Consolidation of a Regional Community in a Glocal Social Reality: Socio-Cultural Barriers

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the problem of socio-cultural barriers to the consolidation of a regional community in the context of rising glocalization trends and an increasing role of regions in social development. In our opinion, consolidation in an unstable social reality can only occur as a regulated nonlinear process, oriented toward establishing strong interpersonal and intergroup communication, mutual trust and loyalty. The purpose of the research is to analyze socio-cultural barriers to regional community consolidation, associated with the specifics of value-normative complexes and attitudes of its constituent actors. We assess people's dispositions concerning the problem of socio-cultural constants renovation on the basis of a sociological research we conducted in the Belgorod Oblast in 2021. It included a mass questionnaire survey (n = 500), an expert interview (n = 30), three focus groups. It is noted that social consolidation can be based on various grounds, but the most solid among them is socio-cultural consensus expressed in integration based on common values, social norms, behavior patterns and attitudes — socio-cultural constants that represent a kind of reference points for consolidation process. We analyze components of the value-normative consensus and conclude that its potential as an attractor of the consolidation process can be realized mainly at the microsocial level (primarily family and family-related environment), which significantly restricts the integration opportunities of the regional community. According to the results of sociological diagnostics we reveal the following barriers to the social consolidation of a regional community: fragility of the value-normative consensus, lack of full-fledged regional identity, insufficient focus of authorities and civil society institutions on creating favorable organizational and technological conditions for social conjunction. We emphasize that the implementation of any consolidation strategy at the regional level must necessarily take into account these barriers and provide for measures aimed at their minimization.

Key words: social consolidation, regional community, region, glocalization, social solidarity, socio-cultural constants.

Introduction

The problem of consolidation of communities of various self-organization levels has been noticeably actualized in recent years. The President of the Russian Federation has repeatedly spoken about its importance in relation to the country as a whole (according to O.V. Zakharova's research, it is constantly present in his conjunctive discourse in 2000–2015) (Zakharova, 2016). Quite a large number of scientific papers have been devoted to the analysis of contradictions in the processes of consolidation/deconsolidation of the Russian population. Much less often the problems of consolidation are investigated in relation to the regions, which are Russia's entities. Even less often it is reflected by representatives of regional elites. Some regional leaders tried to declare the need for consolidation as a direction of real policy. For instance, the head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) declared 2019 the year of Consolidation for the unification of society in achieving the regional development objectives. But the idea was most consistently implemented in the Belgorod Oblast, where the Government approved the strategy "Formation of a regional solidarity society

for 2011–2025". However, the implementation of the strategy was completed by the Governmental Decree of the Belgorod Oblast 340-pp, dated June 6, 2022 "On invalidation of the Governmental Decree of the Belgorod Oblast 435-pp "On approval of the strategy "Formation of a regional solidarity society" for 2011–2025", dated November 24, 2011, the basis for which was stated the execution of its activities by all participants within the established time frame.

The attractiveness of the idea of consolidation for regional elites and a significant part of the population (a study conducted in 2022 by the Civil Society Development Laboratory of the Belgorod State University in the region (n = 6800) showed: 22.6% of respondents stated unequivocally that consolidation was necessary; another 35.8% chose the answer "rather yes than no")[1] is that it brings an essential element of stability to the development of Russia's entities, which is extremely necessary in a society, which I. Prigozhin and I. Stengers defined it as a situation of "nonequilibrium turbulent chaos" (Prigozhin, Stengers, 1986, p. 225). In turn, social stability, having a positive impact on public consciousness, not only creates a favorable environment for the development of the economy and the social sphere, but is a necessary condition for regional reproduction, including in a purely "physical" form – population growth. More than twenty years ago, Russian researcher I.A. Gundarov formulated the dependence of population reproduction on the social stability level as the law of "spiritual and demographic determination" (Gundarov, 2001, p. 66).

However, the problem of regional consolidation has not only an internal but also an external glocal (global and simultaneously local) dimension. It is

associated with the inconsistency of the globalization process, which, unifying and integrating social reality, does not automatically "nullify" the possibilities of local (primarily regional) communities. Many of them have the opportunity to preserve their uniqueness and remain significant "players" within the global system.

On the one hand, it is expressed in an increase in their activity level, which consists in the desire to develop interregional and transregional connections, manifesting their own subjectivity. The problem of subjectivity is most often analyzed in relation to an individual or a social group. In particular, the concept of youth subjectivity is widely known (Kovaleva, Lukov, 1999, p. 147). In this case, subjectivity is understood by researchers as the ability of society, social groups, an individual to act as an active beginning (actor, creator) of social reality (Kovaleva, Lukov, p. 146). In this context, the region's subjectivity can be interpreted as its ability to independently determine the strategy and tactics of development, to design and implement models of its future.

Attempts to do this will definitely have external constraints due to the administrative and political dependence of the regions on the federal center, which in an unstable environment is only increasing. But at the same time, the desire of the federal authorities to shift a significant share of responsibility for solving the problems of socio-economic development to RF entities will contribute to the expansion of the degrees of freedom of the latter. And regional elites, in their desire to expand the degrees of freedom, will appeal to the community they represent more often and with more confidence, the more integrated it is. On the other hand, glocality means an increased level of vulnerability of Russia's entities to numerous dangers and threats, which has been fully demonstrated by the coronavirus pandemic, sanctions pressure and the special military operation. Consolidation in these extreme situations

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[1] Sociological study "Complex monitoring of social consolidation in the region" was conducted in Belgorod Oblast in September–October 2022 by the staff of the Civil Society Development Laboratory of the Belgorod State University by means of mass questionnaire survey of the population over 18 years old (N = 6800).

is increasingly defined as a condition of security becoming one of the leading interests of the regions' inhabitants.

The glocality phenomenon has a distinctly expressed cultural aspect, since it is the specific culture that forms the unique image of any region and largely determines its potential. It is no coincidence that one of the researchers of the globalization process H. Khondker wrote: "Glocalization makes sense when it consists of at least one component, which refers to the local culture" (Khondker, 2004, p. 12). And it is in the cultural sphere, which is based on values and norms, that the constructive potential of the consolidation process in the regions is formed. At least, this is how many residents perceive the situation, explaining the impossibility of its implementation by the absence of unifying values. During the above-mentioned study, 37.1% of the respondents cited this reason, and another 32.8% cited strong generational differences. But if the socio-cultural sphere forms a significant part of the grounds for the consolidation process, it is also where a significant part of its constraints appear. In fact, each restrictor can be viewed as a transformed form of this or that consolidating factor.

The purpose of the research is to analyze these constraints associated with the specificity of value and normative complexes and attitudes of the actors of the consolidation process in the Russian regions.

Literature review

Modern Russian social science studies mainly separate aspects (political, socio-economic, ethno-cultural) of social consolidation and solidarity as its basic condition, as well as their dynamic and process characteristics. The most current studies of consolidation problems of Russian society include the works of such authors as Yu.A. Aleksandrova (Aleksandrova, 2017), S.S. Anosov (Anosov, 2021), M.K. Gorshkov, N.E. Tikhonova (Gorshkov, Tikhonova, 2013), M.V. Il'icheva, A.V. Ivanov (Il'icheva, Ivanov, 2022), O.A. Karmadonov,

G.D. Kovrigina (Karmadonov, Kovrigina, 2017), A.S. Kapto (Kapto, 2015), I.V. Popova (Popova, 2018), etc.

The problems of consolidation at the regional level, in separate Russia's entities are also presented in a number of works of Russian authors. For example, O.B. Molodov analyzes the consolidation processes on the example of the Vologda Oblast (Molodov, 2016); V.A. Chigrin and V.V. Uzunov consider the features of the consolidation potential of the Southern Russia's regions including the Republic of Crimea (Chigrin, Uzunov, 2022); A.Yu. Shadzhe and E.S. Kukva study the problems of social integration, social capital, trust and cohesion of the regional community on the example of the Republic of Adygea and Krasnodar Krai (Shadzhe, Kukva, 2020).

In the context of the research topic, we should emphasize that Russian publications in recent years have paid much attention, in particular, to the issues of the national, regional and local identity as a factor promoting social consolidation (Demichev, 2019; Gudenkova, Savitskaya, 2021; Diakova, 2021).

The significance of value aspects of social consolidation is investigated in the works of A.B. Gofman (Gofman, 2013), A.S. Kapto (Kapto, 2015), I.M. Kuznetsov (Kuznetsov, 2021), L.V. Rozhkova and N.D. Vasil'eva (Rozhkova, Vasil'eva), P.S. Seleznev and V.Sh. Surguladze (Seleznev, Surguladze, 2021), A.D. Kharichev, A.Y. Shutov, A.V. Polosin, E.N. Sokolova (Kharichev et al., 2022). For example, according to L.V. Rozhkova and N.D. Vasil'eva, social consoli-dation "is provided by the unity of interests and needs, goals and values, and is a process that is socio-cultural and value-driven" (Rozhkova, Vasil'eva, 2014, p. 128). According to A.B. Gofman, an important condition for the formation of universal civic solidarity is the presence of a set of values generally accepted and shared by individuals, embodied "in common national traditions, customs, morals, historical events and people, preserved in

collective memory, in common holidays, rituals, goals, ideals" (Gofman, 2013, p. 160). P.S. Seleznev and V.Sh. Surguladze note that it is necessary to find a consensus between the process of globalization based on information technology and the task of maintaining a socially oriented nation state "so that their use does not undermine the socio-cultural sphere of sovereign states and contributes to the consolidation and stability of society on the basis of the values and collective identity shared by the majority" (Seleznev, Surguladze, 2021).

In turn, various aspects of glocalization as a characteristic of contemporary social reality and one of the effects of globalization processes are studied in quite a number of Russian publications (Artamonova, Volodenkov, 2021; Degtyarev, 2020; Savchuk, Ocheretyany, 2021; Schelkunov et. al, 2021) and foreign (Díaz-Pérez et. al., 2021; Lee et. al., 2021; Ritzer, 2003; Rosen, 2021; Roudometof, 2021; Tsai, 2021) works. This hybrid term, derived from the words "globalization" and "localization" is believed to have been introduced into sociological discourse by R. Robertson, in whose opinion it suggests the simultaneous presence, the combination of interrelated, complementary and sometimes conflicting universalist and particularist tendencies of social development (Robertson, 1992).

Despite the many current interpretations of this concept, most researchers note that glocality implies the erasure of the former spatial boundaries of societies, the strengthening of external connections, mainly through modern information and communication technologies, and the increasing influence of global issues on daily life of local communities (see, for example: Ignatyev, 2020; Trufanova, Khan, 2022).

Researchers of global processes emphasize their socio-cultural component, noting the contradictory effects of globalization in the form of cultural and ethnic differentiation, the growth of ethnocentrism, the desire of individual societies, countries, regions,

peoples to isolate, to preserve their identity, traditions, their cultural and historical identity. For instance, even R. Robertson wrote that "glocalization is the challenge of the cultures of modern unifying globalization" (Robertson, 1992). S. Huntington also emphasized the tendency to actualize exactly the cultural and national problems of world integration (Huntington, 2007), which "often become a stumbling block on the path of globalization and turn it into glocalization" (Ponizovkina, 2021). Sociocultural aspects of glocalization are also considered in a number of Russian publications of recent years (Kolesnikov, 2016; Ovsyannikova, 2018; Dumnova, 2022; Trufanova, Khan, 2022).

At the same time, so far there have been no attempts to analyze the constraints of the consolidation process in the Russian regions associated with the specificity of value-normative complexes and attitudes of its actors in the conditions of the glocal social reality.

Research methods

The conclusions of the article are based on the results of the empirical sociological research "The problem of renovation of socio-cultural constants with constructive potential for the development of regional communities", conducted by the authors in the Belgorod Oblast in March–June 2021. The purpose of the research was to identify the level of readiness and ability of different groups of the regional community to participate in the process of renovation of socio-cultural constants and their subsequent interiorization.

The study included the following:

– A mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population aged 18 and older, conducted in March 2021; the sample population was 500 respondents; the sample is zoned, quota-based, multistage. Each successive sampling unit is a nest of lower-level units. The share of respondents in each sampling unit corresponds to the share of this group in the general population (the Belgorod

Oblast population). The quota characteristics were the place of residence (regional center/village, hamlet, farmstead/city of oblast subordination), gender, age (groups of 18–24, 25–39, 40–59, 60 and older). The statistical error was planned to be no more than +/-2%. The questionnaire included 18 closed and semi-closed questions.

— An expert survey conducted in April 2021 in absentia by e-mail and Google-forms based on a questionnaire with 21 questions in open, semi-closed and closed form. The sample consisted of 30 experts. The criteria for the selection of the experts were the experience of research work in sociology; availability of scientific publications on socio-cultural development issues.

— Focus-group interviewing of 3 groups of respondents, conducted in May–June 2021 in the Belgorod State University according to the predesigned scenario including 11 main and 18 qualifying questions. The participants of the focus-groups included: 1) young people; 2) employees of budgetary institutions related to the socio-cultural sphere; 3) mass media workers. The total number of participants was 32 people, 18 women and 14 men; the age range was 18–68 years.

We should emphasize that the study was conducted in a rather specific region of the Russian Federation, which borders with Ukraine. Only this circumstance makes it impossible to unequivocally extrapolate its results to other entities. Moreover, it was carried out before the start of the special military operation, which significantly affected the consolidation moods in society. In the new conditions, not only the factor of security became the most significant factor promoting consolidation, but also the interest in the values and common interests that unite the inhabitants has increased.

Results and discussion

In accordance with the theoretical research model, consolidation was considered as a form of manifestation of social conjunction, the theory of which was developed by the Russian researcher O.A. Karmadonov. According to his concept, it

is the dialectical interaction of social conjunction and disjunction that most adequately characterizes the development of modern society. And if the first one represents "a process, in the limit, focused on social reproduction, based on consistent solidarity, ensured by full-fledged flows of social consolidation in all echelons and structural elements of society" (Karmadonov, 2015, p. 11), then the second one is a process of "disruption, mismatch and decay of integration means, accompanied by weakening of consolidation flows and problematization of the main goal of integration – social reproduction of society" (Karmadonov, 2015, p. 11). The author particularly emphasizes that social consolidation is the interactions during which the socialization of an individual and interiorization of basic social norms, values and practices take place (Karmadonov, 2017, p. 12).

Thus, we consider consolidation as a systematic process (in the interpretation of O.A. Karmadonov – flow), in which the main attractor is the prosocial values. We should note that when considering the problem of regional consolidation, we "by default" give this concept a prosocial (societal) connotation, taking into account that the consolidation process can also be destructive in its orientation. In particular, criminal and terrorist groups can be consolidated. The "pool" of the attractor includes social norms and patterns of behavior combined with them. In their integrity, they constitute the core of any subculture, which are "value local worlds" that oppose the basic – "big", "adult", "mother" – culture ("socialist", "liberal", "Christian", etc.); individual and collective stereotypes of behavior and activity embodied in specific sign-symbolic manifestations, sociocodes, forms of consciousness and structures of personal identity; subsystem of styles and lifestyle behavior; group forms of cultural standards and specific products of spiritual production (including mass-cultural)"[2].

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[2] Rimskaya O.N. (2011). Phenomenology of subcultural religions: Candidate of Sciences (Philosophy) thesis. Tula. 172 p.

In this case, culture in general and regional subculture act as regulators of the conjunctive (consolidation) process. At the same time, the role of socio-cultural regulators is very great, which, in particular, is emphasized by Yu.A. Zubok, V.I. Chuprov and A.S. Lobutov, developing the concept of youth self-regulation: "Socio-cultural regulators of life positions are the elements of socio-cultural mechanism, which in the concept developed by the authors include: traditional culture, determining the historical conditionality of self-regulation process, and youth subculture, characterizing its social and group features; archetypes of collective unconscious, underlying sense-making; mental and modern features of national character, contained in social practices and the national character of the youth (Zubok, et al. 2021, p. 86). We believe that a similar mechanism determines self-regulation of any community.

Consequently, consolidation can be seen as a regulated and simultaneously self-regulated process of subcultural modifications, the potential subject and simultaneously the object of which is the regional community. The essence of these modifications lies in the consistent formation of the constituent groups' attitude to mutual understanding and dialogue, readiness to jointly solve problems affecting common interests, despite the presence of social differences between them. Consolidation in this case is understood in a rather limited sense as minimizing confrontation and mutual alienation and building interpersonal and intergroup relations based on mutual loyalty. The proposed interpretation goes back to J. Habermas' communicative theory of solidarity (Habermas, 2000) and implies a limited understanding of consolidation, associated with the rejection of its holistic interpretation in the spirit of the process aimed at the establishment of relations of "universal harmony", which is hardly feasible in a highly differentiated society. Solidarity as the goal of consolidation in this context is seen as a system of

relations based on the principle of mutual loyalty, which, according to T. Parsons, is "the willingness to respond to a properly "justified" call made on behalf of the collective or in the name of a public interest or need" (Parsons, 1998, p. 26).

However, in order for the majority of the region's inhabitants to change their attitude toward their counterparts from a predominantly alienated (aloof) or even hostile one to a "communitarian-loyal" one, the idea of belonging to a single community must really form in public consciousness and "objectify" it (it is significant that T. Parsons associated loyalty with public interest).

This representation is usually reproduced in the form of a regional (collective) identity, which serves as the most reliable basis for consolidation. In particular, the authors of the article "Perception of basic values, factors and structures of socio-historical development of Russia (based on research and testing material)" point out the dependence of consolidation prospects on the identity factor (Kharichev et al., 2022). As E. Erikson (Erikson, 1996) has shown, any kind of collective identity is certainly formed under the influence of many factors, but the decisive role in their structure is played by "knowledge, norms, values, symbolic strategies common to group members" (Kharichev et al., 2022, p. 110). Through them identity is maintained, and through it and by way of it they are able to determine consolidating practices.

Naturally, the deformation of socio-cultural factors-regulators distorts the process of collective (in our case) regional identification, which was largely confirmed by the research results.

First of all, they have showed that nowadays regional identity is increasingly turning into a simulacrum, despite the attempts of the authorities and some civil institutions to implement measures aimed at its formation. During the above-mentioned mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, which we conducted in March 2021 (N = 500), only 3.2% of respondents indicated
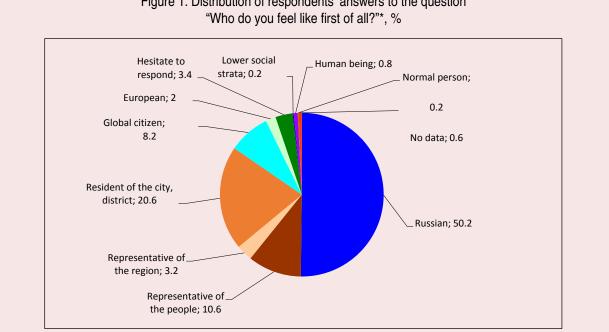
Figure 1. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question
"Who do you feel like first of all?"*, %

Source: results of a mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, March 2021, 500 respondents, semi-closed question.

* The answer options "lower social strata", "human being", and "normal person" were offered by the respondents themselves (semi-closed question).

that they consider themselves representatives of the region; 50.2% feel they are primarily Russians, 20.6% – residents of their city or district, 10.6% – representatives of their people (*Fig. 1*).

Moreover, the participants of the focus groups had difficulties in answering the question about the presence of a regional community, which, however, was quite expected due to its complexity even for the researchers. The phenomenon of territorial community, as we know, is interpreted rather ambiguously in the literature. For instance, some researchers consider the presence of common values to be a necessary sign of its existence. According to I.A. Khalii, a community is "a group of people united by common interests, values and goals, acting over a long period of time and achieving certain results"[3]. Other authors point out other

bases. N.L. Mosienko, in particular, defines a territorial community as a socio-territorial community that is characterized by a high degree of "territorial self-identification of residents, intensive internal interactions, awareness of common territorial interests, with elements of self-organization and self-government" (Mosienko, 2010).

For many Belgorod residents, the very raising of the question of the existence of a regional community was quite unexpected; nevertheless, the vast majority of them confirmed its existence, emphasizing two main reasons for this. First, it is the commonality of the residential area. The following statement can be considered as typical: "*A regional community is a community of people united by territorial conditions of residence, which interact with each other in the framework of solving various tasks*" (Irina, 45 years old, educator). Second, the phenomena and processes that can be summa-

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[3] Khalii I.A. (2008). Social movements as the innovative potential of local communities in contemporary Russia: Doctor of Sciences (Sociology) thesis. Moscow. 50 p.

rized by the concept of "cultural and historical tradition". In this case, the following opinions were characteristic: *"People are united by the history of their region, territory, republic, and the values that are laid into it. Belgorod has a very strong historical culture, which helps shape the regional community"* (Alina, 31 years old, media representative); *"Strong ethno-cultural differences from other regions of Central Russia (except neighboring), caused by the significant influence of the Ukrainian ethnic element, and in general humanitarian and economic relations with Ukraine (primarily orientation to Kharkov as the nearest large center)"* (Vasilii, 37 years old, educator); *"The special accent of the "belGorovskoye vivid deaf G", the iconic places (Prokhorovskoe field, Kholkovo men's monastery), the "Holy Belogorye" — a lot of churches in almost every rural area, not to mention cities"* (Inessa, 42 years old, cultural worker).

However, attempts to identify consolidating factors in contemporary processes have usually led to extremely general arguments, often quite confusing and contradictory.

Maiya, 42 years old, educator: *"All people interact both at their work and at their place of living, and even though the "personal" goal, which everyone strives for, may be different, but there is a common goal — to create decent living conditions for the younger generation, to improve the quality of their lives. ... there are indigenous people (several generations have lived in the area) and there are people who have come to live permanently. Regardless of their workplace or residence, they are all in constant interaction and strive to achieve certain goals depending on their belonging to one or another social institution".*

Aleksander, 68 years old, healthcare worker: *"Yes, we can talk about such a community, it exists in our region. Without this community, we couldn't create the conditions of existence that we have now, we would not have been able to achieve the economic indicators we have today".*

Thus, the empirical research reveals a rather significant contradiction. Its essence is that the qualitative method of analysis allows diagnosing a fairly stable idea of the existence of a regional community among the region's residents, but belonging to it does not determine their collective identity. The vector of identification of the absolute majority of respondents during the research period was oriented either to macrosocial (the country as a whole) or to microsocial communities. The region lost to both.

Obviously, it is possible to find a variety of reasons for the current situation. But we believe that the main one is due to the weakness of socio-cultural regulators of the identification process, concentrated in the dominant in the mass con-sciousness value-normative complex; it means that the presence of common values, willingness to follow the same for all social norms, conviction in the existence of some reference behavior patterns. This weakness is fundamentally determined by the overall situation in Russian society, which S.A. Kravchenko defines it as "normal anomie"; it means that the state of affairs in which trans-formed forms of material practices are perceived as natural and acceptable, and the order sanctified by tradition as contrary to rationality. As arguments in favor of the concept of "normal anomie", he uses the following: 1) anomie is an immanent phenomenon for an emerging complex society; 2) in risk situations, stable norms do not regulate human behavior; 3) people whose moral ideas belong to different social times live in the same social space; 4) normal anomie is stimulated by the formation of virtual reality; 5) in their life strategies people increasingly rely on "lucky chance" rather than their own efforts; 6) a paradoxical combination of knowledge and ignorance of all kinds; 7) mixing of real and virtual worlds generates the coexistence of real and staged risks; 8) dispersion of traditional norms of family and

marriage relations; 9) analysis of normal anomie requires new valid tools; 10) general humanization of society is the only strategy for normalizing society (Kravchenko, 2014, pp. 3–10).

Anomie is characterized by the loss of collective ideas about the difference between good and evil, about what is pity, mercy, justice, respect, mutual help, compassion; inoperability of social institutions; probing as the main form of Russian government's relationship with society; loss of human control over social processes; human inability to plan and achieve long-term goals of life strategies (Tereshchenko, 2019, p. 220).

In this regard, the tendency to ward devaluating collectivist values, which represent an important factor in strengthening interpersonal and inter-group interrelations, is of particular importance.

For instance, V.N. Kuznetsov writes: "Values consensus is an important factor in the functioning and maintenance of social stability on the basis of agreement based on the similarity of views or orientations regarding significant values, goals, norms, rules of behavior, roles, power relations, etc. between the subjects of social relations" (Kuznetsov, 2003, p. 37).

Undoubtedly, the problem of the evolution of values in contemporary Russia is extremely complex. Moreover, we carry out its analysis on the basis of different methodologies suggesting nonoverlapping and debatable variants of their systematization. However, the conclusion about the devaluation of collectivist values, in fact, is axiomatic[4] (see, for example: Gorshkov, 2016; Grishchenko, 2018; Markova, 2017; Russian

Figure 2. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "What traditional values are the most important to you? (specify no more than three answer options)", % of respondents

Source: results of a mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, March 2021, 500 respondents, semi-closed question.

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[4] Lebskii A.V. (2015). Values of collectivism in the context of social individualization: Candidate of Sciences (Philosophy) dissertation. Stavropol. 159 p.

Society..., 2022; Semyonov, 2017). It also found confirmation in our 2021 study[5]. Among the proposed set, only the value of family was unequivocally recognized as significant by the majority of respondents (78.2%). All others received less than half of the elections: justice (30.2%), patriotism (24.4%), kindness (22.80%), and trust in people (22.2%). At the same time, the values of internationalism (5.4%), collectivism (11.8%) and solidarity (17.2%; *Fig. 2*) were the least important for the Belgorod Oblast residents.

In our opinion, the resulting distribution of answers can be explained by the fact that individual and pragmatic attitudes dominate in the public consciousness. In this connection, the distribution of answers to the question about what is the most important in life for the residents of Belgorod is revealing. These priorities included family happiness (73.8%); health (64.2%), wealth and material well-being (33.6%), their own safety and safety of their related people (32.4%). These preferences indicate the prevalence of individual-pragmatic dispositions in the mass consciousness, which, although not devoid of societal content, if they assume integration and loyalty, then, as a rule, within a short social distance (*Fig. 3*).

Meanwhile, a significant part of the population still feels a more or less pronounced need for some solid foundations (we define them as socio-cultural constants), which would orient the regional community toward integration. It is indicative that respondents mentioned not only family and family well-being (65.4%), but also justice (24.4%), spirituality (22.6%), patriotism (21.8%) and kindness (18.2%) as the *most demanded* values in the modern world, though the percentage of choices in all these cases was noticeably lower than in relation to the value of family and family happiness (*Fig. 4*).
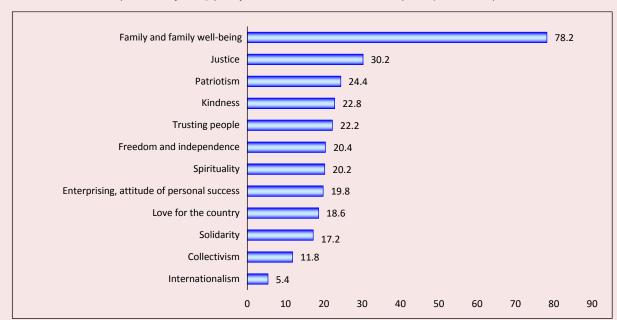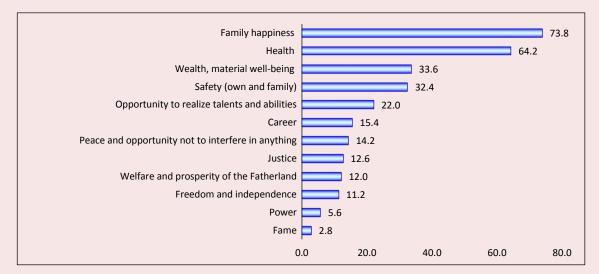
Figure 3. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "What is the most important thing in your life today? (specify no more than three answer options)", % of respondents

Source: results of a mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, March 2021, 500 respondents, semi-closed question.

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[5] The set of traditional values proposed in the survey was not definitely exhaustive, but it was determined based on the analysis of the works of several authors (Rassadina T.A. (2005). Transformation of Traditional Russian Values in the Moral Orientations of Russians: Doctor of Sciences (Sociology) thesis. Moscow. 386 p.; Mchedlova, 2020; Value orientations..., 2017) and their research experience since 1993. As further developments showed, the majority (7) of the values we referred to were included in the list of traditional values defined by Presidential Decree 809, dated November 9, 2022 "On Approval of the principles of state policy for the preservation and strengthening of Russian spiritual and moral values".
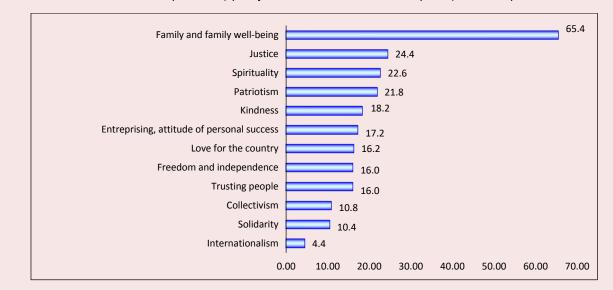
Figure 4. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "Which of the listed values are the most demanded at present? (specify no more than three answer options)", % of respondents

Value	%
Family and family well-being	65.4
Justice	24.4
Spirituality	22.6
Patriotism	21.8
Kindness	18.2
Entreprising, attitude of personal success	17.2
Love for the country	16.2
Freedom and independence	16.0
Trusting people	16.0
Collectivism	10.8
Solidarity	10.4
Internationalism	4.4

Source: results of a mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, March 2021, 500 respondents, semi-closed question.

We explain the reasons for preserving the demand for some collectivist values in a consumerist, individually pragmatically oriented society by human desire to at least partially compensate the costs of uncertainty, instability, to preserve faith in some imperatives of human life. One cannot but agree with V.A. Sautkina, who notes: "During states of transition, in uncertainty and risks in society, the need to find something common that encourages different people to stick together becomes stronger. Humanity's accumulated experience of joint actions, analysis and interpretation of their effects show that the presence or absence in society of a demand for solidarity is the brightest manifested in times of crisis, when under the pressure of a variety of challenges that not only worsen the situation of citizens, but are a real threat to their existence, the need for solidary behavior appears. Under these conditions, more and more people realize the need to compromise their interests and join the group of people who see in actions based on the principles of solidarity the only way to solve their urgent problems" (Sautkina, 2019, p. 71).
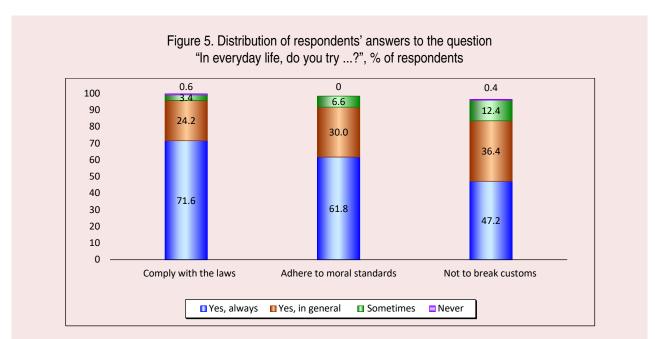
Nevertheless, a family, as virtually the only collectivist value (we assume that the family is a small social group uniting people on the basis of kinship, marriage and joint household), recognized by the majority of the population, consolidates them only within a short social distance. Moreover, it can oppose attempts to consolidate the regional community on a broader basis in cases where family-clan interests conflict with the interests of large social groups. Moreover, the collectivist orientation of the family is not always prosocial. The family-clan group may well integrate on a criminal basis.

Along with values, social norms are an element of the value-normative complex as a regulator of social relations. By delineating the limits of permissible behavior, they give the attribute of certainty to social actions and interactions, forming the prerequisites for the establishment of relations of trust, which is "the expectation that members of the community will behave more or less predictably, honestly and with attention to the needs of others, in accordance with certain common norms"

(Fukuyama, 2004, p. 52). The basis of trust, without which consolidation is unthinkable, is certainty. It is indicative that P. Sztompka believed that trust is "a wager on the future contingent actions of others" (Sztompka, 1999, p. 25).

The complexity to assess the state of the normative component of the value-normative complex lies in its heterogeneity. The social norms include legal, moral, and conventional ones, which are based primarily on customs (one cannot ignore the presence of ambiguous interpretations of morality among the masses; but since our research was conducted in a region where the absolute majority of the population is Orthodox Christians, we "by default" considered the maxim of Christian morality as such moral norms). They have a different impact on consolidation perspectives. In addition, the inhabitants of the region perceive these normative prescriptions in different ways.

In particular, the research proves the following: perceiving social reality in a predominantly rational and pragmatic way, in their everyday life the respondents overwhelmingly try observing the laws, and to a lesser extent — adhering to moral norms and not violating customs. For instance, 71.6% of respondents always observe the laws, 61.8% stick to moral norms and only 47.2% try not to break the customs. Thus, except conventional norms, legal and moral norms, judging by the data obtained, are interiorized by the majority of citizens and serve as regulators of their behavior (*Fig. 5*).

However, different types of social norms do not equally contribute to the formation of a value-normative consensus in the regional community, acting as one of the components of this consolidation attractor. In particular, the function of legal norms is reduced to the establishment of formal rules governing the relationship between citizens and their groups through positive obligation, prohibition and permission. Its implementation is irrelevant to the practice of consolidation; these norms do not take into account this possibility and do not oblige to implement it. The only exception is when legal norms expressly prohibit the creation of anti-social (extremist, criminal) associations. But in all other situations, adherence to the legal norms in

Figure 5. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "In everyday life, do you try ...?", % of respondents

Source: results of a mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, March 2021, 500 respondents, semi-closed question.

their daily practices can be expressed almost equally either in a willingness to consolidate with fellow citizens, or in an indifferent attitude toward it.

To a much greater extent, the achievement of the value-normative consensus and its transformation into a meaningful attractor of consolidation is facilitated by the interiorization of moral norms, which formulate unconditional imperatives of personal behavior. Certainly, these imperatives are not always focused on solidarity as a form of life organization. For instance, even M. Weber, describing Protestant ethics, emphasized its individualistic, rational and pragmatic nature, embodied, among others, in the "philosophy of avarice". "Its ideal is the creditworthy virtuous man, whose *duty* it is to regard the multiplication of their capital as an end in itself"[6] (Weber, 1990, p. 73). It is true that the Orthodox tradition, if not directly oriented toward solidarity, suggests an affirmation of phenomena close to it (philanthropy, giving, justice).

However, we cannot ignore that, first, according to the data obtained, a much smaller percentage of respondents adhere to moral norms; and second, a person's statements about following moral norms do not mean that they are ready to consolidate with those around them, which means to try to understand their position, to coordinate interests, to cooperate in solving common problems. Consensus is achieved not on the basis of declarations, but in the course of practical actions. In this case, the agreements reached by the participants more often than not become decisive. Therefore, the observance of conventional norms in modern society becomes the real basis for the value-normative consensus, turning it into an attractor of the consolidation process.

But it is precisely these norms that are least likely to be taken into account by respondents. Moreover, conventions are usually concluded and observed within a short social distance, reducing the space of consolidation and limiting the number of its actors.
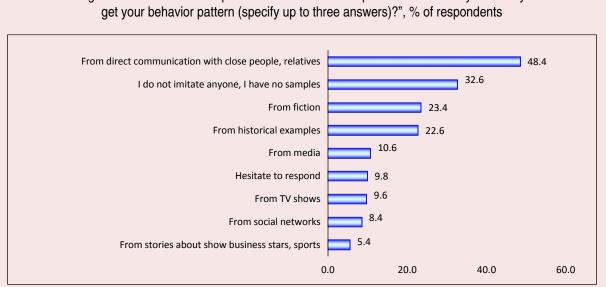
Figure 6. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "Where do you usually get your behavior pattern (specify up to three answers)?", % of respondents

Source: results of a mass questionnaire survey of the Belgorod Oblast population, March 2021, 500 respondents, semi-closed question.

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[6] Despite the fact that some modern researchers question the validity of Weber's position (Kapeliushnikov, 2018), in our opinion, their criticism does not seem quite justified. However, the analysis of the arguments presented by M. Weber's opponents requires an independent analysis.

The specificity of reference samples of behavior also contributes to the reduction. In modern conditions they lose the attribute of universality, being localized mainly within the framework of the environment closest to the subject. The majority of the population is guided in their everyday life by relatives and friends. Characters of fiction and historical figures, whose behavioral models are usually considered to be universal role models, serve as such for only 23.4% of the respondents. At the same time, a third of the respondents (32.6%) note that they do not have such models and do not imitate anyone, and every tenth find it difficult to answer the question. The Belgorod Oblast population pays the least attention to narratives about show business and sports stars spread on social networks (8.4%) and television programs (9.6%; *Fig. 6*) when choosing their behavior patterns in everyday life.

Thus, the specificity of all components of the value-normative complex, which characterizes the consciousness of the region's inhabitants, allows arguing that its potential as an attractor-regulator of the consolidation process can be realized mainly at the microsocial level, which significantly limits the possibilities of integration of the regional community.

They could be expanded by strengthening the focus on the consolidation of state and municipal government and civil society institutions, acting as the main "players" in the social space of the RF entity, which represents their focus on creating conditions for social conjunction, countering disjunctive tendencies.

This orientation did take place in the Belgorod Oblast. But it manifested itself mainly in the installation on the revival (renovation) of traditions considered as socio-cultural constants, which can act as the basis for a regional consensus.

The concept of "renovation" is still rarely used in the social sciences and humanities when it comes to attitudes toward values, and it is quite natural that it is debatable. The terms "preservation" and "strengthening" are usually used in normative legal documents and in academic literature. They are exactly those contained in Presidential Decree 189 "On approval of the fundamentals of state policy for the preservation and strengthening of traditional Russian spiritual and moral values". However, it seems to us that the provisions of the Decree are not unambiguously reduced to stating the need to reproduce (recreate) traditional value patterns. This activity should take into account their integration into the modern socio-cultural process involving their interpretation in the system of concepts close to the population (especially young people) taking into account current social processes. For example, the interpretation of the content of values cannot but take into account the diversity of modern forms of family and marriage relations. It is indicative that the decree contains a position according to which a positive scenario of state policy involves "the search for answers to new challenges based on traditional values". Quite remarkable are the opinions of the participants of the focus groups, who argue that at present the installation on the simple reproduction of traditional values will not bring the expected results, if we do not give them at least a new form of presentation. In their perceptions (certainly simplified), the simple reproduction of such values will not get support because *"now there are few people who want to use kindling-wood or bast shoes"* (Vasilii, 37 years old, educator).
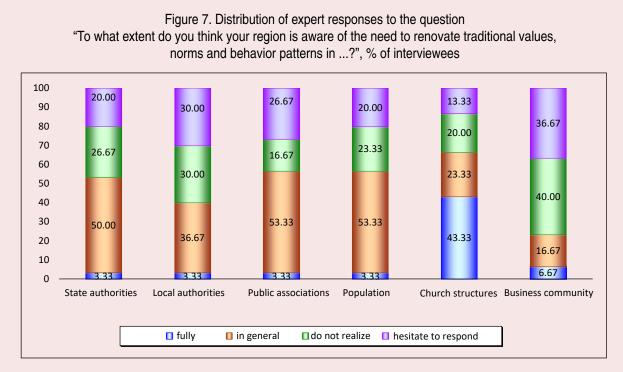
In this context we consider that the use of the notion "renovation" will at least remove some of the meaningful and semantic problems, as it defines a dialectical process of "differently directed and simultaneous tendencies — preservation of the old and simultaneously its negation"[7]. This concept is

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[7] Zakharov V.M. (2016). Innovative system of reproduction of professional potential of state and municipal administration in the region: Doctor of Sciences (Sociology) dissertation. Orel, 419 p.

most often used to characterize the processes of infrastructural renewal, but it may well be used to analyze a wide range of social including socio-cultural, systems (an attempt to apply it to values was made by B.P. Toropov (Toropov, 2015), although he did not give a strict definition of the concept). The main advantage of its use is that it simultaneously emphasizes the dynamism of their development and the increase of "sensitivity" to the external environment. Thus, we define the renovation of values as a process of their preservation and meaningful interpretation, taking into account modern trends of social development and on the basis of the use of terminology adequate to the perceptions of target impact groups.

However, the solution to the problem of their renovation initially had significant limitations, which, due to the standard thinking of representatives of regional elites, is likely to be manifested in other Russia's entities in the case of the implementation of the consolidation strategy.

The first is connected with the practice of life planning within a short social distance, which is characteristic of many status groups. The effect of it is a focus on solving situational problems, coupled with a refusal to form long-term programs and projects, which include consolidation. A concrete manifestation of the situational approach in the Belgorod Oblast was the lack of understanding of the significance of the idea of renovating traditional value-normative complexes as the bases (attractors) of social conjuncture. For instance, in the course of our research in 2021, the experts were rather reserved in assessing the degree of awareness of various actors in the regional space of the need to renovate traditional values, norms and behavior patterns. According to the opinion of two thirds of them, it is to a greater or lesser extent inherent in representatives of the church, 56.7% — the population, 56.7% — members of public associations, 53.3% — state officials, 40% — municipal servants, and 40% — representatives of the business community (*Fig. 7*).

Figure 7. Distribution of expert responses to the question
"To what extent do you think your region is aware of the need to renovate traditional values,
norms and behavior patterns in ...?", % of interviewees

Source: expert survey, April 2021, 30 experts were interviewed, closed question.

Such a restrained assessment is probably quite adequate to the situation, which is characterized by a high level of social uncertainty and risks. O.N. Yanitskii states that they "in modern conditions are increasing with enormous progression and enter into every social sphere, in all territories, turning them into life-destroying environments" (Yanitskii, 1999, p. 134). Under such conditions, it is extremely difficult to make long-term plans, especially if they, as is inherent in the idea of consolidation, are of a large-scale nature.

It is with the scale of the consolidation process that its next limitation is connected. It is expressed in the disproportion between the policy of consolidation and the state of mass consciousness. The initiators of consolidation prefer to think in the so-called high dimension, appealing to the values, norms and behavior patterns capable of integrating the entire regional community. Meanwhile, the majority of the population operates with local values, the most important of which, as noted above, is the value of the family. From the position of local thinking, the large-scale task of renovating collectivist values seems very doubtful, which was pointed out by the participants in the focus groups.

However, half of the participants (especially many students) expressed doubts about the relevance of the task of renovating traditional values, norms, and behavior patterns, explaining their opinion that *"it is not necessary, as changing values can lead to something new, while reviving old traditions leads to stagnation"* (Tat'yna, 40 years old, media representative); *"reviving is unnecessary, but something should be adopted, as the current trends cause concern"* (Vlad, 20 years old, student).

Oksana, 45 years old, media representative: *"I think that this* (renovation task – ed.) *is not in demand in modern society, as Russia is now tightly integrated into the global culture and young people are growing up with Western norms of behavior. It is impossible to force them to ignore the outside world, but at the same time, to walk around in floor-length skirts and have five children each. Again, if no conditions have been created for this... Young people now are very selfish, they think only of themselves, of gaining personal advantage. They are more free and, for the most part, devoid of the patterns of the older generation. It is difficult to instill traditional values in such people".*

Vasilii, 37 years old, educator: *"The attitude toward the task of renovating traditional values, norms and behavior patterns is negative, since many people now understand "traditional values" to mean outright retrograde, xenophobic and sometimes religious extremism. Besides, it is necessary to understand that revived traditional values can exist only in a revived traditional economy and society".*

Elena, 47 years old, media representative: *"The task of renovating traditional values, norms, and behavior patterns is not in demand. Values are formed and forgotten over quite a long period of time, it is too unpredictable to try to artificially influence them. It is impossible to guarantee the result. Why should we revive something that has been rejected by society out of necessity?"*

At the same time, even the participants who were positive about the formulation of such a problem were not sure of its solvability.

Svetlana, 45 years old, educator: *"The task of reviving traditional values is certainly in demand, but, in my opinion, completely unsolvable. It is hardly possible to revive (or artificially impose) traditional values in a modern society oriented toward individualism, personal success, and material values".*

The share of experts (46.7%) believe that the task of establishing traditional values, norms and behavior models in a new form in modern conditions is timely and necessary, but hardly feasible.

A significant limitation of the process of consolidation of the regional community is the inability of its initiators (even if they want to solve the problem) to organize it technologically correctly as a consequence of the lack of their socio-

technological culture. In order to be successful, the technology of consolidation regulation should become systemic in nature and be carried out taking into account the allocation of consecutive stages in it. There are as follows.

1. The stage of regional identity formation. In public discourse, the prevailing view is that regional identity is quite successfully formed in the course of socialization of children and youth. However, our research results question the adequacy of such a position. The main vectors of identification are focused on other subjects. It is obvious that a typical entity of the Russian Federation today has little to offer young people with the expectation of their loyalty to the regional community. At this stage it is necessary to develop and implement a special program of formation and maintenance of regional identity based on the extensive use of modern technologies.

2. The stage of value-normative selection and orientation. It involves the definition of values, social norms and reference behaviors, on the basis of which it is possible to integrate the regional community. At this stage, it is advisable to develop and apply technologies of subcultural modifications, which consist in the purposeful and consistent formation of a system of incentives that change in a given direction the behavioral reactions of various social groups.

3. The stage of establishing relations of trust. At this stage it is advisable to use technology to build a culture of trust, the main procedures of which are the establishment of normative consistency of development of the regional space, ensuring stability; achievement of transparency of social organization, creation of information and communication environment, providing residents with a sense of understandability of what is happening, implementation of the principle of public accountability of officials and institutions.

4. The stage of the formation of symbolic solidarity, in which we propose to use the technology of forming a system of public discourse on solidarity and consolidation, based on a network of dialogue platforms.

5. The stage of active consolidation, focused on the use of technology to support civic initiatives aimed at consolidating the regional community. It assumes the presence of clear and generally accepted technologies and channels to convey information about the initiative to interested individuals and groups, the formation of infrastructure to support initiative groups and public organizations, the normative legal consolidation of mechanisms to attract financial and material resources to implement initiatives, the presence of a real interest of the authorities in civil activity, the lack of pressure on the initiators, ensuring transparency of the procedure for selecting initiatives, the mandatory inclusion of measures to form the initiative and the development of the civil society. The result of the technology should be the institutionalization of consolidation practices.

Thus, a system of social practices oriented to its prosocial reproduction and participation as an active subject of social processes can be built within the regional community.

Finally, another limitation of the process of consolidation of the regional community is the lack of attention to the problem of interaction between the subjects implementing it. The study has showed: in the opinion of the majority of respondents, it can be successful, provided that it is carried out as a self-regulating process, in which, according to the focus group participants, the decisive role belongs to the population.

Inessa, 42 years old, cultural worker: *"The task should be formulated directly by the people of the region (through public opinion leaders)"*.

Olesya, 26 years old, media representative: *"Civil society, activists, with the support of the state (regional authorities and local government)"*.

Maiya, 42 years old, educator: *"This task should be formulated by the people and communicated to the*

authorities at all levels ... Perhaps a special role in this case belongs to the institutions of civil society".

The predominance of such a viewpoint can be seen as evidence of a slow, albeit slow, shift in the orientation of public opinion from paternalism to civic consciousness. However, in practice, the regulation of the consolidation process was practically monopolized by state structures, which significantly reduced the attractiveness of the project.

Conclusion

The research results allow arguing that, solving the problem of increasing the subjectivity of Russia's regions, the most far-sighted representatives of some established elites in them formulate the idea of consolidation of regional communities. Opposing the trends currently prevailing toward the de-objectivization of social groups and institutions, this trend is indicative of the fact that globalization is steadily transforming into glocalization and, thereby, leads to an increased role of regions in social development. However, the process of consolidation tends to be inconsistent and mostly based on administrative practices, which makes it unstable and not always effective.

This conclusion is fully confirmed by the experience of the implementation in the Belgorod Oblast of the Strategy for the formation of a regional solidarity society. It is a more or less adequate response to the challenges of today's unstable reality, but it was developed and implemented without due attention to the constraints that are produced by the conditions of the country's and regions' development and significantly affect the main attractors that can turn consolidation into a system self-organizing process. These constraints include the lack of regional identity, the fragility of the value and normative consensus, which manifests itself mainly at the level of micro-groups (primarily families and the family and kinship environment), the lack of focus of the authorities and civil society institutions on creating favorable organizational and technological conditions for social conjuncture.

The implementation of any consolidation strategy at the regional level should take into account these limitations and include measures aimed at minimizing them.

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