GEORGY FOMENKO

Environmental Management

A Socio-Cultural Methodology

Understanding the cultural underpinnings of institutional change



INSTITUTE FOR SUSTAINABLE INNOVATION

Environmental Management: A Socio-Cultural

Methodology.

by Georgy Fomenko.

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Preface

Environmental Management: Socio-Cultural Methodology was written in 2004 and is now published in English with few changes. Although over a decade has passed since the book first appeared in Russian, its theme is surely now even more relevant than before. The deepening of religious conflicts in the Middle East, Brexit in the UK, and other recent international events (many of them unexpected), have been viewed by many a symptoms of a cultural revolt. In this context, an English translation of a book with such a title should need no special justification, since the significance of "socio-cultural adjustment" of institutional systems is greater than ever before as societies worldwide adapt to the new global order. The success of environmental management today depends on due regard for the socio-cultural foundations of each society and on extending the range of acceptable solutions for resource managers in specific institutional contexts. What matters is that new mechanisms in the environmental sphere should be structured on a socio-cultural basis and that universal institutions, as a risk-reflex to global ecological threats, should be adjusted to the conditions of the territories where they are implemented.

This approach to environmental management is well motivated. Emphasis on socio-cultural aspects has become the main impetus of the new "glocalization," which has importance for the environmental sphere. Modern civilization is not teaching people to be at peace with nature. The explosion of religious or nationalistic fanaticism in many parts of our Planet in the 21st century seems intertwined with the desire of people to grab all they can from nature. History is full of instances when cultural traditions have had negative, as well as positive impacts, including the oppression of people and degradation of the natural environment. New technologies or ideas can destroy culture as well as create it.

In the preface to the Russian edition of this book, written over a decade ago, I explained that the role of culture in environmental management is growing constantly, despite the ongoing process of economic globalization, which, on the contrary, tends towards the standardization of environmental regulation. This reflects the fact that environmental institutions are based on the prevailing system of values and views inherent in the culture of each society. At the same time, the culture of interaction between society and nature is constantly evolving and improving. It is our human heritage. This premise is the foundation of our interdisciplinary approach, which has been tested over the last decade by the exacting measure of real practice.

We are living in a time of turbulent technological change. A huge number of critical technologies with global impact are being introduced on a massive scale and their combined impact on the sustainability of territorial development is extremely hard to forecast. Fields experiencing radical innovation include 3D printing, digital logistics, waste management, the processing industry, knowledge and communications, biotechnologies, etc.

New developments in any key technology must entail changes to the institutional space and this has major implications for environmental work. The current transition to a new technological order exacerbates sociocultural contradictions, generating social conflicts in many countries, which are often related to the environment. The urgency of avoiding negative scenarios for human development, by applying the concept of sustainability, has inspired a new awareness of the importance of global ecological restrictions, a search for shared development goals and their disaggregation at different levels of territorial organization with due account for the broadly conceived geographical specifics of each territory. This is to say that we are now witnessing ever greater interest in a regulatory approach to economic management. However limited and non-scientific such an approach may appear to be, it allows us to apply new forms of rationality (philosophical, religious, etc.) to the analysis of development issues, supplementing the scientific rationality, which is characteristic of positivist approaches.

Changes in the structure, culture and practice of social systems inevitably lags behind the transition to the new economy, delaying institutional changes in many countries. In this context, many environmental mechanisms become inefficient. They may even impede innovative green growth and stand in need of reassessment.

The socio-cultural methodology, which is presented in this book, enables vital theoretical and practical conclusions to be drawn, which are of great importance for environmental management today.

There are good methodological grounds for a new assessment of the role and significance of socio-cultural peculiarities of territories in environmental management. Greater attention to a humane approach in these issues entails greater importance for institutional analysis of environmental activities and focuses attention on the broadly conceived geographical features of territories and the self-development of living systems in the society-nature nexus. Such approaches are based on the *homo responsabilis* model, which compensates the partial rationality of human behavior by value-oriented guidelines based on the urgency of preventing environmental disaster. This model, combining the approaches of neo-institutionalism and socioeconomics, enables proper study of the environmental incentives of individuals and local communities. Its focus on protecting the interests of both present and future generations offers an efficient tool for analyzing environmental institutional changes.

The socio-cultural methodology of environmental management starts from the fact that environmental management today is characterized by largescale importation of environmental institutions. It is primarily based on the experience of developed economies and it assesses the efficacy of such imports with reference to specific territories.

The experience of various countries shows that importation of environmental institutions to their socio-cultural conditions is bound to entail conflicts. The prevention and mitigation of such conflicts is a separate function of environmental management. I have therefore developed and substantiated a number of methods of instrumental regulation, proposed an indicator for ecological compatibility of institutional territorial matrices and an efficiency index for institutional change. This toolbox can help to improve environmental management both at territorial level and at the interface between the environment and business.

The team currently engaged in developing a socio-cultural methodology of environmental management is a close-knit group of scholars. The team has carried out in-depth studies of environmental indicators and environmental economic accounting systems, including the assessment of scenarios for their adaptation to specific human needs. These studies have been described in a number of publications,¹ and our socio-cultural methods of environmental management have been much used in project engineering, consultancy and training by the Russian company, Resources and Consulting Group.

I hope that this book will be useful to all who deal with issues of sustainable development and environment conservation, including laymen. I trust that it will motivate and inspire professionals, particularly those taking

¹ Managing Environmental Protection with Regard for the Socio-Cultural Factor (2000), Environmental Institutions in Today's Russia (2010), Institutional Restrictions and Regulations in Environmental Management (2012), Institutional Specifics of Environmental Management in Russia (2013), The Socio-Cultural Dimension in Development of Environmental Institutions (2014), Economic Transition and Environmental Protection: Socio-Cultural Aspects (G.A. Fomenko, M.A. Fomenko, 2016), and others.

part in international projects where success depends to a great extent on attention to the cultural context of institutional transition.

Georgy Fomenko Yaroslavl, Russia, 2016

Introduction

At the start of the 21st century, humankind is increasingly aware of the global character of many processes that are leading to the degradation and destruction of the natural environment and to the depletion of the Planet's species diversity. These phenomena are ever more apparent, especially in developing and transition economies, despite some optimistic forecasts and estimates that attempt to play down the gravity of the situation. Globalization, while bringing indisputable benefits to countries and peoples through the expansion of markets and free movement of ideas and capital, also creates new development challenges. Problems caused by the growing inequality of wealth distribution and instability of the financial system, and concerns over loss of cultural traditions and social consent are growing more acute. As more regions are brought to the brink of poverty, individuals seek to improve their own wellbeing at any cost, including the depletion of natural resources and reduction of environmental expenditures, posing serious risks for future generations.

Globalization has been accompanied by growing unification of environmental regulation tools (such as the ISO 14000 standards, Sustainable Forest Management Certification, etc.). But, at the same time, increasing polarization and differentiation of the economic space are multiplying environmental problems and significantly changing the priorities of environmental management at all levels of territorial organization. One effect of the largely irreversible trend toward unification is to reduce, in the short term, the efficacy of many earlier mechanisms for the protection of the environment. Their replacement by standardized mechanisms, borrowed, as a rule, from the experience of more developed economies, may exacerbate social conflicts and even hinder positive change. The unification of laws, standards and rules in accordance with the conditions of the global economy, but taking no account of cultural traditions, often leads to the degradation of local communities, ending of shared access to natural resources, disappearance of specially protected natural areas, and more rapid depletion of natural resources at the local level. Territories with a culture of traditional environmental management suffer worst of all.

As a result, vertically integrated nature conservation systems fail to regulate the rapidly changing environmental situation effectively, and this is bound to make socio-cultural communities anxious about their future. The context of globalization lends special urgency to making environmental management more flexible and ensuring its responsiveness to situations in specific areas. Several countries have tried to address this immensely complex task by the intensification of technocratic, administrative, non-market regulation, and there is a tendency to treat the socio-cultural peculiarities of territories and settlements as inessential compared with the priority of ensuring the environmental security of whole countries in the new conditions. Such an approach denies the importance of civil society institutions for environmental work; grassroots initiatives are viewed as "hindering" unified regulation, since they undermine the pleasing appearance of uniformity and monolithic strength in environmental policy. In fact, such uniformity and strength is often illusory and this approach can lead to the escalation of institutional conflicts (particularly at local level), growth of transaction costs in environmental programs and, ultimately, to the alienation of society from government efforts in the environmental sphere.

Examples abound where the involvement of ordinary people in environmental work, supplementing a "top down" with a "bottom up" approach, has proved the best way to build an efficient system of environmental management in the context of globalization, when any change in national legislation makes it necessary to find a new institutional balance at all levels of territorial organization through compromise between the interests of natural resource users, government and civil society. If any of the parties in this triangle is dominant, the balance of interests will be skewed. If, for instance, the interests of corporate giants are preferred, while civil society institutions are of little political significance, the most probable outcome will be loud environmental rhetoric, masking favoritism on the part of government towards those resource users, which have the greatest lobbying power. It is also likely that environmental mechanisms will be hijacked as a pretext for grabbing market share.

Failure to nurture community participation in environmental work cannot be offset by unification of the tools of regulation, as the inevitable result will be the growth of environmental costs, particularly for small and medium-sized businesses, while serious environmental issues requiring substantial expenditure and political will not be addressed until the situation becomes catastrophic. When civil society institutions are powerless, individual arrangements between business and public officials play the major role. This reduces the incentives for business to apply best environmental practice, to be economical in the use of resources and to apply conservation technologies. The size of markets for environmental products and services is reduced, and the best-qualified specialists leave the sector. Growing alienation of the general public from government and perception of environmental requirements as obstacles to well-being promote destructive behavior with respect to easily accessible natural resources (uncontrolled logging, poaching, etc.). A large part of the population refuse to assume collective responsibility for protecting public interests. Environmental doctrines and laws appear to have no contact with the facts of everyday life for ordinary people. The experience of recent decades has shown that efficient environmental management is impossible without the reinforcement of people's motives to observe certain standards of behavior, particularly at the level of local communities, which are most vulnerable to pollution and environmental degradation. So the context of an increasingly globalized world makes the humanization of environmental management more important than ever before.

All of these points are relevant for today's Russia, which has declared its commitment to integration with the global economy. The place it will occupy in that economy does not depend only on its rate of growth, but also and to a large degree on the quality of such growth. The issue of quality is of special concern today, because Russia has tended increasingly towards "dirty" growth, where investments are directed primarily to the nature-intensive and environmentally harmful industries. It is an undeniable fact that the dismantling of Soviet management mechanisms and establishment of new ones, in a context of insufficient environmental lobbying by civil society, have greatly reduced the efficiency of environmental work. Paradoxically, the problem has been exacerbated by the attempts of many professionals to remedy the situation by applying "tried and tested" Soviet approaches to environmental problems. These attempts, based on the old-fashioned methods of the command economy, could not be effective in the new context, and they have tended to block positive institutional changes by preserving the old patterns of socio-economic relations.

The present book does not claim to describe the one and only correct way of overcoming the present crisis in environmental management in Russia. A full recipe for doing that cannot be offered at present, since most environmental management issues are rooted in the systemic crisis of Russian society, which has not yet gone beyond a stage where the choice of development scenarios depends largely on chance events. Nevertheless, we can already predict with confidence the main vector of change in environmental management, which is required. Reforms must be based on the fact that Russia will have to coexist in coming decades with economies dominated by post-industrial trends, and must itself undergo a complex transition from industrial to post-industrial society. The bleak alternative is the country's isolation from the global economy and the establishment of its lag to developed economies as a permanent fact.

Although the outlines of the post-industrial civilization are as yet barely discernible, we can already state that its emergence and development is directly related to the present, unprecedented globalization of the economic and information sectors and, in particular, to the growing role of the human factor, as science and culture become the principal productive force¹. Hence the importance of a new, critical, review of the foundations of environmental management and the design of new approaches that can include individuals in environmental work by boosting their initiative and creativity. This requires a new look at the basic methodology of environmental management, including clarification of research techniques from the standpoint of "responsible behavior". We also need to define the interaction, in various territorial institutional matrices, between unified environmental institutions (i.e. those that operate in most countries) and institutions, both formal and informal, that are socio-culturally determined. It is impossible to motivate individuals to engage in collective actions for socially meaningful environmental goals unless we take account of the socio-cultural aspects of development.

The new methodology focuses on behavioral preferences of individuals in respect of environmental management, preferences that are, to a large extent, socio-culturally determined. Efficient mechanisms of environmental policy for different geographical conditions can only be developed through understanding of the conscious and unconscious aspirations of people. In this approach, institutionalizing the socio-cultural characteristics of territories becomes the key to successful environmental work. Emphasis is placed on ethical values that are specific to each individual culture regarding the society-nature relationship, on identifying the socio-cultural dominant (the "development pivot") of local territories, and on humanizing the methods used to evaluate natural resources and ecosystem services. This necessarily entails a change of approach to local environmental planning. It becomes critically important to use a socio-cultural methodology in environmental work in territories that retain features of traditional nature management and where the methods of the global economy encounter resistance because they conflict with customary standards of behavior.

¹ New economic theories that appeared in the late 80s and early 90s confirmed the idea that the real driving force of economic progress is people. These theories, developed by economists such as Paul Romer and Robert Lucas, studied the impact of human capital on the rate of growth of countries in the long term. [73]

A socio-cultural methodology uses a special range of tools to prevent conflicts between the imported, unified environmental institutions typical of the world economy and the socio-culturally determined institutions that have emerged during the evolution of traditional, long-standing relationships between humans and nature. Such an approach depends on an interdisciplinary synthesis using the methodological principles of social, economic and political geography, management theory, ethnology, sociology, macro and microeconomy, and political and cultural studies. The practical recommendations, presented in the book, for taking proper account of the socio-cultural features of territories in the process of environmental management could not have been formulated without this interdisciplinary context.

I have received invaluable help in work on this book from my wife Marina Fomenko, who shouldered much of the burden in preparing the book for publication. Many valuable comments on the draft were offered by such esteemed colleagues as Genrietta Privalovskaya, Alexander Luty, Nikolai Lukianchikov, Yuliy Lipets, Luisa Nochevkina, Valery Pularkin, Sergey Bobylev, and Renat Perelet. The author thanks everybody who helped him in his work on the book, and especially Lev Kniazkov, Konstantin Loshadkin, Anastasia Mikhailova, and Eduard Goge.

Conclusion

The present context of globalization and post-industrialism makes it impossible to create an efficacious system of environmental management in any country unless that system is humanized. Russia is no exception to this rule. The future will be generated from concurrent movements, "top down" and "bottom up". Nothing but failure can be expected from ignoring the behavioral specifics of people, considering them as passive objects of environmental management and subjecting them to repressive measures on the part of government or a number of selected "experts" with special knowledge, and from disrespect toward socio-cultural traditions.

Environmental management cannot be designed without an understanding of main national and international development trends, and without at least a general grasp of the probable future scenarios to which global economic and social processes and current reforms are leading. These questions concern the supreme values and goals in the context of which people's conservation efforts acquire social significance. Unfortunately, in the course of the 20th century, Russia lost the fundamental motivation for environmental activity which depends on cultural and social constraints on human behavior. Today, we are witnessing a gradual loss of spiritual values and their substitution by the goal of material success at any price. The prestige of professions related to intellectual and spiritual work is declining. Government support for science, culture, and education, i.e., the spheres of national life without which positive institutional changes in environmental management are impossible, is in decline.

Uncertainty about the future and the impoverishment of a large part of the population (particularly in rural areas) are creating a breeding ground for social tension and intensifying conflicts over environmental goods and ecosystem services. The struggle for shared natural resources is becoming more fierce, forcing many specially protected areas, environmental and cultural heritage sites, recreation areas and valuable bio-resources (forest, fisheries and wildlife, etc.) to the brink of extinction. The growth of marginalized social groups, which can be observed today, increases the risk of man-made environmental disasters. The uncertainty of most Russians about the goals of the current reforms and vagueness over national values led to inconsistency and even multidirectionality of institutional change in the environmental sphere during the 1990s. At the start of the decade, the old mechanisms of the Soviet era, which had been relatively efficient in the planned economy, were dismantled. The ruling elite had a poor understanding of the challenges facing a Russia which needed to overcome a severe macroeconomic crisis and post-communist syndrome and (an even more daunting task) to find adequate answers to the challenges of the post-industrial society, as well as digesting privatization on a scale unprecedented in the world without the support of proper economic reforms. As a result, environmental tools for sustainable development either were not properly implemented in Russia or were severely distorted.

This context suggests three main development scenarios for Russia. Each implies different systems of environmental management.

THE FIRST SCENARIO is to be expected if the main trends of the 1990s are pursued further, so it is an "inertial" scenario. It would involve the continuation of the "contribute-distribute" economy and inefficient government, which is incapable of meeting the challenges of the global economy because it is not interested in the establishment of genuine civil society. The scenario threatens gradual loss of the country's intellectual and cultural potential and its reduction to a source of raw materials for the developed economies. Economically, it would mean stagnation, shrinkage in the diversity of national knowledgebased industries, disproportionate development of the fuel and energy and raw material complexes, capital flight, growing foreign debt (particularly if raw material prices on export markets develop unfavorably), and the impossibility of effective military and utility-sector reforms. In the political and social spheres, such a scenario would be associated with further income polarization, growth of unemployment and low-wages, and the absence of a middle class. In the ideological sphere, we can expect growth of extreme nationalism, on the one hand, and the loss of national dignity and emergence of a national inferiority complex, on the other hand.

Such an inertial scenario has highly negative consequences for environmental management. Since the main social groups in charge of environmental management will be big business and bureaucracy, environmental regulation is likely to be minimized. The features of the "contribute-distribute" economy will be much in evidence, where officials grant individual permits and corporations agree to certain one-off expenses in order to solve their "environmental problems". Protection of the environmental interests of the general public, especially the underprivileged, would receive scant attention. International obligations would exert some pressure on government to enforce environmental control, but there would be strong pressure to minimize such obligations. As a result, the whole environmental management sector will be increasingly bureaucratized, particularly with respect to foreign relations.

Dominance of "contribute-distribute" relations and strict control functions of state environmental organizations, together with underdevelopment of market mechanisms, will lead to shrinking demand for innovations in the environment sphere due to the lack of a proper market for environmental goods and services and extremely low budgetary support for science and technology. The only exception will be process innovation financed by companies from their own pockets and aimed at cutting energy consumption and reducing production costs. The ageing of fixed assets increases the risk of man-made disasters. At the same time, the widening income gap between different strata of society will exacerbate destructive behavior and speed up the destruction of shared natural resources.

Such a gloomy scenario cannot be ruled out. By the late 1990s Russia had entered a period of low-level, economically and socially inefficient, institutional equilibrium. It can only be overcome through serious political will on the part of existing power elites, the presence of which seems questionable at present.

THE SECOND SCENARIO would be to mobilize the economy for industrial developmental by reinforcing the "contribute-distribute" institutional matrix (with slight modernization). The aim would be ensure economic growth, re-equipment of the armed forces, and high standards of living by strengthening the totalitarian elements in Russian social life and to improve the innovative climate by suppressing destructive behavior in society through strengthening of the "contribute-distribute" and controlling functions of the state. The driver of economic growth would have to be natural resources, i.e. natural resource rent, while environmental expenditures will be minimized. Concentration of funds in state budgets and the largest resource-producing corporations will allow some package investments by the government and some private investments, mostly in export-oriented industries. In the social sphere, income polarization will remain or even increase: groups related to resource-producing and export-oriented industries will be privileged and unemployment will remain high.

Environmental management in this scenario will be dominated by an "individual approach", by standard and supervisory mechanisms, and "contributedistribute" relations, including the expansion of licensing practice, development of a network of budget and industry-oriented environmental funds, etc. A caseby-case approach to environmental regulation of enterprises and industries will be retained, to encourage compromise between resource users and officials through formal or informal arrangements.

The environmental rights of the general public will be taken into account, but their interests will be secondary to the attainment of economic growth, even at the expense of the environment. Work at local level to protect the environment and support of local initiatives will not be priorities and may even be suppressed as the strengthening of the "contribute-distribute" institutional matrix gives the dominant role to *homo administrativus*. In these conditions, any environmental investments and innovations will remain insignificant and be concentrated in large corporations.

A large part of Russian society is favorable to the mobilization scenario based on strengthening of the "contribute-distribute" matrix with only slight modernization and without lending priority to the development of civil society. Autocratic mobilization of the population was the basic strategy of the "catch up" modernizations of Peter the Great and Stalinist industrialization in the 20th century. Now, however, when the developed economies have entered the post-industrial stage of development and determine the character of the latest stage of modernization, the efficacy of such autocratic approaches is in serious doubt.

Firstly, in all versions of this scenario, Russia will tend to reproduce the economic and social trends of the West in the second half of the 20th century by simply repeating them in the 21st century. Meanwhile, other countries will follow a different development strategy, laying the foundations of a post-industrial civilization. In this case, Russia risks losing its influence on global processes and being left behind in global development. Secondly, unbalanced growth characterized by loss of natural and human capital will lead, even in the medium term, to stagnation and ultimately to polarization of the economic space and escalation of regional development crises. Depletion (quantitative and gualitative) of natural resources, where local territories lose the natural assets that are critical for their development (loss of revenue from sub-soil resources and timber, decline of fisheries due to water pollution, etc.) is a particularly dangerous threat. Thirdly, the resource base for such mobilization-based reform is unclear. Mobilization of a "labor army" or plundering of the peasantry are not options today as they were in the past. The basis of economic growth in transition to post-industrial development has to be human and social capital. Educated people use all forms of capital more efficiently, enabling the sustainable development of countries and nations.

So a mobilization scenario, oriented to the preservation and reinforcement of the industrial economic model and the *homo administrativus* behavior model, cannot ensure efficient modernization of Russian society in the modern world. Nor can environmental management be efficient in such a scenario. Unbalanced growth will cause uneven development of regions, escalating the risks of man-made disasters, particularly in depressive and underdeveloped territories. Crises related to depletion of basic economic and socially significant resources will multiply, and this is especially dangerous in periods of unfavorable global prices for natural resources. These problems can only be solved by de-centralization and regionalization of the numerous functions of environmental management, support of local conservation initiatives, and greater coordination of environmental work by people and local communities.

THE THIRD SCENARIO involves stimulation of post-industrial trends in the development of Russian society. Perceptions of the main features of such a society are vague, but most experts believe that the chief factor of sustainable development in the post-industrial stage is human potential. Without the central role of people and their knowledge, without the ability of people to solve the problems of collective development together, rapid growth rates in the service sector and the development of high technologies and software are not possible. Technological advances, particularly in the sphere of information technologies, are nurturing new economic structures, which are more flexible and capable of accumulating resources (e.g., virtual organizations). Vertical management structures are gradually supplemented and then replaced by horizontal mechanisms of coordination. Development and distribution of resource-efficient, environmentally safe technologies offer a new type of interaction between society and nature, reducing the man-made load on the environment and integrating conservation requirements with economic mechanisms. The strengthening of social capital and business ethics, and the ability of local communities to develop their territories at minimal cost have emerged as crucial factors.

A key role is played by the encouragement and commercialization of R&D work, as long-term sustainable growth rates can only be ensured through investments in R&D activities.

The post-industrial society offers real opportunities for reducing economic polarization of regions, since widespread use of high technologies reduces dependence of regional economic development on natural and climatic conditions and access to transportation, instead emphasizing the innovative appeal of places. The cultural and environmental appeal of territories and settlements becomes the major factor in attracting innovations and investments.

Strategy for the reform of environmental management today and in the future needs to be oriented to such a scenario, which is both most

favorable for the creation of a post-industrial society but, at the same time, the most difficult to implement. The difficulties are associated with the fact that, for the first time in its history, Russia's modernization today requires profound transformation of the very roots of the existing institutional matrix, changing its "contribute-distribute" essence. Such reforms cannot be carried out within short timeframes by means of orders from above, as they must embrace both formal and numerous informal institutions. Nevertheless, there is no alternative to the reform of our society toward the postindustrial age. This is the only way to retain the integrity of the country and guarantee a decent life for Russia's people. Rapid reformation of Russian society may not be possible, but we should assess the efficacy of all institutional changes in the environmental sphere by the yardstick of their correspondence to the post-industrial goal.

As shown by the experience of developed economies, transition to postindustrial development is associated with a host of problems generated by profound changes in the economy and society. Social conflicts are exacerbated by increased unevenness of the economic space: on the one hand, new growth territories appear, on the other, poverty expands in many places that were previously quite prosperous. This generates new demands for theorization of environmental regulation and design of respective methods of environmental management.

Our studies were focused on the search for answers to the challenges of globalization in the context of post-industrial trends. The results enabled us to formulate the basics of a new socio-cultural methodology of environmental management, which places particular accent on stimulating the environmental motivation of people and communities in order reduce the gap between public and private interests in rational resource use and environmental protection. Compliance with environmental constraints and regulations is achieved through increased attention to the behavioral preferences of individuals, territorial optimization of environmental institutions (both unified and socio-culturally determined), and reduction of the economic and social costs of tackling environmental issues.

Socio-cultural methodology has helped to define the vectors for improvement of environmental management in the context of reforms for Russia's gradual transition to the post-industrial development stage. The need to change views of the role and significance of socio-cultural features of territories by humanizing their analysis and assessment has been theoretically validated. Institutionally, this implies emphasis, in the development of territories, on what is particular and socio-culturally determined, and which influences environmental priorities and institutions. The resulting concepts and approaches to environmental management are based on the proposed model of *homo responsabilis*, which draws on the theories of neo-institutionalism and socio-economics along with the "responsibility imperative" dictated by understanding of the potential threat of environmental catastrophe. This model, combining economic and noneconomic behavioral aspects, makes it possible to explore the motivation of environmental work by individuals and local communities and to take account of the interests of both the present and future generations. It is an efficient tool for the institutional analysis of environmental work.

Application of the socio-cultural methodology of environmental management has defined new ways of mitigating the intensity of conflicts which arise in the importation of environmental institutions to territories with different socio-cultural conditions. This is particularly important in today's Russia, which has seen extensive importation of unified environmental institutions from developed economies. The efficacy of such importation, which is always specific to each territory, has to be assessed. A special set of methods of instrumental regulation has been proposed for direct management of conflicts that arise in the use of imported environmental institutions in different sociocultural conditions.

Overall, increased efficacy of environmental management in the framework of a socio-cultural methodology must be based on orientation to the interests of people and to making their life better by reducing or preventing environmental poverty. So environmental management has to be understood as political management, which promotes changes that lead to improvement of the lives of present and future generations. Political leaders and managers must clearly formulate their political aims, their approach to the choice of tools of environmental politics, and the possible consequences of the actions which they propose for social development and ethical accord. Only once environmental goals are understood and perceived by people as their own, and the means of achieving these goals are collectively defined and consistently pursued, will environmental management lead to the decisive changes that are needed for sustainable development.

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