

The Importance of Corporatism of Subjects and Management Actors for the Functioning of the Socio-transport Environment of Catu

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Abstract: The article discusses the features of managing the functioning and development of closed administrative-territorial units (CATU), including transport infrastructure, based on the use of the methodology of the project approach to build a theoretical concept and analyze the data of the author's surveys of the population of the CATU in order to determine the manifestations of corporatism as the value core of the relationship between subjects and factors of management; the assessments of the subjects of management and the population in self-identification and the nature of the vision of the situation in the CATU; the analysis of the data conducted by the authors of interviews, the data of municipalities on the current state and the prospects for the development of transport in general, transport infrastructure in particular. Based on the empirical data obtained, the main directions of existing and expected problems are identified, the author's position is formulated regarding the possibilities of applying the project approach and the concept of the value core of corporatism to the design of the urban environment of the CATU, large-scale state design of a specific urban environment.

1 INTRODUCTION

Closed administrative-territorial units (CATU) are characterized by a number of unique features that distinguish them from other modern cities. The main feature is that the closed cities were created and developed in the logic of a large-scale Soviet project to create parity in the Cold War. This means that, on the other hand, we can consider nothing more than project cities. The infrastructure was designed and created comprehensively, including transport; ensuring competent logistics was an important component of the project. First, the subject of management (the supreme leadership of the USSR – I.V. Stalin, L.P. Beria, etc.) a conceptual idea was formulated – a complex target image of the changes that needed to be made in our country to ensure parity in the confrontation with the "capitalist" world, a team (project group) was formed to implement this idea. Within the framework of the activities of this group, the concept as a complex target image was

concretized, operationalized, formalized to the level of a management program of activities. An important component of this program was the construction of appropriate railway tracks and stations that ensure uninterrupted communication of the CATU with the facilities included in the system. Based on the program, a comprehensive plan was drawn up, part of the implementation of which was the creation of "cities of presence of the USSR atomic project" as:

- sites for the placement of enterprises and research organizations, life support for workers and maintenance personnel (CATU - nuclear power plants);
- sites for the placement of weapons, test sites, life support for military personnel and civilian specialists (military CATU).

Thus, CATUs were initially created and developed in accordance with a clearly formulated specific goal. The location was chosen, resource, logistics, infrastructure, personnel and other security were calculated; conditions were created for the

successful implementation of the tasks set (direct Moscow management and subordination, separate budgeting, priorities in solving problems, etc.)

The problems of understanding the essence and functioning of the CATU can be conditionally divided into two large *groups*:

- problems of CATU as an urban society with all the ensuing areas of study (urban, urban planning, social, municipal and others);
- problems of CATU as a site for the placement of nuclear production and weapons (scientific and technological, industrial, military-industrial and others).

We are interested in the first group of problems in the context of socio-managerial analysis. More specifically, the problem can be described *as the search for motivational factors that organize the actions of subjects and actors of the management of the CATU*. The article attempts to reveal the value core of corporatism as a group motivator, the presence and reproduction of which is necessary for the project city to realize the set project goal. Without understanding, acceptance, and involvement of managed entities in the implementation of the project as a complex target image of changes, its implementation in reality is impossible.

At the same time, the managing entity must ensure the conditions for the formation of the value core of corporatism (involvement in the implementation of a vital social project) in the managed entity. Studying various design and management, historiographical, normative, analytical and other documents on the problems of the CATU, we did not find a clear confirmation "on paper" of such a value core, which actualized the task of identifying and investigating the features of such a core in the process of conducting empirical research.

The identification of the features of the value core of corporatism is an important element in further state design, which implies the creation of project cities as production and technological innovation sites for the placement of research organizations with appropriate innovative productions (for example, the restart of the Soviet project "Electrograd" in the Minusinsk Valley, which was announced by the Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation S.K. Shoigu).

2 STUDY METHODS

The research methodology uses a project approach, which is revealed by us in a number of works on the theory and sociology of management (Kostin, 2001; Kostin, 2007; Kostina, 2017). The key concepts of

this approach are the categories of management theory: "managing and managed subjects", "goal" as a complex image of change, "project" as a means of organizing human detail through its programming, motivation, involvement, operationalization, functionalization, structuring, concretization, etc. The managing entity develops a complex target vision – an image of the changes that need to be made in a particular social system for its development, solving certain problems, etc. To implement this image in reality, it chooses a controlled subject whose creative energy will be directed to this. In the process of detailing, working out the image of changes – the joint work of the manager and the managed entities - there is a program and a plan for the implementation of the project in practice. The logic, details, nuances, terms of implementation, the resources required for this (personnel, finance, technology, raw materials, adaptations, innovations, etc.) become clear. The project approach comprehensively studies (describes, manifests, formalizes) this process of developing and subsequent implementation of the idea of social change in the course of organizing joint human activity. The main tools of project management are *informational* (development of managerial knowledge, formalization of joint human activity, etc.). Conceptualization (figurative goal setting) subsequent programming and planning are also separate and interrelated types of information management activities.

In the context of the project approach, it is possible to study the interaction of subjects and actors of management. In this case, "*actors of management*" refer to people who are more or less involved in the implementation of the project and feel involved in the implementation of an important state task. Such involvement allows us to talk about the formation and further social reproduction of the value core within the framework of joint activities, which in the case of CATU we call *corporatism*. Consequently, it can be assumed that social management in the CATU is of a corporate nature, and this is more or less characteristic of all project cities, since the effective implementation of the project implies a high level of involvement of subjects and actors, personal and social interest.

To obtain empirical data, *quantitative* and *qualitative research methods* were used: a *mass survey* and a *guide interview of experts*. The need to use both qualitative and quantitative methods of sociological analysis within the framework of one work was dictated by the special nature of the studied social processes, the need not only to identify dynamics and trends according to these indicators,

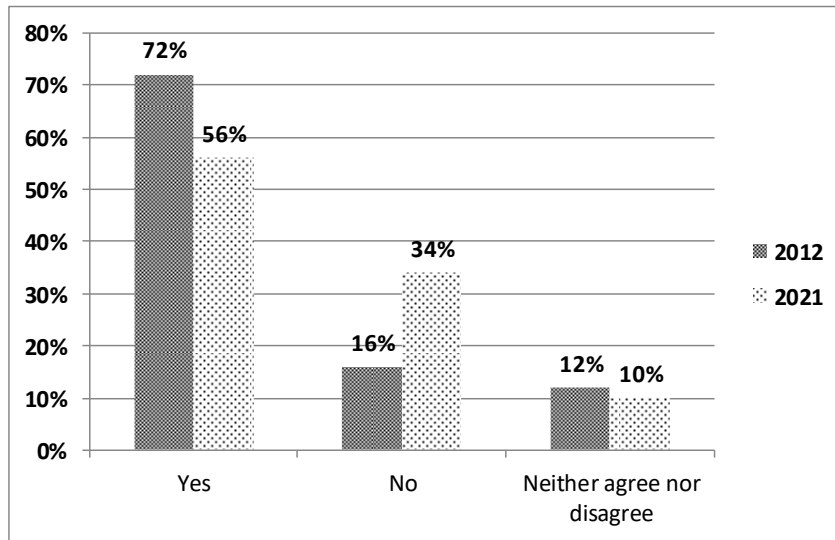


Figure 1: Is Novouralsk a unique city in Russia?

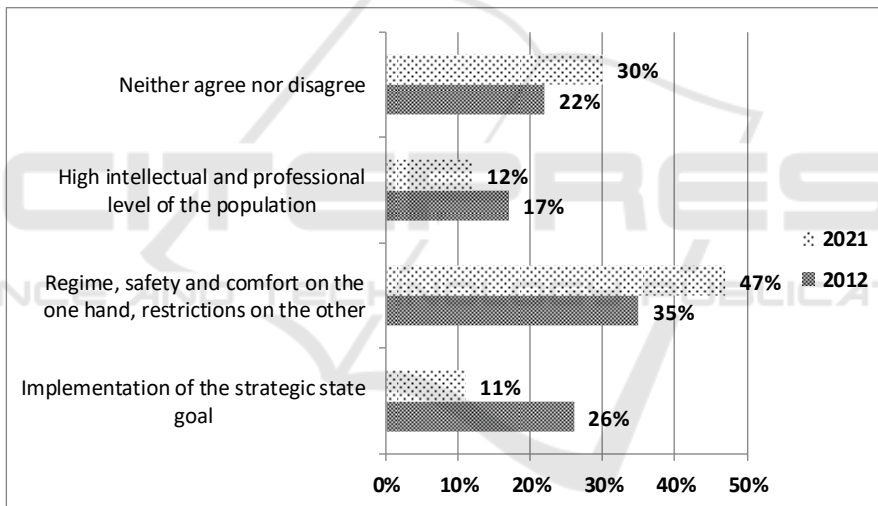


Figure 2: Opinions of the population about the features of the CATU of Novouralsk

but also to explain the causes and patterns. The respondents included residents of the CATU of Novouralsk, Sverdlovsk region, men and women of various ages, socio-professional composition and marital status over the age of 18; representatives of the leadership of the UECC, public organizations, local governments, business were selected among the experts. The field studies were conducted in two stages, in 2012 and in 2021.

As already noted in S.M. Karachkov's study, "Novouralsk as a closed city is a typical representative of Russian CATUs and represents a group of "atomic" cities supervised by Rosatom State Corporation" (Karachkov, 2017). At the same time, it

should be noted that there is a certain difference between the CATUs of Zheleznogorsk, Novouralsk and Sarov (a group of nuclear CATUs), on the one hand, and military CATUs - "sea" cities Severomorsk and Fokino, "rocket" Vlasikha and Krasnoznamensk, etc. But this difference is not fundamental. As it was indicated in our earlier published works, the features of all CATUs are due to the nature of their origin, the specifics of the tasks set, the design nature of their organization and management (Zverev, 2021; Zverev, 2012; Karachkov, 2013) So, staffing, the choice of the location area, the logic of relations with the center and the management structure and other features unite the majority of closed cities, both

nuclear and military. And Novouralsk is one of the typical CATU.

3 RESEARCH RESULTS

To the questionnaire question "Is Novouralsk a unique city in Russia?" the majority of respondents answered rather in the affirmative (72% in 2012 and 56% in 2021). The question did not cause any particular difficulties for respondents, both now and 10 years ago (12% in 2012 and 10% in 2021). But, regardless of the age, gender, socio-professional status of the respondents, they are unanimous in the fact that every year the uniqueness of the CATU is steadily decreasing (See diagram 1). This is also confirmed by the fact that in 2012, almost three-quarters of respondents considered Novouralsk unique, while in 2021 - only a little more than half.

According to the data of the paired distribution, young people are more likely than representatives of other generational groups to find it difficult to answer (22% versus 8% for the older generation of respondents in 2012). At the same time, representatives of the older generation note the uniqueness of the city more often than young people (86% vs. 53% among young people in 2012).

According to the experts' guide interviews, the reason for such dynamics becomes clear: the city has completed its project development and its future prospects are not clear [... there is constant talk about the opening of a CATU, a possible change of status, every year there are fewer closed cities on the map, especially military ones, including in the countries of the former Union ...]. It remains unique for the "old-timers" who still found the "old days" [...in Soviet times, the city was on a special account ...]. Young

people prefer to leave the city in search of career prospects, a better life, a good education [...previously there were branches of the most prestigious universities in the country, there were career opportunities, increased security, salary, medicine. Now it's better to go to the capital ...].

Among the answers to the question "What most characterizes Novouralsk and distinguishes it from other cities?" respondents choose mainly the option related to the regime, safety and comfort, on the one hand, restrictions, on the other hand. The second most important answer option is "Neither agree nor disagree". At the same time, over the past 10 years, there has been a consistently high dynamics of opinions on these issues. To date, almost half of respondents (47%) believe that the main feature of the CATU is rather its regime and the presence of territorial restrictions, rather than the implementation of the state task, the high intellectual level of the population. At the same time, almost a quarter of respondents (26%) could not identify the features of Novouralsk. (See diagram 2).

Cross-analysis data (paired distributions) show that the above trend is dictated by the young part of the city's population (56% - mode., 39% - Neither agree nor disagree). The data shown in Figure 3 indicate that only older respondents continue to associate the city of Novouralsk with an important state task (21%), a high intellectual level of the population (21%).

Experts explain this situation by the fact that Novouralsk has completed its project development [...we have been at a crossroads for 30 years, it is still unclear where we will turn ...]. We can call this stage a post-project [... if we perceive CATU as a Soviet project, then today it is already a post-project stage. We were obviously not ready for it, we didn't even

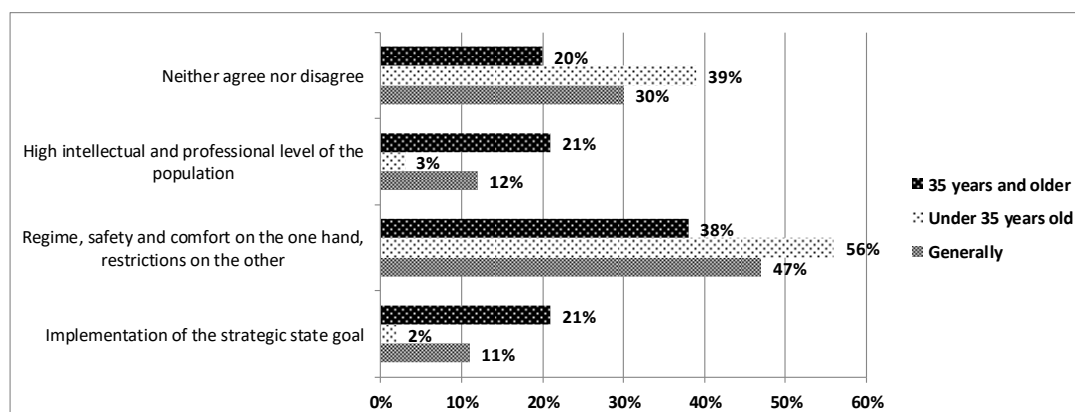


Figure 3: Perception of the features of the CATU depending on the age of the respondents.

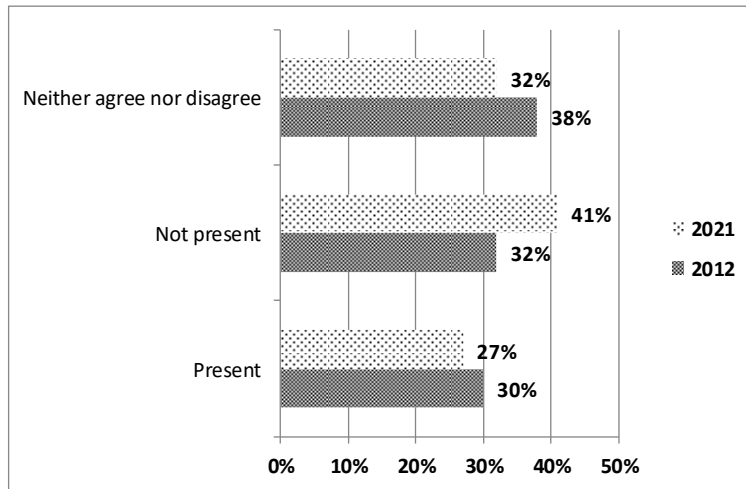


Figure 4: Dynamics of the presence of the spirit of cohesion among the residents of Novouralsk.

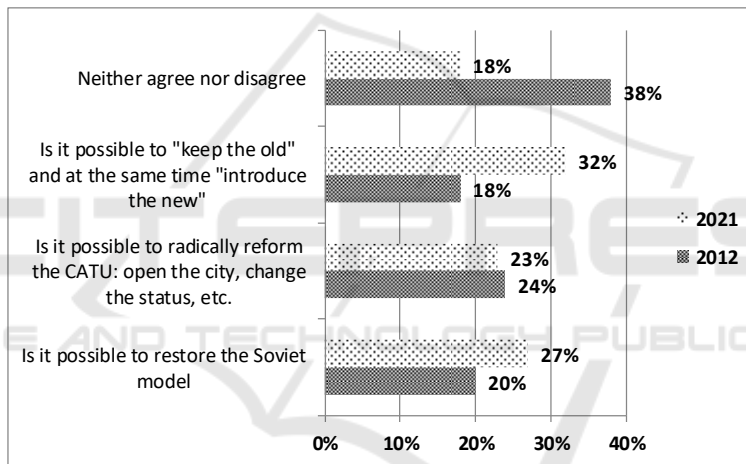


Figure 5: The expected prospects for the development of CATU according to residents.

think about it...]. The main objectives of the project have been implemented, now the CATU activity has been reduced by a multiple, which directly affects the resource supply of the city. Young people leave it, not seeing the advantages of living in CATU, logically does not note the features laid down by the Soviet project. The older generation, by inertia, perceives Novouralsk as an atomic CATU, but less and less [... I remember what the city was like, we were, felt special, at the forefront of the task, were proud of what our parents were doing. Now, of course, there are only memories and the infrastructure is already dilapidated ...].

As for the *presence of the spirit of cohesion* as the next basic manifestation of the value core of corporatism, the survey and the guide interview showed that this indicator is also decreasing every

year, although it still continues to form a significant part of the value framework of the citizens of Novouralsk. (See Diagram 4). So, in 2012, the respondents were divided into three equal groups. About 30% of respondents spoke for the presence of cohesion, as well as for its absence. The same number found it difficult to answer. In 2021, the number of negative assessments increased by more than 10%. Already 41% of respondents do not see the presence of the spirit of cohesion in the relations of citizens, due to the ongoing changes. It can be concluded that it is the changes that affect this indicator.

The cross-analysis data clarifies the picture: young people do not feel the spirit of cohesion more often than citizens of the older age group (56% vs. 26% of older representatives).

Experts note all the same negative sentiments due

to a decrease in project activity of CATU, the actual curtailment of the nuclear project at the level at which it was implemented in the USSR [... *the nuclear power plant was practically curtailed under the START agreements, there is no talk of any capacity conservation, especially about increasing productivity. Rosatom enterprises have reduced their staff by a multiple ... AEC is in fact a side direction, but it is not developing as well as we would like ...*], [... *Russian-style nuclear power plants have demand in the market, but Americans and Europeans are not eager to let us go there, they have their own technologies and their own fuel elements ...*], [... *CATUs are in crisis, specialists are fleeing, unity and the spirit of cohesion are less and less, mainly among old-timers ...*], etc.

The respondents' assessment of the ways of development of the CATU is, as noted earlier, an indicator that "allows us to understand what results, what new meanings the concept of the existence of the CATU is filled with. What is it expressed in taking into account the changes that are taking place today, that is, how the value core of corporatism is transformed taking into account changes in time, various parameters, etc. In addition, we have introduced the concepts of the expected and optimal development of the CATU: expected from the subject of the state, authorities, etc. – that is, from the outside, as well as optimal, according to the actor. Thus, it is clearly visible how the subjects and the actor of social management perceive the practical expression and refraction of corporate values, taking into account the current situation, as well as what expectations are placed on this process" (Karachkov, 2017).

Respondents assessed the possibility (expected development model) of three main options for the development of CATU in the present time:

- development according to the "Soviet scheme", an attempt to return to the past, taking into account existing opportunities, the current situation, etc.: CATUs in this case return to the "old" life;
- reformation with the change of the status of the city. There are a lot of options here: partial opening of the city while maintaining a protected perimeter around the production complex, complete removal of the status and opening of the city, an attempt to make ordinary Russian cities out of CATUs, adapt the population and infrastructure, debug budgeting, try to include cities in regional development programs, etc.;
- an innovative "reboot", the purpose of which is to fill the CATU as the most suitable socio-

technological platforms with a new large-scale idea, with the adjustment of infrastructure, filling in the missing human, financial, scientific, technological, logistics and other resources. In other words, "while preserving the old, we supplement it with the new", when a large-scale or a number of large-scale state projects arise on the basis of CATU.

The respondents' expectations of what kind of development model the management entity (represented by statesmen) will choose for CATU are shown in diagram 5. It shows that in 2012 this issue was rather open for residents. This is evidenced by a large percentage of those who found it difficult to answer (38%). The most anticipated alternative was the opening of the city and the removal of the status of CATU (24%). The possibilities of an innovative reboot or a return to the old model were less considered as expected (18% and 20%, respectively).

According to the guide interview, this is due to the general instability of the situation in the country, the ambiguity of the position of the authorities (the government, the president, Rosatom State Corporation) about the role of CATU in modern conditions and the tasks that they are facing in 2012 [... *we are sitting on the wreckage of the empire, it is unclear where we are going at all ...*], [...*Rosatom optimizes costs, roughly speaking, reduces and commercializes everything that was done in Soviet times ...it hurts to look at it*], [...*I don't see a clear line of leadership about the CATU, it feels like they themselves don't understand what to do, maybe there are just a lot of other problems and didn't get round to it ...*].

Diagram 5 also shows that the situation has changed significantly in 2021. The number of respondents who found it difficult to answer is decreasing by 20% compared to 2012 (from 38% to 18%). According to respondents, the authorities are considering options for preserving the old and at the same time introducing "something new" (32%), or restoring the former functionality of the CATU, as in Soviet times (27%). The opening of the city is considered as the least expected result at the moment (24%).

These guide interviews explain this quantitative distribution of opinions. In 2021, experts are looking more clearly at the prospects for the development of CATU, although they express a lot of doubts. [...*now is the time when CATU sites can be used for new bold projects on a global scale, to build not only Electrograd in Siberia, but also to revive Nuclear power plants in the Urals, for example ...*], [...*we have such an infrastructure that you can safely implement*

almost any innovative project, and not build new "Silicon Valleys" and Skolkovo from scratch ...], [...Russia needs now prepared, well-geographically located sites for state tasks, with the proper level of regime and secrecy. We already have such sites, just shake off the dust from them and go into battle...].

4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The value core of corporatism manifests itself mainly in the sense of uniqueness, the selectivity of the residents of Novouralsk. In 2012, we noted the following: "the uniqueness felt by the majority of respondents originates from the very nature of the emergence of closed cities. The special importance of the nuclear sphere for the country predetermined the need to attract the best professionals in their field, including from the capital, as well as compliance with a special secrecy regime (isolation from the outside world, the need to create their own autonomous urban infrastructure, etc.). CATU residents are professionals gathered on the local territory (for work and residence) under a large-scale national strategic project, as well as all those who provide the work and life of these professionals, create the necessary conditions for them to work effectively in this territory isolated by the regime" (Karachkov, 2017). CATU uniqueness is naturally due to the project status of their creation and development. The residents, whose composition was also originally planned and artificially formed (the distribution of graduates of universities and colleges), were sent to implement an important state task. The state provided the attracted specialists and their families with the proper level of comfort, compensating for the remoteness from developed large cities, the regime nature of living, the severity of the Ural climate, etc. In such conditions, the identity of the inhabitants of the CATU was formed. Here, only cohesion, diligence and awareness of their own importance and selectivity could crystallize the necessary motivators and personal qualities of the contingent of CATU, as a specific social community. The article presents an empirical cross-section of several comparative blocks and indicators.

Based on the data of quantitative studies supplemented by the results of qualitative interviews, the following conclusion can be drawn: in nuclear CATUs, it is necessary to increase activity through the formation of a *competitive* environment, by introducing, in addition to Rosatom, a competing

management entity of the appropriate level and resource capabilities with its own (alternative) project understanding and goals, for example Rostec, GC Rusnano, etc. For example, some options for such possible cooperation are already being discussed in the media (NIA-Krasnoyarsk, 2021).

Let's also assume that in military CATUs it is necessary to increase the activity of the environment (as a set of conditions) by resuscitating the effective Soviet corporate management model and on its basis to design the *corporate* environment taking into account the current situation. However, in relation to military CATUs, it is necessary to conduct a number of additional empirical studies to verify and supplement this assumption.

The experience of creating and ensuring the reproduction of the value core of corporatism can be used in other large-scale projects, for example, the creation in the Minusinsk Valley of the city of Elektrograd (the "reset" of the Soviet shock All-Union construction), which is now also widely discussed in the press (Lazareva).

Further, in recent years, the most characteristic feature of the CATU has been the regime associated with restrictions; the realization of the state goal is no longer so clearly associated by residents of closed cities with the CATU themselves, it often gives way to the regime and goes to the second, less often to the third plan. Due to the fact that CATUs are experiencing a post-project stage of their development, as mentioned above, corporatism goes into the background, but at the same time it is preserved and reproduced in the structure of the society of CATU. In the minds of residents, CATU no longer implements "a heroic state mission in conditions of severe restrictions, increased responsibility and hard work". At the same time, cities are "aging", young people are looking around them in the absence of prospects for personal and social status growth. The sites of the presence of the Soviet nuclear project are significantly worn out, but they can still be used as a serious base for a new large-scale state project.

In the direct formulation of the question, respondents practically do not feel the spirit of cohesion among themselves in the CATU, the atmosphere of unity, etc. In many ways, this reflects the all-Russian trend. So, V.A. Casamara and A.A. Sorokin explain this as a "phenomenon of post-Soviet nostalgia" in the everyday discourse of Russians. They write the following: "Nostalgia for the Soviet Union is associated with three main reasons. The first is related to the need for an order that is interpreted quite broadly – from the possibility of not being afraid

to go out to the presence of labor discipline, when no one is late for work and fully complies with all formal norms and rules. In addition, respondents identified a need for a friendly psychological atmosphere, when people trust each other and are ready to help. The atmosphere of mutual assistance and solidarity, according to respondents, was in the USSR and is completely absent in modern Russia" (Casamara, 2011). In our opinion, this quote fundamentally explains why CATU respondents, but by nature "hothouse" citizens, demonstrate a lack of an atmosphere of cohesion – this, as it seems to us, is not a statement of absence, but rather an expression of the fact that in the USSR the spirit of cohesion was much stronger than it is now.

As for the transformation of the value core of corporatism in the assessments of the residents of the CATU, based on quantitative trends supplemented by qualitative adjustments, it is clearly seen how and in which direction these transformations occur in the conditions of radical transformations of recent years.

Firstly, and this, in our opinion, is the main thing, the core remains, despite various "squall events" of the last three decades. This means that on its basis it is possible to "revive" CATU as project sites, use them for new large-scale projects, educate young people.

Secondly, the presence of a core of values allows, on the one hand, to preserve identity, willingness to perform the task and demonstrate cohesion, on the other hand, its bearers agree to perform any other important task for the state, are ready to change in accordance with the current situation, innovatively develop, solve new non-trivial tasks, etc.

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