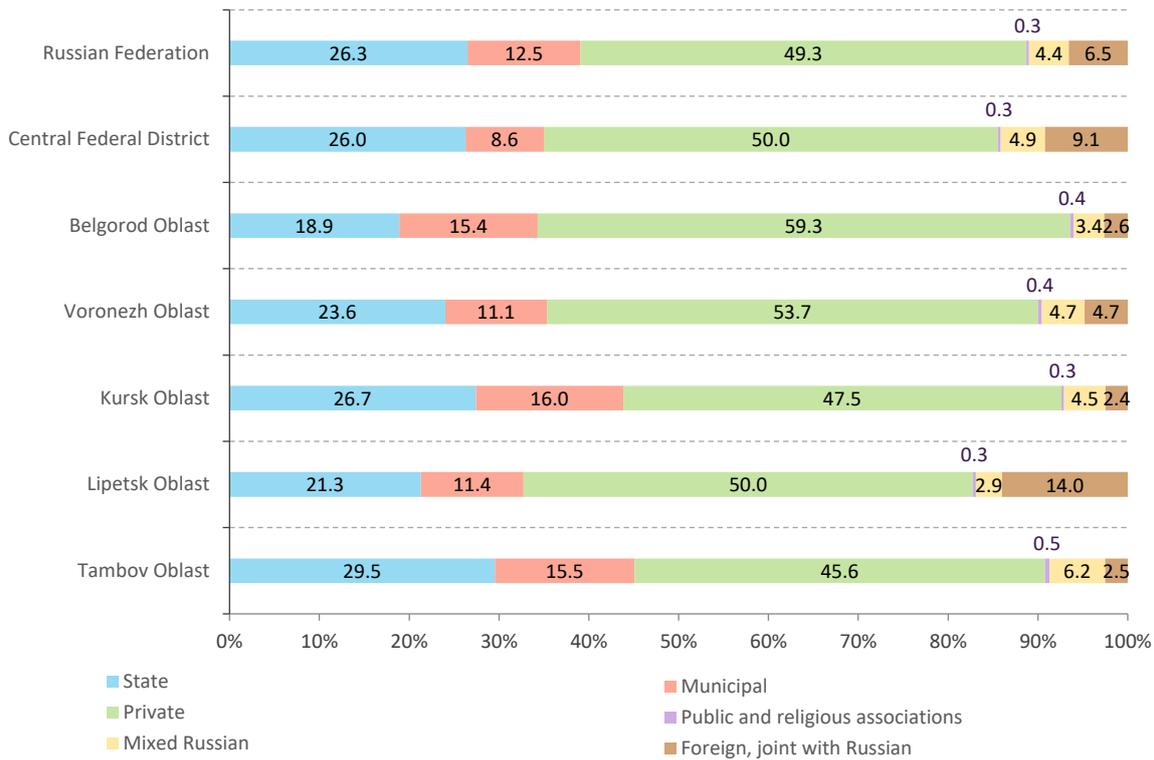


Fig. 3. Structure of employment by form of ownership in the territories of the Central Black Earth Region in 2019, % of the total number of the employed

Source: Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2020: stat. coll. Rosstat. M., 2020. P.175.

the prospects for the dynamics of the structure of employment by form of ownership of organizations and enterprises are associated with the expansion of employment in the private sector (employment at private enterprises, self-employment and entrepreneurial activity).

In this regard, it is important to consider labor preferences of the inhabitants of the Central Black Earth Region, which are of key importance in the value-motivational regulation of labor behavior. The results of a mass survey conducted by the authors in 2020 allow us to reveal this aspect of population's labor activity of the macro-region.

According to the sociological survey data (Fig. 4), many residents of the Voronezh, Kursk and Lipetsk oblasts demonstrate a desire to work at state and municipal organizations and enterprises at their primary place of work, which can be attributed to non-market labor motivation. 44% of respondents in the macro-region expressed such a desire; while there were slightly more such respondents among the residents of the Lipetsk Oblast (51%) than

among the Kursk Oblast (38.9%) and the Voronezh Oblast residents (42.2%). For many representatives of this category, the most preferable is the main employment at state enterprises, a smaller part would choose to work in state authorities or local governments, or in budgetary organizations.

An interesting fact is that on the scale of the macro-region, the main employment in the public sector of the economy and budgetary organizations is preferred by approximately equal shares both among the urban population (45% of its number in the general sample) and among rural residents (43.3%). Such a labor orientation is typical not only for many representatives of the middle and older generations (42 and 46.5% of the number of relevant categories throughout the array), but also for a significant part of young people (40.3%). At the same time, the preference for the main employment in the state and municipal sphere prevails among women (49.5% of the number of the category) and persons with higher and secondary vocational

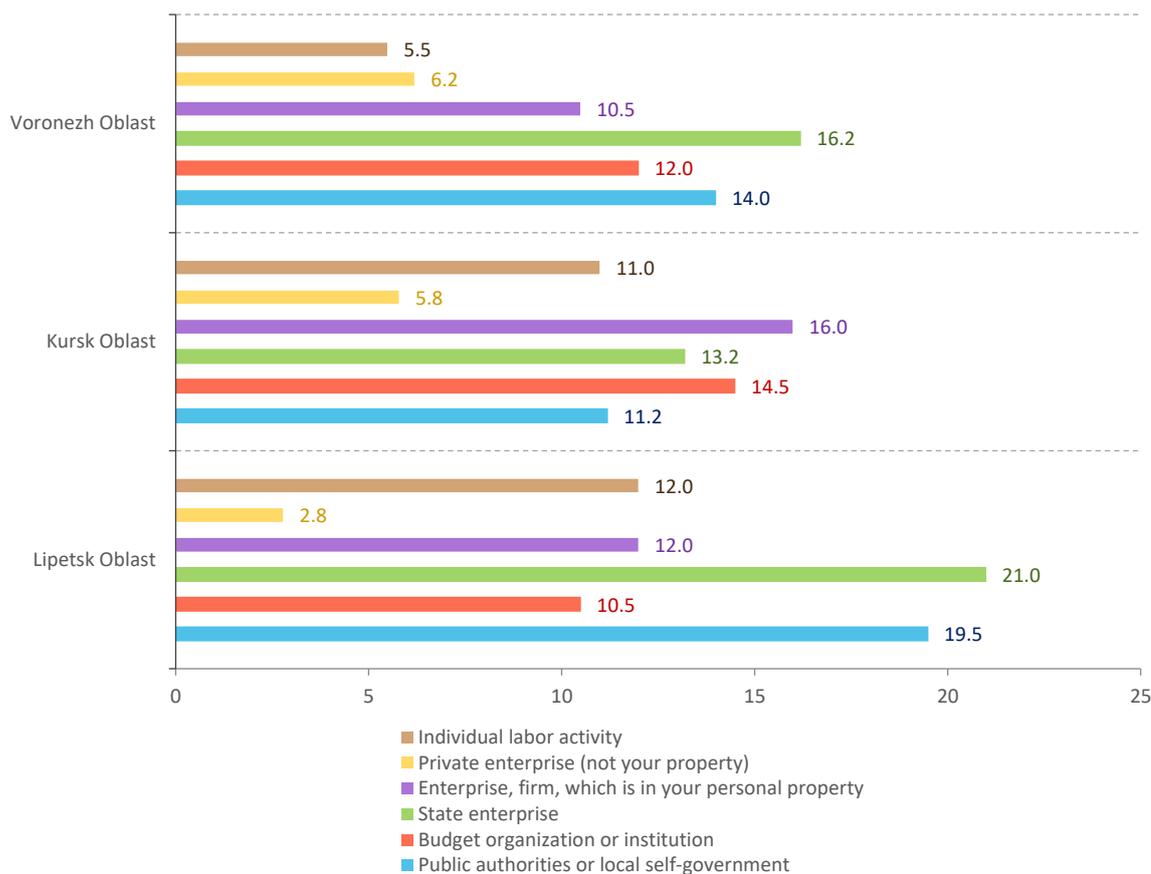


Fig. 4. Type of enterprise (organization) of the desired main job for the population of the Central Black Earth Region, % of the number of respondents

Source: survey results.

education (50.4 and 40.7%), as well as those with secondary general education (39.2%). While there are twice as many of those who would like to work in budgetary organizations among the female population of the macro-region (15.9% of the number of the category) than among male (7.6%).

Approximately a quarter of the macro-region residents (27.1%) would like to work at organizations and enterprises of private ownership: for hire, as entrepreneurs or self-employed. In the Kursk Oblast, the share of people with market motivation for employment is slightly higher (32.8%) than in the Voronezh (22.2%) and Lipetsk (26.8%) oblasts (see Fig. 4). We should draw attention to the fact that the least preferred form of employment for the inhabitants of the Central Black Earth Region is the private sector of the economy; there are no significant settlement, gender, or educational differences in this respect.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the share of the urban population who prefer the main employment in the private sector of the economy is 30.5%, which is somewhat higher than among those living in rural areas (20.4%). Among the representatives of the younger and middle generations, the proportion of people with such labor orientations reaches a third (35.6 and 31.3% of the corresponding categories), while among the older generation it is only a fifth (20.9%). Also, 37.6% of people with primary vocational education would like to work in the private sector, which is significantly more than among groups with other levels of education (26.2% of people with secondary vocational education, 28.6% with higher education). For men, the shares of those oriented towards the main employment in the public and private sectors are approximately equal (36.9 and 31.6%, respectively), but only a fifth of women (23.4% of the number of the

category) will prefer work in the business sector, or for hire, or as an entrepreneur.

Along with this, in the projective situation of choosing a job, about half of the inhabitants of the Central Black Earth Region (48.8% in the total sample) would prefer low but solid wages and confidence in the future: 52.5% in the Voronezh Oblast, 48.0 % in the Kursk Oblast, 45.8% in the Lipetsk Oblast. Also, a certain part of the inhabitants of the macro-region (7.5% throughout the entire array) makes a choice in favor of a small and fixed wage: their share is 6.3% among the Voronezh Oblast residents, 7% – among the Kursk Oblast residents, 9.3% – among the Lipetsk Oblast residents (Fig. 5). Such “solidness” of earnings is associated with the stability of payments, which is more typical for permanent employment, the provision of labor with social guarantees and regular fixed wages, which for many residents is a significant parameter of work even if wages are low. However, a small proportion of the inhabitants of the Central Black Earth Region (6.8% of the total sample) prefers work with more free time, despite the small amount of wages: in the Voronezh and Lipetsk oblasts their number reaches about 6%, in the Kursk Oblast – 8.8%. Thus, the preferences of the desired work for more than half of the macro-region inhabitants (63.1% of the entire array) are determined by non-market motives for labor activity associated with the choice of low earnings with the condition of its stability, or much less often with the presence of more free time. At the same time, there are no significant regional differences in this aspect: in the Voronezh Oblast, the share of people with non-market labor motives is 64.3%, in the Kursk Oblast it is 63.8%, in the Lipetsk Oblast it is 61.1%.

At the level of the macro-region, a fairly large category of people with non-market labor motives includes the bulk of representatives of various socio-demographic communities, although there are more people with such motivation among rural residents (71% of the category in the general sample) than the urban population (59%); in the middle and older generations (64.4 and 66.5% of the corresponding categories) than among young people (49.2%); among women (67.6% of the category) than men (58.1%). The composition of

this category in terms of the level of education is also quite diverse: non-market labor motives are preferred by the majority of people with secondary general education (62.3% of the number of the category) and with various levels of vocational education (60.8% of people with primary vocational education, 69% with secondary professional education, 66.5% with higher education education).

At the same time, a much smaller part of the macro-region population has a market motivation for labor activity, which is characterized by motives to receive high incomes without guarantees for the future, or to organize and run their own business. Thus, about a fifth of the inhabitants of the Central Black Earth Region (17.9% of the total sample) would like to earn a lot even in the absence of guarantees for the future: their share is 18.5% among the Voronezh Oblast residents, 15.5% among the Kursk Oblast residents, 19.8% among the Lipetsk Oblast residents (see Fig. 5). The preference for high-wage employment, but possibly without stable payments and social security, reflects a focus on employment in the private sector of the economy, where there are opportunities for higher incomes, but there are significant risks of informal employment and irregular payments that depend on private enterprise profits. At the same time, more than a tenth of the population (12.4% of the entire array) in the macro-region expresses a desire to run entrepreneurial activities, have their own business and take responsibility for appropriate decisions under risk, but there are some inter-regional differences. In the Voronezh Oblast, only 9.0% of respondents are focused on entrepreneurial activity, in the Kursk Oblast – 16.3%, in the Lipetsk Oblast – 11.8%.

On the whole, about a third of the macro-region's inhabitants choose the named labor market motives; a significant proportions of them are city dwellers (34.5% of the urban population throughout the array), youth (49.3% of the category), middle-aged people (31.5 %), men (36.2%). At the same time, only a fifth of rural residents (21.9%) prefer these labor motives, approximately the same number of representatives of the older generation (22.9%) and women (25.4%). This category includes

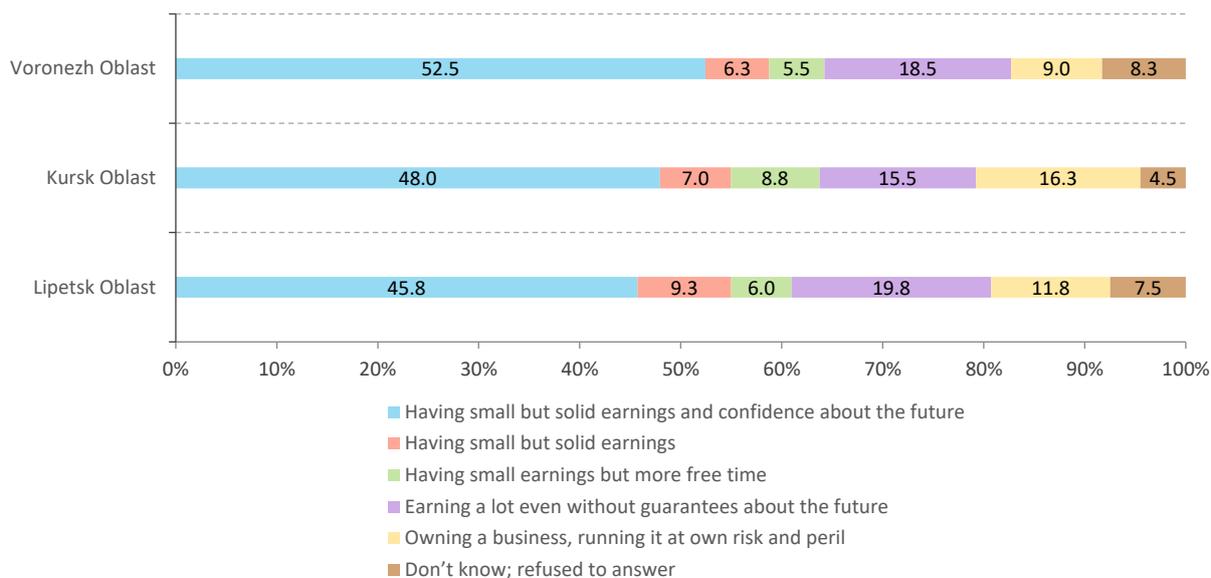


Fig. 5. Employment preferences of the population of the Central Black Earth Region, % of the number of respondents

Source: survey results

residents of the macro-region with different levels of education: 29.2% are people with secondary general education, 27.5% with primary vocational education, 24.7% with secondary vocational education, 29.6% with higher education.

If we build a typological model of labor motivation of the macro-region population at the intersection of two axes given by the nature of the selected labor motives (market-oriented and non-market) and the preferences of the state or private form of ownership of the enterprise (organization) of the main job (having considered only valid answers), then we can distinguish several types of labor motivation among the residents of the Central Black Earth Region. The first type includes those who are focused on the main employment in the public sector of the economy, budgetary organizations and have non-market labor motives. It covers about half of the respondents (46.5% of the number of valid answers). This type can be called a paternalistic one. The second type is represented by those who would like to work in the private sector, but prefer non-market labor motives, and they make up one fifth (20.7% of valid answers). This type reflects the orientation of preferences towards the main employment in the commercial

sector, provided with a stable low income, so it can be designated as mixed (the author would like to reserve the opportunity to clarify this type's name in the future). Approximately the same share (18.1%) in the considered model belongs to the third type – market-oriented, characterized by both an orientation towards the main employment in the private sector and market labor motives. The fourth type, which is distinguished by the ambivalent nature of labor preferences, includes those who would prefer their main employment in the state and municipal spheres, but choose market motives for labor – a little more than a tenth of the respondents (14.7%). We believe that the last type turns out to be the most controversial of all the listed types in terms of compatibility of work orientations, which may be the result of a lack of unambiguous attitude to forms of employment and preferred characteristics of work.

It is possible to correctly assess the degree of prevalence among the inhabitants of the Central Black Earth Region of the identified types of labor motivation by referring to their specific weight not in the presented typological model built on the basis of valid answers, but in the general sample of respondents' answers to questions about the desired main job and labor

motives, which in this case also contains non-informative answers (such as “don’t know”, etc.) that were excluded when building the model. Thus, the share of the first (paternalistic) type of labor motivation is about a third of the macro-region population (32.2% throughout the array), the second (mixed) type makes up 14.3%, the third (market-oriented) type makes up 12.5%, the fourth (ambivalent) type makes up 10.2%.

It seems possible to talk about the proximity of the first two types of labor motivation (paternalistic and mixed), their common focus on the paternalistic expectations of people related to ensuring the desired working conditions: stable earnings or much less free time, even with a small amount of wages. We believe that in the public mind, the distinction between these types is associated with different addressees of paternalistic aspirations. In the first case, the achievement of conditions is assigned to the state, in the second – to private business, whose social responsibility to employees in this case should increase, reducing the informal segment of employment and strengthening labor guarantees for hired labor, thereby increasing the attractiveness of employment in the private sector of the economy. These two types of labor motivation cover about half of the respondents (46.5% of the total sample), and, as shown above, non-market labor motives are significant for 63.1% of the respondents in the macro-region, which allows us to conclude that the residents of the Central Black Earth Region have paternalistic labor orientations. Their dominant position in the hierarchy of population’s labor motivation is becoming a kind of response to increased risks in the labor market as a result of ongoing changes and expectations of the opportunity to count on the support of the state or the employer in a difficult situation, to level social insecurity.

Based on the results obtained, we can talk about the revealing of a similar hierarchy of labor preferences among the residents of different regions within the Central Black Earth Region

as a macro-region, with the exception of some inter-regional differences in the prevalence of orientation towards organizing and running their own business. This aspect reflects population’s assessment of various opportunities and conditions for self-employment and entrepreneurial activity in certain areas of the macro-region. If we take into account the National rating of the investment climate in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, which reflects four areas that are of key importance for entrepreneurial activity: regulatory environment, institutions for business, infrastructure and resources, support for small business, then the regions of the Central Black Earth Region really differ significantly from each other in terms of a number of conditions for doing business. The Kursk Oblast is characterized by the best (in the country and the macro-region) values for such indicators of the regulatory environment as the minimum duration of registration of real estate ownership and the highest degree of satisfaction of business entities from this procedure; as well as in terms of the availability of labor resources. The regulatory environment in the Lipetsk Oblast is characterized by the shortest period of property rights registration; in the infrastructure and resources there is a minimum number of procedures for cadastral registration. The Voronezh Oblast leads in terms of the minimum period for cadastral registration in infrastructure and resources, the quality of telecommunications services; in support of small businesses in real estate necessary for entrepreneurial activities, as well as consulting and educational services to support small businesses in the region⁷. However, the regions of the Central Black Earth Region cannot be found in the groups of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation with affordable and sufficient financial support and effective financial support for small businesses. In the case of assessing the regions’ investment attractiveness, the materials of the above rating can be supplemented by a subjective picture of the entrepreneurial potential built on the basis of the identified labor preferences.

⁷ Collection of the best regional management practices in the field of increasing investment attractiveness according to the results of the National rating of the state of the investment climate in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in 2018. Moscow, 2018, pp. 20–21, 46, 50–51, 59, 69–70.

Conclusion

Thus, the obtained results allow us to come to the following conclusions. Currently, the labor activity of the Central Black Earth Region as a Russian macro-region, represented in its societal-functional projection by the employment of the population, is characterized by a fairly high level of employment, the predominance of employment in the areas of trade, repair, manufacturing, agriculture, due to the economic specialization of this territory, i.e. agro-industrial specialization, and employment in the private sector of the economy. These characteristics are demonstrated by the qualitative structural changes that have taken place in regional labor markets, associated with the market orientation of the economic development of the country and its regions, and determine the need for workers with market motivation and adaptability to further changes in the labor market.

However, the labor activity of the macro-region's population, represented by labor motivation in the anthroposocietal projection, is characterized by the predominance of paternalistic labor orientations (for employment in the public or private sector of the economy and stable low earnings) and, at the same time, the low prevalence of market labor motives (with a focus on employment in private sector

and higher wages). The labor preferences and orientations of the majority of the macro-region's inhabitants turn out to be inconsistent with the objective trends in the development of labor and employment, which shows the need for the population to develop labor motivation that meets the objectives of the economic development of the macro-region and its regions.

In this regard, it is necessary to include a number of tasks for regulating labor activity and its motivation in the system of priorities for strategic planning of the socio-economic development of the Central Black Earth Region, and develop a set of measures to effectively achieve these targets. These tasks should include both increasing the level of population's employment, and forming of labor activity motivation among the able-bodied population, which should correspond to the economic prospects of the macro-region and its territories, i.e. readiness for the growth of labor productivity, a positive attitude towards self-employment and entrepreneurial activity.

The results of the study can contribute to the development of theoretical concepts and the accumulation of empirical data in the field of economic sociology and sociology of labor, regional sociology; they may be in demand in the work of governments and employment services.

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Пасовец Ю.М.

ТРУДОВАЯ АКТИВНОСТЬ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ РОССИЙСКОГО МАКРОРЕГИОНА В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ УСЛОВИЯХ

В работе в рамках антропосоциокультурного подхода к исследованию региональных сообществ предлагается рассматривать трудовую активность жителей макрорегиона в двух проекциях: социетально-функциональной – как занятость населения и ее структуру и антропосоциетальной – как трудовую мотивацию. Цель исследования заключается в выявлении и анализе специфики структуры занятости и трудовых мотивов населения российского макрорегиона, их согласованности на примере Центрального Черноземья. Оригинальность постановки и решения этой задачи связана с обращением к анализу трудовой активности россиян на уровне макрорегиона и включенных в его состав регионов, вводом в научный оборот новых эмпирических данных и определением на их основе специфики трудовой мотивации населения макрорегиона, ее сопоставлением с объективными тенденциями изменений региональной структуры занятости. Эмпирическую базу исследования составляют данные государственной статистики и результаты массового опроса населения, проведенного при личном участии автора в сентябре – октябре 2020 года в Воронежской, Курской и Липецкой областях (N = 1200 человек) методом полуструктурированного интервью. В социетально-функциональной проекции трудовой активности населения макрорегиона выделяются характеристики структуры занятости, обусловленные произошедшими структурными изменениями региональных рынков труда: преобладание занятости как в традиционных для Центрального Черноземья сферах обрабатывающих производств и сельского хозяйства, так и в сфере торговли, ремонта, а также занятости в частном секторе экономики. Проявленная в антропосоциетальной проекции трудовая мотивация населения макрорегиона отличается преобладанием патерналистских трудовых ориентаций (на занятость в государственном или частном секторе экономики и стабильный небольшой заработок) и незначительной распространенностью рыночных мотивов труда (с ориентацией на занятость в частном секторе экономики и более высокую оплату). Это свидетельствует о рассогласованности между субъективными устремлениями в сфере труда и занятости и объективными тенденциями развития этой сферы макрорегиона, что требует разработки комплекса управленческих мероприятий и мониторинга в дальнейших социологических исследованиях.

Трудовая активность, занятость, трудовая мотивация, регион, макрорегион, Центральное Черноземье, российское общество.

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