

Social consolidation and models of innovative development of Russian regions: the discourse space of sociological research

Consolidación social y modelos de desarrollo innovador de las regiones rusas: el espacio del discurso de la investigación sociológica

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Abstract

Sociological context of consolidation research comprises multiple areas of social consolidation analysis. The biggest issue in the discursive space of social consolidation lies in its ideology, semantics and worldview. The ideology of social consolidation determines its objectives, direction and effectiveness. The particular relevance is given to regional context, since regional differentiation of Russian society acts as a factor in deconsolidation processes. The inertial component, determining the dominant model of innovative development, is related to the unresolved discourse of social consolidation.

Keywords: social consolidation, regional consolidation, russian regions, models of innovative development.

Resumen

El contenido sociológico del estudio de consolidación incluye varias áreas de análisis de consolidación social. Pero el tema más importante incluido en el espacio discursivo de consolidación social es el contenido semántico e ideológico de los procesos de consolidación. Este campo del discurso adquiere especial importancia con la inclusión de un contexto regional, ya que la propia diferenciación regional de la sociedad rusa es un factor esencial en los procesos de desconsolidación.

Palabras clave: consolidación social, consolidación regional, regiones rusas, modelos de desarrollo innovador.

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1. Introduction

The need to develop innovative processes in Russia has not been the matter of scientific discourse so far. This obvious fact is recognized both at the scientific level and at the level of public administration, what is evidenced by the Strategy for Innovative Development of the Russian Federation for the period up to the year 2020. Moreover, the state plays a dominant role in shaping the innovation environment and its development, which, according to sociologists, has been one of the reasons for the contradictions, arising during the implementation of this Strategy and reducing the effectiveness of innovation activities (*Trofimova, Khamidullina, 2018*). In general, researchers state that these innovative mechanisms have not yet become the main driving force of economic and social development in Russia (Nosonov, 2014). Some scholars even raise the question of the mythical side of innovations in Russia, derived from the accentuation of economic factors of the innovation movement, which, in the Russian state, is based on social and cultural factors, along with ideological (Tslaf, 2016) factors as the centerpiece.

Other studies have also confirmed the point of view, that the negative scenario of innovative development of Russian companies in the context of solving relevant social problems is related to the fact that innovations in Russian social sphere are implemented in the logic of catch-up modernization and adaptation of Western models. This logic, proven for centuries, becomes a barrier for searching central and unified idea of development, correlated with the social and cultural specifics of the Russian society, its institutional environment, and the population's needs for innovations. This makes impossible any changes in the paradigm of Russia's modernization in the context of defining its own scenario for an innovative breakthrough (Surkova, 2018).

This opinion seems very important and probably the most correct one for explaining the failures of the innovation movement in Russia and its regional conditionality, which stems from the social and cultural nature of the region, "manifesting itself in the depths of heterogeneity of mass consciousness, value orientations, paradigms of people's behavior, in worldview and behavioral stereotypes" (Serdyukova, 2016).

This constitutes the problem of social consolidation of Russian regions and the regional space of Russia as a whole.

Why is it so difficult to inculcate innovation in Russian regions? Can innovations in Russian regions change the situation for the better and what those innovations should be? What idea can unite the population of Russian regions, solve thorny issues and achieve the innovative breakthrough? Here is a range of issues, important for understanding the realia and innovative prospects of Russian regions, and therefore necessary for analyzing the existing discourse space.

1.1. Scientific literature review

The problem of social consolidation has been developed in foreign (Edquist, 1993; Juma, 2016; Shatilov, Seleznev, 2015; Werle, 2011; Rogers, 1962) and Russian research literature.

In the space of the latter one can identify the most developed areas, considering social consolidation:

- as a subject of theoretical and methodological reflection in the context of various branches of social and humanitarian knowledge (Karmadonov, Kovrigina, 2016; Krivopuskov, 2012; Lokosov, Shultz, 2008; Maikova et al., 2018);
- as a factor of ensuring the security of society, its social well-being, overcoming the social and economic crisis and solving acute social problems, influencing identification processes in national, regional and ethnic

dimensions (Antonova, Paluszkiewicz, 2012; Drobizheva, 2018; Kaminsky, Nikitina, 2015; Nadolnaya, Panko, 2012; Sosnin, 2015);

- from the view of influencing factors, among which social, economic, cultural and political factors; religion; social activity and identity of social groups, society as a whole; historical memory; leadership institute; family institute; legal culture and legal consciousness; trust, political consent, political and intercultural communication (Astrakhan, 2012; Volkov et al. 2018; Kozyreva, Smirnov, 2010; Kuryukin, 2015; Mikhailenok et al., 2018; Mchedlova, 2018; Social and structural..., 2012; Shennikova, 2017); from the view of its resource provision and mainstreaming of such social consolidation resources as civil, religious and ethnic identity, festive and traditional folk culture in general, human and social capital, subjectivity of individuals and social groups (Artyushkina, 2018; Bukhantsova, Kushchenko, 2015; Drobizheva, 2017; Lozhko, 2016; Morev, Korolenko, 2014);

- from the perspective of identifying the mechanism of its formation with the focus on the role of the media, civil society, social logistics, and ethnic identity (Andryushchenko, 2012; Kovrigina, 2011; Timchenko, 2013; Kuznetsov, 2011);

- within the definition its ideological, worldview and semantic bases, with special attention paid to conservatism, social justice, patriotism, including civil patriotism (Bazhenov, 2018; Davtyan, 2015; Lotarev, 2016; Vereschagina et al., 2019);

- in the context of updating and studying consolidation problems in Russian regions, local communities and regional aspects of ensuring social consolidation in Russia (Arutyunova, 2016; Volkov et al., 2016; Lubsky et al., 2018).

Social consolidation in Russia also has a regional dimension. Here we are talking about the consolidation of regional communities, characterized by the same high degree of disunity as at the national level, which is quite natural, since Russian regions, inscribed in the country's social space, determine the level and the nature of consolidation processes. Regional factors of consolidation processes and their barriers are determined by the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional composition of Russian regions, migration flows and the growth of social inequality (Molodov, 2016), which, as a result, makes it difficult to form a unified Russian identity and acts as a factor of social disintegration, increasing social distance between different social groups and communities. As a consequence, we see social alienation of regional society from the active social life and position, necessary for effective implementation of innovations at the regional level.

It can be concluded, that social consolidation in the context of innovative development of Russian regions has not been the subject of special research so far. This determines the scientific novelty and significance of the undertaken research, which interpretes theoretical information in the logic of discursive analysis, appealing to the positions, developed in scientific research of this subject area.

2. Methodology and sources of empirical information

Social consolidation is a multi-level phenomenon. Thus, sociology tends to distinguish two levels of its study: micro- and macro-levels (Lokosov, Schultz, 2008). At the micro level of sociological analysis social consolidation is reflected in the subjective solidarity of individuals and social groups in their daily activities, and at the macro level – in the objective integration of various structures of the social system.

This two-level, also called complex approach to the study of consolidation processes (Social and structural factors..., 2012), allows not only to trace the objective processes, related with the integration/disintegration of the social system, but also to identify the attitude of society to them through self-assessment of the quality and

standard of living, attitude to changes, to various phenomena of social life, reflecting the relevance of consolidation processes.

From this point of view, the approach proposed by Russian scientists in the framework of improving the methodological tools of sociological research of social consolidation, based on the theory of social conjunction as explaining "all the processes of forming a unified consolidated society" (Karmadonov, Kovrigina, 2016), is a subject of interest. Within the framework of this theory, a flow model of social consolidation is presented, in which the vertical and horizontal vectors of this process are distinguished, symbolizing the macrosocial and microsocial levels of its development. The vertical vector describes the consolidation process as a stream that flows from the government to the society and back, and the horizontal one – within the society and between its individual segments, communities.

These consolidation flows are certainly interrelated and complementary. They build consistent solidarity, which serves as the basis for sustainable, balanced development of society and its viability as a social entity.

The spatial paradigm is methodologically meaningful for the study of Russian regions. It postulates that "regional communities are reproduced by social, economic, political and cultural factors in the existing conditions of reproduction of the all-Russian society as a whole" (Markin, 2017). Therefore, the comprehensive study of regional development, including innovation, should be made in the context of the social space of Russia, including a region as a socio-spatial entity. In this (spatial) paradigm, a region is considered as a separate part of the general social space of Russia with its own social, economic, natural, cultural, and other features.

Thus, the innovative potential, as well as the reality and prospects of innovative development of Russian regions, are determined not only by local (regional) features, but also by the specifics of the social space of Russia in conjunction with its social, economic, cultural, political and other characteristics, reflected in the trends of socio-cultural dynamics and institutional transformation.

An important place in the methodological field of this study is given to the scenario approach. The concept of a scenario itself is associated with the dynamic sequence of possible scenarios in their cause-and-effect relationship and corresponding decision-making options that can affect the development path of a particular system and its individual elements (Feofanov, 2008). The advantage of the scenario approach in social forecasting is associated with the ability to identify and calculate the dangers and threats in the process of reforming a society, its transition to a qualitatively different state. Within its methodological boundaries the future appears as an open space of various development options and associated risks, and scenarios allow us to describe these risks and justify the most desirable option for the development of certain social phenomena, institutions, and processes (Feofanov, 2008).

3. The results of the study and their discussion

The region as a sociocultural community is both a dynamic and static phenomenon. The latter is determined by "mental" characteristics of the region in conjunction of traditional values and worldviews, models and behavior styles of its peoples. And therefore, the significance of the regional factor in the development of innovative processes, as well as the central question about the need for innovation in Russia, does not appear among the subjects of debate. Moreover, the regional factor, according to researchers, is the main determinant of the structural and dynamic processes in the innovative sphere of the Russian society. And there is a reason for that (Gudkova, Olshevsky, 2016): the size of the Russian territory with a high level of differentiation of natural, climatic, sociocultural, economic and other characteristics of the regions, that make up the social space of the country and cause the effect of heterogeneity and multidimensionality of the parameters of innovative development and innovation activity; the specific nature of the local resource base and consumer characteristics

that determine the technologies of post-industrial way of life; the regional focus of generation and use of scientific and technical achievements; the significance of interregional migration of scientific personnel, mobility of labor resources, etc., which will determine the relevance and significance of the scientific and innovation base of the regions and their innovative potential as a whole.

According to T.A. Chekulina, the assessment of the potential of innovative development of the region can be made using three groups of indicators, including indicators, that reflect 1) the potential of innovative development, achieved by the region at the moment; 2) the trends in innovative development and the intensity of this process; 3) the level and nature of interaction in solving problems and tasks of innovative development of the region and its structural elements. As the key elements of the region's innovation potential, she emphasizes intellectual production, innovative activities, generation of scientific and technical knowledge, and diffusion of innovations (Chekulina, 2011). From the point of view of E. G. Moskaleva, the innovative potential of the region includes a set of potentials, such as intellectual, technical and scientific; resources – financial, material, information, labor, as well as conditions (state support, developed infrastructure, effective cooperation of scientific organizations and business entities, etc.) for the implementation of innovative activities (Moskaleva, 2017).

In most cases, proposed by scientists models and scenarios of innovative development of Russian regions include an inertial model or an inertial scenario. So, according to A. M. Nosonov, three most likely variants of innovative development of Russian regions can be pointed out. The first one is inertial with a continuing trend of low investment in science, innovation and human capital development. He associated the second variant with the catch-up nature of regional development within the framework of local technological competitiveness and economic modernization based on imports of equipment and technologies, a selective approach to stimulating domestic R&D. The third variant is focused on achieving leadership in primary scientific and technical sectors, which receive significant support from the state for the modernization of research sector (Nosonov, 2014).

T. A. Chekulina, having indicated the other three main models of innovative development, primarily in the economic system (a model, focused on world leadership in science; a model, focused on the development of the innovation environment within the Russian state in order to rationalize the structure of the entire economy; a model, focused on adapting the world's innovation experience to the social and economic needs and goals of the state development, creating innovative infrastructure (Chekulina, 2011)), emphasized that the implementation of any of the presented models depends entirely on the choice of the type of innovation process, the path it will follow – either inertial or investment one. The choice of the inertial path threatens the region with a serious set of social and economic problems, in the space of which the prospects for generating and spreading innovations will take a mythical shape, and this is what V. M. Tslaf is writing about in one of his work (Tslaf, 2016). He is very critical of the modern realities of innovative development in Russia, and the social and cultural context here is extremely important to take into account. It is exactly the type of context that should determine the logic and trajectory of innovative development, as well as its scenarios for innovative breakthroughs.

Regions of Russia are inscribed in the all-Russian space, so they depend on the dominant trends in its development and the dominant paradigm of the civilization trajectory. Therefore, a scenario approach is of special interest, because it determines the scenarios of Russia's development, which are connected with global trends in changing the dominant ideological paradigm of human development. At the moment, experts are talking about the crisis of the liberal paradigm, which has prevailed since the late 90's, and they predict that after 2040 the paradigm vector of the world community will change. It will get a strong applied political significance, and the paradigm of Russia's development after 2040 will certainly be different, compared to the current one, which is "predominantly anti-social and anti-human" (Podberezkin).

Thus, the analysis of Russian reality, related to the innovative development of regions in the scenario approach allows us to conclude, that the preservation of inertial trends in various areas of regional development and, primarily, in the economic sphere, prevents the implementation of the innovative development of Russia and its regions, which is desired and declared at the managerial level.

More than two decades have passed since the Russian society entered a new stage of its historical development, making a cardinal turn to innovation in the format of transition to the democratic social political order. But still the problem of innovative development and innovative breakthrough remains one of the most urgent ones in Russian sociology. The reason for that is quite obvious – the country has not managed to solve a number of social problems that define Russian society as a crisis (Gorshkov, 2016), unstable, socially disadvantaged and filled with numerous risks (Lezhnina, 2018). Notwithstanding the fact, that scientists often use the term "post-crisis Russia", they believe that at the present stage, despite a number of challenges of the pre-crisis period, certain progress has been made (Anikin, 2018).

Post-crisis or crisis Russian society (the positions of scientists may vary depending on the paradigm of Russian reality research, taken as a basis), is obviously facing the task of innovative development and now has to meet such key challenges as poverty, social stratification and social polarization, lack of trust at all levels of social life, insecurity of civil rights and freedoms, also in labor relations (The life would..., 2016).

It is obvious, that Russia and its regions need an innovative breakthrough, but the innovative development of Russian regions is directly influenced by the factor of institutional transformation of Russian society and the dominant trends that determine the dominant vector of social and cultural dynamics. And this vector is characterized by inertial processes that suggest that in order to explain them; we should refer to a number of approaches and concepts that postulate the inertial trajectory of the institutional transformation of modern Russian society.

This in particular is stated in works of A. Akhiezer (Akhiezer, 1995) (in the context of social and cultural dynamics), V. I. Ilyin (Ilyin, 2017) (relying on the theory of historical gauge), M.S. Ilchenko and V. I. Kazakova (Ilchenko, 2013; Kazakova, 2013) (within the analysis of the Russian political system), Y. K. Kondratchik (Kondratchik, 2015) (in the context of the specific features of transformation of the social economic system). Even social attitudes and the system of child protection in Russia are studied through the effect of institutional inertia (Balatsky, Ekimova, 2007; Kostenko, 2014). This effect is based on the phenomenon of historical dependence, which determines the inertial (corresponding to the institutional track, chosen in the historical past) nature of the development of social institutions and, accordingly, the institutional dynamics of the society (North, 1997).

Through the prism of this approach, the models and scenarios proposed by scientists for innovative development of Russian regions, which in the vast majority of cases have an inertial model or an inertial scenario, are completely logical and adequate. Certainly, it also determines the vector of social consolidation that determines the effectiveness and direction of innovation processes in the regions.

A number of researchers rightly consider that the effectiveness of any mechanisms, means and methods of social consolidation, its direction and effectiveness are determined by the ideological and semantic content of consolidation, its ideological and ideological connotations. Some researchers talk about the national idea, pointing out that its search is determined by the interests and goals of certain political and ideological groups, and therefore not all of the proposed ideas will be perceived by the population, being imposed on it, not corresponding to the interests of the population itself (Bazhenov, 2018). Others analyze specific ideas and ideologies as possible grounds for social consolidation. In this regard, conservatism attracts the attention of scientists as an ideology that becomes especially important in times of radical changes and crises, since it is associated with opportunities, resources, and prospects for the consolidation of society (Lotarev, 2016). The

"trace" of the inertial trajectory of the social and cultural transformation of Russian society can easily be seen here, and the fact that in this society the ideology of conservatism is highlighted is not a coincidence.

And, indeed, numerous factors of consolidation, such as culture, education, political consent, legal consciousness, common goals, intercultural interaction, etc. within the framework of conservative state policy can become the basis for sustainable and stable development of society and the state. Therefore today there is mainstreaming of patriotic themes, patriotic values, without which, as the researchers state, the consolidation of society cannot be achieved. But in the context of new Russian realities, related to democratic goals and objectives as well as the formation of Russian identity as the basis of consolidation processes, the prospects for overcoming disintegration processes and trends in Russia are associated with civil patriotism, based on critical perception of reality and readiness to work for the benefit of the society (Shevchenko, Vagina, 2017).

We should agree with the opinion of scientists, that the development of an ideology that consolidates society or, as it is customary to write about it, a national idea, does not belong to simple tasks (Rudenkin, 2013), but its search in Russia should be based on the realities, associated with the public demand for what can unite citizens in the current situation. Such an idea, clearly fixed in the mass consciousness of Russians against the background of crisis trends in social development, is an idea of social justice. It is gaining strength in Russian society in line with the increasing lack of justice. However, the perception of justice in Russian society is significantly differentiated, and this is the main problem of turning the idea of justice into a national one that can consolidate different groups of society. The most widespread connotation, that defines the semantic content of social justice among Russian citizens, is associated with the concept of a strong state, order and protection of national interests. A significant proportion of the country's residents connects social justice with the equality of citizens before the law, as well as with equality in the standard of living (Davtyan, 2015). Nevertheless, in spite of the differences in the perception of social justice, its value in Russian society is very high, which determines the status of the value of justice as one of the highest in terms of prospects for the ideological justification of consolidation processes in the Russian state and increasing the innovative activity of the country's population.

It is to be observed, that the question of the ideological and semantic, worldview and ideological basis of social consolidation is perhaps the most disputable in the research literature. Scientists wonder whether it is possible and how to find such grounds in the conditions of pluralism of consciousness as a given of the modern diversity of a complex society, in which any attempts to achieve social cohesion by implanting conformity of ideas and eliminating pluralism are, in principle, hopeless. That is why they believe, a different approach to social consolidation is required, taking into account the fact that the consolidation of society is a dynamic system for finding agreement between different subjects of society on the most important issues of organizing public life and solving social problems (Krasin, 2015).

Moreover, the regional factor should also be taken into account. For example, at the regional level specific ideas on social justice and value systems are being formed, that are embedded in the discourse of ethnic and cultural values and inter-ethnic relations (Inter-ethnic consent..., 2016). Therefore, a regional cluster in the study of consolidation issues in Russia must necessarily become an integral part of studies of social consolidation of Russian society.

4. Conclusions

The carried out examination of the existing research practices in the field of models of innovative development of regions and scenarios of their development, under the conditions of Russian social space with characteristic inertial trends of institutional, social and cultural dynamics, allows us to state, that the outlined problem and subject field with theoretical plots is promising in terms of further sociological development.

The analysis of the discursive space of this problem has proved, that the inertial component of innovative development of Russian regions, which determines the dominant model of innovative development, is directly related to the unresolved discourse of social consolidation, in particular, on the issue of search for the idea of consolidation of Russian society. This search focuses on integrating the values of citizenship and patriotism, social justice and solidarity, overcoming the acute problems facing society, including by the request for change and innovation. The latter is a promising direction for the ideological formalization of consolidation in Russian regions. However, the idea of the innovative breakthrough, which is hovering in the social, political and scientific circles, must find conceptual boundaries in order to become a national idea, that is able to integrate, bring together and unite the differentiated regional space of Russia in many respects.

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