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The Causes and Prospects of Low-Income Poverty in Russia Today

N.E. Tikhonova

The Media Environment and Media Consumption in Contemporary Russian Society

V.P. Kolomiets

Unrealized Possibilities

L.B. Kosova

Contemporary Sociology

N.V. Romanovskii

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N.E. TIKHONOVA

The Poor in Russia Today

Standard of Living and Lifestyle

During the economic growth of the early years of the 2000–2010 decade, the life chances of the lower 60 percent of Russians declined in relative terms, and the gap between them and the well-off segments of the population widened. During the current economic crisis it is likely that the gap will increase, and that the prospects of the low-income strata in Russia will not improve in the foreseeable future.

In the past two decades, specialists have vigorously discussed and debated the matter of what serves as the structuring criterion on the vertical hierarchy of status in Russian society today. Various criteria have been proposed. Some such as O. Shkaratan say that power is the deciding criterion of stratification because they view Russian society as a late state-ruled society, with its traditional "fusion" of ruling authority and

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Natal'ia Evgen'evna Tikhonova is a doctor of sociological sciences and deputy director of the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and professor at the State University—Higher School of Economics.

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Translated by Kim Braithwaite.

T.I. Zaslavskaia, and others). and foremost, people's material well-being, either alone or with other professional status as the foundation of stratification, which agrees with position in that symbiosis. Others such as V. Mansurov see people's factors, should serve as this criterion (Z.T. Golenkova, L.A. Beliaeva Western traditions of stratification analysis. Still others say that, first property ownership, and moreover, ruling authority occupies the key

of social justice to enhance social integration and solidarity, and so on. is also widely utilized to combat poverty, enabling people to move up direct taxation. Society's stratification on the scale of level of well-being socially out of the poor and needy strata, and implementing the principle imposing various combinations of excise taxes on luxury items, or their of the scale of a progressive income tax. If it is possessions, then the corresponding analysis is reflected in the tax system in the form of difless common practice (although it is still used in different countries) of living environment in terms of material possessions is reflected in the living, the identification of specific lifestyles of different strata and their ferentiated taxation on such possessions. If, however, it is the standard of uses income level, it finds a logical culmination in the determination For example, if the basic criterion for designating such stratification to practical conclusions concerning state social welfare and tax policy. in developed countries stratification on the "poverty-wealth" scale leads or neo-Marxist traditions, which are usually only of academic interest, is defined based on criteria for designating classes in the neo-Weberian in the social hierarchy. At the same time, in contrast to stratification that actively use the criterion of well-being to determine an individual's place Sociologists in Western Europe and especially in the United States

crisis, we can see how much worse the position of the low-income strata take into account the decline in standard of living because of the economic comparatively insignificant stratum of deep poverty. If, moreover, we will become in the near future. low-income population, a relatively small middle-class segment, and a wealth are traditional problems, along with the existence of an enormous where the boundaries of the localization and legitimacy of poverty and Stratification based on this scale is especially relevant in Russia,

material well-being is the main criterion of stratification in Russian portant to note the view held by most of the Russian population that Russian society according to the criterion of well-being, it is also im-To understand the role of analyzing the stratification dynamics of

> of what respondents consider in rating their position in society. About 70 society today. Attesting to this, in particular, are answers to the question in society, which influences their general level of sociopsychological material condition also bring changes in their feelings about their place range of 11-22 percent. And this means that any changes in Russians' profession, job position, education, the respect of others, etc.) are in the place, at about 40 percent, is lifestyle. All other features (the prestige of as one of the three main criteria for determining their status.2 In second percent of the respondents usually name their level of material well-being analysis of the situation of the low-income strata is extraordinarily urgent to the extent that they (the low-income population) would not even try essential to understand the specific sociopsychological state of the lowwell-being. Considering a possible rise in social tension, this means it is and relevant in practical terms. to stand up for their interests, but also, in contrast to the better-off strata, income population that has not become as lumpenized as the poor have, lack sufficient resources simply to "wait out" the crisis. In this light, an

developed market economies, the needy strata are viewed as a special of this population stratum were basically of theoretical interest. In the just in the planning stage, the problem of neediness and the prospects membership in the lowest classes that are characterized by a particular the one hand, neediness is usually perceived as a direct consequence of social group, and they are "not of much interest" to anyone because, on they are not the object of social policy [1]. professional composition, and, on the other hand, in contrast to the poor, In 2008, when the study, whose results are being published here, was

of neediness involves the lack of a rigid connection between standard of living and professional status, although for the representatives of dif-What Do They Strive For?" it became clear that the specific character Low-Income Strata in Russia: Who Are They? How Do They Live? low-income strata, nonetheless, differed appreciably [2]. ferent socioprofessional groups the likelihood of ending up among the In the course of analyzing the results of a March 2008 survey, "The

related to class (place of residence, age, household composition, etc.). the Russian version of neediness is the huge role played by factors not long, it remained only to suggest that the most typical characteristic of between professional and economic status will not persist for very becoming more and more strongly integrated, and that this discrepancy Considering that in the global market economy into which Russia is

of the lowest classes. group may either become part of the lower-middle class, increasing the mistakes made in social policy, and, in the next five to ten years, this latter's size, or squander its resources and "slide down" into the ranks Russian model of transition to the market path of development and from Consequently, it is a temporary phenomenon resulting from the particular

stratum, the assessment of their prospects for becoming one of the lowest a "social portrait" of the needy, considering the internal diversity of that the socioeconomic development of the country as a whole. classes in Russian society, and also the consequences of this in terms of few years. On the other hand, it became much more important to draw ness of today's poor segment, who based on a rise in their real current incomes could likely end up among the low-income strata in the next composition and characteristics of the condition, behavior, and consciousstrata. Also taken off of the agenda was the problem of analyzing the made no sense to examine the characteristics of the needy segment that had a high probability of moving into the relatively well-off population all that. On the one hand, it became clear that under crisis conditions it ness would be highly probable. However, the economic crisis changed favorable to Russia persisted, a scenario signaling the way out of needi-In the spring of 2008 it appeared that if economic market conditions

over many years, and also the character and level of consumption. considering both the current level and the level that has been built up sible to single out groups that really do differ in levels of well-being based on divisions according to income levels because they make it posgradational approaches. However, they are more effective than models one-dimensional stratifications that are constructed in the framework of be seen as an analogue of class structures because they are ordinary, life prospects in the production sphere. Naturally, such models cannot possibilities for growing human capital, these chances predetermine differences in lifestyles, and, on the other hand, because of different consumption sphere, since these chances, on the one hand, determine was based on singling out strata that differ according to specifics in the sions, sphere of consumption, and so on. The approach used in the present well-being, it is possible to use various criteria, such as income, posses-Methodologically, when designating social strata according to level of the question of who should be seen as belonging to the low-income strata. The starting point for analyzing this social stratum, as before, remains

Taking into account all these considerations, in this study we used a

with N.M. Davydova and I.P. Popova [3]. Based on the SLI figures, we a hypothesis that under the conditions of deep-seated social differentiaspecial standard of living index (SLI) that we developed in collaboration tion (average wages in February 2009 were equivalent to US\$500,3 and put together a corresponding scale of vertical stratification. Its basis was of well-being should include not only possessions but also access to the population that does not experience any real deprivation the features the starting hypothesis for constructing the SLI was the proposition that standard of living must include an assessment of not only well-being subjective assessments of: (1) the most significant forms of deprivation; of services, leisure, and recreation. Accordingly, in the course of calcuwhile another segment may channel its resources into the consumption foremost into components of its environment that relate to possessions, exact same level of material well-being will convert its resources first and services, inasmuch as one segment of a population that finds itself on the what a family has but also in what it does not have. Moreover, among the differentiation of the Russian population is manifested not only in but also deprivation levels—that is, the experience of deprivation. Thus, the decile coefficient in 2007 was 16.84) any examination of the real and (7) leisure opportunities that involve additional expenses. lating the SLI, groups of indicators were used, such as the respondents housing conditions; (5) savings; (6) the ability to use fee-based services; (2) level of ownership of possessions; (3) real estate; (4) the quality of

account differing numbers of points scored for the presence of various of social stratification that was constructed on this basis did not change els, however, their specific indicators differed appreciably (see Table 1). model in detail earlier [3, 4]). In spite of the outward similarity of the modsignificantly in its contours over those years (we have written about this Russian representative surveys in different years. At first glance, the model features,5 was from -19 to +44 points within the data sets of nationwide forty-six items, and the range of numerical values on the scale, taking into The total number of indicators considered in constructing the SLI was

arithmetic mean and median indicators of the standard of living index reflect the depth of deprivation) declined over those years, while the maxideclined appreciably. But is this really true? a substantial rise in well-being that neediness in the country must have rose almost twofold from 2003 to 2009. This may seem to signify such mum ones rose. However, something else is much more important—the As Table 1 shows, the minimum numerical values of the model (which

Basic Parameters of the Model of Social Stratification of Russian Society According to the Standard of Living Index (SLI)

Model characteristics	2003	2009
Minimum numerical SLI values	-18	-15
Maximum numerical SLI values	39	44
Arithmetic mean SLI values	5.53	9.33
Median SLI values	O	9
Modal SLI values	OT.	O

Naturally, in the case of a scale with such a large number of indicators, for the purpose of further analysis it is necessary to consolidate the indicators, singling out the social strata that are characterized by a standard of living and life chances that are more or less similar in quality. This task was accomplished in the CHAID subprogram of the SPSS program in the course of analyzing the distribution of answers to seven control questions (on the respondents' self-assessment of their material condition and social status, their satisfaction with their place in society and their material condition and life as a whole, the ratio of their income to the level of the regional median, and whether they won or lost as a result of the reforms). As a result, we singled out ten basic strata of Russian society whose representatives are included in the representative surveys, and one other stratum consisting of elite and subelite groups that are not included in the mass surveys.

Survey data of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences⁶ shows that the years 2003 through 2009 were marked by appreciable growth (more than 10 percent of the population as a whole) of the medium-well-off and well-off segments, along with a similar reduction in the number of poor, and, moreover, with the biggest jump in this regard in 2008, the most prosperous year in the period after the reforms (see Table 2). At the same time, the proportion of the low-income population hardly changed at all—in 2003 it was 40 percent, and in 2009, 37 percent. At first glance, it seemed that a "transfer" of a some of the poor into the low-income segment was occurring, and a transfer of a portion of the low-income population into the medium-well-off segment. As a result, in 2009, Stratum 5, which straddles the boundary between the needy and the medium-well off, began to consist largely

Table 2

Size of the Basic Segments and Strata of Russian Society, Designated by the Standard of Living Criterion (% of the population as a whole)

Tith and pubolity (Stratum 11)*	Wealthy (Stratum 10) 2	Well-off (Stratum 9)	Well-off segments	Stratum 8	Stratum 7	Stratum 6	Stratum 5	Medium-well-off segments 33	Actually low-income (Stratum 4)	Teetering on the brink of poverty (Stratum 3)		Actually poor (Stratum 2)		Compet (Stratum 1)	Poor segments 21	Segments, strata 2003
1	1	. 0	1 0	, U	η α	0 ~	7 01	36	62.	3 3	42	3 6	10	6	16	2005
-	2	0 0	0 0	0 0	n 0	0 0	-	47	27	0 -	3 0 0	3 6	10	6	16	2008
							ם מ	100	40	2 - 0	<u> </u>	27	וכ	S	8	2009

*Representatives of this stratum are not included in the mass surveys, and for this reason they are not shown in the table. Also understated in it is The size of Stratum 10 is also understated, and for the most part was left out of the mass surveys.

of those who had only recently "extracted themselves" from the state of neediness and did not have the same "margin of safety" as did those in households that are firmly established as members of the relatively well-off segments. We will revisit this conclusion when we analyze the composition of the various strata and the consequences that the economic crisis has had on them.

Taking account of the characteristics of consumption standards and life chances of the representatives of the various strata, we examine the specific nature of the latter as well as the lifestyle and standard of living of the low-income segments. Over all of the past few years, the latter have consisted of two segments, Stratum 3 and Stratum 4, which, while they are quite similar to each other, also have several differences. For example, Stratum 3 is intermediate in nature, and it includes Russians who are teetering on the brink of poverty. During the prosperous years

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

economic growth suddenly begins again after the crisis ends.⁷ est from the standpoint of the future fate of the low-income segments is observations of a panel of households [5, 6]). Therefore, of most inter-Stratum 4 of the "classic" needy, and also Stratum 5, whose portrait in the various types of poor people according to data from many years of 2009 shows what can happen to today's needy in the event that vigorous poor segment (concerning the characteristics of the life trajectories of move into Stratum 4, while the path downward means "a slide" into the segment, and for them the "path upward" means nothing more than a Furthermore, its representatives still hardly ever rise up from the needy to move into segments characterized by a higher standard of living. citizens, which makes it easier for them, if conditions are favorable, cial contacts, etc.) they lead the same lifestyles as their better-off fellow yet become lumpenized, and (from the standpoint of employment, sopoverty) as it is a weaker form of poverty. Its representatives have not of living (which according to many features could be characterized as Stratum 3 compared to the two lower strata is not so much its standard who had sometimes been so for several years. A characteristic feature of included the formerly poor, and to a large extent the chronically poor, prior to the crisis the most characteristic tendency was that this stratum

For all of the past few years, the standard of living of Stratum 4 has been modal for a Russian society in which neediness has long since become the norm in the life of the population. And it also sets the standard of consumption, which Russians take to be the minimally acceptable subsistence minimum. Life below this standard gives rise to active dissatisfaction, while life above it creates a feeling of relative well-being. At the same time, the standard is so modest that you could not call it anything but neediness. We will illustrate this using several characteristics that make it possible to have a better understanding of the portrait of each of the two strata that are included in this social segment, and the reasons for identifying them as needy, on the one hand, and contrasting them with the other segments of the population, on the other hand. We start with incomes (see Table 3).

the average monthly individual incomes in households belonging to Stratum 1 and Stratum 2 (i.e., the poor segments of the population) are

As we can see, both the average monthly per capita incomes and

very similar to each other, and the same is true of the median incomes. Moreover, in both strata they are higher than 60 percent of the median income level, which in February 2009 was 6,000 rubles, and they lag

Table 3								2000
Monthly Incomes Per Family	Memb	er in t	he Di	fferer	nt Str	ata (r	ubles)

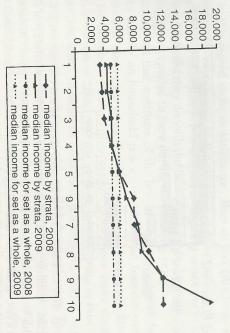
	Strata										
Average per capita monthly income in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Orași de Santa de San	5.046	4,788	5,869	6.014	6,994	8,203	9,712	11,786	14,067	18,040	
Average Median	4,500	4,500	5,000	5,000	6,000	7,000	8,550	9,000	12,000	18,750	
	Individu	al monthly	v income (wage or s	salary, per	nsion, inco	me from	business,	stipend, a	nd so on)	
Augraga	5,563	6,040	7.438	7,686	9,887	12,287	12,960	14,748	17,721	18,575	
Average Median	4,700	5,000	6,100	6,275	8,000	10,000	11,750	11,000	17,000	17,000	

the country's population) does not work in Russia, owing to the very low level of that median. or, in less developed countries, 60 percent, of the median incomes for cost of a particular "basket" of goods and services but rather 50 percent, policy in many developed countries (whereby the poverty line is not the so-called relative approach to poverty that is used for purposes of social account the depth of deprivation in these two strata, this means that the that was included in mass survey samples (8,080 rubles8). Taking into considerably behind the arithmetic mean for the population as a whole

of doubled arithmetic mean incomes. class), the individual arithmetic mean incomes in it fall slightly "short" tradition to delineate the upper segments, starting with the upper middle more than twofold (this boundary is generally used in the Anglo-Saxon average per capita and individual incomes in it exceed the national figures it as belonging to the upper segments because even though the median same time, even in Stratum 10, it is very much stretching the point to see as a function of factors that by their nature are unrelated to class. At the belong, for the most part, to one class, they differ in terms of life chances of the dependency load in their households. Thus, while they apparently society as a whole and especially in the labor market, as by the situation not so much by the specifics of the condition of their representatives in that differences in the standard of living in these strata are influenced more similar than the average per capita median incomes. This means medium-well-off strata in which the individual median incomes are of both median and arithmetic mean incomes. It is followed by three in the past few years, stands completely apart in terms of the indicators glance, of people who have "come out" of the condition of neediness the same time, Stratum 5, which is subject to debate and consists, at first unquestionably assigned to the low-income segments of the stratum. At (arithmetic mean and median incomes) are both groups, which can be Also very similar to each other in terms of current income indicators

almost equal to Stratum 4. However, in Stratum 4, which makes up a sion of retired people) in Stratum 3, so that its current incomes became that period as well). Incomes also rose (again, largely owing to the inclucapita monthly incomes in the two lowest strata have been and remain percentage of retired people among them, whose pensions rose during very low (see Figure 1), they nevertheless rose (as a result of the high segments under the crisis conditions. Even though the average per We now look at what has changed in the condition of the low-income

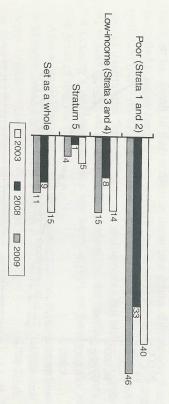




ation also looks unfavorable in Stratum 5, which reveals an absolutely unchanged: in 2008—5,963 rubles, and in 2009—6,014 rubles. The situmajor portion of the needy, median incomes remained at the 2008 level strata ended up objectively in the worst position from the standpoint of although these strata have an accumulated safety margin that Strata 4-5 actually decreased. The situation also looks unfavorable in Strata 6-9, identical picture; considering price increases, absolute indicators have (5,000 rubles). Average per capita incomes in it also remained virtually lack. According to results of the first few months of the crisis, the latter income dynamics.

tion with the situation. For those in the low-income strata, in contrast to began. For the needy, the latter indicator was 38 percent, compared to time, 60 percent said their nutrition worsened after the economic crisis A majority of the poor population rate their nutrition as poor. At the same the structure of their diet worsened during the crisis period. As a result, in themselves the necessary amount of food, even though, in many cases, the poor, economizing on food, nonetheless, reflects their ability to feed 23 percent in Stratum 5. The picture looked better in regard to satisfacfour times more frequently than they rated it as poor; in 2009, on the 2008 those in the low-income strata rated their nutrition as good almost This dynamic was reflected in their quality of nutrition (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Proportion of Respondents Who Rated Their Nutrition as Poor in the Different Social Groups (%)



the members of the stratum. 8 upward, this aspect of the crisis was mentioned by fewer than half of first and foremost because of significant price increases. From Stratum strata and the poor, in 61 percent of cases, said that they had suffered negative consequences of the crisis impacted them, both the low-income It is no accident that, when discussing the specific forms in which the worsening of their ability to provide themselves with normal nutrition. between a rise in incomes and rising food costs automatically leads to a prices, this means that in the low-income strata the slightest imbalance sidering the structure of Russians' expenses and the inelasticity of food other hand, they characterized it as poor more often (15 percent). Con-

better-off Strata 5-8, where two-thirds were able to obtain the assistance medicine), for the needy this figure was exactly half, in contrast to the to obtain needed medical assistance (from operations to purchasing tally in this regard from the poor, among whom 79 percent were unable access to essential medical assistance. And while they differ fundamen-The low-income strata are also heavily impacted by the situation with

numbers of the poor segments and, to a smaller extent, numbers of the expenses, could also be extended in a discussion of the clothing situation, their situation turned out to be enough to require very serious economizing low-income segments. Nonetheless, even the short-term worsening of as a result. The years of economic growth actually led to a reduction in children's expenses, and so on, but the main conclusion would not change of the low-income strata, regarding the characteristics of their current This characterization of the dynamics of various aspects of the lives

> most definitely relates only to the situation of the poor), such a small strata in this regard more as satisfactory than as bad (the latter aspect even on such vitally important needs as spending on food and medicine that they were reported to have during the precrisis years? question: What did they do with the increase in the real current incomes degree of household stability in this social segment raises the following And although it is possible to characterize the picture of the low-income

refrigerator, vacuum, or washing machine (see Table 4). era, which, as a rule, had "outlived their usefulness," such as a television. items that they had already owned earlier, since as far back as the Soviet activity among the segments involved replacing and renovating certain not, of course, mean that these were the only items they purchased; much to two items, a mobile telephone and small kitchen appliances. This does low-income strata, in terms of household possessions, related basically intensive increase in the set of household possessions came during the and obsolete during the years that they had no money at all. The most sources mainly on household possessions that had become worn out precrisis months of 2008. And the increase in well-being of those in the It turned out that members of the low-income strata spent their re-

of the cheapest kind. and 1, because that questionnaire item referred to any sets of upholstered of any kind disappeared from the set of possessions owned by Strata 2 become completely worthless in time). Any reasonably decent furniture became even poorer. Washing machines disappeared from the set of were fewer poor people in that period, while on the other hand, the poor in terms of possessions underwent degradation: on the one hand, there conditions in Russia in 2003-9, in the two lower strata the potential Soviet-made, semiautomatic washing machines such as Evrika, which be understood, moreover, that in the lower strata we are referring to possessions that characterize most of those in Stratum 1 (and it must furniture, wall units, cabinets and wardrobes, or kitchen furniture, even It is obvious that, even during the period of successful economic

of a mobile telephone, cheap models of which those in Strata 1 and 2 are still unable to afford. Moreover, in Stratum 4, in addition to a mobile hold possessions, which, in the six years, only increased by the addition precrisis year. Furthermore, many purchased microwave ovens, toasters some kind of small kitchen appliance was also added literally in the final telephone that was already included in its set of possessions in 2008, Strata 3-5 were characterized by a virtually unchanged set of house-

Table 4

Possession of Durable Goods Owned by Representatives of the Different Strata (2009)

Microwave oven, tood processor, grill, toaster, and other kinds of household appliances Electric drill, electric or gas powered saw, other tools	Niconie telephone	Videocassette recorder	furniture, wardrobe and cabinet)	Set of furniture (including kitchen furniture, wall unit, upholstered	Vacuum cleaner	Washing machine (any type)	Rug, carpet	Herngerator	Color TV	Kind of durable good
0 0	0	0	0		0	0	+	+	+	_
0 0	0	0	0		+	+	+	+	+	2
0 0	×	0	+		+	+	+	+	+	ω
o ×	×	0	+		+	+	+	+	+	4
+ +	×	0	+		+	+	+	+	+	Оī
+ +	×	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	0
+ + %	×	+	+	lay.	+	+	+	+	+	7
+ +	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	8
+ +	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	9
+ +	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	10

Imported fitness equipment	Satellite antenna	Dishwasher	Home movie theater	Air conditioner	Foreign made car	Video camera, digital camera	Computer	Russian made car	Music center
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	×	×	×
0	0	0	0 .	0	0	×	×	+	+
0	0	0	0	0	0	×	+	+	+
0	0	0	0	0	×	×	+	0	+
1	×	×	×	×	+	+	+	+	0

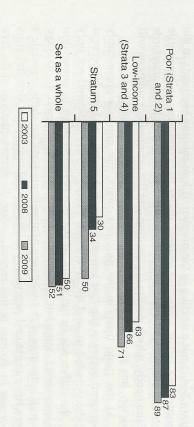
Note: A "+" indicates the presence and "0" the absence of the corresponding type of durable item in the set of possessions of more than 50 percent of representatives in the given stratum. A "0" shown in bold font means that the corresponding durable item disappeared from the standard of possessions of that stratum during 2003–9, while an "X" shown in bold font means that the item appeared in it.

other durable goods. simply never had a videocassette recorder. These days, moreover, a of that stratum consists mainly of former members of Strata 3-4, who is yet another graphic piece of evidence that the present composition increased household possessions in that stratum were accounted for by videocassette recorder is no longer a popular item for purchase, so that recorder has disappeared from the set of possessions in Stratum 5. This the crisis. Another thing that draws our attention is that the videocassette the past year is still paying off that credit debt under the conditions of and so on, on credit, and one out of seven of those purchasing them in

of the well-off population. the most successful portion of the low-income strata, but not as a portion strata moved into Stratum 5, the actual gap between them and Stratum 6, in the well-off population segments changed much more than in the lowin 2009, did not shrink but widened because the standard of possessions from which level the upper 40 percent of the well-off population began income segments. Based on this feature, Stratum 5 can now be viewed as Although a certain portion of former representatives of the low-income

of their "possessions" but also to understand where the lines of separation of the stratification ladder, it is possible not only to get an idea of how, in consumer behavior practices to "trickle down" from the top to the bottom enable themselves to engage in what is called "style consumption"; (3) able to maintain but also to expand their set of durable goods and thus are: (1) the extremely successful portion who are able to fully enjoy all of time, the lives of Russians will look from the standpoint of the component compels us to think that the state of mass neediness in Russia is not so who are "income poor" into the "social lower orders" of the cities and of the population that is being transformed from the segment of those ficult problem for them to solve; and (4) the rapidly lumpenizing portion set of customary household possessions, but expanding that set is a difthe low-income population that, for the most part, is able to maintain a in the goods markets; (2) the relatively well-off portion who are not only the benefits resulting from the reforms that have produced an abundance increasingly transformed. Therefore, from the standpoint of the model formation process of an "upper lower" class, which will exist in Russian much a consequence of transformation processes as a reflection of the villages, with all of the ensuing consequences. This latter concern also society along with an underclass into which the Russian poor are being Looking at this picture and considering the well-known tendency for

> Figure 3. Proportion of Representatives of the Various Social Groups That Have Not Experienced Any Significant Improvements in Their Lives During 2003–2009 (self-assessment, %)



of the social structure that is forming, Russia will start to resemble the United States more than Western Europe.

conditions, to raise that standard by acquiring relatively affordable posstandard of possession ownership at home, and even, under certain these things constitute the key characteristics, which might be called the costly acquisitions, and travel abroad. And, as I indicated earlier [4], the past three years most them have not experienced any improvements inability to achieve any kind of significant improvements in their lives. In the low-income segments. "line of separation," that divide the well-off segments of the strata from housing conditions, pay raises, higher educational levels, ownership of in their lives at all, such as an increased level of well-being, improved sessions, they differ from the better-off Russians as a function of their to provide themselves with adequate nutrition, to maintain a particular strata differ from the poor, first and foremost as a function of their ability In this connection it is also worth noting that while the low-income

serious positive changes in their lives, increased even during the period lation. Considering what was discussed earlier concerning the change in this regard, was formerly very close to the country's better-off popuof rapid economic growth. Moreover, in 2009, the inability to provide proportion of those who have been unable to provide themselves with any themselves with these things also began to characterize Stratum 5, which, As Figure 3 shows, in both the low-income and poor segments, the

of the needy, which, on the assumption that the economic conditions will economic development, in the consumer and possessions living standards country but rather a gradual change, under the conditions of favorable Strata 3-4 is not a decline in the number of low-income segments in the not changed their affiliation. Consequently, behind the decline in size of worsen, has every chance of worsening again just as rapidly. have moved into it, in terms of the situation of their life chances, have in composition and incomes of that stratum, this means that those who

of the population, and the five upper strata. This is indicated not only lower strata. increase in distress in this regard among the representatives of the five lives have remained practically unchanged along with a simultaneous overall indicators of the existence of significant positive shifts in people's of household items but also by the fact that in those years the average by the difference in the width of the gap between them in possession increased between the five lowest strata that make up about 60 percent At the same time, in the past few years, the gap has appreciably

in the lower two strata. deprivation, which will gradually also cause a portion of them to end up begin to experience an increase in various kinds of manifestations of will shrink substantially, and if the crisis drags on longer they will also in the course of the crisis the current consumption of these segments their current income has experienced a relative decline, this means that owe money to banks for consumer credit. Moreover, considering that and that 26 percent of them have various debts, and of these, 10 percent of those in the low-income segments have no savings or investments, by the time the crisis was under way; it is understandable that 84 percent preceding the economic crisis resulted in their having no safety margin "trivial" household possessions during the period of relative prosperity other hand. For these segments, the renovation and even the addition of well-off population, on the one hand, and the needy and the poor, on the population, there is a real widening of the gap between the relatively able picture of an increase in size of the well-off and medium-well-off Thus, behind what appears at first glance to be a completely favor-

economic crisis. As a result, half of those in Strata 3-4 constantly feel 5, who did not fully realize the danger posed to them by the onset of the logical state is very difficult as a result, in contrast to those in Stratum This is well understood by those in Strata 3-4, whose sociopsycho-

> to 53 percent of the poor and about a quarter in the other strata) have a the poor and about a quarter in the other strata); 45 percent (compared percent often feel that they cannot go on living this way (51 percent of percent, while in Stratum 5 and above they are already a minority); 37 constant feeling of fear for themselves and those close to them. that ongoing events around them are unfair (for the poor this figure is 61

a rise in the well-being of the low-income strata, which, at first glance, which the low-income strata are becoming the lower classes. There are conditions has been an ongoing, gradual, but fairly rapid process by and its dynamics in the five years of economic growth and under crisis characterized by a different standard of living and lifestyle. significant improvement in their lives or a move into segments that are credit burden, does not create for them any qualitatively new chances of ment, which, at times, has also been the result of an increase in their fact, however, this fairly small change in their actual living environmay create the impression that the size of those strata has declined. In times, during years of prosperity, when this process may even accompany Our analysis has shown that the situation of the low-income strata

of the low-income strata in Russia as extremely deplorable in the near a further widening of that gap. This compels us to rate the prospects situation today as well as their future fate so strikingly different from term, the medium term, and the long-range future. What makes their between them and the well-off segments of the population widened. lower six deciles of Russians declined in relative terms, and the gap of economic growth, so that during the period of economic decline create any kind of "safety cushion" for themselves during the period millions of people who were so "spellbound" that they were unable to the situation in the better-off segments? And who are these tens of Under the conditions of the economic crisis, moreover, we can expect addressed in the following article. any possibility of changing their situation? These questions will be they suffer earlier and more seriously than other people? And is there Even during the period of economic growth, the life chances of the

1. The monetary income deficit of the low-income population, according to the data of the Federal State Statistics Service (FSGS) of the Russian Federation, fell from 5 percent in 2000 to 1.3 percent in 2007, while the number of poor declined ap-

exe/Stg/d01/07-01/htm) does not mean that they ended up in the well-off segments: country's economy or in their own lives. it only signifies that they moved into the condition of low-income neediness, with the risk of sliding again into poverty with the advent of the first serious problems in the in 2000 (as calculated by the author based on www.gks.ru/bgd/reg1/b08_11/IssWWW. the fact that about a quarter of a million people moved of poverty in the period starting by the FSGS of the Russian Federation, is relatively low. At the same time, of course, htm. This means that the poverty level of a major portion of Russian poor, seen as such proximately twofold; see www.gks.ru/bgd/reg1/b08_11/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/07-01/

satisfaction with their material condition (Pearson's coefficient 0.490). of their level of material security (Pearson's coefficient in 2008 was 0.516) and in terms of people's self-assessment of their status in society are: self-assessment 2. Statistically, out of dozens of controlled variables the most significant ones

ru/wages/wag_06.htm. All of the amounts paid to workers in both monetary and nonmonetary forms have been included. 3. See the official Web site of the FSGS of the Russian Federation, www.gks.

4. See www.gks.ru/bgd/reg1/b08_11/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/07-01/htm.

character for the various segments, the point scores assigned to them ranged from 5. Depending on whether the corresponding indicators were of a "threshold"

-3 to +4 for the presence of the corresponding indicator.

and 1,749 people, respectively. of the following national surveys carried out by IS RAN: "The Low-Income Strata of residence, the sample was of a multistage quota character, and the sample size ranged from 1,506 to 2,106. The data for 2008 and 2009 are based on the results "Everyday Life in Russia Under the Conditions of the Crisis," with samples of 1,751 in Russia: Who Are They? How Do They Live? What Do They Strive For?" and country's population broken down by gender, age, type of community, and region Sciences [IS RAN], 2005); and "Social Inequality from the Sociological Perspective" Ownership in the Lives of Russians" (Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of (IS RAN, 2006). In all of these national surveys, which were representative of the for Comprehensive Social Research, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2003); "Property 6. This refers to the surveys: "The Rich and the Poor in Today's Russia" (Institute

positive changes in Russian society in the medium-term future. because it allows us to gain a better understanding of the boundaries of possible 7. Although such a scenario is not very likely, it is useful to examine it as well,

reported by the respondents in the 2009 block was only 7,000 rubles. However, this cluded in the samples of mass surveys. For example, the highest individual income does the median incomes. the highest-paid and highest-income portions of the population simply is not incircumstance affects the indicators of the arithmetic mean incomes more than it inclined to understate their income levels in the course of surveys but also because 8. These indicators should actually be higher not only because the public is

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