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RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN RUSSIA: REASONS AND REGULATION MECHANISM

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Abstract: *Against the background of dynamically developing agriculture, Russia still has not been able to achieve sustainable development of rural territories. One of the key problems holding back movement in this direction is unemployment. Each economic system has its own characteristics of the formation of the labor market, which are determined by many endogenous factors. In this article, the authors investigate the features of the course of socio-economic processes in the labor market of rural areas. It is stated that the modern transformation of the agricultural sector is accompanied by an increase in labor productivity based on the improvement of the technological level. At the same time, the processes of labor force release and growth of forced unemployment in rural areas are taking place. The economically active population, released as a result of ongoing processes, migrates, being "squeezed out" to more prosperous regions in terms of job availability, most often to urban areas. A significant gap between total and registered unemployment, indicating the low efficiency of the functioning of labor market institutions, is observed. Under these conditions, the main requirement for the implementation of any economic projects in the countryside should be the provision of employment for the population. Labor market regulation is possible through the implementation of passive and active government policy measures. Within the framework of a passive policy, it is proposed to protect people affected by unemployment. An active policy should be aimed at regulating the level and duration of unemployment: expanding agricultural production, including labor-intensive one, by various agribusiness entities; accelerating the rate of the diversification of the rural economy; developing a mechanism to stimulate an interest in creating new jobs; solving the problems of accessibility of state employment services for rural residents, and increasing their efficiency. The problem of rational employment of the rural population can be solved only by implementing consistent economic transformations, taking into account the particularities of the formation of the labor market in rural areas.*

Keywords: *rural areas, labor productivity, employment, unemployment, labor migration, sustainable development.*

INTRODUCTION

Significant changes in the economy of the Russian Federation naturally affect the functioning of both agricultural production and rural areas as a whole. If agriculture in the country is developing dynamically, and the production of crop and livestock products is increasing, then sustainable development of rural territories is still not possible. One of the key problems holding back the movement in this direction is the unemployment and the low level of the rural employment. Various aspects of unemployment have been of interest to many researchers for a long time. Among the main ones is the study of the causes of unemployment and the mechanisms for its regulation. At the end of the 18th century, T.R. Malthus (1798) pointed out the lag in the growth of material goods production from the increase in the population as the main cause of unemployment. Later Karl Marx (1867), in his theory of value, linked unemployment with capital. And as its main reason, he indicated the excess or additional population in comparison with the average need for capital. John Maynard Keynes (1936) saw the limited demand for commodities as the cause of unemployment.

Based on empirical data for the United Kingdom for 1861-1957, A. W. Phillips (1958) revealed a statistical relationship between the unemployment rate and the inflation rate. The higher the unemployment rate was, the lower the increase in cash wages was, and the lower the increase in prices was, and vice-versa, the lower the unemployment rate and higher the employment were, the greater the increase in cash wages was, and the higher the rate of increase in prices was. Arthur M. Okun (1961), in his article "Potential GNP: Its Measurement and Significance", included in the collection "The Political Economy of Prosperity" (1970), formulated the idea that the gross national product (GNP) grew when employment of the population increased. The dependence was derived on the basis of statistics from the USA and consisted in the fact that for every percent of the excess of the unemployment rate over its natural level, there was a decrease in GNP compared to the level that could be achieved if unemployment was at the natural level. Arthur M. Okun initially stated that a 2% increase in GNP corresponded to a 1% decrease in cyclical unemployment. However, in different economic systems, this ratio can vary significantly, and even in the USA, it is corrected over time.

Jere Behrman, James A. Hanson (1979) constructed a functional dependence of the unemployment rate on the size of the labor force, working conditions and demographic indicators of the population. Studying labor market models, Mortensen Dale (1994) and Christopher Pissarides (2000) explained unemployment in the labor market as a result of the process of creation and destruction, large flows of workers and the complex process of coordination and bargaining between firms and workers. Later, they published a joint work "Job Creation and Job Destruction in the Theory of Unemployment" (Mortensen, Pissarides, 2011). They proceeded from the fact that the labor market was characterized by large flows of dismissals and high rates of hiring by firms. In such a labor market, the process of selecting workers and vacancies is complicated, and there will always be workers looking for work (unemployment) and jobs looking for workers (vacancies). Therefore, in terms of efficiency, there is an optimal unemployment rate, and this unemployment rate is clearly positive. Steven J. Davis, R. Jason Faberman, John Haltiwanger, Ron Jarmin, Javier Miranda (2008) supplemented this model with an assessment of the impact of business volatility on unemployment.

The point of view on the causes of unemployment by researchers close to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) comes down to the fact that unemployment is largely

structural in nature and, therefore, potentially depends on institutions, which are broadly defined as government regulation and trade union activity, and is, therefore, determined by the economic cycle and macroeconomic policies. Verifying this provision, Ulrich Beck (1999), Olivier Blanchard (2005), and Richard B. Freeman (2009) study various aspects of labor market regulation. Richard B. Freeman writes in this regard that the degree of labor market regulation is the main cause for unemployment. C. Piton and F. Rycx (2019), using data from 24 European countries, proved that deregulation of the commodity market (lowering barriers to entrepreneurship and trade) generally reduced unemployment. And deregulation of the labor market can negatively affect unemployment in the short term, while a positive effect (i.e. a decrease in unemployment) occurs only in the long term.

The shift in the focus of academic research towards institutions has been driven by the emergence of new, broader, and more accessible information for thinking about unemployment based on flows, comparisons, and trades. However, changes in institutions often fail to explain the evolution of unemployment rates over time. Some recent studies provide strong evidence of the relationship between unemployment and per capita income. Ying Feng, David Lagakos, and James E. Rauch (2018) showed that unemployment increased along with GDP per capita. A similar view was also expressed by Shuaizhang Feng, Yingyao Hu and Robert Moffitt (2017). Rural unemployment is often associated with the size of the rural population as it was stated by Laurence Ball, Nicolás De Roux and Marc Hofstetter (2013). In addition, they recorded the impact of reduction in aggregate demand on steady increase in unemployment over time, thus confirming the theory of John Maynard Keynes. The nature of unemployment in Russia is significantly affected by such features of the rural labor market as territorial dispersion and isolation of regional markets; lack of vacancies within the reach of the place of residence; high duration of unemployment with loss of skills and qualifications; insufficient level of development of labor market infrastructure. All this requires further objective assessment of the processes taking place in the labor market in order to form an effective mechanism for regulating unemployment and creating sustainable rural development.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This article studies how in modern Russian reality the processes of agricultural transformation and its technological development actually affect the indicators of labor force participation in agricultural production, the level of unemployment and labor migration of the rural population. To assess the economic development, the necessary system of interconnected indicators, which were the relevant statistical information in the form of indicators of the state and development of the economy of the regions of the Russian Federation for the period 2005-2018, was used. The research was based on statistical and analytical materials from the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Federal Service for Labor and Employment of the Russian Federation, materials from academic research, scientific conferences and periodicals. The methodological basis of the study was the fundamental principles and categorical apparatus of the theory of unemployment, conceptual and structural approaches to the description of the causes of unemployment, and mechanisms for its regulation. The work used systematic approach, the elements of comparative and statistical analysis to substantiate and argue the main conclusions and results of the study.

RESULTS

The development of agriculture in Russia over the past decades has been accompanied by a serious structural restructuring of the industry. Bankruptcy and liquidation of inefficient agricultural enterprises have been taking place. Those enterprises that have gone bankrupt are absorbed by more stable farms; divisions of large companies are often created on their territory. As a result of the optimization of agribusiness based on its concentration and specialization, technical re-equipment of production, processes of labor release are taking place. From 2005 to 2018, the number of commercial organizations (legal entities) decreased 2.7 times - from 20.4 up to 7.6 thousand units (Table 1).

Table 1: Labor force, employment, unemployment and labor productivity in Russian agriculture, thousand people (Federal State Statistics Service, n.d.)

Indicators	2005	2010	2015	2016	2017	2018
Rural working-age* population	22,742	22,218	21,192	20,826	20,507	20,149
Economically passive population	4,953	5,136	4,648	4,383	4,321	4,449
Labor force	17,789	17,082	16,544	16,443	16,186	15,700
including busy	15,952	15,185	15,158	15,052	14,825	14,350
of which in agriculture	7,489	6,049	5,507	5,482	5,075	4,937
unemployed	1,836	1,897	1,386	1,391	1,360	1,350
Number of commercial organizations (legal entities). units	20,366	8,506	5,517	5,322	7,652	7,784
Gross agricultural output, USD mln	48,581	80,789	76,656	78,586	87,619	84,742
Labor productivity, USD	6,487	13,356	13,919	14,335	17,266	17,166

* men aged 16-59, women aged 16-54

The scale of the problem and the risks of mass liquidation of organizations are also associated with the fact that a significant part of rural settlements function based on the synchronous territorial formation of administrative units and agricultural production organizations formed in Soviet times in geographically coincident territorial spaces. In rural territorial entities, a high percentage of workers employed in large agricultural enterprises is recorded in relation to the entire economically active population living in them. In the event of the termination of the production activities of such organizations, almost the entire able-bodied population of such territories will be unemployed. And in the event of merger, the production base, as a rule, is transferred to the central estate, and the production and management personnel are reduced as much as possible.

The processes of structural optimization of agricultural production are accompanied by an increase in labor productivity. The growth of labor productivity is the goal of any business entity. However, there is a flip side to this process. As noted by E.K. Karpunina, E.A. Yurina, I.A. Kuznetsov, A.A. Dubovitski (2019), with an increase in labor productivity due to the technical re-equipment of production based on an increase in the level of mechanization and automation, actively introduced digitalization of the business, processes of labor release are also taking place (Fig. 1). This is a negative factor in the formation of the labor market and a kind of challenge to the implementation of the policy of sustainable development of rural territories.

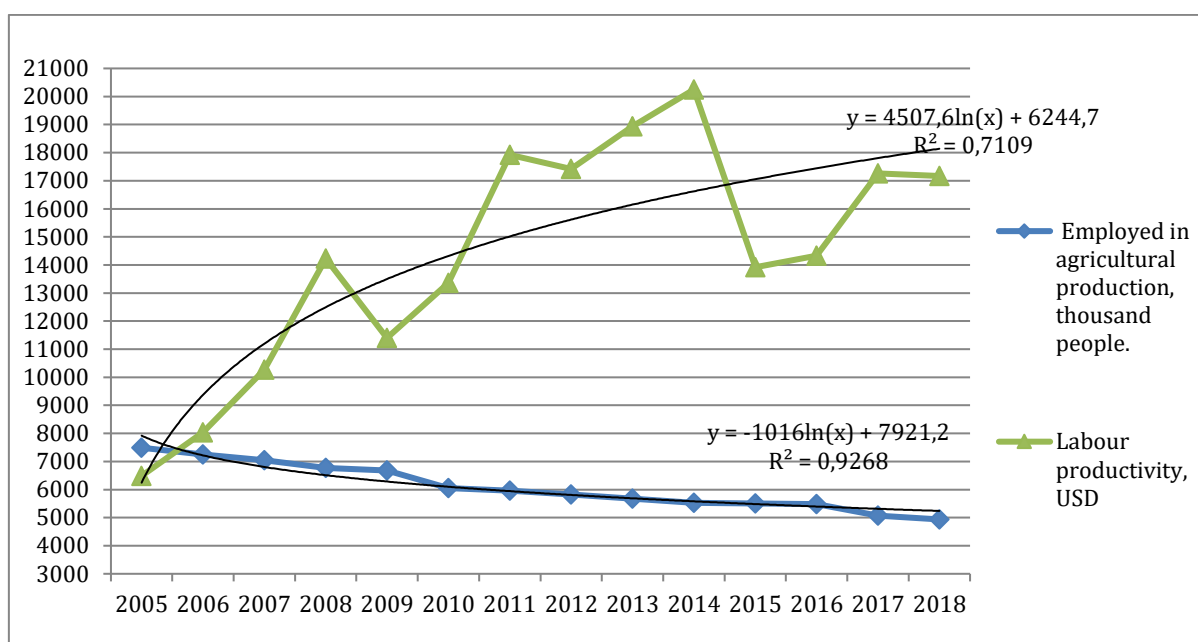


Figure 1: Dynamics of labor productivity and the number of employees engaged in agricultural production of Russia.

Annually, the number of jobs eliminated in agricultural organizations significantly exceeds the number of jobs created. So, in 2018, 76.9 thousand jobs were eliminated, and only 62.6 thousand jobs were created, i.e., by 22% less. In 2005-2018, the total number of people employed in agricultural production decreased from 7.5 to 4.9 mln people, or by 34%. And the level of employment in the rural areas decreased from 42.1 to 31.4%. Only one third of the rural population is provided with work at the place of residence. Labor supply is three times higher than demand, which destroys the classic idea of a functioning labor market based on the ratio of supply and demand. In this case, the assumption of Christopher Pissarides (2000) that explains unemployment in the labor market as a result of coordination and bargaining between firms and workers, does not work. Neither workers nor trade unions, as a rule, have bargaining power. Firms completely dictate terms of employment. It is this that is the decisive factor in determining the level of wages in agriculture, and not the nature of the negotiations, as Olivier Blanchard (2005) states. In this case, a type of development (model), when the growth of production in the agricultural sector is not accompanied by an increase in employment in it, is observed. In such a situation, as G. S. Fields (1980) notes, the results of growth in the form of rising incomes are distributed among a narrow layer of the population. This type of development is common to many countries in Latin America and Africa.

With such serious changes in agricultural production, there is a transformation of the labor market, accompanied by an increase in forced unemployment in rural areas. The economically active population released as a result of the ongoing processes migrates in search of work to more prosperous regions in terms of availability of work, most often to urban areas, as individual entrepreneurs and farmers are not able to provide enough jobs, as our own research indicates (A.A. Dubovitski, E.A. Klimentova, 2019). Labor migration beyond the boundaries of the place of residence in rural areas during this time increased from 8,463 mln people to 9,413 mln people. The migration level increased by 12.4 percentage points - from 47.6% to 60.0% (Fig. 2).

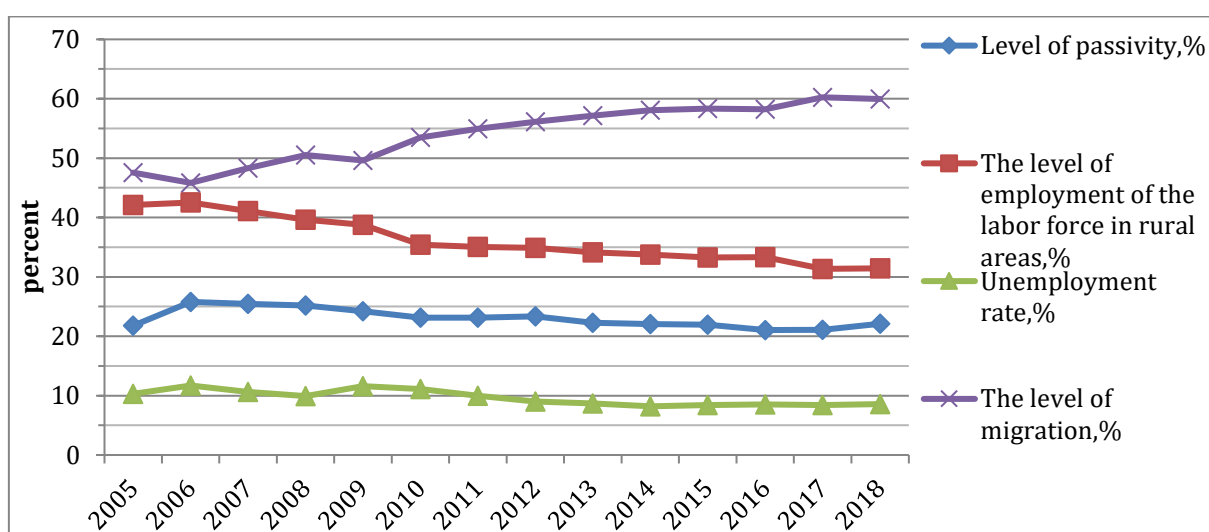


Figure 2: Structural indicators of employment and unemployment of the rural labor market of Russia.

And migration is determined precisely by the lack of jobs, and not by the ratio of wage levels in agriculture and industry. This is a special case of the limited functionality of the labor migration model by M. P. Todaro (1969), in which rural-urban migration is adjusted in such a way as to provide positive relationship between unemployment and wages in different regions and sectors. The impact of labor productivity on the level of employment, the level of migration, and gross agricultural output is confirmed by the data of correlation and regression analysis (Table 2).

Table 2: The results of the correlation and regression analysis of the dependence of indicators on labor productivity

Effective indicator	Regression Equation	R	R ²	The tightness of communication (Cheddock scale)
The level of employment of labor in rural areas, %	$Y = 47.27245 - 0.77x_1$	-0.82741	0.6846	high
Labor migration rate, %	$Y = 39.93488 + 0.991x_1$	0.83364	0.69497	high
Gross agricultural output, USD mln	$Y = 24,426.76 + 4,209.8x_1$	0.93341	0.87126	very high

The numerical coefficients of the regression equation show the quantitative impact of each factor on the effective indicator, while the others remain unchanged. The constructed model allows drawing the following conclusions: with an increase in labor productivity by USD 1,000, the level of employment in the rural areas decreases by 0.77%; with an increase in labor productivity by USD 1,000, the level of labor migration increases by 0.991%; with an increase in labor productivity by USD 1,000, the value of gross agricultural output increases by USD 4,209.8 mln.

Thus, the impact of labor productivity growth in agriculture is a decisive factor determining not only the productivity of production, but also the movement of labor in the labor market. Less mobile people that do not leave their place of residence in search of work are registered as unemployed in the employment services. According to the

official data "The situation on the labor market of the Russian Federation" (2018) on the Rostrud website, the number of unemployed citizens registered with the employment service of the population in the Russian Federation as a whole amounted to 661 thousand people at the end of 2018. The unemployment rate was 0.9%. Moreover, according to statistics on the Rosstat website, the total number of unemployed was 5.1 times higher and amounted to 3,657 thousand people in 2018, with an unemployment rate of 4.8%. The number of unemployed living in rural areas amounted to 1,350 thousand people, and the unemployment rate was 8.6%. A significant gap between total and registered unemployment is a feature of the rural labor market in Russia. This confirms the conclusions of L. Bondarenko and L. Tatarova (2019) on the low efficiency of the work of state employment agencies, and sometimes violation of the law on registration of the unemployed. As a result, most of the rural unemployed are outside the state-regulated labor market.

In addition, according to the ILO methodology, unemployed are not people who, when surveying the population by the statistical authorities, did not seek work within one month preceding the survey, and were not ready to start work if it was offered within a week of the survey. This category of citizens is the economically passive population. In rural areas, for the analyzed period, it ranges from 4.3 to 5.9 mln people, in relative terms, it constitutes from 21% to 25.7%. By 2018, their number had almost become equal to the number of people employed in agriculture. And taking into account those classified as unemployed, the number of those who are not provided with work in rural areas increases to 5.8 mln people, which is 1.3 times more than those who have a job. Employment directly affects the poverty level of the population. And this problem requires a solution in the first place. Indeed, if a third of the economically active population is provided with work, and the rest either do not have a job or are forced to leave their place of residence in search of it, then there can be no question of any sustainable development. And even if this third has decent wages, and now the average monthly nominal accrued wages of agricultural workers is RUB 25,671 (about USD 414), then in the near future, it will be impossible to ensure "well-being of people, prosperity in Russian families" in rural areas.

DISCUSSION

The policy of regulating employment in rural areas of Russia should be structured in such a way as to facilitate the implementation of the constitutional rights of rural citizens to full-fledged productive and freely chosen employment. For this, it is necessary to create institutional, economic and legal conditions that could ensure the rational functioning of the rural labor market. Labor market regulation is possible on the basis of the implementation of measures of passive and active state policy. As part of the passive policy, it is proposed to protect people affected by unemployment. Material support for the unemployed should be socially acceptable while maintaining incentives for an active job search. Unfortunately, the level of compensation for professional and social risks is relatively low. Most of them are provided for in ILO Convention No. 102 "On minimum standards of social security" adopted by the General Conference of the ILO on June 28, 1952 and which Russia has not yet ratified. Since January 1, 2019, the minimum benefit had been increased to RUB 1,500, and the maximum - to RUB 8,000, which is 13.3% and 70.9% of the subsistence level, respectively. However, serious concerns are expressed about the ultimate result of improving social security for the unemployed. According to L.

Bondarenko and L. Tatarova (2019): "With the slight increase in the amount of benefits, one can expect restrictions on access to them. The increase in material support for the unemployed is provided on the principle expressed by the Russian proverb: "the wolves are fed, and the sheep are safe". During the event, the task is set not to go beyond the budget funds currently allocated for the payment of benefits". Thus, the problem of ensuring the survival of the unemployed still needs to be addressed.

More effective is an active employment policy, which is aimed at regulating the level and duration of unemployment. To this end, further expansion of agricultural production by various agribusiness entities is necessary. The creation and preservation of jobs in the agricultural economy should be facilitated by the involvement of unused arable land in the production, as well as by the expansion of labor-intensive industries, such as gardening and vegetable growing, as well as livestock farming. Along with this, to expand the rural labor market, it is necessary to accelerate the rate of diversification of the rural economy by promoting the organization of alternative non-agricultural activities in rural areas, which can take up human resources that are not found in the agricultural sector. Particular attention should be paid to the development of agricultural processing industries, logistics infrastructure, production of building materials from local raw materials and wood processing, rural tourism, folk crafts and handicrafts. It is necessary to use all available opportunities for involving the population in the activities of consumer cooperatives, including the collection, preparation and processing of wild berries, mushrooms, medicinal plants and other natural raw materials. However, it should be noted that no economic strategy aimed at stimulating economic growth and employment will be successful without an emphasis on stimulating the expansion of demand for consumer goods, the dynamics of which fundamentally depend on the growth of real wages and real incomes of households, which is confirmed by the conclusions of M.V. Muravyova (2018), A. A. Dubovitski and A. A. Bortnikova (2016).

In the light of the formation of sustainable development of rural areas, a mechanism is needed to stimulate interest in creating new jobs. To this end, it is advisable to link the volume of state support to agribusiness with the number of newly created jobs, or at least not with a decrease in existing ones. It should not be profitable for employers to lay off workers even when carrying out activities related to the technical modernization of production. In government support measures for rural areas, it is advisable to extend credit support for alternative activities to all individuals and legal entities that create jobs in this area and register their activities in rural areas, and not just to individual subsidiary farms, peasant (farm) farms and agricultural consumer cooperatives. A stimulating mechanism for the development of non-agricultural employment in rural areas can be a reduction in the tax rate on income of individual entrepreneurs and the tax on profit of organizations registered and carrying out alternative activities in rural areas. It is impossible to postpone the solution of the problems of accessibility for rural residents of state employment services, increasing their efficiency and bridging the existing gap between the total and registered rural unemployment.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the problem of rational employment of the rural population can only be solved by implementing consistent economic transformations, taking into account the peculiarities of the formation of the labor market in rural areas. The condition for ensuring employment of the population should be fundamental in the implementation of

any economic projects in the countryside, be it the processes of concentration and specialization of agribusiness, or its technical re-equipment. In any case, the measures taken should not be accompanied by a reduction in the number of jobs, but ideally, of course, their number should increase. Only in this case, it will be possible to maintain a balance between supply and demand in the labor market, and, ultimately, ensure the sustainable development of rural areas.

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