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Этапы реализации государственной программы «Московское долголетие»

МАРИНА ВАЛЕРЬЕВНА КОРНИЛОВА, **кандидат социологических наук, старший научный сотрудник, Институт социологии Федерального научно-исследовательского социологического центра Российская академия наук (Российская Федерация, 117218, Москва, ул. Кржижановского, 24/35, корпус 5). E-mail: mmrr@mail.ru**

Аннотация: В статье анализируется работа проекта/программы «Московское долголетие» на основе оценок пожилых жителей столицы России, а также специалистов, работающих в учреждениях социальной защиты населения, ответственных за выполнение на местах. Программа относительно новая и работает в Москве чуть более двух лет. Автор выделяет четыре этапа реализации программы: подготовительный, пробный, основной и «особый». Данная разбивка основана на имеющихся нормативно-правовых актах, регулирующих реализацию проекта, а также на анализе результатов социологических исследований. Основными источниками эмпирических данных стали: интервью, проведенные автором с пожилыми москвичами о программе «Московское долголетие» (апрель-май 2020 года); опросы и фокус-группы, в том числе проведенные при участии автора в период работы в Институте дополнительного профессионального образования работников социальной сферы (2016-2017 годы). В статье также анализируются статистика и публикации в СМИ об успехах реализации проекта «Московское долголетие». И пожилые москвичи, и работники социальных организаций высоко оценивают результативность проводимых мероприятий, отмечая их нужность и своевременность, как для вовлечения пенсионеров в активный образ жизни, так и для адаптации пожилых к новому периоду жизни «для себя». Участники с удовольствием обучаются на компьютерных курсах, изучают иностранные языки, посещают уроки танцев, занимаются спортом, развивают художественно-эстетические навыки, осваивают туризм, посещают культурные объекты столицы. Есть у программы и существенные недоработки, на устранение которых требуются значительные материально-технические ресурсы и кадровая работа. Из года в год участники проекта озвучивают одни и те же проблемы, связанные с непригодностью помещений для занятий, а также отсутствием индивидуального подхода к организации активностей. «Особый» этап, связанный с пандемией коронавируса, выявил недостаточность компьютерной грамотности участников программы (несмотря на наличие обучающих программ) и неспособность к оперативной адаптации в новых условиях.

Ключевые слова: московское долголетие, пожилые москвичи, адаптация, социальная активность, социальная защита, старшее поколение, изоляция

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STAGES FOR IMPLEMENTING THE “MOSCOW LONGEVITY” PROGRAM

MARINA VALERYEVNA KORNILOVA, **Cand. of Sci. (Sociology), Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology Russian Academy of Sciences (building 5, 24/35, Krzhizhanovsky st., Moscow, 117218, Russian Federation,). E-mail: mmrr@mail.ru**

Abstract: The article examines the work of the “Moscow Longevity” state project/program. The analysis is carried through on the assessments given by the elderly residents of Moscow, as well as specialists from social welfare institutions responsible for the implementation of the program. The program is newly established and has been working in Moscow for over two years. The author names 4 stages for the implementation of the program: preparatory, trial, main, and “special” stages. This staging is based on the existing legal acts regulating the implementation of the project, as well as on the analysis of sociological research. The primary sources of data are: interviews conducted by the author with elderly residents of Moscow regarding the “Moscow Longevity” program (April-May 2020); surveys and focus groups conducted by the author during her work at the Moscow Institute of Additional Professional Training of Social Workers (2016-2017). The article examines statistics and publications in the mass media concerning the success of the “Moscow Longevity” project. Elderly Muscovites and employees of social organizations highly appreciated the ongoing activities, noting their relevance and timeliness, both for involving senior citizens in an active lifestyle and for adapting the elderly to a new period of life “for themselves”. Participants of the program take computer courses, study foreign languages, attend dance lessons, go to sports classes, develop artistic and aesthetic skills, master tourism, and visit cultural sites in Moscow. However, the program also has significant drawbacks, eliminating which requires significant material and technical resources as well as personnel work. Each year the participants voiced the same problems associated with the poor condition of the premises and the lack of an individual approach to activities’ organization. The “special” stage related to the situation with the coronavirus pandemic revealed a lack of computer skills among the program participants (despite the conducted computer classes) and inability to quickly adapt to new conditions.

Keywords: Moscow longevity, elderly Muscovites, adaptation, social activity, social security, the older generation, isolation

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Introduction

When a person reaches retirement age, most often the labor activity ends, and the replacement for it is usually a leisure activity. In many countries, old age has been promoted for many years as a progressive, free, and active period of life [Isopahkala-Bouret, 2015. P. 1-9; Skinner B. F., Vaughan M. E., 1997], active longevity shown as a way of adaptation to a new stage in the life cycle[1], and recognizing the elderly as full-fledged members of society is taken seriously [Meltem, 2015. P. 735-752]. In Russia, this process is taking place more slowly, but over the past two decades, a rethinking of old age has been observed in the domestic professional community and the mass consciousness of Russians [Anikeeva, 2018, P. 60-72; Golubeva, 2015. P. 634-638; Kozlova, 2003; Potekhina, Chizhov, P. 3-23; Rogozin, 2012. P. 62-93].

New approaches in understanding older age as an active phase of life require the authorities to implement a social policy not only promoting the development of the territory for older people residence but also taking into account their interests.

All state programs implemented by the Government are designed to improve the quality of life of the population as a whole or some most socially unsecured groups of the society. And the elderly are one of the most unprotected groups in the society. According to state statistics, the number of older Muscovites is over 3.4 million. (27.2% of the total population of the city)[2]. These are the highest rates in the country.

In 2018, the average life expectancy in Moscow was almost 80 years. The number of long-livers is increasing. According to the Pension Fund, in 2018, more than 400 thousand Muscovites crossed the 80-year mark, and 736 passed into the status of centenarians after celebrating their 100th anniversary.

All of the above demographic facts concerning the population of Moscow show not only an actual growth in the number of older age groups but also cause specific attention to senior citizens at the city level. That is why Moscow became the starting point and one of the first to legislate and implement a program to improve the quality of life for older people [Gracheva, 2018, P. 82-86]. Moscow Mayor personally supported the initiative, and the name of the project was chosen by popular vote on the Active Citizen portal. The goal of the "Moscow Longevity" program is to increase the opportunities for older citizens to participate in leisure activities in the capital of Russia (cultural, educational, physical culture, health improvement, etc.).

This program is relatively new and very large-scale in its tasks. The goals of the program are aimed at maintaining social, physical, and labor activity for all residents of Moscow who reached the old age (55 years for women, and 60 years for men).

The program has been operating for more than two years: starting from March 01, 2018 in pilot mode, and on January 01, 2019, it has switched to an ongoing basis. At the beginning of 2020, the total number of elderly residents of Moscow who took part in the program was more than 205 thousand people[3].

In this article, the author wants to consider how the "Moscow Longevity" program works at different stages of its implementation, what difficulties elderly Muscovites experience, and how to overcome them as well as analyze the experience of program participats and its relevance for Moscow.

Research methodology

The article provides a secondary analysis of the available data on the research topic, also examines the results of monitoring the level and quality of life of elderly Muscovites and focus group studies, conducted by the author during her work at the Moscow Institute of Additional Professional Training of Social Workers (2011-2018). Moreover, the results of interviews conducted by the researcher (April-May 2020) with representatives of the older generation in Moscow (the actual program participants) are shown. The article analyzes publications in the mass media concerning the program implementation, legislative and regulatory documents governing the work of the "Moscow Longevity" program at different stages of its work.

The author identifies 4 stages for program implementation:

The preparatory stage (the author relies on the results of research conducted by her colleagues on the social activity of elderly Muscovites and own works up to 2017);

The trial (pilot) stage (March 01 - December 31, 2018);

The main stage (January 01, 2019 - present);

The "special" stage (connected to the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic: the introduction of quarantine and the suspension of the work of social institutions – March 28, 2020 till present).

This classification is based on regulatory legal acts, in which the trial and main stages of the program are legally valid. The author deliberately identified the preparatory stage, based on research carried out by her while working in the system of Social Security of the city of Moscow, by order of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of the Population – the main executor of the "Moscow Longevity" program.

Due to the pandemic, the work of the program requires completely different conditions for implementation, that is why they must be considered and characterized individually. Therefore, the researcher considers it necessary to single out this period as a "special" stage in the functioning of the "Moscow Longevity" program.

1 WHO. Active Ageing – A Policy Framework. A contribution of the World Health Organization to the Second United Nations. World Assembly on Ageing, Madrid, Spain, April 2002. Available at: https://extranet.who.int/agefriendlyworld/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/WHO-Active-Ageing-Framework.pdf (date of access: March 15, 2020).

2 Official website of the Federal State Statistics Service. Section "Older Generation". 1.1. The population of the Russian Federation. URL: https://www.gks.ru/folder/13877 (date of access: April 28, 2020).

3 Official website of the Moscow Mayor. URL: https://www.mos.ru/news/item/70338073/ (date of access: March 03, 2020).

Research results

Let's consider the main indicators of social activity of the elderly population (in 2016) for the country as a whole to understand what the situation with active lifestyle among older people looks like.

According to the Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions posted on the website of the Federal State Statistics Service, persons over working age showed a diversity of activities. Elderly people participated in the activities of various organizations (movements): work in councils of veterans – 42.9%, public organizations – 25.8%, religious communities – 14.4%, councils and organizing committees for the preparation of variuos events – 10.5%, councils, voluntary unions for family, children and youth affairs – 2.1%, animal protection movements – 1.5%, as well as in other public, voluntary or charitable activities – 15.1%[4].

The older generation of Russians, along with active civic engagement, maintains physical and cultural activity. More than 2/5 of elderly Russians were engaged in some kind of active recreation (42.4%). Among them: attended swimming, water sports – 22.1%, went for sports tourism, hiking – 16.1%. If we compare the same data in the context of 3 age groups: 55-59 years old, 60-69 years old, 70 years, and more, then the difference within the groups does not exceed 1-2%. This suggests that in every age group there is a place for active recreation and lifestyle[5].

22% of senior citizens have made a tourist or sightseeing trip in the past 12 months prior to survey. Among young pensioners (55-59 years old), the share of such travelers is 30.2%, and it naturally decreases with age. In the age group of 60-69 years, 25% of respondents made trips, and among 70-year-olds and older only 11.8%[6].

All of the statistics above demonstrate the need to implement a program that will improve active lifestyle among the country's older generation at the state level.

"Moscow has the most favorable, if not the best, conditions in Russia for the development of active longevity and the use of the older generation's resource potential. This concerns the living conditions, its quality, and the degree of its comfort among elderly Muscovites"[7].

Preparatory stage

One of the largest and most ambitious studies on senior residents in Moscow can be called "Comprehensive monitoring of the level and quality of life of senior citizens in the city of Moscow". From 2011 to 2018, this study was carried out annually by specialists of the Center for Monitoring Research of the Institute of Additional Professional Training of Social Workers with the participation of the author of the article. The study involved 5 thousand respondents (elderly Muscovites aged 55 or more for women, and 60 or more for men, using and not using the services of Moscow Social Service Centers) [Kornilova, 2016, P. 2813-2821].

According to the results of the 11th stage of monitoring (2016), urban residents aged 55-59 prefer to participate in public events, while Muscovites aged 70-79 are most interested in news about the city, and centenarians are more interested in voting in elections or polls.

In 2016, almost half of the elderly Muscovites surveyed (48.7%) noted that they attended events organized by social service institutions, and 57.3% had a hobby. Nearly 2/3 of the elderly respondents (64.5%) walked in parks, and every second person visited theaters, cinema and museums (56.6%), cultural and sports events (44%). Traveling (49.1%) and physical education (45.3%) were also popular among elderly Muscovites[8].

Thus, the researchers note that already in 2016, Moscow created favorable conditions for implementing sociocultural needs and ensuring the socio-psychological comfort of elderly Muscovites[9].

It is necessary to consider the results of a qualitative study with the heads and specialists of the social security system of the Moscow population, which took place during the author's work (August 2016) at the Institute of Additional Professional Training of Social Workers. The focus group research was organized and moderated entirely by the author of the article. The collected data revealed the main leisure activities of the elderly residents of Moscow (clients of the social security system) and also helped to outline the directions for the development of Social Service Centers.

In 2016-2017, on the basis of Social Service Centers, classes of foreign languages and computer courses began to be organized while theater groups and model schools were not so widespread, but at the same time, they were still in demand among pensioners. (*"We have developed interest groups, many of them. There is even a fashion theater <...> some people come and stay for a very long time ... and they are no longer consumers of social services, but artists ... they have very interesting knitting lessons, they like to make something from beads and show it to everyone. They have a real fashion theater there"*).

4 Official website of the Federal State Statistics Service. Section "Older Generation". Employment and unemployment. 5.5. Participation of persons over working age in the activities of any organizations (movements) in the Russian Federation URL: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/generation/# (date of access: March 10, 2019).

5 Official website of the Federal State Statistics Service. Section "Older Generation". Social activity of elderly citizens. 7.1. Senior citizens visiting any entertainment and sports events in the Russian Federation. URL: https://gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/population/generation/tab-st-soc_akt.htm (date of access: May 10, 2019).

6 Official website of the Federal State Statistics Service. URL: https://gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/population/generation/tab-st-soc_akt.htm (date of access: May 10, 2019)

7 Rimashevskaya N. M. et al. The older generation of Muscovites: quality of life and conditions for active longevity. Moscow, 2015. P. 10.

8 Comprehensive monitoring of the level and quality of life of elderly citizens in the city of Moscow: information and analytical report. Stage 11. / Edited by Petrosyan V. A., Holostova E. I. Moscow, 2016. P. 139-142.

9 Comprehensive monitoring... P. 144.

The peculiarities of older age include more labor-intensive development of any activity. Older people have many fears, complexes, and self-doubt. In such a situation, the process of dancing and music lessons directly depends on the instructor. (*"We are choosing an instructor. We have very good singing and IT instructor, a photography club. He teaches vocals, piano, choir, both girls and boys. They sing all day. They love the dance instructor and are engaged in oriental dances, Indian dances, gypsy dances..."*).

In 2020, social tourism is still widespread. Back in 2016, the demand for such type of outdoor activity was announced. In addition to creative activities, Moscow seniors are fond of excursions and Scandinavian walking. (*"They are very interested in social tourism ... they ask us to arrange excursions more often, they want to go and see the sights every week. By Buses, common walking or Scandinavian walking..."*).

Involving older people in volunteer activities is one of the priority areas of the program. This task of the program is based on the desire of the older Muscovites "to be useful". (*"That is, they share their experience. We have an excellent English teacher. At first, she attended the Day Care Unit and then began her teaching practice.*) Besides, at the end of their careers, many young pensioners lack the usual activity. This is especially true for people who are creative and inclined to leadership. (*"Yes, but they are also open for others. Once, a woman came to us, still a young pensioner. She immediately formed a creative team. She comes every time and asks everyone: do you dance, do you sing, are you fond of poetry? That is, she is always very optimistic, and she directly attracts attention to herself. Someone dances with her, someone sings"*).

The implementation of the program was preceded by several significant scientific and practical events. Since 2006, in Russia, the oldest exhibition and discussion project "Old Generation" has been annually held in St. Petersburg. The purpose of this project was to consider the development of the industry of goods and services that meet the needs of older people. Since 2013, the annual conference "Society for All Ages" has been held in Moscow, the main goal of which is to change the image of old age in Russia, to develop the service sector to ensure a high quality of life for the older generation.

Trial (pilot) stage

The pilot project on active longevity was carried out in Moscow from March 01 to December 31, 2018. The implementation of the pilot project was regulated by the Decree of the Moscow Government[10] and the Orders of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of Moscow[11]. The project was aimed at creating conditions for a sustainable increase in the life expectancy of the Moscow population, increasing the adaptive capabilities of the elderly, and taking comprehensive measures to organize the active leisure for the older generation.

On March 12, 2018, almost immediately after the start of the trial stage of "Moscow Longevity" program, an international forum "Active Longevity" was held in Moscow. During the forum, Russian and foreign experts discussed the necessary measures to draw attention to the problems of older people and popularize an active lifestyle among people of the third age.

The organization of leisure and educational activities for pensioners within the framework of "Moscow Longevity" was confirmed by 1,500 organizations, dozens of representatives of business, and non-profit organizations. During the first week, residents of the capital filled in over 36 thousand applications for participation, more than 1000 groups were formed, and 600 of them have already started working[12].

Consider the results of the study "Problems and prospects for the development of the pilot project "Moscow Longevity", conducted by specialists of the Institute of Additional Professional Training of Social Workers in October-December 2018[13]. The total number of respondents: 1,600 people (560 "people's experts" – older Muscovites participating in 4 or more activities and 1,040 experts from people who working in the social security system and responsible for the implementation of the "Moscow Longevity" project).

Among the most demanded areas, "people's experts" singled out physical education (45%), dance lessons (38.4%), computer work (29.3%), fitness and exercise equipment (28.6%), learning English (25.9%).

Elderly participants and specialists noted that they were satisfied with the quality of activities under the Active Longevity program (86.4% and 95.9%, respectively).

Among the main positive changes in their lives, older Muscovites named an improvement in mood and well-being (35.7%), new acquaintances, and the emergence of a large number of like-minded people (31.4%), the opportunity to engage in a favorite occupation or hobby (22%).

Experts noted that joint (partnership) events were most successfully organized with the education system, and least successful – with cultural, sports, health, and tourism institutions.

10 On holding a pilot project in the city of Moscow to expand opportunities for the participation of older citizens in cultural, educational, fitness, health- improving, and other leisure activities [Electronic resource]: Resolution of the Moscow Government on February 13, 2018 "ConsultantPlus".

11 On holding a pilot project in the city of Moscow to expand the opportunities for the participation of older citizens in cultural, educational, fitness, health-improving, and other leisure activities [Electronic resource]: order of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of Moscow on February 14, 2018 URL: http://csovernad.ru/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/prikaz-150-ot-14.02.18.pdf (date of access: June 05, 2019); On methodological support for the implementation of the pilot project "Moscow Longevity" [Electronic resource]: order of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of Moscow on May 24, 2018 URL: https://tcso-schukino.ru/docs (date of access: June 05, 2019).

12 Old age must be active. *Vechernyaya Moskva*, March 15-22, 2018. P. 4.

13 Petrosyan V. A., Kholostova E. I. Problems and prospects for the development of the "Moscow Longevity" pilot project: Information and Analytical Report. M., 2018.

Analysis of the actual implementation of "Moscow Longevity" program showed the presence of difficulties in the work of the pilot project. The author's vision on the main difficulties is presented through grouping and secondary analysis of the available data (see **Table 1**).

Additionally, the author identified certain discrepancies in the implementation of the project, in reality, in the Social Service Centers, with the way it is written in legislative acts.

There is no timeframe for implementation and the planned effectiveness of the program. The text of the Government Decree on the implementation of the pilot project "Moscow Longevity" does not contain information on the timing of the program and data on the number of participants.

The methods and criteria for selecting members of the Public Council, which oversees the implementation of the pilot project, *are not specified.* The Council includes many famous people from television shows and show-business who are poorly informed about the problems of the older generation and how to work with them.

There is no clear procedure and rules for the participation of subordinate organizations in the program. The document lacks mechanisms of interaction and practical recommendations for the implementation of activities "locally". The Decree does not contain a clear plan for the implementation of activities' programs in the Social Service Centers.

Not equal treatment to outside organizations. The document specifies the procedure for submitting applications for participation in the program, according to which government organizations are in priority, and commercial structures can apply for participation in the project only in the last turn.

The project is designed only for those pensioners who have permanent registration in Moscow, although the Government Decree states "those who live in the city of Moscow". For example, those who are registered in the Moscow region can take part in the events of the "Moscow Longevity" program only on a paid basis. Thus, paragraph 5 of the pilot project on organizing activities "without attracting funds from citizens" is misleading.

The Government Decree states that all elderly Muscovites can participate in the pilot project "regardless of their employment or other activities," but, in fact, *working pensioners are not able to attend most of the activities*, because almost all classes under the "Moscow Longevity" program are held during working hours. This problem was also indicated by the data obtained 2 years before the start of the project. According to the results of social monitoring of the level and quality of life of elderly Muscovites (2016), the share of socially active Muscovites among working pensioners was 10% lower due to the limitation in free time[14].

14 Comprehensive monitoring of the level and quality of life of elderly citizens in the city of Moscow: information and analytical report. Stage 11. / Edited by Petrosyan V. A., Holostova E. I. M., 2016

Table 1. Main difficulties identified during the implementation of the "Moscow Longevity" pilot project

"People's" experts	Specialists - experts
Large number of documents that must be submitted in order to participate in activities	Excessive reporting requirements
Lack of explanatory work concerning the rules of participation in the project	The dominance of social safety organizations in service providers
Long queues for participation in activities	Inadequate number of urgent orders for employees
Lack of planning and staffing of activity groups	Unclear job responsibilities and areas of charge for the project
Insufficient level of specialists' qualifications to work with the older generation	Staff turnover and change of activity provider organizations
Outdated material and technical base (lack of air conditioning, inadequacy of premises)	Insufficient adaptation of activity programs to the physical and cognitive capabilities of older people

Compiled according to: Problems and prospects for the development of the Moscow Longevity Pilot Project: Information and Analysis Report / Edited by Petrosyan V. A., Holostova E. I. Moscow, 2018. P. 48-58.

The implementation of any new project always faces organizational difficulties. This is the main value of the "pilot" stage of implementation – testing, adaptation, and approbation of new technologies for organizing the activities in the institutions that are responsible for the implementation of the project. Also, the task of any "trial" project is the obligatory summing up, study, and consideration of problematic issues. This must be done before deciding on the future fate of the project and the feasibility of its implementation on an ongoing basis.

Main stage

From January 01, 2019 till present, according to the Decree of the Moscow Government[15], the "Moscow Longevity" project is being implemented in the capital by the Moscow City Department of Labor and Social Protection on an ongoing basis[16].

15 On the implementation in the city of Moscow the "Moscow Longevity" project [Electronic resource]: Resolution of the Moscow Government on December 18, 2018 (as amended and supplemented by the Moscow Government Resolution on December 26, 2019). "Consultant Plus".

16 On the implementation in the city of Moscow the "Moscow Longevity" project [Electronic resource]: Order of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of the Population of 21 January 2020 URL: https://resourse-center.mos.ru/upload_local/iblock/5db/5dbb46c8ef67ed3eaec51de1a951ffc3/prikaz_dtszn_ot_21.01.2020_29_o_realizatsii_v_gorode_moskve_proekta_mo....pdf (date of access: March 10, 2020) On methodological support for the implementation the "Moscow Longevity" project [Electronic resource]: Order of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of the Population of 12 August 2019 URL: https://resourse-center.mos.ru/upload_local/iblock/5db/ 5dbb46c8ef67ed3eaec51de1a951ffc3 / prikaz_dtszn_ot_21.01.2020_29_o_realizatsii_v_gorode_moskve_proekta_mo .... pdf (date of access: March 10, 2020).

In March 2019, the number of program participants was 208 thousand people[17].

The results of the "Moscow Longevity" program are regularly published in the media[18], but there are no analytical publications and scientific articles on the implementation of this program.

Due to the lack of research on the implementation of the "Moscow Longevity" program, the author decided to conduct her own study. In March-May 2020, 32 interviews were conducted (via audio and video communication in the WhatsApp application) about positive and negative aspects of the program's work with older people (potential and real project participants) aged 55 - 80 years old, single and with family, with secondary and higher education, employed and unemployed.

The most popular types of activities for elderly Muscovites are still computer courses, foreign language classes, fitness, and dancing. If during the interview it became clear that the respondent does not participate in the program due to personal reasons, the general necessity and expediency of such a project for the older generation of Muscovites was voiced. Elderly residents of Moscow expressed gratitude for the opportunity for interesting leisure and active recreation. The study found that content with the program's activities among the older generation in the capital city depends on where the person lives. For example, for those who live in the Central Administrative District – excursions, museums, exhibitions, and theaters are more accessible, since they are located mainly in the center of the city. As for other non-central districts of Moscow, especially where there are large park zones, Scandinavian walking is very popular.

More than 7.5 thousand instructors participate in the program in 30 different areas. Almost all research participants who regularly visit the project's activities noted that they have already chosen 2-3 favorite areas, and although they want to try themselves in all activities, there are so many of them that "there are not enough hours a day to try them all". At the same time, some go to the Social Service Center "as if they were going to work", "attend activities, and stay in the Social Service Center from morning until evening". Elderly Muscovites are fond of "Moscow Longevity" precisely for the variety of educational, entertainment, cultural, and sports areas. The most enthusiastic reviews about the work of the program are expressed by those participants who combine creative classes with physical and mental activity.

The main reasons for participating in the project are:

Cognitive ("desire to learn and discover", "to enrich your knowledge", "to live a full life", "keep up with children and grandchildren");

Communicative ("to find like-minded people and friends with the same interests," "to be not alone," "to escape from everyday problems");

Physical ("to be young and healthy", "to push the boundaries of their capabilities", "to lead an active lifestyle");

Consumer (a free receipt of souvenirs, specialized clothing, and equipment – for example, walking sticks and jacket for Scandinavian walking).

Despite the overall positive assessment of the "Moscow Longevity" program, interview participants quite often mentioned the lack of flexibility in the program. Elderly people noted the need to separate the groups of participants according to the principle of "beginners" and "advanced". This applies to students participating in computer courses, health and fitness, dance, and creative activities.

The program also has a number of material and technical problems: small size of premises for activities, lack of air conditioning and water coolers, lack of changing rooms, problems with equipment and insufficient materials for classes, the inadequacy of premises for the needs of older people.

Special (isolation) stage

During the interview period (March-May 2020), the opportunities for social activity of the older generation of Moscow were significantly limited. Since March 26, 2020, due to the epidemiological situation associated with the spread of coronavirus (COVID-19), all residents of the capital over the age of 65 have been obliged to exclude any personal contact and stay at home in self-isolation[19].

On March 28, 2020, according to the Decree of the Moscow Mayor[20], the "Moscow Longevity" program also suspended its work in an offline format; in return, the older generation was offered online classes.

Many interviewees admitted that they have practically no free time to panic and get bored. Older people show less anxiety and concern about the current situation on the pandemic, this is evidenced by the data of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) survey presented on April 30, 2020, at the expert online discussion "In the regime of isolation: the evolution of social practices in the context of the coronavirus pandemic". People over 60 years old have gone through quite a lot of crises in their lives (the collapse of the USSR, devaluation of the national

17 Interview of the Moscow Mayor Sobyanin S. S. in the newspaper "*Vechernyaya Moskva*", March 7-14, 2019. No. 9 (28177), P. 5. "208 thousand pensioners have come to the program. There are more than 9 thousand free of charge groups and sections of physical education, dance, English language, computer technologies, drawing, chess, and many others".

18 Longevity training. *Vechernyaya Moskva*, 07-14 March 2019. P. 5; A simple health secret. *Vechernyaya Moskva*, 05-12 March, 2020. P. 6.

19 On the introduction of a high alert mode [Electronic resource]: decree of the Mayor of Moscow of March 5, 2020 (as amended and supplemented by the Decree of the Moscow Mayor of May 07, 2020). Clause 10.1 "*Kommersant*".

20 On the introduction of a high alert mode: the Decree of the Mayor of Moscow of March 5, 2020. Clause 3.3

currency, unemployment, shortage of goods, etc.). Today's situation of a sharp change in life causes more concerns among the younger generation: from 18 to 35 years old, for whom a shift in their usual way of life occurs for the first time.

The VCIOM researchers also noted that "corona-fitness" (online sports in self-isolation mode) is rapidly gaining popularity.

Dance lessons, gymnastics, yoga, painting, and aesthetic development are now conducted in special electronic applications, which can be accessed either using a computer or a smartphone. At the very beginning of the isolation period, there were not so many online classes of this kind, and many pensioners found free video lessons on topics of interest on their own. Online offers on masterclasses, lectures, and marathons began to appear as the isolation period extended. Before the "coronavirus" stage, older people could not afford to participate in such courses because of the cost, but now, many well-known coaches and teachers offer to study for free. This creates serious competition for the activities and the level of teaching that can be offered in the online format at the "Moscow Longevity" project.

According to the study participants, the online format of classes is not suitable for everyone. The point here is not only in age but also in the availability of the necessary devices and the ability to use them. (*"Those who know how to use the Internet will find the information they need without the help of "Moscow Longevity", and those who do not know how will not be able even with the help of "Moscow Longevity".*)

Among the main difficulties of online classes, interviewees noted:

It is not easy to master the necessary programs to connect to classes in a distance format and to do it quickly and in a stressful situation is even more difficult.

Technical problems may appear during online classes (connection difficulties, low connection speed), which even instructors cannot always help with.

According to the latest data, the cancellation of the self-isolation regime for citizens over 65 years old began on June 09, 2020. The cancellation of restrictions on the work of various organizations will take 3 stages: 09, 16, and 23 June. The date of the "Moscow Longevity" program suspension was indicated in the corresponding decree of the Mayor of Moscow; the new decree does not say anything about the program's resumption time. If we proceed from the fact that social welfare institutions will be able to start working on June 23, 2020, then the "Moscow Longevity" program should resume its work at this time[21].

According to the results of the interview, it can be seen that the respondents noted a lack of live communication, joint physical and creative activities, as well as a particular emotional component from the "Moscow Longevity" classes. Therefore, the participants are looking forward to a new "offline" stage of the program in the format of live meetings.

General conclusions

The social security system in Moscow has long gone beyond the scope of routine assistance to those in need. Social services today are not only different areas of activity but also an opportunity to adapt older people to a new period of life and a complete rethinking of themselves.

Statistical data of 2016 on the social activity of older people in Russia served as the starting point for the author's research. Unfortunately, the author could not find official statistics on the social activity of older people living in the regions. In 2016, almost half of the respondents of the "Monitoring the level and quality of life of the elderly population of Moscow" noted that they actively attended events organized by social service institutions.

After that, on the basis of the institutions of the social security system, the implementation of the "Moscow Longevity" program began; this is one of the reasons why Moscow occupies a leading place in terms of life expectancy growth, increasing it almost every year by six months. The figures for the current year show that life expectancy indicators have crossed the 80-year mark, and the share of the elderly people in the entire structure of Moscow's population is already more than 27%, and these are very significant results. The older generation of Muscovites is the most massive demographic group of civil society among the residents of the capital, which actively participates in the life of the city.

The attention paid to the organization of leisure and recreation for the elderly citizens in Moscow is due not only to the number of citizens of this age category and indicators of life expectancy but also to the available statistical data that indicate the social activity of the older generation in visiting entertainment and sports events in the Russian Federation as a whole.

For many years, one of the main criteria for receiving social services from the social security system in Moscow was the retirement age and the mandatory end of labor activity. Despite the increase in the retirement age from January 01, 2019, the age of entry into the program has not been increased. Additionally, working pensioners are allowed to participate in the "Moscow Longevity" program.

The most demanded activities are still unchanged. At every stage of the program's implementation, computer courses, dance and sports classes, the study of foreign languages, and artistic activities do not reduce their prevalence. New types of activities are also gaining popularity: theatrical and modeling activities, lessons in style and personal care, age-related make-up, and self-presentation at an older age. These types of leisure and aesthetic development are also in demand among elderly Muscovites.

Feedback received from program participants helps to organize new types of activities and improve the already familiar leisure practices.

21 On the stages of lifting the restrictions established due to the introduction of the high alert regime [Electronic resource]: the Decree of the Mayor of Moscow of June 8, 2020. "ConsultanPlus".

Due to the high assessment of the activities at the pilot stage, on January 1, 2019, "Moscow Longevity" is already being carried out on an ongoing basis.

Analysis of interviews with elderly Muscovites showed the approval of the socio-cultural policy of the city, which is being carried out within the framework of the "Moscow Longevity" program. The proposed activities meet the needs of elderly Muscovites. Both at the trial and the main stages of the project, the main motives for the participation of older Muscovites in this program were the need to take care of their health, satisfy the need for new knowledge, expand the number of friends, the desire to live a full life and spend their free time as useful and interesting as possible.

On October 10-11, 2019, for the seventh time, a national conference "Society for All Ages" was held in Moscow in partnership with the forum "Russia – Territory of Care". A significant part of the reports touched upon the effectiveness of the "Moscow Longevity" program, along with regional examples of this kind of practice for the older generation.

However, the experience of elderly Muscovites in the activities of the "Moscow Longevity" program has shown the presence of difficulties in the implementation of the project, many of which have not been resolved over the two years of the project's existence. Infrastructure and personnel problems caused the most complaints at all stages of the project. The premises do not meet the needs of older people. An inoperative air conditioning system, lack of water coolers, narrow hallways, small rooms for classes are the main claims of the participants to the active longevity program.

The lack of an individual approach in the formation of groups is based not only on the difference in the level of abilities but also on the serious differences in capabilities due to the age of the participants. In the course of personal interviews, pensioners admitted that the age difference is very much felt in the elderly phase of life, and if "people aged 40 and 60 can still be combined in one group, then young pensioners and people over 80 years in one group are not compatible". Suggestions on the division of participants by age and level of abilities were expressed during the trial and at the main stages of the program but were not taken into account in most Social Service Centers.

The introduction of online technologies among representatives of this age group cannot be called successful either. The format of online participation in activities at the "special" stage of the "Moscow Longevity" program showed that older Muscovites find it difficult to adapt to participation in virtual activities. The practice of computer classes has shown that older people acquire general skills with working on a computer and a smartphone, but, finding themselves in a situation of uncertainty, the elderly person cannot figure out how to work in new programs and applications on their own. Even instructors experienced similar difficulties when faced with the urgent need to master previously unused programs.

Despite the difficulties in organizing and implementing this program, which was identified during the analysis of available data, studying the texts of regulatory legal acts and conducting the author's research, the original purpose of the work was different – to show the success of the program at all stages of its implementation and only some general difficulties that always arise when implementing projects of this scale. However, after analyzing a series of interviews with elderly Muscovites (program participants), it became obvious that despite the generally positive assessment of the "Moscow Longevity" program by the older generation, the problems identified during the project implementation require more thorough consideration and submission into a separate article.

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