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Protest behavior in region (on the materials of the Arkhangelsk region)



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Abstract

There is an analysis of the social discontent's basis, the form and dynamic of the protest behavior in the modern period on the territory of the Arkhangelsk region in article.

Keywords: *protest behavior, conventional forms and not conventional forms of the protest behavior, Arkhangelsk region.*

According to the study, "Inter-regional index of the crisis of consciousness" in autumn 2008 thought possible mass protests against rising prices, falling living in Arkhangelsk 32% (similar to the national average was 39%) [1, p. 22]. In the Arkhangelsk region, according to the regional Department of the Interior, during 2008 was 28 protests¹. In the autumn of 2009 was considered possible to participate in the mass protests against rising prices, unemployment and falling living standards 26% of the population of the Arkhangelsk region (the rate in the country was then 29%). In all the studied regions of Russia the number of the victims of the crisis has exceeded 50% in Arkhangelsk as 43% of the population believed that the crisis has not affected the material well-being of their families, 7% - that the crisis has affected some negative, but something positive. Although the number to feel the negative impact of the crisis on their financial well-being has increased during 2009 from 31 to 43%, it must be admitted that during the crisis did not happen dramatic decline in living standards of the population.² Arkhangelsk region on the map of the social tension in Russia in (2009) is a region of the social stability.

¹ The protests in the Arkhangelsk region: police guard. URL: <http://kprf.ru/actions/63317.html> (Date of access: 15.04.2011).

² Social well-being of the population in the regions of the economic crisis. Analytical report on the results of the survey "Interregional index crisis of consciousness" (Wave 3). URL: 0911123.pdf (date accessed: 12.05.2011). All-Russian Association of Regional sociological centers "Group of 7/89" held the third wave of the research project "Interregional index crisis of consciousness" (MICS-3). The first wave of the study was conducted in November and December 2008 in 17 cities and regions of the country, the second wave - in March 2009. Reports on the results of the study were presented to authorities, the expert community, actively discussed in the media. With the results of the first and second wave of the project can be found on the website of the Association "Group of 7/89".

Territorial map of the social tension in Russia in (2009)



Resource: Agency «New region», 2009. URL: http://m.deita.ru/society/v-rossii_05.02.2009_122704_sostavlena-territorialnaja-karta-sotsialnoj-naprjazhennosti-v-rossii-foto.html. **Orange colour** marked areas where people's revolts may occur is almost "tomorrow", **grey colour** – areas where dissatisfaction falling living standards have not yet reached a critical point, and finally, **green** – is relative to the social stability.

However, the last 2-3 years have seen an extraordinary level for the northern district of the protest activity. In 2009, for the several months in Arkhangelsk held protests of the doctors to whom they were forced to poor working conditions, low pay, and miserable hospital equipment. May 29 at a meeting initiated by the surgeons of the First Municipal Hospital of Arkhangelsk, Novodvinsk doctors came out and Severodvinsk, providers of all hospitals of the city. More than a thousand people came to support the demands of doctors. In a resolution adopted at the meeting put forward a number of requirements: to provide area hospitals with all the necessities for quality work, the creation of the commission at the Ministry of Public Health Inspection procurement conducted in the field of health facilities; fair pay physicians. The official trade union health care workers Archangel did not support the protest of doctors. The staff of the 1st city hospital was set up independent trade union of the doctors, headed by the surgeon Alexey Popov.

September 8, 2009 in Arkhangelsk was the second meeting of doctors. The rally gathered several hundred people - representatives of seven hospitals and clinics Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk Novodvinsk and sympathizers. In order to participate arrived L. Roshal. At the meeting were the organizers - Alex Popov and Ivan Rostov. They stated that it was exactly 100 days from the previous meeting, but no requirement of doctors, of the aforementioned previously failed. The participants of the rally demanded a commission to monitor the expenditure of funds, which will include representatives of labor collectives and members of the independent trade union. The desperate nature of the struggle and the unusual protest Arkhangelsk physicians (doctors in Russia, in spite of their plight, almost never go to rallies) have led to the protest of physicians (doctors revolution) has received wide fame. Physicians supported by the chairman of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation on Health famous doctor Leonid Roshal. After receiving such support, Archangel doctors managed to carry out a number of requirements (the creation of a conciliation commission to solve the health area, the removal of the Minister of Health). Protests of doctors,

thanks to "Archangel precedent" could be repeated in other regions, because the issues raised by the first city hospital surgeons are identical for the entire country. According to some media reports, Arkhangelsk doctors managed to do just about the same as that of the residents of Pikalevo: to draw the authorities' attention to their problems³.

In 2010, the most painful problem for the population of the Arkhangelsk region was the increase in utility tariffs. On January 1, payments for heating rose by 18%, hot water - 25% for garbage collection - and at 78%⁴. The growth of the public utilities led many people to the poverty line. Arkhangelsk was crowded with meetings, where representatives of the various left groups. The protests took place not only in Arkhangelsk, but in Severodvinsk Nyandom, Velsk, Onega and other cities. February 21 in Arkhangelsk rally to protest against extortionate utility tariffs. Despite the 20-degree cold in the square at the regional administration has gathered about 1,500 people (obviously understated figures ATC region, 450 people)⁵. The rally was supported by the representatives of 15 independent unions in the region. It shares the Communists and joined the local branch of the "Solidarity", the committee for organizing the protest included former mayor of Arkhangelsk Alexander Donskoy and surgeon Alex Popov, who led the high-profile meetings of doctors. The protesters were holding banners saying "No increase in utility tariffs," "No tyranny of officials," "No impoverishment». The participants demanded the resignation of the regional governor, regional and federal government. In addition, among the requirements put forward was the abolition of a number of the regional laws and decrees, in particular on the monetization of the benefits and administrative reform.

March 6, 2010 at a meeting in the office of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Archangel OK A. Novikov was represented to the social organizations, political parties, from the left to the right, the regional center for alternative trade unions accepted unanimously to hold a March 28, 2010 in Arkhangelsk at the second meeting against the growth rates for Housing [2]. March 20, 2010 in Arkhangelsk, held a protest of opposition of public organizations, which the organizers have identified as a "warm-up" before the big designated March 28, a rally to protest against rising prices and utility tariffs. At a rally March 28, 2010 there were about 3 million people (according to the law enforcement agencies, about a thousand people). Thus, the rally was the largest mass action since 2005, when there were protests against the monetization of benefits. The meeting on March 28 was the last event in the preparation of which was attended by various opposition forces in the region. Shortly before the rally, the coalition fell apart. The Communists accused the "Solidarity" and "not indifferent" to try to arrange a "orange revolution", the last, in turn, declared Communist conspiracy with the government. The calls, which were made by the organizers of the rally from the Communist Party, were economic in nature and were reduced to the requirements to control the work of asset

³ 10 main events of the 2009 in the Arkhangelsk region. URL: <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1240285.html> (Date of access: 10.02.2011).

⁴ Mass mitings in the Arkhangelsk region want to shut up. URL: <http://www.zaks.ru/new/archive/view/66170> (Date of access: 20.04.2011).

⁵In Arkhangelsk was held a miting against the high utility rites В Архангельске прошёл митинг против высоких тарифов ЖКХ. URL: <http://www.newtariffs.ru/blog/v-arkhangelske-proshel-miting-protiv-vysokikh-tarifov-zhkhkh> (Date of access: 13.02.2011).

management companies in the utilities and the "freezing" of tariffs, increase the salaries of teachers and doctors. Political slogans at a rally almost no sound, just got the mayor of Arkhangelsk Pavlenko. Social organizations that disagree with the softness of the slogans continued protest action outside Chumbarova-Luchinskogo. There have already been made demands the resignation of Governor J. Mikhailchuk Mayor Pavlenko. The procession was attended by hundreds of Arkhangelsk; I believe that the various social and political forces will perform a "united front" to protect the socio-economic rights. But the organizers of the road Arkhangelsk protests dispersed. Leaders "are not indifferent" (Don A.) and "Solidarity" (A. Yufryakov) said they do not intend to continue to participate in the meetings of the Communist Party and called Arkhangelsk pass May 1 March is not in general column, and apart. According to A. Yufryakova, putting himself above Communist Party coalition and cooperated with the government. [3]

April 25, 2010 in the central square of Arkhangelsk held the next, third, a protest against rising prices and utility tariffs. The initiators of this action was "Concerned" by the former mayor of Arkhangelsk Alexander Donskoy and Center for Public protests "Nabat", in which, apart from independent trade unions, representatives from the political and the social organizations. The Communist Party in this action did not participate. Among the speakers at the rally were the leader of "not indifferent" Don A., representatives of the Russian People's Democratic Union (RNDS), Kom-somol (b), "Solidarity" and independent trade unions. In addition to economic and political demands heard. Almost all who spoke noted that the requirements of the previous meetings had not been executed, and urged the audience to begin civil disobedience.

February 26, 2011 in Arkhangelsk on Lenin Square was held a meeting against rising utility rates and prices, initiated by the Communists. The action was attended by over 200 people. Speakers discussed the policy of the authorities and power engineers about the growth rates in the housing and communal services ⁶. Actions of the regional authorities, taken to reduce utility rates, opposition parliamentary parties - the Communist Party and the "Fair Russia" - then called it as a performance.

Collect large rallies of the protest that drew the attention of not only a regional but also the federal government, it has become possible due to the fact that: 1) there was a common platform of protest: the growth of the tariffs for housing and communal services has caused widespread discontent in all layers of the population. According to the research center FORIS, in June 2010, a total of 55% of the residents of Arkhangelsk allowed chances of involvement in actions against rising utility rates ⁷; 2) organized political force accumulated discontent and brought people to the meetings. Protests against rising utility rates, organized by the Communist Party and their supporters, have forced authorities to somehow respond to "the tariff issue," but fundamental changes have occurred.

⁶ Stop the increase of the prices! In Arkhangelsk rally against rising utility rates. URL: <http://www.namarsh.ru/materials/4D68EF3D1541B.html> (Date of access: 20.04.2011).

⁷ URL: <http://www.foris.ru/news/foris/181/> (Date of access: 20.04.2011).

In winter 2010-2011. Arkhangelsk region received from the Government of the Russian Federation the lowest rating for the passage of the heating season. In the area of fixed two emergency threatening the life and health of the residents of the region. In early February because of low-quality fuel boiler broke down in Nyandom, resulting in more than 7,000 residents were left without heat, then due to inefficiency of local authorities and public services heating systems had almost been defrosted in the village Ertsevo.

April 16, 2011 at a meeting of the Communist Party in Arkhangelsk were about 1,000 people to speak out against the anti-people policies of the authorities ⁸. After the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution, which, along with the social and economic demands were put forward and the political: the resignation of the Governor and the Government of the Arkhangelsk region, the resignation of the government of the Russian Federation.

May 22, 2011 was "antigubernatorsky" rally on Lenin Square in Arkhangelsk. The meeting gathered about half a million people (according to the ATC 200-250 people). Formal organizers were journalists IA "Rusnord" in the leaflets was listed as "Popular Front". On behalf of the "Popular Front" of people invited to enter the area of Lenin and demand a reduction in utility tariffs, increase the salaries of the doctors. Of political forces were represented at the meeting and the Liberal Democratic Party "Solidarity", the communists did not take part in the rally. At the meeting were representatives of the "alternative" trade unions and social movements, "My house," the First City Hospital. At the end of the meeting a resolution was adopted, the main requirements which have become the governor of care I. Mikhailchuk and regional government to resign, as well as checking on the part of the prosecutor's office of the governor's entire team. A famous Arkhangelsk journalist - A. Churakov is thought that it is apolitical strategysaid the rally action, part of the preparation for the election of the mayor, to be held in 2012. It is believed that the action was a serious budget. Rather, the financial and political groups were tested for the strength of the political slogans, which can enter the election of a candidate [4, 2011].

An important component of the protest behavior was conflicts in the field of the social and labor relations. The causes that provoke protest activity of employees, have low wages, inadequate severity and intensity of labor, worker skills, impaired social and labor legislation by employers, especially in the calculation and payment of wages and benefits, as well as providing good working conditions; debts wages at enterprises and organizations, employers use adverse to the employee payroll practices; imperfect labor law, which prevents the social rights of workers and reducing their social security.

A certain part of social discontent channeled through the activities of unions affiliated to the FNTPR. Federation of Trade Unions of the Arkhangelsk region is actively involved in the May and October All-Russian actions. May 1, 2010 in Arkhangelsk a rally "against low wages and unemployment, against the tyranny of the employers and the impotence of the authorities». October 7, 2010 at the World Day of Action "for decent work!" In Arkhangelsk a rally "For a decent and fair

⁸ Arkhangelsk: meeting of KPRF was attendant 1000 people. URL: <http://kprf.ru/actions/90514.html> (Date of access: 25.05.2011).

wages." Support the demands of trade unions attended by more than 600 people. Mass protests were also held in Severodvinsk, where picket at the facility's entrance, in Nyandom - march and rally with the participation of 250 chelovek.¹ May 2011 rallies and marches of trade unions "for decent jobs and wages" were held in Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk Novodvinsk, Nyandom, Mezenski, Plesetsk areas. The total number of participants from the Arkhangelsk regional trade union organization of public education was more than 2,700 people. On the mass demonstrations of trade unions invited representatives of local and regional authorities, the measures themselves, in most cases, have the character of festive parades, not protests.

More offensive actions aimed at achieving concrete results are driven by the grass-roots trade union activists businesses, not the regional trade union associations. October 19, 2009 in Arkhangelsk held a spontaneous strike of the workers of the Northern Railway, which stood at the head of the Russian Union of Young profyacheyka railroad locomotive crews (RTUREC).

April 22, 2010 – is a trade union organization of the Arkhangelsk river port sanctioned rally held at the entrance of the office building Arhrechporta. The purpose of the rally was a protest against low wages, poor living and working conditions of labor, termination of threats and harassment of union members of crew. The rally was attended by about 200 people. It was only on May 1 protest supported the Federation of Trade Unions of the Arkhangelsk region - the unions said about the need to raise the regional minimum wage to 7361 rubles.⁹ May 24, 2010 was held to protest the former employees of bankrupt Kotlassky passenger transport enterprise with the requirement to pay arrears of wages. At a rally at the city administration building about 250 people gathered. April 29, 2011 under the slogan "We demand higher wages", "Hands off the union!" Arkhangelsk pulp and paper mill workers picketed the management of the enterprise in Novodvinsk. The reason - the employer's refusal to discuss the issue of increasing the pressure on wages and union members. Per share came more than 250 people. No representatives of the employer to the protesters Arkhangelsk Pulp and Paper Mill was never released. Supporting the demands of their colleagues to take part in the picket workers SLDK, SPPM Sawmill number 3 and Arkhangelsk plywood factory, heads the Federation of Trade Unions and the majority of industrial trade unions and trade unionists from other industries. Chairman of the Regional Committee of the forest industry workers A. Savkin stated that, given the silence of employers, the issue of wage increases will have to be solved by the supervisory authorities.¹⁰

The basic model of the behavior of employers in the social and labor conflicts - the decision of minor issues and promises to solve all sometime or ignoring the protests. Shares taken to protect the social and labor rights can be successful or unsuccessful depending on the circumstances. Social and labor conflicts attracted the attention of the authorities and the society only when they become spontaneous, massive, uncontrollable, giving a vivid "picture" to the press.

⁹ The main conflict in the Arkhangelsk region: protests, dilapidated housing and the fight for budget of the Nenets Autonomous District. URL: <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1283643.html#ixzz1P0ZgPVn1> (Date of access: 27.04.2011).

¹⁰ We want higher wages URL: http://www.arhprof.ru/index.php?ELEMENT_ID=1260 (Date of access: 15 May 2011).

A positive trend that emerged during the economic crisis, it should be noted the development of trade unions jurisprudence. In February 2011, resolved in favor of the workers labor dispute between the staff and the leadership of a timber company of "Svetlozerskles" (village of Light). The conflict lasted more than 4 months. According to the results of complaints from the primary trade union organization, the regional trade union supervisors Director and Chief of lumber camp were brought to administrative responsibility. As a result, the General Director of JSC "Svetlozerskles" dismissed from his position [4, 2001]. It is the practice of litigation is, in our opinion, the most appropriate in the current economic climate where there is a reduction of production and jobs.

The strikes, demonstrations, trade union activities for the negotiation process are now ineffective due to the low level of the social responsibility of the owners and management of the undertaking anti-union changes to the Labour Code and the lack of community-oriented strategy and tactics of the state.

A notable phenomenon was the growth of citizen protests against the reforms in the social sphere. Arise (mostly temporary) bringing people together - action groups - to solve a problem. Residents of our area regularly participate in the national hunger strike in defense of the rights of young Russians. From 20 to 22 May 2011 was held the 7th All-Russian hunger strike in defense of the rights of all children to a quality Russian free preschool to education. The action was part of the 7 people in Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk and two from one of the Onega. June 1, 2011, Children's Day, more than 100 people gathered for a rally in Arkhangelsk parents who demanded the authorities to solve the problem of shortage of places in kindergartens. Unexpected turn was the release of the deputies and regional authorities, who assured that by September 1, 2011 will try to do everything to make allowance for children who do not attend pre-school educational institution increased from 60 rubles to 2,000. The protests caused by the imperfection of the social legislation and its implementation problems can be attributed strike orphans who have not received their entitlements under the law to shelter. The action began on December 3, 2010 in the central square of Arkhangelsk and lasted 5 days in a tent in the snow. For any result hunger strike failed. Young people were taken to the police on the pretext that they interfere with the wipers sweep the snow-covered area.

The next focus of the protest actions are politically oriented. Even with a common position on socially significant problems right and left protesting separately. The resolution 37th report-election conference of the Arkhangelsk regional department of the Communist Party states that significantly improved work on the organization of the protest movement Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Kotlas, Novodvinsk, Nenets, Onega, Nyandom and a number of other local branches of the Communist Party. But the bulk of protests communists is their involvement in all-Russian protest (in 2010 - 78.3% for the whole country)¹¹. Arkhangelsk branch of the Communist Party took an active part in the preparation and holding of rallies against rising utility rates (February 21, March 28, 2010, September 26, 2010, April 16, 2011). 1 February 2011. Communists started the All-

¹¹ The results of 2010. Monitoring of the protests activities. URL: http://kprf.ru/rus_soc/86541.html (Date of access: 15.04.2011).

Russian action "popular referendum", which is dominated by the issues of socio-economic issues. Regional issues raised the issue of the resignation of the Governor of the Arkhangelsk region, IF Mikhailchuk. May 19, 2011 in Arkhangelsk, representatives of the regional branch of the "Fair Russia" held a rally in support of Sergei Mironov. The main objective of the regional offices of the parties represented in the Russian parliament, was preparing for the federal elections of 2011-2012.

Наиболее часто The most commonly used forms of protest parties and organizations have the right range of pickets. Unlike demonstrations, they were not designed for weight and a media efficiency. October 9, 2010 in Arkhangelsk Picket with representatives RNDS and "Solidarity" in support of the Moscow "For Russia without arbitrariness and corruption." 31 representatives of each month RNDS, "Solidarity" picket in defense of Article 31 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. In the May Day demonstrations held FRNR alternative. March 26, 2011 at Central House Commerce North "Solidarity" held a scheduled public campaign dedicated to 11th anniversary of the finding of Putin's rule. Was deployed a banner demanding "Putin - in court!" Took part in the campaign representatives of "Defense", "RNDS" and "Apple" [5, 2011]. March 27, 2011 in Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk "left" protested against the NATO aggression in Libya. Local chapters of the Working Communist Party of Revolutionary Youth League, social movements, "My house," Vanguard of Red Youth Employment Russia (AKM TP), "The Other Russia" (NBP) and "Defence" has sent representatives to the area of Trade Unions in Arkhangelsk, to the face of the whole city to protest strongly against the "crusade" in Libya¹².

An important factor weakening the force of the protest is the separation of the opposition forces, the fragmentation of the protests. People are willing to unite and act for the sake of solving the vital issues that affect them directly. The opposition is not ready to guide and define the specific requirements of the population is not able to unite, even at a regional level. To be fair, it should be recalled that attempts to coordinate social and political forces undertaken. January 6, 2010 in Arkhangelsk took third in a collection of alternative asset unions and close to them in the spirit of public associations of the region. Attended by representatives of labor collectives "Sevmash" and "Stars", the Russian Union of Railway locomotive crews, Isakov w / w station, dock workers union and the Northern branch of the Russian Seamen's Union. February 8, 2010 with a view to reducing tariffs established social movement "Concerned" (Without the policy. Survival). At the organizational meeting brought together representatives of the alternative trade unions, the Communist Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the opposition of public associations. March 20, 2010 in Arkhangelsk, with the participation of independent trade unions and social organizations have created a public association "Arkhangelsk regional center of mass social and political action" Nabat¹³. At the founding meeting adopted the charter of the Center, has been elected governing body - the Board of the Centre, which included AI Titov (trade union "Board"), D. Leontief (Russian

¹² В Архангельске и Северодвинске протестовали против НАТОвской агрессии в Ливии. URL: <http://www.echosevera.ru/news/2011/03/28/1404.html> (дата обращения: 27.04.2011).

¹³ В Архангельске создан Центр массовых акций. URL: <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1265923.html> (дата обращения: 27.04.2011).

Trade Union of Railway locomotive crews (Association of Trade Unions Sotsprof), W. Kretz (Russian Trade Union of Dockers (Confederation of Labour of Russia - CTE), A. Krasnoshtan (seafarers' Union of Russia (KTR), V. Pozdeev ("my house"), A. Yufryakov ("Solidarity"), Yu Shcherbachev (RNDS.) In addition to improving the socio-economic and the legal status of wage-earners, students and pensioners, in the main objectives of the Centre "Nabat" became an item on the elimination of monopoly in the field of politics, economy and media. But, as mentioned earlier, the right-to-left opposition coalition did not last long. Rallies February 21, March 28, 2010 - a few examples of the joint efforts of the Communist Party, the alternative trade unions, the Liberal Democratic Party, the opposition NGOs .

It can be concluded about the relatively high intensity of social protest in the last 2-3 years. The most numerous protests held under the socio-economic needs. Political protests are few, are mainly in the form of pickets. The growing number of disparate shares does not lead to qualitative changes in the behavior of the protest. Lack of coordination among members of different stocks (even if they act with similar slogans) reduces the effectiveness of the protest. Social discontent is growing, but does not go into active protest actions. The relative stability that now exists, is perceived by the majority of inhabitants of the region as a benefit. The prospect of mass protests now looks unlikely.

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