



RUSSIAN SOCIETY'S RESPONSES TO THE SOCIAL CHALLENGES OF THE PANDEMIC

Olga D. GARANINA¹

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Abstract: *The purpose of the article is to determine the national characteristics of overcoming the social consequences of the pandemic in the Russian society. The planetary spread of the COVID-19 virus, which takes place regardless of state national borders, has highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of world integration on a global scale and, at the same time, has shown the reserves of a national solution to economic, political and cultural problems in a pandemic situation. The author proposes the author's solution to the problem of Russia's place in the world civilizational process, determines the specifics of the country's civilizational development, which determines decision-making in the management of social processes, using civilizational approach, historical and comparative methods. The result of the study is the substantiation of the position on the crisis of the globalization project, the signs of which are the inability of the world community to ensure intercultural interaction and consolidate in solving the problem of the pandemic, as well as the refusal to recognize Russian achievements in the fight against the virus. It was concluded that only national-state localization and tough government decisions can have positive consequences in an extreme situation. The practical value of the results of scientific research lies in the possibility of using the conclusions that we justified to assess the social situation and develop specific political and economic measures to overcome the negative social consequences of the pandemic in Russian society, to organize tolerant intercultural communication in the world community.*

Keywords: *pandemic, globalization, civilization, civilizational crisis, Russian society, standard of living, economic policy, sanctions*

Introduction

The pandemic has tested the entire world, every nation, showing how helpless humanity is in the face of infecting every human being with a deadly virus. Nature challenged the society again, demanding to give an adequate consolidated response. The planetary nature of the pandemic introduces it into the circle of global problems of mankind, the solution of which requires international consolidation. The crisis that has engulfed all economies as a result of quarantine measures has redefined globalization as an objective social process. On the one hand, the planetary nature and speed of the

¹ Moscow State Technical University of Civil Aviation, 20 Kronshadtckij Boulevard, Moscow, 125993, Russia; e-mail: garanina.mstuca@bk.ru. (ORCID ID 0000-0003-0657-0314)

spread of the pandemic have confirmed perceptions of the transnational ties of the world community. On the other hand, it has become clear that it is too early to abandon the national specificity of the solution of the global problem, that only national-state localization and tough state decisions can have positive consequences in an extreme situation.

An analysis of local experience in solving social problems caused by the pandemic, using the example of Russian society, makes it possible to evaluate the effectiveness of the system of national government measures to support the population. Being in line with globalization processes, strictly observing international agreements, Russia is experiencing a powerful negative impact from the European world, which forms the “image of the enemy”, expanding the set of sanctions that limit the growth of domestic resources. These processes have a negative impact on the economic and psychological state of Russians, affirming in the public mind the fear of the loss of material well-being, the mood of pessimism and uncertainty about the future. A way out of this situation is possible with the strengthening of the system of value markers of Russian society, in which health, medicine, social support, the unity of the people and state power are the priorities.

1. Literature Review

Can the world community offer the same solutions for all countries to overcome both the spread of COVID-19 and its social consequences, or can these tasks be solved only on a local national scale? Scientists are looking for an answer to this question, referring to the analysis of the current state of social processes in the context of the pandemic. Sociologists from different countries presented the results of research on the impact of the pandemic on residents of different countries at the online conference of the 16th Research Committee of the European Sociological Association, held February 17–19, 2021. Issues related to the impact of the pandemic on various social groups were discussed, as well as restrictions on the access of some social groups to medical services, as a result of which it was concluded that social inequality is growing, largely due to a reduction in state participation in healthcare (Vershina and Lyadova, 2021).

Scientists call the coronavirus a factor in world politics, noting that the planetary nature of the Covid has forced all countries to change their political and economic priorities, exploring the space for the spread of the pandemic (Voloshin, 2020; Gromyko, 2020). Analysts have concluded that the modern pandemic is fundamentally different from all previous large-scale epidemics in that it occurs in the context of multidimensional globalization and requires unprecedented epidemiological measures for all countries and peoples (Chumakov, 2020). The pandemic has changed the face of globalization processes, as humanity organizes the world order in a new way, criticizing the unipolar world, unable to stop the pandemic, plunging humanity into a state of depression (Bodrunov, 2020; Granin, 2021; Simonyan, 2018). The provisions on stopping globalization, which impedes the civilizational development of local civilizations, are widely discussed, on the specifics of the Russian civilizational code, since Western countries do not respond to Russia's call for unification, for mutual assistance, and

ignore its experience in combating COVID-19 (Apollonov and Tarba, 2017; Danilov, 2020; Mezhuiev, 2018; Farrell and Newman, 2020).

The pandemic is seen as a social threat that has economic, political and social consequences, significantly changing the daily practices of people (Velikaya et al., 2021). Enough attention in the scientific literature is paid to the analysis of the impact of the pandemic on various aspects of social life, the problem of psychological instability of people in the context of the spread of Covid is especially actively considered (Daly et al., 2020). Between January 2020 and January 2021, a study conducted by doctors in 204 countries identified 246 million cases of major depressive disorder and 374 million cases of anxiety disorder across social groups (Santomauro et al., 2021).

Finnish researchers, analyzing the impact of Covid on young people, concluded that this social group is particularly vulnerable, which is due to increasing social isolation in the context of distance learning (Ranta et al., 2020). Russian scientists, analyzing the social consequences of the pandemic in Russian society, pay attention to the strengthening of social stratification, the growth of social tension caused by the instability of the economic situation in the country (HSE Analytical Bulletin, 2020; Social consequences, 2020). Studies of the Russian middle class have shown that its representatives share common ideas with other groups of the population about social inequalities in modern Russian society, considering them to be too deep and illegitimate (Mareeva, 2021; Latova, 2021). Large-scale sociological studies, which made it possible to obtain data on the economic and psychological state of Russians and to make a forecast on priority measures to overcome the negative consequences of the pandemic, were carried out in Russia (Lezhnina, 2021; Sociology of the pandemic, 2021; Pandemic in numbers, 2020; Coronavirus: fears and measures, 2020).

Theoretical and empirical studies of the pandemic and its social consequences are united by the desire to understand how the pandemic has changed the world as a whole, how it has affected social processes and social groups in a particular country. Russian researchers focus on the aggravation of contradictions between social groups due to economic inequality.

2. Statement of Objectives

The analyzed scientific works fix the need to solve the problems of the pandemic on a global scale, if there is an interest of all countries in international cooperation. However, the analysis of international cooperation speaks of the crisis of the globalization project, a sign of which is the inability of the world community to consolidate in solving the problem of the pandemic, as well as the refusal to recognize Russian achievements in the fight against the virus and its social consequences.

In these conditions, it is especially relevant, firstly, to understand the weakness of the claims of globalization in the context of the pandemic, and secondly, to study the local capabilities and achievements of the nation state in solving the problems of social development during the pandemic period.

The purpose of the article is to determine the national characteristics of overcoming the social consequences of the pandemic crisis in Russian society.

Research objectives:

- to justify the crisis of the globalization project in the context of the expansion of the planetary epidemic;
- to determine the specifics of Russia in the world civilizational process;
- to identify the social consequences of the pandemic in Russian society;
- to reveal ways to overcome the negative social consequences of the pandemic in Russian society.

3. Materials and Methods

The study is based on a civilizational approach, which involves considering modern Russian society in the political, economic and socio-psychological contexts of world development. This approach made it possible to draw a conclusion about the civilizational crisis in Russia, largely due to the desire of the political leadership to reform the country according to Western models, without considering the civilizational specifics of Russia. Consideration of the interconnection and interdependence of political, economic and spiritual processes also helped determine the place of the state in solving the social problems caused by the pandemic.

The historical method was used to substantiate the specifics of Russia in the world civilizational process, which made it possible to show the originality of the country's political and economic development in modern period.

To compare the approaches of different states to solving the problems caused by the pandemic, a comparative method was used, with the help of which the conclusion about the crisis of the globalization project due to the disintegration of the world community, as well as the conclusion about the advantages of Russian measures to overcome the pandemic were substantiated.

Secondary analysis of sociological data obtained in 2020 by a working group of the Federal Scientific Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences led by M.K. Gorshkov, as well as the results of a study by the Levada Center, which made it possible to obtain empirical confirmation of the conclusions about the economic situation of Russians and draw up a picture of the socio-psychological atmosphere of Russian society, to identify the moods of Russians at the present stage of development of society, was carried out.

4. Results

4.1. The crisis of the globalization project as a consequence of the pandemic

The entry of the world community into the new millennium is marked by the emergence of a new global problem, the content of which fits into the matrix of human interaction with nature, since its essence is a disease of the body, that is, the inferiority of the natural hypostasis of man. The pandemic has become a test for the whole world, for every state, showing the helplessness of humanity in the face of the threat of infection of any person with a deadly virus. Nature has once again challenged society, demanding an adequate consolidated response. The spread of the epidemic, taking place regardless of state national borders, highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of world integration on a global scale and, at the same time, showed the reserves of the national solution to economic, political and cultural problems in a pandemic situation. Today, globalization is building a new complex interdependence in the “man-nature-society-culture” system, bringing to the fore the actual conceptual and value markers of the existence of mankind, which are health, medicine, social support, the unity of the people and state power as priorities.

Global processes are planetary in nature, they affect the interests of all people living on the planet, therefore, in reality, they should be some kind of objective force that unites all countries into a common political, economic and cultural space that lives according to common laws. Researchers emphasize that globalization plays a special role in understanding the planetary nature of pandemic threats and identifying ways to reduce the risks arising from this (Chumakov, 2020). Strengthening transnational ties could contribute to the speedy resolution of the political and economic problems caused by the pandemic. However, the global world is developing non-linearly, as evidenced by such facts as the ever-increasing division of the world according to cultural and civilizational criteria, the aggravation of social and cultural inequality, when poverty, hunger, marginality, illiteracy coexist with wealth and luxury. The destructive intention of globalization is becoming more and more obvious, manifested in the leveling of the national characteristics of peoples, undermining the authority of national state power, and in the erosion of local ethnic values. Philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, concerned about the growth of this trend, note that modern social and cultural trends block the growth of national diversity (Granin, 2021; Mezhuev, 2018; Shchipkov, 2018). The consequence of globalization is objectively denationalization, a gradual but steady reduction in the sovereignty and role of nation-states, in this process small and poorly developed ethnic groups dissolve into larger ones. As a result, a global social system that ignores national identity is being formed.

Modernity testifies that the project of globalization, being implemented, increasingly appears as a tendency towards the unification of political structures, economy and culture, there is a rejection of the dialogue between different civilizational types, cultures, the imposition of the Western image of political, economic and cultural development. The idea of equality collapsed, the world community turned out to be

divided into opposite groups, in which some command and appropriate the wealth and resources produced, while others act as a labor force (Simonyan, 2018: 19-29; Stiglitz, 2003: 24). The pandemic, which in a short period of time became a global problem, clearly showed the unpreparedness of the world community not only for unconditional integration, but also for the implementation of the idea of mutual assistance. The economic, technological and cultural processes that ensure the formation of transnational global connections are slightly slowed down in the world community during the rapid spread of the virus and the need to introduce strict quarantine measures to combat it. The crisis that engulfed the economies of all countries as a result of the quarantine measures taken, the lockdown of almost all enterprises and firms, the radical restructuring of management and the organization of personnel work as a result of the transition to a remote mode made it possible to re-evaluate globalization as an objective social process, the deployment of which does not always have positive effects. On the one hand, the planetary nature and speed of the spread of the pandemic confirmed the idea of transnational ties of the world community. On the other hand, it became clear that it is too early to abandon the national specifics of solving a global problem (not just the problem of a pandemic), that only national-state localization and tough government decisions can have positive consequences in an extreme situation. This conclusion is based on a paradoxical trend that reveals the negative aspects of globalization for countries striving to develop in line with integration: the patterns of civilizational development characteristic of some societies cannot be repeated or, if they are repeated without considering national specifics, they are distorted in the real practice of other societies. The policy of restrictions in the field of international cooperation, pursued by all states during the pandemic, has proved that only national reserves can stabilize the situation in the country and contribute to the survival of the state. Russia can serve as an example of such a conclusion.

4.2. Russia's place in the civilizational process

The Russian state has always sought to find its rightful place in the civilizational space, trying to develop in line with globalization trends. This desire often led to an uncritical perception of Western models of the organization of society, alien to the mentality and values of the Russian people, the weakening of national identity. At present, when the world community is rethinking the problems of the nation-state in the context of measures that can stop the spread of the COVID-19 virus on the planet, strengthen national-state identity, and increase the role of the state in solving global problems, it is important to understand the prospects for Russia in a changing world, to identify the factors influencing its integration into the world community and helping the country to solve the problems caused by the pandemic.

The realities of Russian social life are traditionally considered in the context of cultural interactions (“Russia - West”, “Russia - East”), which today largely determine the external and internal situation in the country. However, the problem of Russia's place in the world civilizational space and the specifics of its development is concretized in the West-East dilemma in line with the civilizational approach. At present, the discussion about the civilizational path and the corresponding image of Russia continues (Granin,

2021; Apollonov and Tarba, 2017). The openness of this topic for discussion is primarily due to the geopolitical position of the country in the global space. The formation of the Russian state, located at the junction of Eastern and Western civilizations, was initially under the strong political and economic influence of heterogeneous forces seeking to subjugate vast territories and the people living there, to seize natural resources. Russian sociality, strongly influenced by Eastern and Western traditions, developed later than most Asian and European civilizations, synthesizing the achievements of heterogeneous cultures. Russia accepted and reworked the patterns of other cultures, but never engaged in complete and absolute copying of alien patterns, trying to adapt to external challenges, being at the crossroads of civilization, functioning as a kind of state organization, economic life, culture. The country has always been peaceful, not trying to dictate its decisions to other countries. The country does not claim to be a world leader, maintaining and strengthening partnerships with the world community. At present, the Russians are preoccupied with solving the most difficult internal problems, mobilizing internal reserves to defeat the spread of the pandemic.

The tension of the situation inside the country is due to the fact that in the last hundred years in Russia there has been a protracted civilizational crisis, which from time to time reaches a bifurcation point that violates the state of stable civilizational development. The basic factor of this process, as already noted, is the geopolitical position of the country, the search for national identification in the course of choosing a perspective among the western, eastern or Eurasian vectors of development. The radical transformation of the identification national complex was accompanied over the past hundred years by the destruction of the state and its formation on the basis of a complete rejection of the values and ideals of the previous format. This social situation is typical of 1917, when Russia was divided into at least two warring camps, and then the same happened in the 1990s, during the period of a radical breakdown of Soviet traditions, when Western-oriented politicians and economists came to power, denying those established in society in the previous period of the value of public property, cooperation, solidarity. The collapse of state enterprises and the expansion of private entrepreneurship have devalued the values of collectivism and non-covetousness, which are key to the Russian mentality. At the same time, the majority of the population found themselves in a long-term loss, losing their savings, and with them their hopes for improving their well-being. Restoring the economy required significant efforts, as a result of which the country has managed to solve many internal problems in the last decade. Orientation to the West, proclaimed in the 1990s as a programmatic development of the country for the near future, led to the fact that Russia, trying to develop in line with globalization, asserting Western patterns of economic, political and cultural existence, sought to actively fit into the global political and economic space, despite the problems within the country, caused by a rough breaking of the established stereotypes of the life of the majority of people. The perception of the Western model of civilizational development was based on fairly good foreign and domestic resources, among which a vast territory (a significant geopolitical factor in the development of Russia), defense power (strong military potential) and a high level of education of the population (intellectual potential) can be named. The country was able to go through the difficulties of the post-perestroika period and to declare itself as a power capable, as before, of influencing the course of world history by activating these resources.

The anti-Russian sanctions imposed by the United States and the EU countries, which have been putting pressure on the Russian economy for more than six years, could not stop its movement forward even during the coronavirus period. Suffice it to say that Russia, thanks to prompt and effective measures to combat the pandemic, was one of the first to begin lifting restrictions on people's daily lives caused by the spread of the disease. According to the latest data from the World Health Organization (WHO), only a few countries provide the main quantitative increase in COVID-19 cases (the third wave of the pandemic): The United States (more than 44 million), India (more than 34 million), Brazil (more than 21 million). This is more than half of all infections in the world. The question arises: how did the United States, which claim to be the world leader and impose its way of life on the whole world, find itself among those countries that cannot boast of great authority in the international arena of fighting the pandemic? Today, during the political and economic instability, Russia does not abandon its obligations and remains a reliable partner. It was Russia that turned out to be the leader in creating a vaccine against COVID-19, and the Russian government found ways to provide medical assistance to states, providing those who expressed their consent with the opportunity to purchase a new vaccine inexpensively, as well as the necessary documents for its domestic production in the difficult conditions of the growing global crisis, due to quarantine measures limiting the spread of the pandemic.

It would seem that the desire for cooperation in the fight against the pandemic on a global scale should contribute to Russia's integration into the civilizational pool of developed states. However, the modern West constantly demonstrates its critical attitude towards our country. Foreign analysts see any action of the Russian government as a danger, a threat, turning Russia into an enemy. Information aggression of the West imposes the image of Russia as a semi-barbarian country, realizing its "imperial" ambitions in relation to neighboring states, citizens of foreign states. A strange position was taken by the WHO, which did not certify the Sputnik V vaccine developed in Russia, which passed the necessary tests and proved its effectiveness for the prevention of coronavirus infection. The European Commission said that the EU does not need a Russian vaccine, in addition, in 2020 there was a threat that administrative measures would be taken against countries (in particular, against Hungary and Turkey) that purchase the Sputnik-V vaccine. However, the European Commission intended to take similar measures against those countries that will purchase the anti-Covid vaccine from China, which is also a leader in this medical field. Currently, 60 countries have already purchased the Russian vaccine, despite the threats from the European Commission.

According to analysts, Russia is considering options for turning towards the East, thus changing the strategic model of development, without receiving a response to its desire to follow the Western path of development (Granin, 2021: 4). However, Russia does not yet have its own civilizational model and long-term development strategy. At present, the civilizational crisis in Russia, the content of which is the choice of a historical perspective (orientation to Western or Eastern models of development), is accompanied by deep internal problems, exacerbated by the deployment of the pandemic.

4.3. Characteristics of the socio-economic and moral-psychological situation of Russian society during the pandemic

At the cost of enormous efforts, Russia is gradually managing to return to the ranks of world powers, which the world community has to reckon with due to their significant influence on political, economic and cultural processes. Comparison of economic growth rates of different countries can serve as evidence of this. According to the International Monetary Fund, Russia occupies a worthy sixth place in the top 10 in the ranking of countries in the world in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2021. By 2024, the task was set to enter the top five leading countries of the world (Danilov, 2021).

Despite the results achieved in development, the country, unlike the North American states, does not seek to dictate its decisions to other countries. It does not claim to be a world leader, maintaining and strengthening partnerships with the world community. Russia is currently preoccupied with solving the most difficult internal problems, mobilizing internal reserves to defeat the spread of the pandemic.

These problems are connected, first of all, with the negative assessments of the current socio-economic situation in the country by Russians. The development of Russian society as a whole is characterized by a rather tangible decline in the economy (however, this is a global trend due to the pandemic). At the end of 2019, the World Bank predicted the growth of Russia's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2020 by 1%. However, the reality turned out to be more complicated. According to today's estimates, in 2020, the country's GDP decreased by almost 4.1% as a result of lower world oil prices and a large-scale economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Analysts note that the current situation may "reverse the process of poverty reduction that has been observed in Russia since 2015" (Virus against the poor, 2021).

The financial problems that Russians had to solve during the pandemic were largely due to the fact that before the onset of the crisis, the majority of the population did not have a financial safety cushion. According to the results of a study by the analytical center of the National Financial Research Agency (NAFI), "by the beginning of the pandemic, 45% of Russians had no savings, 29% had savings, but they were not enough" (Pandemic in numbers, 2020). According to opinion polls, the morale of Russians during the pandemic and the announcement of quarantine measures began to deteriorate. In the initial period of the epidemic in the country, 64% of Russians were confident that the situation would soon improve. And by the middle of summer, optimism gradually decreased. By July, only 44% of Russians expected the situation to improve. "At the same time, every fifth Russian expected complications in the situation (20%), while almost the same proportion spoke of no changes in the near future (23%). Anxiety and uncertainty - these moods are typical not only for those who have already noted the difficulties and deterioration in living conditions, but also for those who have not directly encountered negative changes. Today, 75% of Russians are concerned about the risk of rising prices and a significant rise in the cost of living, almost every second is concerned about the risk of inaccessibility of medicine, more than a third are worried about the depreciation of their savings" (Pandemic in numbers..., 2020).

Sociological data obtained by researchers of the Federal Research Sociological Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences (FRSC RAS) under the guidance of Academician M.K. Gorshkov in autumn 2020 (a survey of the population of the Russian Federation was carried out in 112 settlements of 22 constituent entities of the Russian Federation using a representative all-Russian regionalized quota sample (2000 respondents), indicate that the economic losses from the 2020 crisis for Russians were more significant than from the economic downturn of 2016. The level of losses was assessed as catastrophic by “a quarter of fellow citizens in 2020 and only 9% in 2018. Another 57% and 46% (respectively) rated it as significant but not catastrophic. The prospects for the development of the country were drawn to people in gloomy colors during the pandemic: in 2020, half of Russians talked about the fact that the country is facing difficult times, in 2020, while two years before the corresponding indicator was 33%” (Lezhnina, 2021: 52).

In other words, people have no confidence in the future. There are many reasons for this, including international economic and, in part, political isolation of Russia, as well as not always consistent domestic policy of the state, including the regular increase in prices for housing and communal services, increasing the retirement age, etc. Sociologists, noting that Russians are already accustomed to crises, argue that the problem lies elsewhere. “The main difference between today’s situation and all defaults and collapses is its uncertainty. It is not clear when and how all this will end” (Windows with a view on COVID, 2020).

According to sociological data, after the spring quarantine, 72% of Russian companies were not able to fully recover. 39 per cent may not be able to withstand new restrictive measures if they are introduced. Ordinary citizens do not own these data, but consider the situation in the economy quite difficult. 78% believe that coronavirus effects will cause damage. Only 5% said that the economy could benefit from the pandemic. In some areas, it is the education system that is most disturbing. 70% predict big problems and only 5% predict possible improvements. 51% and 27% respectively said so about health protection (the efforts made in the fight against coronavirus did not go unnoticed). 52% are concerned that relations between people and authorities may now deteriorate, 40% fear the same, talking about relationships between people (Windows with a view to COVID, 2020).

These data are confirmed by other indicators, including the decline in the standard of living of people both in individual social strata and in the regions. In the regional context, the standard of living is characterized by a huge gap between Moscow, St. Petersburg and the Moscow Region, on the one hand, and other regions of Russia, on the other. In this sense, Russia can be called a country of contrasts. It is no secret that in the North and Eastern Siberia there are “endangered” cities (for example, Norilsk or Vorkuta). There is a high population decline and a sharp drop in living standards.

As for the gap between social classes in terms of living standards, it demonstrates colossal economic inequality. The poor and very poor in Russia are over 56%. The difference in income between the richest 7 million and the 20 million people below the poverty line is on average 20-100 times or more, which is much higher than similar indicators in European countries (Reznik, 2019: 66). Sociological data show that the

vast majority of Russians believe that the state should reduce income differences between different income groups, but politicians do not care about this and government actions in this regard are unsuccessful (Mareeva, 2021: 41).

Thus, the standard of living in certain regions of Russia and the lower social classes, which include the poor and groups below the poverty line, continues to fall. However, the situation in the economic sphere is currently better than in 2009 or 2014. The government managed to stop the devaluation of the ruble, increased social benefits, and provided targeted assistance to inclusive groups of the population. This gives hope that the elimination of the social consequences caused by the spread of the disease in Russian society will be faster than the recovery from the recession of 2014–2015. As for the deterioration in the moral state of society, this phenomenon, in our opinion, does not have a clear direct connection with the corona crisis events and, most likely, is assessed by Russians as a kind of negative trend in the previous development of the domestic society.

4.4. Adequacy of government measures to the challenges of the pandemic

Despite the political, financial, social and other problems (aggravated not only by the pandemic, but also by international sanctions) that accompanied 2020 and passed into 2021, the social situation in the country is generally stable and, as analysts note, positive trends, such as for example, how the rapid development of digitalization in all spheres of social life, the emergence of a new level of consumption, the official constitution of distance work and education, are gradually manifesting themselves. It is obvious that a quick response to the situation and the adoption of adequate tax and social support measures can reduce the impact of the negative consequences of the crisis caused by the pandemic on the financial situation of people. In terms of the number of adopted reforms aimed at improving the fiscal and social policy, 2020 in Russia has become unique. In January, unprecedented measures were taken to support families with children. In March-June, in order to overcome the economic consequences of the epidemic, the government prepared a number of bills aimed at supporting businesses, employment and incomes of vulnerable groups of the population, subsequently approved by the State Duma and the Federation Council. At the G20 summit, Russian President V.V. Putin said that “*Russia has taken unprecedented support measures against the background of the pandemic*”. In his opinion, the main task in the current situation is to preserve the life and health of people (Kazantseva, 2020).

At the same time, despite a fairly effective social policy during the pandemic, the standard of living of most Russians remains at a low level. The constant reproduction of difficulties in solving economic problems, primarily related to achieving the necessary standard of living for a person, allows us to conclude that the pro-Western model of socio-economic development that is being implemented in modern Russia is not adequate to the civilizational choice of the majority of Russians. This is evidenced by the conflict of values that impedes the achievement of the national unity of society.

The conflict of values manifests itself in society as a sharp discrepancy in the evaluative positions of people belonging to different social groups and having their own ideas

about the level and quality of a decent (according to their ideas) life. It is clear that overcoming the political and economic problems caused by the global economic crisis amid the pandemic is possible only on the basis of significant moral efforts to unite society, on the basis of strengthening national identity. In this context, the values of pragmatism and utilitarianism, characteristic of representatives of the ruling minority and reflecting pro-Western orientations towards the free market, individualism, and entrepreneurship, became unsuitable for solving this problem. The Western model of the country's development, having exacerbated the value conflicts, once again showed its insufficiency in relation to Russia.

The system of measures taken by the state during the pandemic and strict control over their observance convinced the majority of the population of the advantages of centralized administrative power, historically traditional for the Russian political system. Strengthening of national identity involves political will and state activity, is achieved as a dialogue between the elite and society. The role of the elite is extremely important, especially in times of crisis. The current Russian situation is complicated by the fact that at present there can be no talk of a dialogue between the elite and society. The elite formed in Russia in the post-perestroika period has experienced a sharp division: over the past two decades, the country has lost a significant share of its scientific and simply qualified potential. An insignificant part of society, representing mainly power structures, bureaucratic officials and business, has always been oriented towards the West, considering the host country (Russia) as a place of accumulation of initial capital. Naturally, these segments of the population could not and did not want to strengthen national identity and protect national interests. This situation is currently changing radically: at the legislative level, the “nationalization” of the elites is being carried out (it is forbidden for civil servants to have dual citizenship, foreign bank accounts, etc.).

According to opinion polls, the majority of the population supports the leadership's line of strengthening the state in the international arena and the gradual increase in the well-being of its citizens. As a result, the most important task of Russia's internal development is to find ways of national harmony, convergence of the value preferences of different segments of the population. At present, it is too early to say that the national idea that unites Russians has been formulated.

Summing up, we emphasize that only a strong state based on the unity of the people and state power, whose activities are focused on social trust, providing conditions for human development, can solve the problems caused by the deployment of the pandemic. In a critical situation that sometimes requires tough decisions, it is important to rethink the system of interaction between the authorities and society, optimize the management structure and strengthen trust in the authorities in order to stabilize the situation and implement effective measures proposed by the government of the country.

5. Discussion

Research similar to our research addresses the global nature of the pandemic and how the international community can integrate to address this problem. The authors of one such study are addressing the question of whether the pandemic that has engulfed the

planet is related to globalization, and if so, then how. Characterizing globalization as a strategic direction in the development of mankind, the authors argue that the coronavirus infection is primarily of a biological nature and cannot be considered as a moderator of social processes (Chumakov, 2020), that the coronavirus infection cannot prevent globalization (Farrell and Newman, 2020). Other researchers successfully and effectively substantiate the negative aspects of globalization, emphasizing its supranational nature, leading to the dominance of some nation-states over others (Simonyan, 2018) and increased risks within the nation-state, concluded that the pandemic leads to the death of globalization (Voloshin, 2020; Danilov, 2021). In our study, the proposition about the crisis of the globalization project is substantiated, since only national-state localization and tough government decisions can have positive consequences in an extreme situation.

The civilizational specificity of Russia is discussed within the framework of the East-West dilemma. Russia is considered either as a Western European power with the appropriate characteristics and values (Granin, 2021), or as an Eastern-type state closely associated with the codes and traditions of Eastern culture (Apollonov and Tarba, 2017; Shchipkov, 2018). The third solution to the problem is connected with the statement about a special civilizational image of the Russian state, which does not coincide with either the first or the second, forming a special world, quite comparable with the first two, but peculiar and unique, due to the long historical context of the formation of Russian statehood and religion (Mezhuev, 2018; Reznik, 2019). Unlike existing approaches, the author considers Russia's place in the civilizational process in the context of solving the problems of the pandemic. Since the pandemic has highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of globalization processes, the author shows the insufficiency of the pro-Western model of civilizational development adopted by modern Russia, which does not correspond to the value, mental attitudes of Russians, and, therefore, hinders the effective solution of social problems caused by the pandemic.

An extensive resource of sociological research, the subject of which is the analysis of the social problems of Russian society caused by the expansion of the pandemic, unites the conclusion about the growth of social stratification, psychological tension, and the instability of the financial situation of people. Sociologists show which groups of the population are most difficult to experience remote work, wage cuts, dismissal (Latova, 2021; Lezhnina, 2021; Mareeva, 2021; Pandemic in numbers, 2020; Windows with a view of COVID, 2020). The systematic secondary analysis of sociological data presented by the author made it possible to create a basis for empirical substantiation of the specifics of the social situation in Russian society, which is a necessary component of making adequate decisions to overcome the pandemic crisis. Despite the political, financial, social and other problems (aggravated not only by the pandemic, but also by international sanctions) that accompanied 2020 and passed into 2021, the social situation in the country is generally stable, positive trends are gradually emerging, such as, for example, the rapid development of digitalization in all spheres of social life, the emergence of a new level of consumption, the official constitution of distance work and education.

Scientific intelligence, which confirms that there are differences in understanding the social consequences of the pandemic in different countries and on different continents, which is manifested in the focus of researchers on people's mental health, has practical value (Daly et al., 2020; Santomauro et al., 2021), in our study, financial and material problems are brought to the fore, the solution of which depends on the state.

6. Conclusion

The study found that the crisis that engulfed the economies of all countries as a result of the quarantine measures taken, the lockdown of almost all enterprises and firms, the radical restructuring of management and the organization of personnel work as a result of the transition to a remote mode, made it possible to re-evaluate globalization as an objective social process, the deployment of which does not always have positive consequences. Modernity testifies that the project of globalization, being implemented, increasingly appears as a trend towards the unification of political structures, economy and culture, there is a rejection of the dialogue between different civilizational types, cultures, the imposition of the Western image of political, economic and cultural development. The pandemic, which in a short period became a global problem, clearly showed the unpreparedness of the world community not only for unconditional integration, but also for the implementation of the idea of mutual assistance. The current situation convinces that it is too early for the world community to abandon the national specifics of solving a global problem (not just the problem of the pandemic), that only national-state localization and tough government decisions can have positive consequences in an extreme situation.

The national specificity of Russia, its place in the world civilizational process is determined by the peculiarity of the geopolitical position in the world space. Russia accepted and processed the patterns of other cultures, being at the civilizational crossroads between the West and the East, functioning as a kind of state organization, economic life, culture, trying to adapt to external challenges. The country has always been peaceful, not trying to dictate its decisions to other countries. It does not claim to be a world leader, maintaining and strengthening partnerships with the world community. The tension of the situation inside the country is due to the fact that in the last hundred years in Russia there has been a protracted civilizational crisis, the content of which is the choice of a historical perspective that corresponds to the cultural values of the people. The desire for cooperation in the fight against the pandemic on a global scale should have contributed to the integration of Russia into the civilizational pool of developed states, should have strengthened the orientation towards the establishment of a pro-Western model of development. However, the modern West constantly demonstrates its critical attitude towards our country. Foreign analysts see any action of the Russian government as a danger, a threat, turning Russia into an enemy. Russia does not yet have its own civilizational model and long-term development strategy. At present, the civilizational crisis in Russia is accompanied by deep internal problems exacerbated by the spread of the pandemic.

Russia's internal problems reflect the difficult socio-economic situation in the country, which Russians assess as negative. The financial problems that Russians had to solve

during the pandemic were largely due to the fact that before the onset of the crisis, the majority of the population did not have a financial safety cushion. The gap between social classes in terms of living standards demonstrates colossal economic inequality, the standard of living of certain regions of Russia and the lower social strata, which include the poor and groups below the poverty line, continues to fall. According to opinion polls, the morale of Russians during the pandemic and the announcement of quarantine measures began to deteriorate, people have no confidence in the future. The main difference of today's situation is its protracted uncertainty. However, despite the political, financial, social and other problems (aggravated not only by the pandemic, but also by international sanctions) that accompanied 2020 and passed into 2021, the social situation in the country is generally stable, positive trends are gradually emerging. As for the deterioration of the moral state of society, this phenomenon, in our opinion, does not have a clear direct connection with the social consequences of the spread of the pandemic and, most likely, is assessed by Russians as a kind of negative trend due to the civilizational crisis, the previous development of domestic society.

It is obvious that a quick response to the situation and the adoption of adequate tax and social support measures can reduce the impact of the negative consequences of the crisis caused by the pandemic on the financial situation of people. In terms of the number of adopted reforms aimed at improving the fiscal and social policy, 2020 in Russia has become unique. The government managed to stop the devaluation of the ruble, increased social payments, and provided targeted assistance to inclusive groups of the population. The system of measures taken by the state during the pandemic and strict control over their observance convinced the majority of the population of the advantages of centralized administrative power, historically traditional for the Russian political system. Strengthening of national identity involves political will and state activity, is achieved as a dialogue between the elite and society. As a result, the most important task of Russia's internal development is to find ways of national harmony, convergence of the value preferences of different segments of the population. At present, it is too early to say that the national idea that unites Russians has been formulated.

The practical value of scientific research lies in the possibility of using the findings to assess the social situation and to develop specific political and economic measures to overcome the negative social consequences of the pandemic in Russian society.

The scientific value of our study lies in the fact that it lays the foundation for numerous scientific discussions about the opportunities, problems and prospects for the development of local civilizations in the context of total globalization and national reserves to overcome the negative social consequences of extreme historical situations, an example of which is the pandemic in our time.

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