TÍTULO: El consumo de alcohol como determinante de la mortalidad de población rusa.

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RESUMEN: El artículo cubre el impacto del consumo de alcohol en las tasas de mortalidad en Rusia. Se ha demostrado que es el interés del estado en obtener ganancias de las ventas de alcohol lo que se ha convertido en una de las razones de la ineficiencia de numerosas reformas contra el alcohol. Las áreas principales, donde se deben concentrar los esfuerzos del estado principal para reducir el consumo de alcohol en Rusia, se destacan. Se concluye que es necesario tener en cuenta las peculiaridades nacionales al implementar medidas estatales de política contra el alcohol.

PALABRAS CLAVES: consumo de alcohol, mortalidad, enfermedades cardiovasculares, causas externas de muerte, población en edad de trabajar.

TITLE: Alcohol consumption as a determinant of Russian population mortality.

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2. Ph.D. Inna S. Shapovalova.
ABSTRACT: The article covers the impact of alcohol consumption on mortality rates in Russia. It is shown that it is the state's interest in making a profit from the alcohol sales that has become one of the reasons for the inefficiency of numerous anti-alcohol reforms. The main areas, where the main state’s efforts to reduce alcohol consumption in Russia should be concentrated, are singled out. It is concluded that it is necessary to take into account the national peculiarities while implementing state measures of anti-alcohol policy.

KEY WORDS: alcohol consumption, mortality, cardiovascular diseases, external causes of death, working-age population.

INTRODUCTION.

The problem of alcohol determinants influence on health and mortality is constantly in the limelight of the world community. So, in the document “Health 2020: A European policy framework and strategy for the 21st century” approved by the representatives of 53 countries of European region in September 2012 alcohol consumption was named one of the seven leading risk factors related to lifestyle and behavior and determining about 60% of diseases of the regional population (Health 2020..., 2013).

The public and the scientific community representatives are seriously concerned about alcohol consumption in Russia. According to the data presented in the report of the Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation for 2016, the consumption of alcoholic beverages in terms of absolute alcohol per capita in 2016 amounted to 10.3 liters (On the results..., 2017: 26). Meanwhile, according to World Health Organization, the figure of 8 liters of alcohol per capita is already considered critical and poses a real threat to the health of the nation.
According to the assessment presented by Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in the report on the level of alcohol consumption in the member countries of this organization, alcohol-associated mortality in Russia is 30.5% of the total number of deaths, which brings our country to the first place in the world as concerns the number of deaths associated with alcohol consumption (Tackling harmonic alcohol use..., 2015).

At the same time, it is the strength of alcoholic beverages that is of particular concern rather than the volume of alcohol consumed by Russians. According to the data provided in the publication of G.G. Zaigraev, “in Russia the share of spirits consumed by the population is 72.3% against 25-30% in most other countries” (Zaigraev, 2009: 74).

DEVELOPMENT.

Materials and methods.

The object of research is determinants of the Russian population mortality, which influence the dynamics of mortality rates. The goal of research is to study the behavioral patterns associated with alcohol consumption, as well as to determine the contribution of the alcohol component to the statistics of the Russian population mortality due to socially significant causes.

The research of alcohol determinants of Russian population mortality is based on the analysis of all theoretical sources and the results of empirical research on the considered problem, analytical data of the World Health Organization, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), FSBI “Central Research Institute for Organization and Informatization of Health Care” of the Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, National Research University Higher School of Economics (NRU HSE), official data of the Federal State Statistics Service of Russia for 2016-2017, as well as the Federal Service for Supervision of Consumer Rights Protection and Human Welfare for 2017. A significant part of the conclusions is based on the study of dynamics of mortality rates of
the population as a whole and the working-age population, in particular, due to the main classes of causes.

Results.

According to the Federal State Statistics Service, 41,912 men and 14,371 women died in Russia in 2016 due to individual causes of death associated with alcohol consumption (Demographic Yearbook..., 2017: 178). However, these figures reflect only a small percentage of deaths due to exposure to alcohol. Much more alcohol-related deaths are accounted for homicides, suicides, accidents, etc. According to various studies, about 73% of homicides (Nemtsov, 2014: 14), 45% of suicides (Nemtsov, Shelygin, 2016: 8) and 67% of drownings (Yagudina, 2017) in Russia are the result of preliminary consumption of alcoholic beverages.

As for mortality caused by cardiovascular diseases, its dependence in Russia on consumption of shocking doses of strong alcohol drinks has been repeatedly confirmed by both domestic and foreign researchers (Vishnevsky, Andreev, Timonin, 2016). In addition, it should be taken into account that alcohol consumption can act as the main determinant of increasing mortality rates due to circulatory diseases and external causes, as well as serve as a contributing factor in the progressive deterioration of health, and ultimately, reduction of life expectancy. In particular, a study conducted in the framework of the Program of Fundamental Research of NRU HSE showed a direct correlation between low rates of life expectancy in regional context and a high level of alcohol consumption (Kossova, Kossova and Sheluntsova, 2017).

Excessive alcohol consumption is one of the main factors of abnormally high mortality rate of the Russian population of working age, which poses a threat not only to the economic development of the country, but also to the preservation of the nation as a whole.
The correlation between high mortality rates of working age population and a high level of alcohol consumption has been confirmed by numerous studies (Boytsov, Samorodskaya and Semenov, 2016; Zaikova, 2016) and reflected in such policy documents as “Concept of demographic policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025” and “Concept of long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020”.

The contribution of alcohol to the working-age population mortality becomes especially apparent when comparing the mortality rates of male and female population of working age. In particular, in 2016, the all-Russian mortality rates for men of working age exceeded the corresponding figures for women by 3.6 times (with the death rates for the male and female population - 800.5 and 224.9 per 100 thousand people, respectively) (Demographic Yearbook of Russia, 2017: 183-184).

The results of the integrated survey of living conditions of the population conducted by Rosstat in the year 2016 showed that 60.6% of people aged 15 years and older drink alcohol. At the same time, men living in large cities (with a population of more than 1 million people) drink the most and women living in rural areas drink the least (Results of an integrated survey..., 2016).

These circumstances, which distinguish Russia from the world developed countries, dictate the need to study the specific characteristics of the Russians’ behavior in relation to alcohol consumption, which can shed light on the cause of Russia's world leadership in alcohol-associated mortality rates.

The concept of “alcohol consumption model” is used in sociological literature in relation to behavioral aspects of alcohol consumption.

According to WHO experts, it is the model of alcohol consumption that acts as one of the two main interrelated parameters that have (along with the volume of alcohol consumed) a decisive impact on the health status of the population (Alcohol Consumption..., 2015).
According to the information provided on the World Health Organization website, the alcohol consumption model in the country is estimated in points from 1 (the least risky consumption model) to 4 (very risky one) degrees of severity of alcohol-related diseases. The Russian consumption model is estimated at 5 points as more than 2/3 of alcohol consumption volumes are associated with the “risky consumption model” (Boytsov, Samorodskaya and Semenov, 2016: 101).

The analysis of historical and sociological sources allows us to identify the following elements of the Russian model of alcohol consumption, which were shaped several centuries ago and have remained almost unchanged to the present time:

1. Prevalence of strong alcoholic beverages over low-alcohol ones in the general structure of consumption (“Northern” or “vodka” model).

2. Episodic excessive drinking connected with weekends and holidays.

3. Consumption of large single doses of alcohol.

4. Use of surrogates as a cheap substitute for alcohol drinks during periods when alcoholic beverages sale is restricted by the state.

5. Perception of alcohol as an integral attribute of all important events of personal and social nature, as well as an antidepressant.

6. Formation of behavioral models of alcohol consumption with the direct involvement of the state.

7. Resistance of the population to control measures taken by the state.

All factors that influenced the formation of the Russian model of alcohol consumption can be combined into three large groups: cultural and historical, socio-economic and political associated with the activities of individual political leaders and the state as a whole at various stages of Russian history.
Cultural and historical factors include: severe natural and climatic conditions, lack of culture of reasonable alcohol consumption against the background of a large number of customs and traditions “requiring drinks and treats for a variety of cases and events in life, turning alcohol into an indispensable attribute of people’s everyday life” (Zaigraev, 2009: 76), lack of conditions for the production of low-alcohol drinks and other factors.

The socio-economic determinants of formation of the Russian alcohol consumption model include alcohol availability, cheapness of strong alcoholic drinks in comparison with low alcohol ones, unfavorable economic situation of a significant part of the Russian population, which encourages consumption of alcohol as one of the most accessible forms of leisure activity, social tension arising against the background of deep polarization of society, as well as large-scale economic and social reforms that have accompanied the Russian state for the entire period of its existence (Vangorodskaya, 2018: 16-17).

Considering the socio-demographic consequences of alcoholization of the Russian population the researchers conclude that throughout the Russian history the problematic alcohol consumption was a culturally determined reaction “to overcoming the stress caused by social changes” (Odinikova, 2016: 16) while acting as “a way of socio-psychological compensation, a way of adaptation to the rapidly changing and excessively difficult reality” (Dudkina, 2007: 17).

As far as political factors are concerned the whole number of them can, in our opinion, be divided into two groups. The first group can include the activities of certain Russian tsars, emperors, political leaders, which brought to wars, revolutions and other political cataclysms provoking bursts of alcoholism in Russia. The second group includes the purposeful activity of the state in respect of alcohol consumption, which according to the researchers, “led to the actual lack of control of the process of the population alcoholization” (Zaigraev, 2009: 77).
According to researchers dealing with this problem, it is the state interest in making a profit from the sale of alcohol that has become one of the reasons for the inefficiency of numerous “drinking” reforms, which “inevitably resulted not only in a significant increase in income coming to the Treasury from the sale of alcohol, but also in an increase in drunkenness, which was becoming increasingly massive and ugly” (Zaigraev, 2009: 82).

Based on the above we can identify the following areas, in which the main state efforts to reduce alcohol consumption in Russia should be focused:

1) Definition of clear goals (both long-term and short-term ones) of alcohol policy of the state, development of a system of indicators of its effectiveness and mechanisms of influence on the alcohol market.

2) Regular monitoring of the alcohol situation in the country in order to identify the most problematic regions and population groups, sources of illegal products and ways of their entering the market.

3) Changes in the composition of consumed alcoholic beverages (i.e., reorientation of the population from strong alcohol consumption to weak alcoholic beverages – wine and beer).

4) Implementation of measures aimed at reducing alcohol consumption in particularly problematic social groups, namely in groups of minors and men of working age.

5) Fight against the production and sale of “shadow” alcohol (vodka surrogates).

6) Informing the public about the risks associated with alcohol consumption.

7) Development and implementation of federal and regional state programs to improve the quality of life of the population.

8) Additional restrictions on alcoholic beverages availability regarding the price, territory, time and age of potential buyers.

9) Study of the relationship between the causes of alcohol consumption and the fact of alcohol consumption.
10) Legislative increase of the minimum age for alcohol consumption from 18 to 21 years.

CONCLUSIONS.

The Russian model of alcohol consumption was formed under the influence of a complex set of conditions and factors with varying degrees of influence on the mass consciousness in different periods of Russian history. On this basis the transformation of behavioral patterns in relation to alcohol consumption requires an integrated system of measures taken by the state rather than only the implementation of measures restricting alcoholic beverages production and sale as it was until recently.

In order to change the current situation, it is necessary to build the state policy with regard to changing the Russian alcohol consumption model primarily taking into account the national characteristics of the Russians. At the same time the main efforts of state structures should be directed at improving the level and quality of life of the population and expanding the opportunities for personal self-realization rather than at implementation of “prohibitive” measures. Only in this case there is a probability that the Russians will replace “alcoholic leisure” with healthier forms of leisure activities, which are currently unavailable due to the fact that a large part of the Russian population is in distress.

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