

THE HOUSING POLICY OF RUSSIA

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Abstract

The objective of research is to suggest approaches and indicators to assess the effectiveness of housing policy taking into account various aspects of housing problem. This should allow comparison the results of transnational and transregional transfer of administrative models in housing. Under the Constitution of Russia, public authorities and local governments are required to encourage housing construction and create conditions for implementation of citizens' rights to housing. Specificity of the case of Russia consists of keen and large-scale manifestations of housing problem in combination with low solvency of inhabitants and significant regional heterogeneity.

ЖИЛИЩНАТА ПОЛИТИКА НА РУСИЯ

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Резюме

Целта на изследването е да се предложат подходи и показатели за оценка на ефективността на жилищната политика като се вземат предвид различни аспекти на жилищния проблем. Това би трябвало да даде възможност за сравнение на резултатите от транснационалното и междурегионалното прехвърляне на административни модели при жилищната политика. Съгласно Конституцията на Русия, публичните органи и местните власти са длъжни да насърчават жилищното строителство и да създават условия за прилагане на правата за жилища на гражданите. Специфичната характеристика на случая с Русия се състои в интензивни и мащабни прояви на жилищни проблеми в комбинация с ниска платежоспособност на населението и значителна регионална неоднородност.

1. Introduction

Housing is a separate compartment, which is real estate suitable for permanent (and not only temporary) residence of a person, meeting the sanitary conditions, rules and regulations, the requirements of the law (Cherkovets, 2016:124). The right to housing is one of the social and economic human rights. Its foundations are enshrined in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 16 of the European Social Charter and Article 31 of the Revised European Social Charter. Aspects of this right include: legal provision of residence; availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure; affordability in terms of

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costs; suitability for living; accessibility; location; adequacy in terms of culture. In Russia, the citizens' right to housing is enshrined in the Constitution.

The responsibility of the state for ensuring the rights and freedoms of citizens dictates the need for its participation in solution of the housing problem and regulation of housing relations, which is reflected in housing policy. According to the UN materials, the housing policy should determine the goals of housing sector development; resources available to achieve the goals, the most cost-effective way of using resources and responsibilities and terms for implementation of necessary measures (UN Habitat, 2002).

Though, as Angel, Mayo and Stephens Jr. (1993) mentioned, that even in centrally planned and formerly centrally planned economies, housing was viewed increasingly as a commodity with an exchange value rather than as a good to be produced and allocated outside the marketplace, in transition, the view of housing as an object of housing policy has changed significantly as well as the features of the subjects of this policy have changed.

The objective of this paper is to identify and substantiate approaches to effectiveness of housing policy assessing and to review their application opportunities for the study of housing policy in Russia.

2. Data and methods

The study examines the works of Russian and foreign researchers devoted to housing policy, normative and legal documents determining housing policy in Russia using logical analysis methods and methods of structural and dynamic analysis. The data of the Federal Service of State Statistics of Russia www.gks.ru and the section of the official site of the Federal Target Programmes on the Federal Target Programme "Housing" (FTP "Housing") <http://fcp.economy.gov.ru/cgi-bin/cis/fcp.cgi/Fcp/ViewFcp/View/2015/447/> are used.

3. Main provisions and results

3.1. Housing policy, housing relations and their subjects

The concept of "housing policy" in Russia appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when factories and plants began to be actively built. People who arrived to work at these enterprises, naturally, had no their own housing in the cities. Employees' demands for employers to provide them with habitable housing, and the struggle between employers and employees began to be called housing policy. Thus, initially, and up to now, housing policy is in a larger extent associated with the housing problem in the cities (Korneeva, 2016).

Malyshev et al. (2016) provide an overview of the concepts for "housing policy" in the works of contemporary Russian researchers. The "perceptual" approach prevails in the definitions cited in this book and other definitions found in the scientific literature, that is, the housing policy is determined mainly through its goals and tasks, mechanisms, properties, functions and other elements. It should be noted that there is no definition for the housing policy in the normative and legal documents of the Russian Federation. In order to determine the concept of housing policy for the purposes of this study the definition given by Akulich and Melnik (2016: 26) is used: "The housing policy is one of the directions of State's social policy, an important activity aimed at regulating living conditions of the population, meeting the basic need for housing."

As Sedugin (2003) points out, housing policy is implemented through housing relations, which include: a) relations on using a habitation; b) relations on providing accommodation for people; c) relations on the use of specialized housing; d) relations in the field of management, operation, maintenance of safety and repair of living quarters; e) relations arising in connection with the construction and acquisition of a residential house or part thereof; f) relations related to utilities and housing services.

Multidimensionality of housing relations dictates the complexity of housing policy goals in general and variety of ways to implement it. Housing policy reflects socio-economic conditions, as well as political, cultural, family-household and demographic characteristics of society development (Akulich and Melnik, 2016). From the standpoint of the goals, the important characteristics of housing policy are the extent to which the interests of the people with different income level are taken into account and their opportunities to choose the way to meet personal housing needs (Zhilkina, 2008). From the standpoint of mechanisms, housing policy is characterized by the conditions of interaction between various levels of state authorities and local self-government bodies and their interaction with other subjects of housing relations. Kosareva (2010) points out that housing policy includes legal regulation, budgetary and tax mechanisms used by state and municipal bodies to influence on housing relations, including financing and construction of housing, its maintenance, management, possession, disposal and applying.

For enlarged representation of target subjects of housing relations and, as a result, of housing policy, Rex and Moore (1967) laid the foundations of the housing stratification concept and introduced the notion of housing classes. Housing classes are segregated in space social and housing groups of population, competing for housing benefits, allocated depending on the income size and stability.

The concept of housing classes has been repeatedly criticized and at the same time repeated attempts have been made to distinguish housing classes on the basis of criteria more in

line with the realities of certain periods and countries. For example, Shomina (2010) used the criterion of the residents' rights and freedoms as the basis for the housing classes' separation. According to the chosen criterion the following groups listed in order of housing rights increasing were distinguished: a) homeless (shelter residents), b) squatters (invaders of empty housing), c) residents of dormitories, tenants, d) members of housing cooperatives, e) apartment owners in apartment buildings, f) owners of a private house, g) owners of an apartment buildings. Russian researchers Krotov, Buravoy and Lytkina (2003) use as a criterion the functional features of various types of housing formed in Russia at the beginning of mass privatization, and distinguish 4 housing classes consisting of inhabitants a) of elite housing (in apartment buildings and cottages), b) of apartment buildings (modern and wooden), c) of dormitories (modern and wooden), d) of individual houses (single-family and 2-4-apartment). There are known attempts to identify groups of Russian population which can be considered as generalized subjects of housing policy based on the size of housing and its livability (Gass, 2014; Dimova, Efimova, 2012).

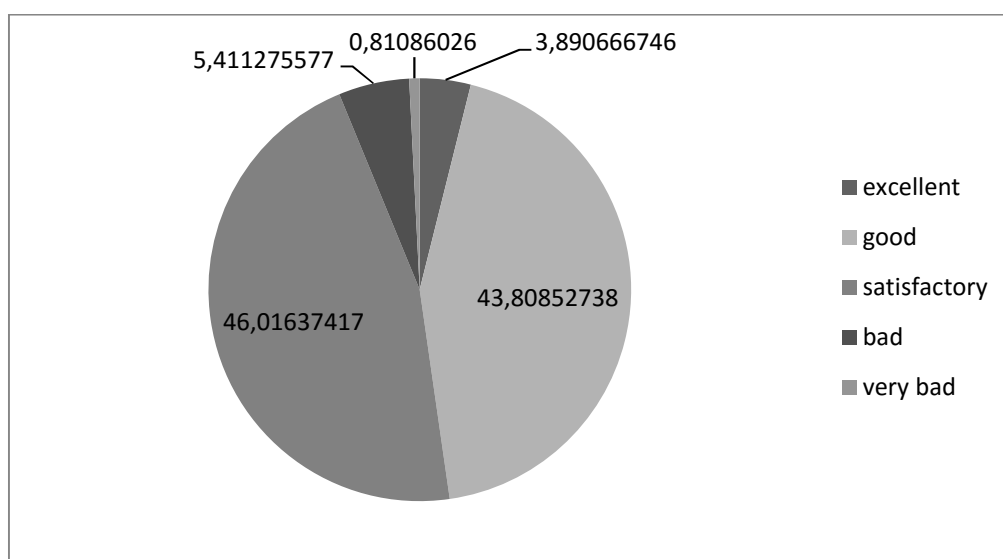
3.2. Effectiveness of the housing policy

The effectiveness of housing policy can be assessed by a number of criteria that characterize it from different standpoints, complementing each other and considered in the complex.

1. Indispensable effectiveness

The key questions within this approach are "What does it result?" and "Whom does it benefit?" Despite the triviality of such criterion, its non-observance can in practice lead to unexpected consequences.

The housing problem in Russia is so acute that from the standpoint of the necessity criterion, any ways to mitigate it are absolutely reasonable, and the need for housing policy is beyond doubt. However, the questions about the circle of persons whose interests it represents and whose well-being is its priority should be answered clearly and unambiguously. Figure 1 shows the results of survey on satisfaction with housing situation conducted in 2014. It is evident that more than half of population does not consider their housing situation to be good or, moreover, excellent.

Figure 1. Satisfaction with housing situation in 2014, %

Source: *www.gks.ru*

The relative size of the population groups that consider their housing conditions satisfactory or bad is positively correlated with the number of children in the family and has an inverse correlation with the level of income. Akulich and Melnik (2016) write that the level of housing provision is largely related to such serious problems of Russian society as the quality of life, health of population, family problems, fertility decline, comfort and well-being of Russian citizens, and the demographic situation. It should be noted that the total area of residential housing, an average per resident of Russia, is not sufficient for normal livelihoods. In 2015 it averaged 24.4 square meters. This is much lower than in Europe and the United States.

The quality of housing stock in whole does not correspond with contemporary standards and conception of housing (Table 1) and this side of housing problem should be considered by housing policy.

Table 1. Proportion of housing stock equipped for various types of utilities in 2015, %

Type of utility						
water	sewerage	heating	bath/ shower	gas	hot water	electric stoves
81	77	85	69	67	68	22

Source: *www.gks.ru*

It is customary to distinguish active and passive housing policies which differ by the methods of the authorities' influence on the housing development:

- with passive policy, the state creates legal and institutional conditions for the development of market factors forming and improving the housing sector ;
- with active policy, an obligatory condition is the availability of a state housing stock and the functioning of public housing organizations..

The housing policy pursued in Russia is focused on institutional changes in the housing sector. In 1992, an active privatization of the housing stock started, as the result today the people own more than 80% of the housing stock, and most of the housing stock requires modernization, improvement or repair. The growth of tariffs for utilities made the burden of privatized housing maintenance unbearable for a large part of the population. To preserve social stability, the state was forced to provide subsidies and social support to citizens for public utilities payment. As a result, formally the population that privatized the housing lives in a private housing stock, and in fact the maintenance of housing and the supply of communal services are subsidized, that is a feature of the social housing stock. As well, rights for housing have become hardly implementable for the vast majority of families due to public housing construction curtailment and low incomes of the population majority, which does not allow becoming active agents of the housing market.

In parallel to the process of privatization, the process of municipalization of residential buildings goes on, that is, these buildings are transferred from the ownership of departments and organizations to municipal property. In most municipalities, the administration does not seek to take departmental housing and utilities facilities into ownership, avoiding responsibility, since it does not have sufficient funds to maintain it.

Omarova (2015) asserts that degradation of housing construction, in a number of regions results in marginalization and lumpenization of society, because the active part of the population leaves such areas. In this regard, recent approaches to the management of housing policy emphasize the shaping role of not economic (market), but political factors. Policy in the housing sector, in particular, should be based on elements not only of system management, but also of self-government. The experts reasonably state that the quality of life and human development should be the criteria of the public administration effectiveness. This imposes new demands on the housing policy management, requires the creation of not only a quality and affordable housing, but also a quality residential environment.

To achieve positive results when implementing any foreign model of housing development, it is necessary to keep the continuity of national circumstances, excluding the mechanical transfer of mechanisms used in other countries. Being a state with a large territory, diverse natural and climatic and significantly varying socio-economic conditions, Russia should take into account regional conditions while working out the housing policy (Zhulkova, 2014). The

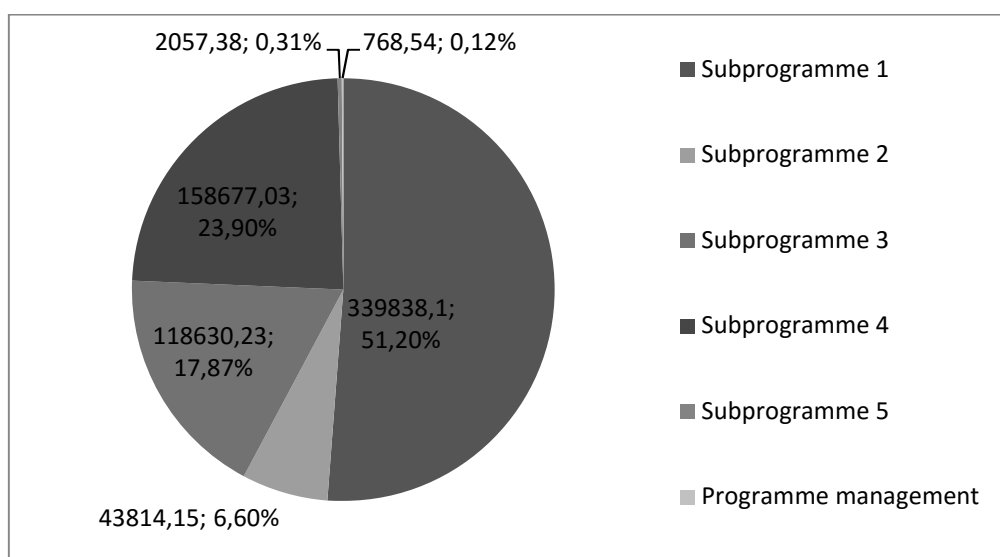
situation in the housing sector in a number of Russian regions is regarded by the researchers as a crisis. This necessitates the search, intensive development and implementation of the most efficient approaches for social and economic policies in the housing sector.

2. Plan Realization

It is customary to use indicators characterizing the extent of planned or forecasted tasks fulfillment to assess activities effectiveness, that is, the "fact / plan" ratio is used as a measure. The implementation of housing policy in Russia is dominated by a program-targeted approach (Slizh, 2015). FTP "Housing" was launched in 2002 as a implementation mechanism for the priority national project "Affordable and Comfortable Housing for Russian Citizens". FTP is focused at forming an economy class housing market that would be accessible to most citizens of the country, to eliminate the lack of eco-friendly and comfortable housing, to stimulate demand for housing and improve the quality of Russia's housing stock (Decree of the Government of RF, 2001). In 2010 FTP was prolonged till the end of 2015. After that, the Government decided to extend the program for next five years - until 2020 inclusively (Decree of the Government of RF, 2010).

The total financing of the FTP in 2015-2020 is equal to 663.79 billion rubles, including 341.17 billion rubles from the federal budget, 101.89 billion rubles from subfederal and local budgets and 220.73 billion rubles from extra-budgetary sources.

The recent version of the FTP "Housing" includes five subprogrammes: 1) "Providing housing for young families", 2) "Stimulation of development programmes for housing construction in the subjects of the Russian Federation", 3) "Fulfilling state obligations to provide housing for categories of citizens established by federal law", 4) "Modernization of public infrastructure facilities", 5) "Providing housing for certain categories of citizens".

Figure 2. FTP “Housing” Financing structure in 2017-2020, million rubles.

Source: <http://fcp.economy.gov.ru/cgi-bin/cis/fcp.cgi/Fcp/ViewFcp/View/2015/447/>

The FTP establishes a number of target indicators listed below in Table 2. Assessment of the Programme effectiveness as a whole and in separate directions is made by comparing the actual values of the target indicators with the planned values. According to the effectiveness assessment method the assessment should be made as follows:

- if the actual values of the indicators are more than 90 percent of the planned values, the effectiveness of the Programme implementation is assessed as high;
- if the actual values of the indicators are from 75 percent to 90 percent of the planned values, the effectiveness of the Programme implementation is assessed as satisfactory;
- if the actual values of the performance indicators are less than 75 percent of the planned values, the effectiveness of the Programme implementation is assessed as low.

In Western European countries, the most common methodology for analyzing targeted programs effectiveness is the "priorities - goals - means - results" approach. This methodology applied for analysis of the FTP "Housing" implementation in the regions of Russia by Slizh (2015), made it possible to conclude about the "failure" of almost all the expected results of the Programme for the period from 2003 to 2009 and led to the conclusion about the unevenness

Based on the nature of the FTP goals, objectives and activities as well as the results of the housing policy implementation, three phases of housing policy implementation in the Russia were identified: ultra-liberal (1993-2002); project socially focused (2003 - 2009); correctional (2010 - present) (Slizh, 2015).

By 2020 the indicator of a total housing area per person is planned to be increased to 28-35 square meters. The level of settlement in living area should meet the requirement that the

average number of rooms in actually occupied housing should correspond to the average number of persons. Planned reduction of the cost for 1 square meter of housing should constitute 20 percent by 2018 by increasing construction of economy-class housing. It is planned to increase the proportion of citizens able to purchase or rent the appropriate housing in the market or to build individual housing through their own and borrowed funds.

3. Target & Implementation effectiveness

The effectiveness of management includes two independent aspects. The first is the target effectiveness or effectiveness of goal-setting, reflecting the correctness of the goals choice and setting. The concept of target efficiency reflects the adequacy of the assigned tasks to the actual needs of society. The problem is the difficulty in applying quantitative criteria to the evaluation of the target effectiveness, but qualitative characteristics can be used. The second is the implementation effectiveness, reflecting the quality and extent of the set goals achievement. The integral (including the correctness of the goal-setting and the accuracy of the implementation) is the overall (or integral) effectiveness. Hence, the integral effectiveness can be increased by increasing both the target and implementation effectiveness that is, improving both the quality of planning and the quality of execution.

Criteria of target, performance and integral efficiency can be represented by the following formulas:

$$\text{Target effectiveness} = \text{Targets} / \text{Needs}$$

$$\text{Implementation effectiveness} = \text{Achieved results} / \text{Targets}$$

$$\text{Integral effectiveness} = \text{Achieved results} / \text{Needs}$$

The indicator of integral effectiveness can be represented in the form of a factor product of the target and implementation effectiveness indicators

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Integral effectiveness} &= \text{Results} / \text{Targets} * \text{Targets} / \text{Needs} = \\ &= \text{Implementation effectiveness} * \text{Target effectiveness} \end{aligned}$$

The total number of families in Russia is about 50 million. According to the above data, 6% of the population estimates their housing as bad or very bad that corresponds to 3 million families. The proportion of families assessing their housing conditions not higher than satisfactory is equal to 52%, that is, over 25 million families.

Target indicators of the FTP “Housing” and their fulfillment level are shown in the Table 2. In accordance with the target indicators, by 2020, the number of families should improve their housing conditions under the FTP constitutes 7.17% of those who assessed their housing as bad or very bad, or 0.86% of the number of families who rated their housing no higher than satisfactory. Thus, the target efficiency of the program is clearly insufficient to solve the housing

problem in the foreseeable future. The data shows the low level of achievement for all indicators except the construction volume in 2016. The level of implementation effectiveness lowered significantly compared to previous year, and it will be difficult to compensate the backlog within the term of the Programme. Low level of implementation effectiveness, in combination with the low target effectiveness produces low integral effectiveness.

Table 2. Target indicators and implementation effectiveness of FTP “Housing”

№	Indicator	Measure	Expected result	Plan/fact	2015	2016	Implementation effectiveness. %	
							2015	2016
1.	Total number of families, improved their housing situation under FTP	Thousand families	215,24	plan	23.48	32.81	100	64,25
				fact	23.48	21.08		
2.	Number of young families, received social payment certificates for housing acquisition (construction)	Thousand families	150,38	plan	15.81	23.81	100	55,77
				fact	15.81	13.28		
3.	Proportion of young families, provided with housing under FTP in the total number of young families in need of improving housing situation as on January 1, 2015	%	40,1	plan	4.2	6.3	95,24	55,56
				fact	4	3.5		
4.	Housing construction under Subprogram 2	Million square meters	6,42	plan		1.1		336,36
				fact		3.7		
5.	Number of belonging to categories established by federal legislation, improved housing situation	Thousand families	53,93	plan	5.75	6.84	100	96,35
				fact	5.75	6.59		
6.	Proportion of belonging to the categories established by federal legislation, provided with housing, in total number of belonging to these categories in need to improve housing situation as on January 1, 2015	%	18,3	plan	2	2.3	95,00	96,96
				fact	1.9	2.23		
7.	Number of families, improved housing situation under the subprogramme 5	Thousand families	10,93	plan	1.92	2.16	100	56,02
				fact	1.92	1.21		

Source: composed by data of official website Federal Target Programmes of Russia <http://fcp.economy.gov.ru/cgi-bin/cis/fcp.cgi/Fcp/ViewFcp/View/2015/447/>

4. Relative effectiveness

Relative effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) means compliance with standards, world best practices, or contemporary average level. The usefulness of relative effectiveness assessment depends on the use of reference base. Comparison can be useful if and only if the indicators under comparison are calculated by the same method. Analysis of relative effectiveness can be carried out both in general, and by separate directions and factors.

In October 1990 United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) and the World Bank has initiated jointly the Housing Indicators Program. This program uses the collection of data structured in five sections (UN Habitat, 2010): 1) the Property Rights Regime; 2) housing finance regime; 3) housing subsidies regime; 4) residential infrastructure; 5) regulatory regime.

At present, Russian state statistics do not provide sufficient range of data to ensure the completeness and comprehensive characterization of housing policy. In particular, the sector of rental housing remains unheeded, though the need for rental housing is currently growing all over the world. Baltina and Kirillenko (2014) proposed 10 indicators characterizing the rental sector to widen the statistics on housing. Starting in 2013, data on the Russia's housing sector does not cover the full range of owners, which violates the temporal comparability of information. There is no uniform methodology for collecting and recording information on the housing sector in the subjects of federation. Comparison with the statistical data of foreign countries is also difficult due to the mismatch in the set of indicators and the methodology for calculating them.

5. Development effectiveness

Chosen development direction and innovative nature of decisions within the housing policy can be used as base for its assessment. Such an approach essentially depends on the correctness of the development vector and is subject to the danger of substitution of necessary changes by the transformations as the end in itself, whereas in many social processes the sustainability should be regarded as main goal of development.

All market institutions introduced in Russia and the transformations carried out in connection with their introduction can be considered as innovative. However, planning of reforms was often carried out without proper scientific substantiation, without analysis of alternatives, without developing mechanisms for the practical implementation and analysis of the progress and the outcomes. This makes it impossible to confidently assess the correctness of the development vector. For example, the institution of mortgage was transplanted to Russia from the US without taking into account the difference in the social and economic situation, without careful comparison of alternative options, without any adaptation plan.

The Government Decree on the FTP "Housing" extension states that, until the date of its issue, transformation of housing relations towards market principles had no positive impact on the social problems of the long-term development in the field of housing provision and realization of the constitutional rights for housing (Government Decree, 2010).

Large scale of the housing problem in Russia requires joint efforts of the state, financial, social and real sectors of the economy, which supposes their involvement in housing policy to ensure the coherent and consistent activity of the housing construction, construction materials industry, residential developers, financial and credit institutions. It is necessary to develop a mechanisms and measures for interaction of the economic sectors (Zhulkova, 2014).

6. Challenge effectiveness

Challenge effectiveness determines the accuracy, adequacy, speed and clarity of reactions to the challenges of the environment and the arising problems. Challenge effectiveness reflects the ability of the system to remain stable and to resist the influence of crisis factors.

Russian housing policy demonstrated its low challenge effectiveness as the reaction on financial crisis of 2007 that began as mortgage crisis in the USA and resulted to the deep mortgage crisis in Russia. It worth mentioning that post-crisis recovery has occurred in short time. Matveeva (2016) thinks that Russian housing market is a very vulnerable, which has become especially evident at the moment. Hence, housing policy based on market principles is also vulnerable and can't serve as an instrument of sustainable social and economic development.

4. Conclusions

The implemented analysis allowed drawing the following conclusions:

1. Housing policy is tightly related to the socio-economic development of the country. On the one hand, the achieved level of social and economic development dictates the goals and objectives of housing policy, determines its main directions. On the other hand, housing policy affects the living and working conditions of people, thus determining the level of development of the economy and society.

2. To develop an effective housing policy, it is necessary to correctly identify and distinguish the subjects of housing relations, whose interests should be taken into account. An analysis of the criteria proposed by Russian researchers as a basis for distinguishing "housing classes" shows that the formally identical levels of citizens' rights and freedoms are realized by housing that significantly differ in its type and quality.

3. Russia uses a program-targeted approach to the development and implementation of housing policy, in which indicators of implementation effectiveness play the leading role. The main objects of the transfer in the field of housing policy in Russia had become the ownership relations and its structure and financing mechanisms used without proper preliminary study. The Federal Target Programme "Housing" is aimed at solving the most acute, urgent and pressing tasks in the housing sector. The experience of its implementation, accumulated from 2002 to the present, does not allow characterizing it as a successful tool for housing problem solving.

4. To assess the effectiveness of housing policy, a set of approaches should be applied in complex, including indispensable effectiveness, plan realization, target and implementation effectiveness, relative effectiveness, development effectiveness, challenge effectiveness. To improve the housing policy in Russia, it should be formed taking into account the assessment from all these approaches' standpoints. A prerequisite should be a clear indication of the goals and priorities of housing policy, their linkage with resource support. From the tool for solving the most acute, urgent and pressing tasks, housing policy should become an instrument of integrated social and economic development.

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