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# **MODELS OF RUSSIAN CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR: RETAIL UNDER CRISIS PRESSURE<sup>1</sup>**

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### ***Abstract***

*The article deals with socio-economic approach, analysis of empirical research of consumer behaviour of different models in the retail markets in Russia during 2006-2016. Analysis of practice of the Russian retail market is presented in the context of theories which analyse the combination of competition and coordination of dealings of retailers, suppliers, customers, competitors and elites of the regional and federal levels (V. Radaev). The authors based their analysis also on the political-cultural approach (N. Fligstein), which offers a new view on the forms of economic stability and instability in the modern market, where embedded political and institutional processes hold the leading position. As the authorities got involved in global investment and in resolving social conflicts in modern societies, it is necessary to understand that the conditions of the Western sanctions (European Union, United States and other countries), which were introduced because of the conflict in the East of Ukraine, and the Russian*

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*response to them also lead to the lock-in effect (D. North), which affected the model of a Russian consumer behaviour. Consumers are not ready to support the import substitution, preferring higher quality and functionality of western analogues, or postponing the purchase. That fact indicates the unwillingness of the Russian industry for import substitution. The decline of customer activity, active savings behaviour, and a sharp reduction of the small business trade are one of the trends in the retail market, which were uncovered by the authors. These changes in the retail market increase the level of social tension.*

**Keywords:** retail, consumer behaviour, socio-economic approach

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The research problem discussed in this article is the result of the discussions and contradictory practices of consumer behavior, which are caused by the crisis in the Russian realities of modern day life. The instability of the trade sector in the Russian economy at the macro level is reflected on its contribution to GDP according to Rosstat. The share of trade in the Russian GDP was 5.6% in 1990. This figure had increased to 20.2% in 2002. It dropped to 17.3% in 2010, and fell to 14-14,2% in 2014-2015. Share of citizens income directed at the purchase of goods and services was minimal over the past eight years (2008-2015) in 2015. Consumption of goods and services reduced to 9% during that time. The level of food consumption in 2015 decreased to the level of consumption at the beginning of 2008. The level of wages continued to decline and has achieved the level of 2006 in Russia. The amount of cash savings of Russians fell by 418 billion rubles only in 2015, according to Rosstat.

Lack of money for consumer spending recorded in the following trends: a decrease in consumer activity, active savings behavior, despite the riskiness of long-term savings in the crisis, the decline in domestic demand, which also indicates the lack of incentives for potential economic growth. Direct foreign investments in the Russian economy decreased by 4.6 times in 2015 and by 14.3 times in 2014, which was a consequence of the sanctions confrontation and unfavorable investment climate. Reduction of retail trade turnover in real terms in Russia continued in January-February 2016, its level has moved closer to the beginning of 2011.

The authors reveal the practical relevance of research, in the context of understanding the real models of the Russian consumer behavior. How are the myths and fears about the fall in the consumer sector in Russia objective? Will the level of consumption of Russians be stable in short and medium term really? What are the grounds of possible collapse of the whole economy? This is indicated by the representatives of its liberal direction, according to T. Maleva, Investors and population do not believe in the Russian economy (T. Maleva, 2016).

Research objectives, which the authors are pursuing in the article: to consider the current problems of the Russian retail market, intensifying pressure of the economic crisis; to identify the key factors that contribute to sustainable socio-economic relations between the participants of the market of retail and wholesale trade; to analyze the consumer behavior models of Russians, including the context of the dynamics of the average wage in real terms and retail turnover. Tasks, which decision leads UNCLEAR to achieve the research objectives: to identify the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of the Russian market in terms of presentation of long empirical series; to determine the specificity of the interaction of market retailers, suppliers and consumers with a focus on the behavior of the final consumer and the customer.

## **2. CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE RUSSIAN RETAIL MARKET AND CHANGES IN CONSUMER BEHAVIOR MODELS OF RUSSIANS**

### **2.1. The literature review**

The literature review explains the condition of knowledge of the problem and based on the involvement of the economic and sociological theories of markets, analysing competition combination and coordination of retail networks of business relationships, suppliers, customers, competitors and managerial elite regional and federal levels (V. Radaev, 2008, p. 20-50). The authors' argument also draw on the political-cultural approach, which offers a view of the relatively new form of economic stability and instability in the modern market economy, where the leading role is played by the embedded political and institutional processes (N. Fligstein, 2003, p. 45-63). The authors of this article support the concept of N. Fligstein, in particular that the United States have witnessed rapid trade growth, which was accompanied by sharp increase in inequality and the policy more favouring to capital than to labour. Reorganization of enterprises and labour in the American context, from which the capital won, provoked all these changes, not trade (N. Fligstein, 2013). Rapid trade growth has been accompanied by sharp increase in inequality in the Russian version, too. However, according to the authors, arising issues associated with government intervention and regulation of trade sector detained the active development of consumer culture of the population.

The authors of this article follow cyclical theories of retail, which include the theory of the retail wheel, assuming the existence of more or less precise cycle development of retail trade. The retailers compete on the basis by offers of goods at the lowest possible price or trying to attract the consumer, offer new concept or innovation, when they are just entering the market. Retailers are trying to raise the level of services and their quality as experience is acquired and capital accumulation, higher prices for goods is a result. This success allows mature fledged retailers to win strong position at the market. The classic wheel

of retailing goes through three stages: entry into the market, offer higher prices and better service, and the moment of vulnerability (S. Brown, 1987). Key achievements and unresolved issues in the global retail sector are now well known, it is applicable to the theory and practice of the Russian retail (D. Gilbert, 2016). Experience has shown that a number of forces, pushing retailers outside of the Russian market include the following: the structural conditions which limit the further growth, for example, the pressure of growing competition, the obsolescence of retail formats, the retail sector concentration and the proximity to the saturation level market; legislative factors (exposure limits, which control the development of large scale food stores outside the city or regional shopping centres, such as the Blue-water; political issues; unstable political and economic situation in Eastern Europe, Ukraine, Russia; social and demographic factors, such as a decrease in consumer demand due to population aging; the economic problems associated with the impact of the economic recession on consumer spending.

The authorities are involved in the global investing, and in resolving social conflicts in modern societies. Given that it should be understood that Western sanctions (European Union, United States and other countries), introduced as a result of conflict in the East Ukraine, and the Russian response to sanctions lead to the lock-in effect (D. North, D. Wallis, B. Weingast, 2011). It is reflected on the model of Russians consumer behaviour. They still prefer the import: even rise in price and contraband. This is important from a practical point of view, especially in connection with increasing decline in the quality of Russian products. The lock-in effect affected all retail chains in Russia: global, foreign, domestic, federal, interregional, local chains. It subordinates the functioning retail markets to destructive impulses. Expected theoretical place of the article in a stream of other conceptual developments is analysis of macroeconomic trends and dynamic series in the context of prospective models of consumer behaviour. This is due to the logic of presentation which was adopted in the present work. The article demonstrates the fact that the cost advantages of Russian products began to lose its importance in the eyes of customers, compared with the advantages of quality, technological level, customer properties of imported samples, in the period of devaluation, the past fifteen years, in particular. Thus, the customers (in large mass) prefer not to switch to cheaper, but less quality domestic products, and prefer to defer purchase, in conditions of increased cost of imports. The total number of Russians aspiring to save is growing associated with sharp deterioration in the economic status of the population.

## **2.2. Data analysis**

This section is particularly important for empirical studies, which use large amount of data. The authors draw attention to the fact that mainly used data of Rosstat, which are reinterpreted so as to explain to the reader the nature and essence of consumer behaviour patterns. The authors use the methodology of

transformation the key table data in the figures to show the graphic model of Russians consumer behaviour. All the tables are placed in the annex of the article.

Retail in Russia grew almost the entire period of market reforms (Figure 1). The growth rate of the retail slowed down then accelerated. Despite this retail rests one of the fastest growing markets in Russia, as indeed all over the world. The exception of this trend was in 2009 and 2015. Russian retail collapsed by 42% in comparable prices comparing with the previous year after the global financial crisis in 2009. GDP at comparable prices fell by 8% in 2009; it is obvious that Russians began to save on retail firstly. However, retail won back the fall quickly, and the volume of retail completely recovered in comparable prices by 2011. After that the retail trade turnover began to decline, and in 2015 achieved the level of 2009. Figure 1 demonstrates the structural analysis of the dynamics of GDP and economic activities at comparable prices of 2008, according to Rosstat.

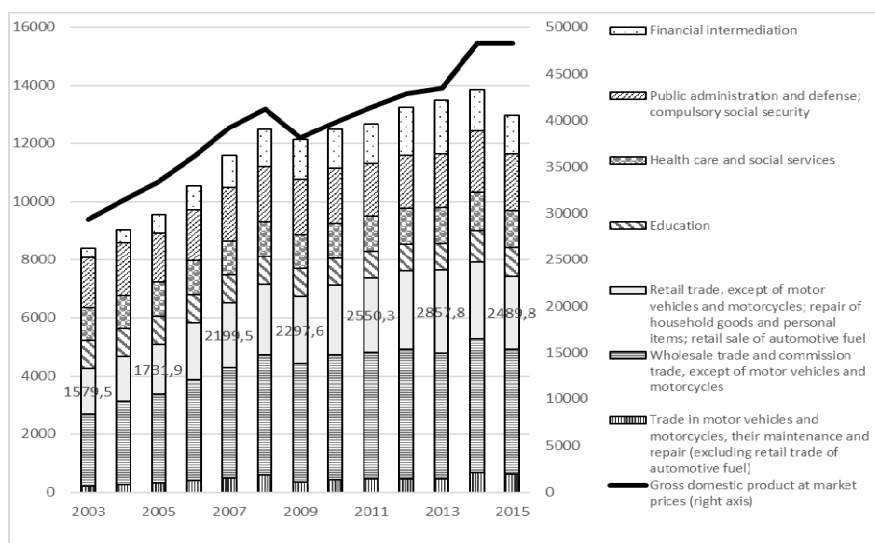


Figure 1. Gross regional product of the Russian Federation and its components in some types of economic activity in the prices of 2008, bln rub

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

The share of education, health and social services, public administration and defense, obligatory social security, financial intermediation changes in Russian GDP over 2003-2015 are represented graphically. The share of education and health in GDP are falling, the proportion of public administration and defense in Russia's GDP is growing. This can be explained by the effects of sanctions

confrontation and negative investment climate in general and growth export of weapons.

The structural and dynamic analysis clearly shows that the retail trade turnover began to decline after 2011, and achieved the level of 2009 in 2015 (Figure 2).

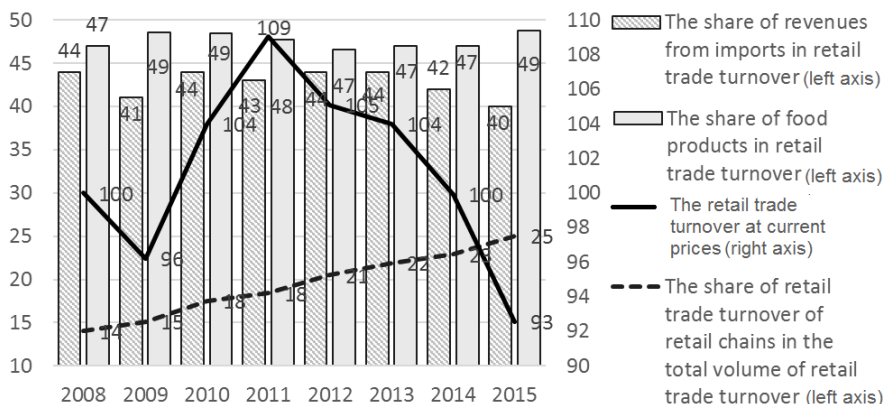


Figure 2. The dynamics of retail trade turnover at comparable prices (relative to 2008 = 100%) and its structure, in %

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

The retail trade turnover amounted to 93% of the 2008 level in 2015, whereas retail fell over the year by 3% in comparable prices in 2009. The share of retail chains in retail trade turnover in the total volume of retail trade turnover has increased from 15% to 25%, on two-third over 6 years (Figure 2). The share of revenues from imports in the total retail trade volume continues to decline beginning 2010.

Dynamics of trade turnover and paid services to the population (seasonally adjusted, 2008 = 100%) is shown at Figure 3 (Higher School of Economics, 2016, p. 34). Two peaks falling of turnover and paid services in Russia are clearly visible in July 2009 (the peak of the global financial crisis) and in January 2015.

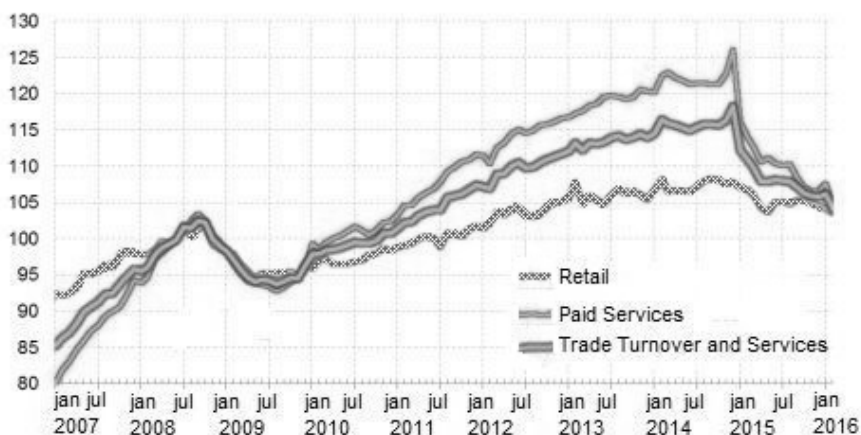


Figure 3. The dynamics of trade turnover and paid services to the population (seasonally adjusted, 2008 = 100%)

*Source: Comments about the state and the business. March 14 - April 4, 2016  
Institute Development Centre, Higher School of Economics*

Structural and dynamic analysis in Figure 3 shows that the reduction in retail trade turnover in real terms continued, and its level is nearer to the beginning of 2012. The reason for this failure is that the retail turnover in Russia was kept from falling in December 2014 and in January 2015 on account of consumer excitement because of the rouble weakening to record levels. Seasonality factor only slightly improves these indicators.

The retail structure of the objects and the retail area is interesting. Figure 4 shows a graphic structure of retail facilities and retail space on the date of December 31, 2014, according to our methodology of collecting and generating data. Large stores, hypermarkets and supermarkets steadily dominate in terms of volume of retail space in Russia (Figure 4). However, minimarkets lag only slightly because of their large numbers. In fact, the small and medium sized businesses with a pavilion and tent trade are forced to reorient in minimarkets, pharmacies and shops.

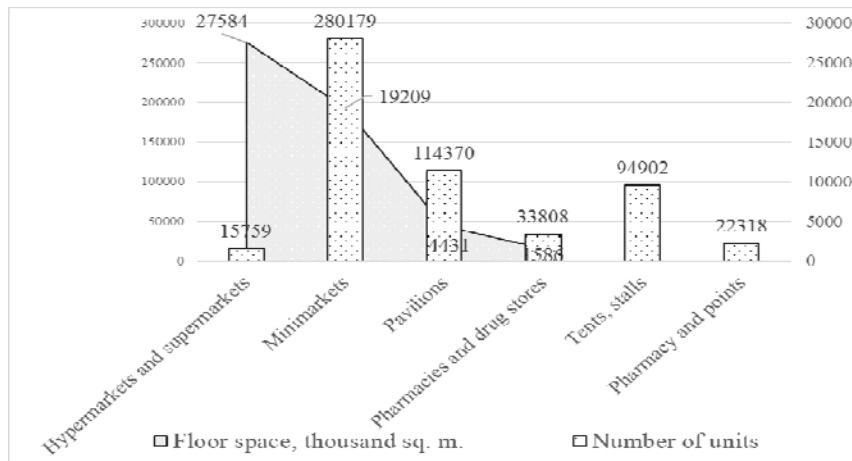


Figure 4. The structure of the retail trade on the facilities and retail trade space on 31 December 2014

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

The picture of changes in the purchasing behavior of Russians is demonstrated on Figure 5. Decrease in comparative prices in relation to the average salary in 2015 on average in Russia in comparison with 2008 is: the volume of retail trade fell by 1.7 times, the retail turnover of non-food products fell by 1.9 times, the retail trade turnover of trade organizations fell by 1.7 times, sales in the retail markets and fairs were down by 3 times (Figure 5).

Considering the overall decline in the share markets and fairs in the retail market, it should be emphasized that in 2015 the Russians began to spend less on retail by about 1.7 times compared with 2008, which was also the year of the crisis. In other words this is a significant change in consumer behavior of Russians. At the same time the share of retail turnover of retail chains in the total retail turnover for the last 6 years has increased almost on two-thirds (Figure 2). This restructuring has occurred due to a radical decline in the share of the retail markets in the Russians purchasing behavior.



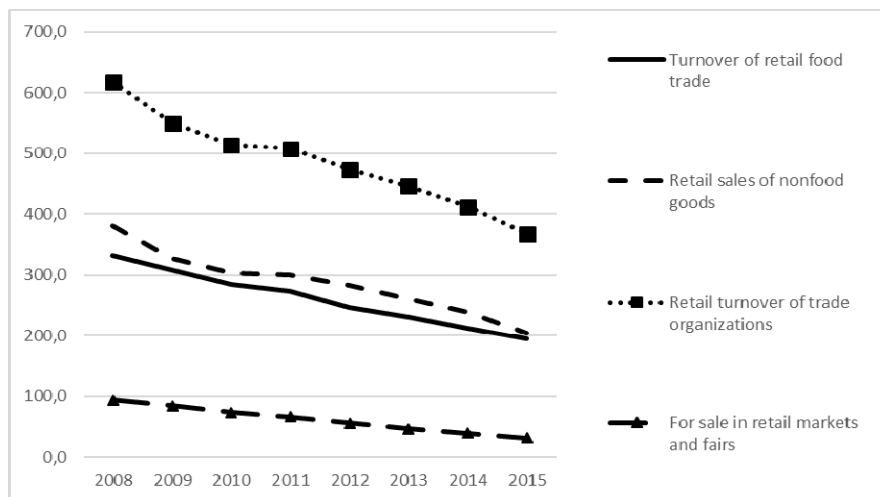


Figure 5. The volume retail trade at comparative prices in relation to the average salary in the current year, Russian Federation, mln rub

\* Reduction to comparable prices relative to 2008

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

It should be noted that choosing the trading format depends on the level of consumer income. The higher the income, the more often the consumer prefers durable goods in the modern self-service stores. The level of consumption in retail markets decreases at the same time with the growth of income. The Russian retail market is already quite comparable with the markets of Western European countries on the volume. However, spending on retail purchases per person among Russians is less than Western 2-3 times on average. Less progressive structure of household spending is characteristic for Russia. In this connection, the Russian retail market continues to be one of the most attractive for the large trading companies (V. Radaev, 2016).

The number of retail markets in the country decreased from 15,831,000 to 1,437,000, while the number of trade and consumer services organizations increased marginally from 366 thousand to 377 thousand compared with 2005 (Figure 6). Such dynamics due not only by fall in sales and aspiration of the population to savings in the crisis years, but also by gain control of the trade sector by the authorities, in particular the tightening of the sales rules of series of product categories. The difficulty of attracting investment exacerbates the situation of small business. Summing up the main trends of raising funds, share of borrowed funds is increasing at the moment. Bank loans account a large part of them. The resources borrowed from the stock markets are becoming more visible in the structure of borrowed funds. The effect of economies of scale, the subordination of suppliers, and the use of own brands provide a higher level of

competitiveness of major distribution companies. In addition, a shift of trading formats to less wealthy and more mass consumer segments is observed over time (V. Radaev, 2007).

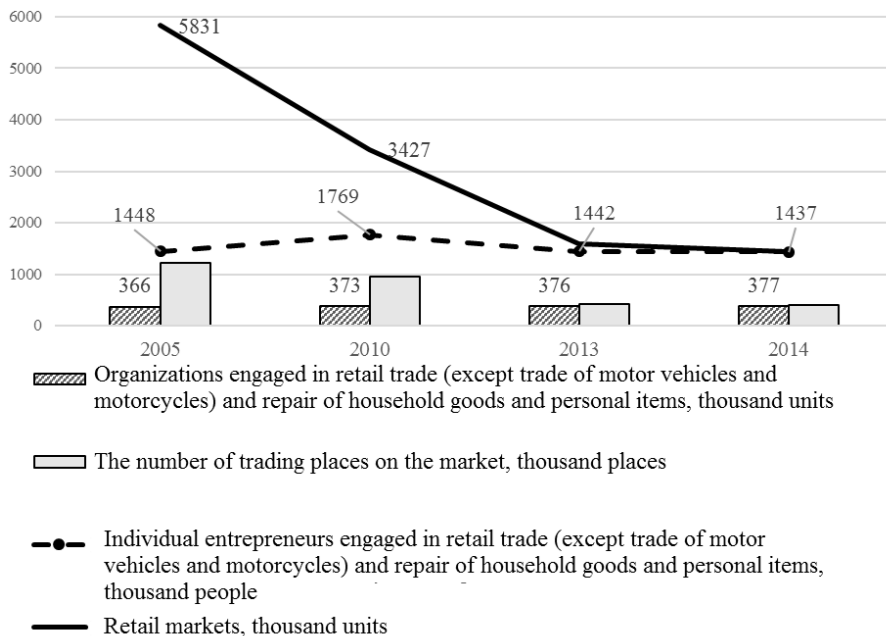


Figure 6. The dynamics of the number of business entities in the retail market in Russia, thousand units, 2005-2014

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

The dynamics cash incomes and wages of the population have a direct impact on changing models of consumer behaviour of Russians. Real incomes are falling for more than a year in 2015, it is the only one year since 2000, as can be seen (Figure 7). The rouble has fallen by almost half against the dollar, food prices increased for different groups of products from 1 to 3 times. This trend is accompanied by a slowdown in the growth of wages to 2016. Even after the fall of real cash income in 2009 from January to August, real incomes of the population recovered to 112.6% to the end of the year in relation to 2008. In the current crisis, the decline in real income of the population began in October 2014 and continues to this day almost permanently (Figure 7).

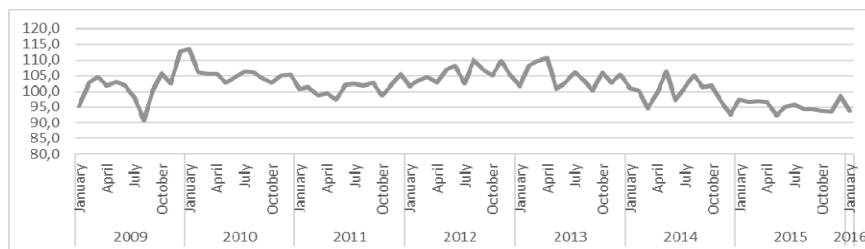


Figure 7. The dynamics of real money incomes in relation to the corresponding month of previous year, %

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

Therefore, it is possible to make a preliminary conclusion that the fall in retail in 2016 and the recession in the economy since 2015, led to decline in retail in comparative prices to 2007 levels, and most likely this fall tends to the value of 2000-2005.

The dynamics of retail sales and the average wage in real terms (2012 = 100%, seasonally adjusted), according to the HSE research is shown at Figure 8. There is a rigid law: real wages have historically always embedded with sales (Figure 8). The sharp decline in retail turnover in January 2015 relative to January 2016 (here and after seasonal adjustment) to the level of 5 year olds in January 2011. Thus, the failure of retail turnover and a moderate decrease in consumption of paid services continued during the half year during September 2015 - February 2016. It occurred with the fall of drop in growth of real wages, historically well correlated with sales (Figure 8).



Figure 8. The dynamics of retail sales and the average wage in real terms (2012 = 100%, seasonally adjusted)

Source: Centre of Macroeconomic Analysis and Short Term Forecasting. Results of 2015 and forecast of economic development in the medium term in Russia, 04.2016; Comments about the state and the business. March 14 - April 4, 2016 Institute Development Centre, Higher School of Economics

Massive increase in food prices, growing due to the devaluation of the Russian national currency, negative changes in financial situation are happening in Russia currently. According to many experts' data and observations, Russian retailers are preparing for a new acceleration of growth of prices. Review of developments in the retail market research by Centre of the Institute of Statistical Studies and Economics of Knowledge of High School of Economics showed this fact, in particular. Assessment of HSE experts' based on the results of 4000 survey of chiefs of trade organizations from 82 subjects of Russia, conducted quarterly by Rosstat. The survey of entrepreneurs in January - March 2016 has led the HSE experts to the conclusion that businessmen failed to stabilize prices and keep them level in the conditions of the rouble devaluation and tighter monetary policy (N. Ishchenko, 2016; O. Kuvshinova, 2016).

All the data in the article were cited from Rosstat, the sources of these data can be statistically evaluated. The methodology of its acquisition and formation can be evaluated on the basis of representativeness and reliability. It is also possible to mention those standard potential errors associated with the measurement and collection of data by Rosstat.

Nielsen Consumer Confidence Index achieved the record low values ever recorded in Russia in the first quarter of 2016. 18% of Russians have no free money; they are increasingly saving on new clothes, electronics and travel. Almost 70% of respondents do not believe in the improvement of the situation. Nielsen Russian index of consumer confidence achieved to 63 points in the first quarter of 2016; year it decreased by 10 positions compared to the previous. Slightly more than 80% of Russians rest with the free money after spending on basic products and required payments. These values are the lowest for all the time of observation. For example, this share was 93-96% during the crisis of 2009. The total number of Russians aspiring to savings had achieved 76% in the first quarter of 2016. 59% of respondents refuse of spending on entertainment. This figure was 55% last year. 61% of respondents refuse to buy new clothes; this index grew by 6% compared with last year. 45% have postponed the purchase of electronics, compared with last year's 43%. (Kostyrev A., Mertsalova A., 2016).

These trends can be explained as follows: the sanctions confrontation; the unwillingness of the Russian industry for large scale substitution of banned import of goods; the dependence of the Russian economy on currency jumps; the sharp increase of cost of goods and services in different categories as a consequence. As previously noted, consumers are not ready to support import substitution yet, preferring higher quality and functionality of western analogues, or postponing the purchase to a later time. Similar relationships between participants of market interactions also had an impact on the manufacturing sector. Russian producer also has to adapt to the current political and economic situation.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Analysis of the Russian retail market was conducted by the authors, based on current economic and sociological concept of the market (V. Radaev, 2008), the political-cultural approach (N. Fligstein, 2013), the cyclic theory retail (S. Brown, 1987) and analysis of international lock-in effects (D. North, 1997).

The following trends are observed consistently in the retail market: decrease in consumer activity and commitment to save, the decline in domestic demand, the reduction of retail trade turnover. The authors identified the structural conditions, legislative factors, political issues, social and demographic factors, economic problems that hinder the development of retail in Russia. Lock-in effects arising as a result of sanctions confrontations affected on the models of consumer behavior of Russians and led to disruptive changes in the activity of all retail chains in Russia. The authors note that the quality and consumer properties of imported goods are becoming more valuable for the consumer compared with price advantage of Russian analogues. Sharp increases of prices for many product categories and aggressive world foreign policy have contributed to the development of the accumulative behavior of population. The article revealed other trends associated with a decrease in retail sales indicators over the last year. This is primarily due to a decrease in real incomes. Household spending associated with the acquisition of food and non-food products, transport, medical care, housing services have risen sharply with a slight increase of the average wage.

Changes occurring in the model of consumer behavior of Russians have a negative impact on business activity in the region, namely the development of small and medium sized businesses. Small trade companies are not able to compete with large retail chains, which can survive on the market during the crisis due to the imperfection of the legal system and economies of scale. Thus, such dynamics provokes another trend in the retail market - consolidation of retail formats.

The continuing decline in real incomes (according to Rosstat, 3.9% in the first quarter of 2016) shows that consumer activity will remain low in the nearest future, and it is different from the crisis of 2008-2009, by more prolonged pessimism. However, the level of social tension arising from the population decreased by active social and political events.

The authors indicate the outstanding issues in the field of retail, which could be effectively resolved in connection with an active economic policy and the correct policy recommendations.

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## ANNEX

Table 1

The dynamics of the gross domestic product of the Russian Federation and some of its components, by economic activity, in the prices of 2008, bln rub, 2003-2013 (Source for Figure 1)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Gross domestic product at market prices	29 304,9	31 407,8	33 410,5	36 134,6	39 218,7	41 276,8	38 048,6	39 762,2	41 457,8	42 869,6	43 444,4
Commercial vehicles and motorcycles *	196,3	259,5	321,9	397,7	481,9	596,9	348,8	419	450,6	457,4	459,4
Wholesale **	2 485,1	2 849,2	3 045,5	3 489,6	3 820,4	4 146,8	4 074,1	4 302,9	4 351,4	4 452,8	4 317,9
Retail***	1 579,5	1 569,1	1 731,9	1 933,2	2 199,5	2 394,0	2 297,6	2 395,5	2 550,3	2 693,8	2 857,8
Education ****	950	953,4	956,4	961	971,5	970,7	957,1	940,2	932,8	922,6	923,2
Health care and social services	1 126,0	1 137,7	1 156,6	1 173,3	1 186,7	1 197,8	1 195,6	1 199,4	1 212,8	1 237,1	1 246,2
Public administration and defense; obligatory social insurance	1738,3	1817,4	1719,4	1761,9	1830,1	1884,4	1883,4	1878,5	1817,8	1832,6	1326,1
Financial mediation	324,6	453,9	612,1	811,8	1092,4	1301,8	1374,0	1346,9	1373,9	1653,2	1876,3

\* Maintenance and repair, except motor fuel;

\*\* Commission trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles;

\*\*\* Except of motor vehicles and motorcycles; repair of household goods and personal items; retail sale of motor fuel;

\*\*\*\* The other four columns are shown as comparison data about the proportion of Russia's GDP in the period 2003-2013.

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

Table 2

The dynamics of retail sales at current prices and its structure (Source for Figure 2)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Retail trade turnover at current prices,% of base year, right axis (base year 2008)	105	113	116	112	111	111	104
Share of retail trade turnover of retail chains in the total volume of retail trade turnover	15,1	17,5	18,4	20,5	21,9	22,9	25,0
Share of revenues from imports in the total volume retail trade	41	44	43	44	44	42	40
Share of food products in retail trade turnover	49	49	48	47	47	47	49

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

Table 3

The structure of the retail on the facilities and retail trade space on 31 December 2014 (Source for Figure 4)

	Stores, total	hypermarkets and supermarkets	minimarkets	pavilions	pharmacies and pharmaceutical store	stalls	pharmacy kiosks and outlets
Number of units	747 437	15 759	28 0179	114 370	33 808	94 902	22 318
Floor space, thousand m <sup>2</sup>	102642627,7	27583798,4	19209449,2	4430555,8	1585903,9	-	-

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail



Table 4

The volume retail trade at comparable prices compared to 2008 in the Russian Federation, mln rub\* (Source for Figure 5)

Years	Turnover of retail food trade	Retail sales of nonfood goods	Retail turnover of trade organizations	Sale at retail markets and fairs	Annual average nominal wage of employees on a full range of business entities
2008	5734151	6575333	10693194	1616290	17290
2009	5758343	6086943	10268226	1577059	18638
2010	5968655	6347346	10783298	1532703	20952
2011	6400312	7029978	11879554	1550736	23369
2012	6571086	7541972	12616809	1496249	26629
2013	6903887	7771222	13292174	1382935	29792
2014	6888900	7776178	13385881	1279198	32495
2015	6616121	6954722	12502160	1068683	33981

\* Reduction to comparable prices relative to 2008

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

Table 5

The number of business entities in the retail market, thousand units from 2005 to 2014 (Source for Figure 6)

	2005	2010	2013	2014
Organizations engaged in retail trade (except trade of motor vehicles and motorcycles) and repair of household goods and personal items, thousand units	366	373	376	377
Individual entrepreneurs engaged in retail trade (except trade of motor vehicles and motorcycles) and repair of household goods and personal items, thousand people	1448	1769	1442	1437
Retail markets, thousand units	5831	3427	1589	1447
The number of trading places on the market, thousand places	1214	961	424	394

Source: Rosstat website, section Retail

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**MODELI PONAŠANJA RUSKIH POTROŠAČA:  
MALOPRODAJA POD PRITISKOM KRIZE*****Sažetak***

Članak se bavi socioekonomskim pristupom, analizom empirijskog istraživanja različitih modela ponašanja potrošača na maloprodajnim tržištima u Rusiji od 2006. do 2016. Analiza prakse na ruskom maloprodajnom tržištu prezentira se u kontekstu teorija koje analiziraju kombinaciju konkurencije i koordinacije poslovanja trgovaca, dobavljača, potrošača, konkurenata i elite na regionalnoj i federalnoj razini (V. Radaev). Analiza se temelji i na političko-kulturnom pristupu (N. Fligstein), koji nudi novi pogled na oblike ekonomske stabilnosti i nestabilnosti na modernom tržištu, gdje integrirani politički i institucionalni procesi imaju vodeću poziciju. Budući da su se vlasti uključile u globalna ulaganja i rješavanje društvenih sukoba u suvremenim društvima, potrebno je razumjeti da su uvjeti zapadnih sankcija (Europska unija, SAD i druge države), uvedenih zbog sukoba na istoku Ukrajine, i ruski odgovor na njih doveli do učinka zaključavanja (D. North), što je utjecalo na model ponašanja ruskih potrošača. Potrošači nisu spremni podržati supstituciju uvoza, preferirajući kvalitetnije i funkcionalnije zapadne proizvode ili odgađajući kupnju. Ta činjenica upućuje na nespremnost ruske industrije na supstituciju uvoza. Pad aktivnosti potrošača, aktivna štednja i znatno smanjenje poslovanja malih trgovaca trendovi su na maloprodajnom tržištu koje su otkrili autori, a povećavaju razinu društvene napetosti.

***Cljučne riječi: maloprodaja, ponašanje potrošača, socioekonomski pristup***

***JEL klasifikacija: D10, D12, L81***