The problems of formation of social capital of socially vulnerable categories of the population in the modern metropolis

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Abstract—Traditionally, researchers have suggested that social capital is a stable characteristics of the population that is slowly changing under the influence of strong cultural and historical shocks. At present, for successful transformation, reformation and modernization of society, without improvement of which other political processes are impossible, new approaches to the concept of “subject”, for the sake of which all these changes are taking place, are necessary. In modern sociological literature there are various characteristics of the qualities of specialists in the field of social protection management, education, which they must possess today in order to successfully implement modernization transformations, ranging from intelligence, competence, initiative, creativity, and ending with the concept of “socialized man.” For example, one of the characteristics of an industrial society is that human needs objectively outpace the capabilities of society. The emerged technocratic culture, the culture of material consumption, becomes an inertial force supporting the structure of an industrial society even when the basic material needs of people are satisfied and there is an opportunity for the development of information and spiritual needs.

The state policy of social protection is considered as an integral part of social policy, which is included in the subject area of sociological science. In recent years, in our country there has been a tendency of a significant increase in socially unprotected citizens among the population. The state of health, family, financial wellbeing of people is an objective prerequisite for their social activity in the formation of an effective social structure. The position of people in the system of inequality, through socio-cultural and socio-economic factors, affects the behavior of people and, consequently, the resources of society in the field of social protection.

Access to such social values, such as the quality of life, health, in society is not the same for different groups and segments of the population. It is determined by the position of individuals and groups in the social structure of society. For example, age, health, large families, loneliness, isolation, etc. are inevitably touched upon. The aggravation of public attention to this issue activates its discussion, in the process of which the most important issues of our time regarding trust, social rejection, solidarity, self-government, citizenship, etc. are inevitably touched upon. Especially important is the fact that the introduction of the concept of social capital into the sphere of research implies an analysis of relations between people, an increase in their significance for the life and development of society [1].

Thus, the relevance of the chosen topic of this study is determined by the following:

- an insufficient degree of knowledge and the need for a broad analysis of the theoretical developments of Western concepts of social capital in order to identify the possibility of their implementation in practice in Russian society;
- insufficient development of the categorical and methodological apparatus, which allows to study social

Keywords—large families, longevity, social capital, the elderly, socially unprotected categories

I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of social capital carries in itself humanistic ideas, the center of which is primarily a person, and not any material values. The aggravation of public attention to this issue activates its discussion, in the process of which the most important issues of our time regarding trust, social rejection, solidarity, self-government, citizenship, etc. are inevitably touched upon. Especially important is the fact that the introduction of the concept of social capital into the sphere of research implies an analysis of relations between people, an increase in their significance for the life and development of society [1].

Thus, the relevance of the chosen topic of this study is determined by the following:

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- insufficient development of the categorical and methodological apparatus, which allows to study social
capital as a systemic phenomenon in all spheres of social life, the mechanisms of its formation, realization and accumulation;

- the need to search for new strategies and technologies for managing Russian society with the involvement of new intangible resources;
- insufficient state attention and lack of investment in the social capital of Russia.

In the conditions of the formation of a new society in Russia, with the priority development of civil institutions, the democratic policy of the state, the emergence of new social processes and types of interactions between people, population and government, various social structures, the search for new mechanisms and resources for the development of society becomes mandatory. Capital can be not only financial assets, enterprises, but also the quality of people and their characteristics and possibilities of social behavior and interaction [2]. Without denying the colossal achievements of industrial and post-industrial society, including technical ones, today, in our opinion, it is necessary to consider people and their mutual relations as the main resource of modernization. Innovative development of society should be based on fundamentally new approaches to the use of not only human skills and abilities (human capital), but also human relationships.

One of the most important for the development of society is the resource of cooperation, which provides the opportunity for collaboration, exchange (material and non-material) and has both economic and social effects. Thanks to the cooperation of people, based primarily on a sense of interpersonal trust, labor productivity increases, transaction costs are reduced in conducting transactions, reciprocal relationships become possible, social interactions and exchanges become more frequent, the social atmosphere is more favorable for different communities. The boundaries of distribution and the level of trust in this case largely depends on the cultural traditions established in individuals from childhood by the family, the environment and the culture of the society as a whole. Under the influence of these parameters, and also taking into account the existence of common interests, motives and goals, communities of people are formed, whose joint activity is aimed at creating individual and collective wealth and wealth. Consequently, small communities are a form of social capital that provides a development resource for the whole of society. At the same time, within small communities, in the process of interactions between their members, there is a realization and accumulation of social capital of the individual and local level of a particular group of people with possible social effects outside [3].

The solution of all these issues requires an integrated approach. The government should prepare a special program of system support and improving the quality of life of older people [4].

Every person is important and valuable to us, so that he feels his relevance, lived a long and, most importantly, healthy life, rejoiced his grandchildren, great-grandchildren, so that children would grow up and become successful in a strong, dynamic, successful country that is entering a new frontier of development.

Russia should not only firmly establish itself in the top five largest economies in the world, but also by the middle of the next decade increase GDP per capita by half. This is a very difficult task.

The most important basic indicator of the well-being of citizens and the country is, of course, life expectancy. In 2000, in Russia it was a little over 65 years old, and for men it was generally less than 60.

In recent years, the growth rate of average life expectancy in Russia is among the highest in the world. Life expectancy has increased by more than seven years and is 73 years. By the end of the next decade, Russia must confidently enter the club of the 80 plus countries, where life expectancy exceeds 80 years. This including countries such as Japan, France, Germany.

At the same time, the duration of a healthy, active, full-fledged life should grow at a faster pace, when a person is not restrained or constrained by illness. I am convinced that such a goal, given the positive dynamics of past years, is achievable. And for this, the whole of Russia, of course, has to make a big step in its development in order to qualitatively change the life of each person.

In previous years, due to the active support of the family, motherhood, and childhood, they were able to reverse negative demographic trends: they achieved an increase in the birth rate and a decrease in mortality, and managed to smooth out the consequences of two extremely difficult, superimposed demographic failures of the period of the Great Patriotic War and the end of the last century. But today, the demographic losses of the 90s inevitably make themselves felt. This is primarily a decline in the birth rate, as the small generation of the 90s begins to create families. This is just an objective reality.

The demographic problem also has an economic dimension, a purely economic dimension. In 2017, for example, the working-age population fell by almost a million. In the coming years, this downward trend will continue, which could be a serious constraint on economic growth. There is simply no workforce. It is necessary to respond to these challenges and in the coming decade to ensure a steady natural growth of the population of Russia.

In the Russian Federation, according to the average forecast version of the Federal State Statistics Service, the share of citizens over working age will increase from 2018 to 2025 from 25.5% to 27.4% and amount to 40.2 million people. In this regard, the issues of long-term care for senior citizens occupy one of the important places in the system of social protection of the population.

According to Rosstat in the Russian Federation, out of 146.9 million people, every fourth (37.3 million)
was older than the able-bodied, which is 25.4% of the total population of the country.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The main method of empirical analysis in the thesis is the secondary analysis of statistical and qualitative data on the process of conducting the reform of public administration in the Russian Federation, as well as reforms of legal property relations in the Russian Federation. The secondary analysis and interpretation of statistical and qualitative data was carried out using the method of content analysis.

The information base includes: publications on public health issues; materials of the regional representative personalized database of the comprehensive public health research of the population of Moscow, Saratov region (2017-2018, n = 4875); materials of representative monitoring sociological research in the Moscow region (2015-2018); materials of annual monitoring studies of the lifestyle and health of large families, the elderly in Moscow (2017--2018); materials of medical and other statistics.

The social capital of a large family is considered in the form of 3 aspects: intergroup relations (family relation to external groups and vice versa), intragroup relations (relations within the family) and interpersonal (relationship between family members).

Among the respondents, 47% of men and 53% of women, including by age groups: up to 20 years - 28%; 21-30 years old - 5%; 31-40 years old - 42%; 41-50 years old - 24%; 51-60 years - 1%.

According to the level of education, the respondents had a higher education - 48%; secondary special education - 17%; secondary education - 34%; the other is 1%.

The number of children in a large family should be 3 or more 4. The distribution of families according to the number of children is uneven.

![Fig. 1. The distribution of families according to the number of children is uneven](image)

The theoretical and methodological foundations of the research are represented by the concepts of F. Fukuyama’s trust, P. Bourdieu’s cultural capital, which are repelled from the economic theory of capital in Marxism and put forward a statement on the close relationship between various types of intangible capital and the conversion of some types of capital into others. The functioning of social capital and other intangible types of capital is understood in the context of the theory of exchange and analysis of social networks. In order to consider the concept of social capital in the context of management theories, the theses used the works of A. Fox, M. Burawy, J. Child, S. Clegg, P. Roman Romanov, applied the concept of organizational culture as an integration factor (G. Hofshtedde, T. Peters, Ch.O’Reilly). To study the dynamics of the functioning of intangible types of capital in specific socio-economic conditions, the works of A.V. Vishnevsky, V.V. Volkov were used, the ideas of M. Fuko were involved. In order to analyze the functioning of social capital in the expolar economies, the ideas of T. Shani, A. Ledeneva are used in the work. In the development of the methodology of applied research and design of the tools of the dissertation, it is based on the model of a sociological study presented in the works of V. Adtsov, V.G. Vinogradsky, EM Kovalev, I.Ye. Steinberg, R. Atkinson.

The first theoretical ideas, anticipating the concept of social capital, were formed in the works of E. Durkheim and M. Weber. The classics of sociological science believed that, under certain conditions, trust could be transferred from an individual quality characterizing a person to the discharge of the characteristics of a particular social group or society as a whole. Analysis of the concept of social capital as an independent social phenomenon became possible with the advent of such concepts as social exchange theory (M. Moss, D. Homans, R. Emerson), economic capital theory (K. Marks), analysis of social networks (A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, B. Ulman). One of the most famous theorists of social capital, who never used this term but understood its importance with great clarity, was the French political scientist Alexis de Tocqueville. In his work, “Democracy in America”, Tocqueville noted that American democracy and its system of limited governance worked precisely because the Americans had so successfully formed associations, both for civil and for political purposes [5].

The term “social capital” was first used in 1916 by L.J. Hanfan in describing school centers in rural communities. The author emphasized the importance of numerous social connections in the success of educational activities. In the 60s, urbanist J. Jacobi used this term in her classic work “The Life and Death of Great American Cities”, where she considered the impact of social capital, realized through membership in social clubs, on social stratification. The economist G. Lowry, as well as the sociologist A. Light, used the term “social capital” in the 1970s to analyze the problem of economic development within cities. The concept of social capital in Lowry is of secondary importance and is regarded as one of the components of the reproduction of social inequality, along with material and financial well-being. However, there was no developed concept of social capital in the work,
which was only partially replaced by a comparison of social relations with the type of capital.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the conditions of demographic aging of the population, social support of the older generation is particularly relevant and is the basis for the sustainable development of the state. At the state level, the following documents were adopted: Action Strategy for the Benefit of Older Generation Citizens until 2025, Presidential Decree of 07.05.2018 “On National Objectives and Strategic Development Goals of the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2024” senior citizens and people with disabilities, who set goals to improve the quality of life of older people, reduce their social exclusion, and our country's entry into the pool of 80+ countries.

In Moscow, there is a developed and high-quality system of social protection of the population. But this is clearly not enough as in quantitative terms - now only 5% of older Muscovites are covered by social services in stationary, semi-stationary forms of social services and at home. The same is with quality - the problem is that social services are provided on a declarative principle. In order to receive social services, a person must take certain actions. Not all older people can or want to do this, and there are a significant number of lonely older people, whose problems no one knows, who are left alone with trouble. A lonely elderly person can fall at home, feel bad, get sick - and no one will know until it is too late.

This problem of social exclusion necessitates increased attention to social support for elderly Muscovites 80+.

The demographic aging of the population is an objective and stable global trend, characteristic of our entire country as a whole, and of the city of Moscow in particular. International experience shows that many of the country's development, Canada, Italy, France have found forms of social support for older people 80+. In Moscow, a public demand has emerged for a new, modern, more effective model of social policy for older people, ensuring the widest coverage of Muscovites 80+.

The population of Moscow is aging. In Moscow in 2018, more than 3.4031 million people. (27.2%) are older than working age. In 2017, their number was 3, 3101 million people. (26.8%), for the year the older generation has grown by 97 thousand people. In Moscow, the number of older people over 70 is more than 1.3 (10.5%) million people. The number of Muscovites who stepped over the 100-year-old frontier is 778 people. Today, 18% of people over 70 years of age and more than 30% of Muscovites over 80 years of age are in need of constant care because of their state of health.

In Moscow, there are 33 state institutions of inpatient care, with a total capacity of 16,256 seats. There are no queues, but three-quarters of bed capacity are worn by 50% or more. And these are 23 institutions with a capacity of 11,833 places. With an increasing number of elderly people in the horizon until 2025, a significant increase in the need for constant care is expected, at least by a third.

A network of home-based social services is developing in Moscow, but all these measures are clearly not enough, since only 5% of the older generation Muscovites are covered by social services.

The city financially supports almost all members of the older generation. Thus, the share of recipients of a regional social supplement to a pension (17,500 rubles) is more than 83%. This is 2 176.0 million people. Virtually every older generation has the right to free travel on a social card, on additional payments in the form of subsidies for the payment of residential premises and utilities, utility services and communication services or other measures of social support, for targeted social assistance. And this is not by chance.

In terms of material security, only 0.7% of elderly Muscovites can afford any purchases. Every twelfth - 7.3% - "can afford to eat well and get good clothes, but a car or real estate is not available." One-third of elderly Muscovites (36.2%) have enough money for food and clothing, but durable goods are not available. For more than half of the older generation (57.2% of women and 52.3% of men) "there is not enough money even for food" and "there is enough food and clothing, but buying clothes and shoes is difficult".

For a city, the average cost of living for an elderly Muscovite in a hospital per day is from 2 thousand rubles. up to 5.4 thousand rubles, depends on the level of independence and medical indications, including the cost of major repairs and / or return on investment. Which of the elderly Muscovites can afford it, without seeking the help of the state or children? Only 2-3 people out of 100.

The largest share of families -81.5% has 3 children, then families with 4 children (10.8%) go with a long break. In general, the pattern of distribution of families by the number of children is described by a power trend of the form:

\[ y = 109.13x^{-3.2297} \]

\[ R^2 = 0.9645. \]

The weighted average number of children in a large family is 3.4 (significance level - p <0.05; standard deviation -1.27).

The proportion of adult children (18 years and more) in large families is 26%. In addition, 11% of large families have adult children living alone or having their own families.

In the course of the study, the identification of large families by financial position was studied. They attributed their family on the financial position: to the rich - 1%; to medium-income -50%; to the poor -46%; to the poor - 3% of respondents. According to them, the financial situation of families with many children in relation to other families of our country: significantly worse -51%; worse - 30%; equally - 16%; better than -
problems with the financial situation do not directly correlate with the feelings of the respondents about their belonging to a large family. Of these, 34.8% feel a sense of infringement and humiliation, 2.3% feel resentment, and 9.8% take this circumstance calmly. The rest - 53.2% of respondents showed that their belonging to a large family allows them to experience positive feelings (confidence and pride).

Large families are quite successfully built into the social structure of society and are perceived organically and naturally. They do not create significant problems for society and they themselves do not experience serious opposition from society.

Only 5% of respondents noted their personal abilities in raising the income of a large family as high or above the average level, the rest (95%) consider their capabilities as average or below the average level. It can be assumed that this distribution of answers indicates the real difficulties of the respondents in raising the incomes of a large family, as well as the need for external assistance and support (from the state, relatives, etc.).

In addition, this assessment reflects the unsatisfactory impact of social capital on the economic indicators of the existence of multi-child families (for example, their income) for various reasons, including the presence of barriers between social capital and the economy, underdevelopment of institutions, etc. The low possibility of monetization of social capital by large families, as well as their lack of preparation for this process, is in many ways a problem of society and the state.

The study revealed indicators of social capital for the following types of trust: external trust (family members' confidence in other people, institutions); internal trust (trust within the family); personal trust (willingness to share personal, intimate, non-public information); financial trust (the provision of funds or property in debt, in management). The nature of the distribution of answers shows a general high degree of distrust of large families, manifested in relation to other people, which is reflected in the accumulated sum of answers: distrust -43.1%; trust -20.8%.

The study revealed social capital of large families based on norms and values that reflect the understanding of their members of the boundaries of behavior, moral values, consideration of the interests of other people, social groups and society as a whole. The norms were understood as abstractly formulated rules, regulations, stereotypes (standards of behavior) established in this large family.

The presence of disagreements with neighbors and friends was noted by 27%, and their absence by 73% of respondents.

The magnitude of the implementation of the interaction of 65% shows the social capital of large families based on the norms of behavior, moral values, taking into account the interests of other people. At the same time, on average, 35% of large families prefer to limit their interaction with neighbors and acquaintances.

Social capital is formed and manifests itself in the social environment of members of large families, which for the study group of respondents averages 19 people (the minimum number is 1, the maximum is 2000 people (p> 0.05, the standard deviation is 88.6).

The circle of direct communication of a large family is on average about 10 people (the minimum number is 1, the maximum is 101 (p> 0.05, the standard deviation is 32.3).

The decisive role in the formation and development of social capital of large families is played by parents, 82 percent of whom know the teachers of the school where their children study, know the leaders of the creative circles (96.4%) and the leaders of the sports sections (93.2%), know their district officer (67%) and deputy (33.6%).

The difficulty of maintaining the life of a large family requires parents to use the strategy of flexible behavior based on the use of connections and the various possibilities of people from their surroundings to solve problems.

Using the help of the environment of large families on the basis of social capital has an economic context, manifesting itself in the form of reducing costs to achieve the desired result, to enter into and protect contracts, reduce losses from unfulfilled transactions, etc.

The study examined the nature of intergenerational interactions in large families - the relationship between parents and children. Intergenerational relations in a large family have a high average rating (95.6), which shows the tight closeness of relations between parents and children.

The results of the study confirmed the existence of a number of problems in the interaction of large families with the state and institutions.

According to 96.3% of respondents, the state does not sufficiently support cash collateral for large families. In addition, all respondents (100%) consider unsatisfactory the list of benefits provided to them by the state.

IV. CONCLUSION

The concept of social capital is actually based on the concept of trust. In our life, there is trust as a factor of psychological life: recognizing the personal qualities of a given person, another individual begins to experience feelings of empathy, reference, closeness, confidence that the first will not act against the interests of the second, etc. As the interest in the problems of society grows, the researchers paid attention to the presence of a social factor similar in
their manifestations to the psychological phenomenon of trust, but not “attached” to specific people, but characteristic of the whole community (hence such common names for the concept as “materialized trust”, “Institutionalized trust”) [6].

It is necessary that the social mission of the processes of formation and use of social capital of large families should be reoriented from separate and isolated activities for their survival to the potential of comprehensive development and get appropriate forms of implementation in the complex of measures to improve the institutional framework and legal system, create conditions for the development of civil society [7].

It should be noted that in the various interpretations of the concept of social capital on the basis of group trust relations, the very presence of social capital is explicitly or implicitly regarded as a resource for extracting benefits in a wider network of relations, i.e. as a means of positioning the group and its constituent individuals in relation to other groups and individuals belonging to them.

The more general concept of capital, as capital of social recognition of the significance of certain social properties, also includes an element of the relationship of domination and subordination of an individual and certain subgroups in a trust group of any complexity level (from family to nation), as well as in relation to other individuals and groups. In this sense, this concept is more meaningful and covers the whole sphere of social relations, including both the means (resources) used to achieve individual and group interests and the goals (socially recognized symbolic statuses and material benefits) of this activity, the specificity of which is always determined only within the framework of the social activity field where these funds are applied. Obviously, in fact, the same statuses and material objects, as well as social recognition of their ownership rights, may turn out to be depending on the situation both the goal and the means of activity. Nevertheless, the distinction between them is fundamental, because it embodies, on the one hand, the dynamic aspect of social life (transition from means to ends), and on the other, its diversity (diversity of types of activity goals from scientific discovery to increase of economic capital).

The problem of the appropriation of capital, however, is at the same time a problem of the social legitimation of capital, i.e. the problem of social recognition of the results of activities both at the intragroup and intergroup level. Such recognition is a general form for any purpose of activity in any field of social relations. Lack of recognition of the result of the activity deprives the activity of meaning proper goals.

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