



СОВРЕМЕННОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО: АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ РАЗВИТИЯ

CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: THE URGENT ISSUES AND PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

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Comparative analysis of the structural transformation of consumption in Russia and China*

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Abstract. The article is based on the results of the joint Russian Chinese research project. The authors use sociological and statistical data to consider the specifics of the structural shifts in the population's consumption, which occurred under modernization in Russia and China. During the last thirty years, given an increase in population's income and expenses, the proportion of household spending on food has decreased, but in China this decrease was more intensive and steady. Both countries show a considerable increase in the consumption of services. In China, the main focal point is a gradual transition from consuming to survive towards consuming for development (household spending on education, travel, leisure, household appliances, communication services and transportation), while in Russia the authors focus on the increasing demand for recreational services (spending on healthcare, fitness-wellness, entertainment, educational, tourism) that improve a family's quality of life. However, despite positive trends, household consumption structure in both countries is still not on par with today's demands. Moreover, in recent years,

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a point of particular concern for China has become high spending on housing and low demand for services in culture and leisure, while in Russia a recent decrease in purchasing power among the impoverished and the middle class has raised concerns. In both countries, there is a significant discrepancy in consumption between different income groups, urban and rural areas. The authors emphasize that the growing consumption in Russia and China is also determined by new trends in the development of information-communication technologies and the formation of a digital economy.

Key words: modernization; inequality in consumption; consumption in Russia and China; household expenses; consumption structure; living standards; digital consumption

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Fundamental modernization in Russia and China over the last three decades has not been limited to the economic realm. One of the most significant results of the reforms is the transformation of the population's consumption structure, which is the product of a variety of different factors. In both countries, consumer behavior was affected by mostly the same set of factors; however, the nature, substance and forms in which these factors manifested somewhat differed, which to a considerable degree determines the structural differences in the population's consumption. Aside from an increase in consumption of goods and services and shifts in consumption structure that have had an increasingly positive effect in terms of modernizing industry, technological innovations and social-economic development, there are still quite a few consumption features specific to each country. The joint Russian Chinese research team conducted a comparative analysis of the transformation and main trends in the development of the population's consumption structure in Russia and China under modernization. The Russian side used materials of the Federal State Statistical Service of the Russian Federation (FSSS RF) and the Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of the Higher School of Economics (RLMS-HSE, 1994–2023). The empirical basis of the Chinese side consists of annual reports by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and the Chinese Social Survey (CSS; 2006–2023).

Modernization of consumption in China and Russia

Although Russia and China entered a period of radical reforms from different starting points, in both countries the main direction for reforms was a market economy, both countries still go through a deep modernization phase, and reforms are implemented by the government. However, modernization in Russia and China unfolds in different ways, at a different pace, with different mechanisms and different results, which inevitably affects the consumer sphere. According to Chinese researchers, after the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy of 1978 and until 2012, a market economy was developing, and the population's consumption was rapidly growing. Given that in China, like in Russia and other former Soviet

states, consumption was strongly influenced by the government, the transformation in consumption structure was intricately linked to the modernization strategies implemented by the state [22; 23]. The role that consumption played in economic development was becoming more evident, and the government realized certain measures to expand the market and facilitate modernization of consumption. This resulted in considerable growth of incomes and consumption, but at the same increased discrepancies in consumption between regions and demographic groups [18; 20; 21].

The next stage, which continues from 2012, is considered a period of qualitative development of consumption. The main distinctive feature of consumption transformation was a transition from consuming mainly physical goods to an increase in consuming services, which reflects a transition from basic consumption for survival to consumption based on quality rather than quantity. The demand for high-quality and diverse consumption has become more apparent. Regardless of whether we are talking about housing or transportation, cultural, healthcare or recreational services, there is a high potential demand [24]. Over the last decade, together with a constantly improving and more diverse supply of consumer goods, there has been a considerable increase in consumption of services and digital technologies.

In China the population's material prosperity rapidly grows, accompanied by an increase in the number of people living in cities and a decrease in rural population, which changes traditional consumer preferences. There is a significant discrepancy in consumption structure between urban and rural areas and between social strata. Studies show that urban residents and the middle class have been the main driving force for optimizing consumption structure in China, and that the tendency towards increasing consumption first originated among the middle class and then slowly disseminating among lower strata [26]. As modernization unfolded, including programs for modernizing the village, the impoverished population of rural areas somewhat caught up to the more prosperous urban population. As a result, the gap in consumption between urban and rural areas began to gradually decrease, and consumption structure changes at a faster pace in the village compared to the city [19]. Internal inequality in urban areas has gradually increased, which is not the case for inequality in rural areas [15].

Unlike China, where reforms were implemented gradually and consistently, maintaining the balance between stability and development, reforms in Russia were more sweeping and comprehensive, sometimes even chaotic due to the so-called "shock therapy" methods. However, despite the enormous costs of traumatic reforms, the main goals of the market transition were ultimately achieved. Russian reforms helped to boost the development of trade and service sector, which initially turned out to be much more potent than in China, as many sectors of the economy critical for the functioning and development of social infrastructure and for reproducing crucial social resources were in a deep crisis. One of the most

significant outcomes of economic reforms was the transformation of the population's consumption structure, the updated version of which was mostly established by the mid-2000's when the transition to a market economy was complete. These changes were largely a product of the market economy and a consumer market of a type never seen in the country, and of production on a wider scale, an increase in the supply of new goods and services and rapid development of digital technologies.

Subsequent years became a period of further development, which resulted in the formation of the consumer society, transforming the population's consumer behavior and promoting new consumer practices [5; 6]. However, the purchasing ability of the Russian population remains on a relatively low level, lagging behind China quite significantly. This can be explained by the fact that in Russia prices are affected by inflation, high tax rates and other factors, while in China, there is a wide range of cheap alternative products, which reduces household expenses. Another factor is different priorities when it comes to choosing goods: Russian consumers tend to purchase more expensive goods compared to the Chinese [12]. Overall changes in the Russian population's consumption structure have been a result of the transformation of mechanisms for (re) distributing income, saturation of the consumer market and a certain decrease in prices of non-food products and services that used to be in short supply, gradual transition to a more rational food consumption structure, growing potential and developing infrastructure of retail commerce, increasing number and expanding functionality of large commercial enterprises, improved possibilities for leisure and an broader range of such services together with a significantly increased demand for them, rapid development of information technologies and digitization, increasing popularity of social practices associated with environmental consciousness and a healthy lifestyle [7; 9–11].

In Russia, just like in China, economic inequality that grew during the reforms was accompanied by exacerbation of inequality in many areas of consumption, which resulted in that different groups do not have the same access to education, healthcare and other social resources. Inequality, reflected in differentiation of consumer spending between groups, applies to almost all categories of goods and paid services. However, the dynamics of several indicators of consumption over 15 years indicates positive qualitative shifts in the population's material status and purchasing power, which have affected all income groups with, albeit to varying degrees. In China, positive shifts in consumption have mostly affected the higher income groups, while in Russia they have manifested most clearly among groups with average income [8]. Moreover, inequality in consumption between urban and rural population in Russia has never been as pressing as in China. This is largely due to the fact that modernization in China differs from modernization in other countries: its economic system undergoes transformation simultaneously with the social structure, and agricultural, industrial and post-industrial societies coexist [16]. In the last two decades, Russia has made great strides from the time

of emerging “consumer society oases” [3] to the society for which consuming goods and services becomes one of the main priorities [4]. Also, there is a developing trend towards the convergence of the city and the village in terms of consumption structure, which is deeply rooted in history, back to Soviet times. Since in recent years there has been a considerable decrease in the consumption gap between urban and rural households, increasingly more urban and rural residents share the same orientation when it comes to purchasing food and non-food products.

During the last few decades, Russia and China, just like most countries, have entered a completely new stage of development — rapid proliferation of information technologies. Informatization and digitization do not just cause changes in the realm of producing goods and services but also determine shifts in consumer behavior and structure. A new segment of consumers has emerged — the so-called digital consumers, for whom the Internet is the primary means of communication when it comes to purchasing goods and services. A huge role in the development of consumption was played by the pandemic and the associated restrictive measures, all of which led to fundamental changes in the structure of global demand for purchasing products online and to the increased use of digital means of communication and remote consumption.

Studies show that the Internet use in Russia and China is on a comparable level: about two thirds of citizens use it in one way or another, however, Russia has a higher share of people who use the Internet to purchase essential goods and services, which is largely explained by Russia being a more urbanized country. Both in China and Russia, the Internet coverage in rural areas is lacking, which limits rural inhabitants in purchases through e-commerce resources. Although China is a global leader when it comes to e-commerce, Russia’s e-commerce sector is currently the most dynamic and the fastest growing on the planet [2]. Digital access is a critical factor that significantly affects family consumption: households with a higher level of digital access tend to have a higher degree of consumer activity and higher consumer expenses. Advanced Internet users more often gain access to diversified and comprehensive information pertaining to consumption and have better knowledge of resources for purchases and consumption, which allows them to satisfy their own and their household needs more effectively.

Changes in the consumption structure of the populations of China and Russia

Consumption is inexorably linked to spending money on essential goods and services, and in many cases can be evaluated this way. Structural changes in the population’s spending can largely be tracked by household spending on certain types of goods and services. The primary aim of such expenses that satisfy consumer demand is personal consumption. The structure of household spending shows what sort of needs consumers allocate their funds to, which goods and services they acquire, and the proportions (structure) of their spending [1].

According to China's National Bureau of Statistics, out of the eight main categories of consumer expenditure, the ones citizens consider to be the most important are food products, tobacco and alcohol, and housing, with the share of such spending being considerably higher compared to other categories (figure 1). Also, in these two categories the most significant changes have occurred over the last quarter of the century: the share of spending on food, tobacco and alcohol dropped from 48% in 1998 to 29.8% in 2023. Such changes prove how significantly the population's living standards have improved in China. However, at the same time the share of spending on housing increased from 12.2% in 1998 to a peak value of 24.6% in 2020 and dropped to 22.8% in 2023. One of the most pronounced tendencies of the last decade has been an increase in the consumption of goods that improve people's living standards. Thus, the share of consumer spending on services (including public catering, education, culture and leisure, medical and other essential services) increased from 39.7% in 2013 to 45.9% in 2019 (its peak). After dipping during the pandemic, this indicator resumed growth and reached 45.2% in 2023.

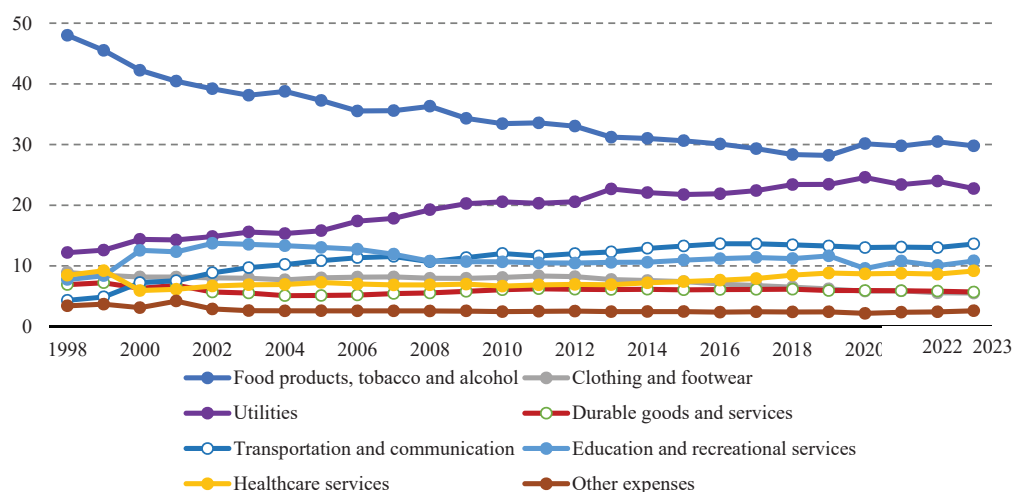


Figure 1. Dynamics of per capita consumer spending by basic categories of goods in China, 1998–2023 (%)

More detailed analysis based on the CSS data (2006–2023) showed that categories that account for a relatively large share and have shown significant changes include food, down payments and mortgages. Thus, spending on food dropped considerably — from 36.5% in 2006 to 29.3% in 2023. Conversely, spending on down payments and mortgages increased from 1.8% to 7.5%. Moreover, for households with such expenses, mortgage payments account for almost half of consumer expenses. Categories of consumer spending that account for a large share of overall spending but have not changed significantly include healthcare and medical services (not accounting for reimbursements), education and gifts. In the last 20 years, spending on healthcare and medical services has

remained within the 10%–13% range, with a slight decrease after the pandemic — 9.8% in 2023. Spending on education remained within the 7%–11% range, while spending on gifts, weddings and other events — around 7%–10%. The sphere of culture, leisure and tourism continues to be both important and customary: spending on it has been consistently low, amounting to 1%–2% in the last 20 years. Although spending on culture, leisure and tourism plays an important role in improving living standards, in 2023 76.4% of Chinese households declared that they do not spend any money on such services.

People in China are usually less inclined to consume compared to Western countries with highly advanced economies. Both in China and in major developed countries, there has been a decrease in consumption inclination under the pandemic; however, in Western countries consumption recovered at a faster rate. Highly developed countries typically have better and more comprehensive social security systems, which is one of the main reasons for their populations' higher inclination for consumption. Given that the consumer needs of China's population have not been fully satisfied, one might assume that this should result in higher inclination for consumption. However, there is a downward trend despite economic growth, which deserves further investigation. Curiously, in Russia consumer demand recovered more quickly after the pandemic than in China.

Chinese researchers use an analysis model that distinguishes “consumption for survival” and “consumption for development” [25]: household spending on groceries, clothing, utility payments, housing, healthcare, financial support for elderly relatives is defined as consumption necessary for satisfying family members' basic needs, i.e., consumption for survival. On the other hand, household spending on education, travel, leisure, household appliances, communication and transportation are considered as consumption for development, aimed at satisfying future needs for the development of an individual and family members. According to the CSS data, farmers, laborers and members of the old middle class have a higher maximum inclination for consuming to survive, while members of the new middle class have a higher maximum inclination for developmental consumption.

To a certain degree similar trends were observed in Russia: just like in China, one of the most important and noticeable tendencies was a decrease in household spending on food. According to the RLMS-HSE data, from 1994 to 2014 this indicator dropped from 62.4% to 29.8%, subsequently remaining within 29.3%–30.9% range. But within overall spending on food, tobacco and alcohol, the share of such spending turns out to be higher compared to Chinese households, while it dropped from 40.9% in 2003 to 31.7% in 2023. Despite such a significant reduction, spending on food in the overall structure of household consumption remained at a high level, even given a considerable increase in income. The main distinction here is that in China the trend towards a reduction in household spending on food was ongoing together with an increase in incomes in the 15 years (except for the pandemic), while in Russia it was essentially in stagnation. This phenomenon is not

inherent to other countries and is often referred to as the “Russian consumption paradox”. Growing income usually means a decrease in the share of household spending on groceries and other essential goods, while nutritional structure shifts to higher quality food. The reasons for this paradox might include, on the one hand, changes in prices and a wider range of available products; on the other hand, severe differentiation when it comes to the population’s income [13]. Russia is still characterized by a high share of food expenses in the structure of consumer spending, and the lower the family income the more of it is allocated to purchasing food. For wealthier groups, possibilities for satisfying new needs broaden, for groups that are impoverished or of modest means, despite certain changes in their structure of necessities, the main priority is usually satisfying the need for essential food products.

A decrease in spending on food was accompanied by an increase in spending on various non-food products and services (figure 2). However, the capacity of households to purchase consumer goods and services was limited by a considerable increase in spending on various mandatory payments (debts, bank loans, insurance, alimony etc.). The share of spending on mandatory regular payments showed a consistent increase from the minimum value of 1.9% in 1998 to a peak of 22.4% in 2022, only after the pandemic, in 2023, it dropped to 17.9%. Such payments constitute the bulk of what is marked on the graph as “other expenses”.

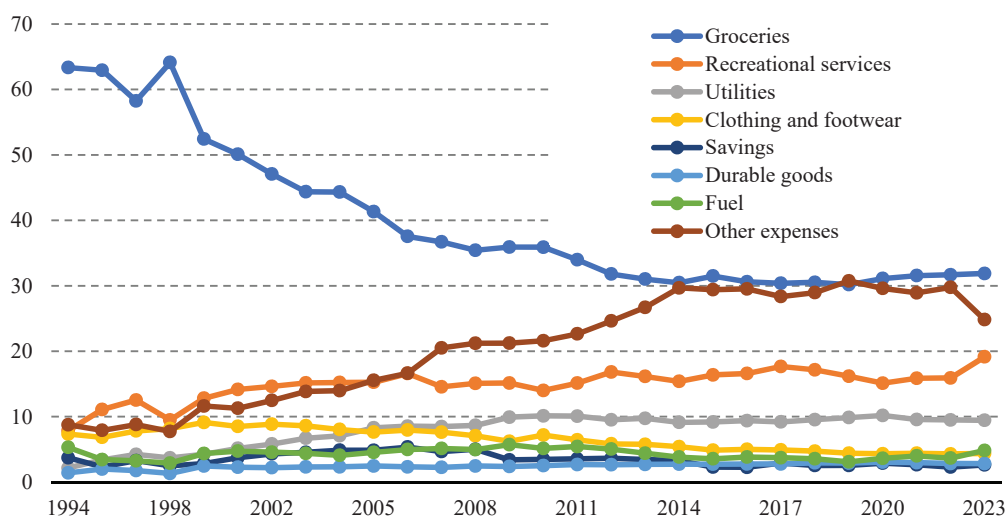


Figure 2. Dynamics of household consumption structure in Russia, 1994–2023
(on average per member of household, %)

In Russia, just like in China, an increasingly more important role in consumption is played by services, which over the last three decades have undergone significant changes. In the years of reforms, many new services were introduced, while for certain services demand diminished or they are no longer

relevant. In the overall structure of household expenses, an increase in spending on various services has been the most significant. For instance, from 1994 to 2023, the share of spending on recreational services (health resorts, fitness-wellness, entertainment, education, tourism, sports) increased 2.4 times — from 7.9% to 19.1%. There was a particularly significant increase in spending on healthcare: from 0.9% in 1994 to a peak value of 6.7% in 2018, then there was a slight gradual decrease to 6.2% in 2023. An increase in spending on healthcare services was determined, on the one hand, by Russians taking better care of their health, on the other hand, by an increase in consumption of paid healthcare services. Moreover, payment for healthcare is a component of Russian family budgets of high priority, regardless of the level of income. The main period of an increase in spending on utility payments (one of the most pressing issues for Russian families) was at the start of reforms: from 1994 to 2010, the share of spending on rent and utility payments increased 4.6 times — from 2.2% to 10.2%, with it subsequently remaining within the 9.4%–10.2% range. Today these expenses remain among the most burdensome in the consumer structure of Russian households; however, they do account for a considerably lesser share than in China.

In both countries, similar tendencies were observed in the shares of family spending on clothing, footwear and durable goods. Given an increase in spending on services, such expenses showed a gradual decrease. Thus, in Russia the share of household spending on clothing and footwear had grown from 7.3% in 1993 to 9.1% in 2000 and then slowly declined to a minimum value of 4.3% in 2023. As for the share of household spending on durable goods, after increasing from 3% in the 1990s to a peak of 5.4% in 2007 it gradually dropped to 2.3% in 2023.

Structural shifts in consumption for different groups in China and Russia

A crucial factor that affects the population's consumption is income, and with median income as the benchmark respondents in two countries were divided into four groups with different income levels: low income strata — 0.75 of median income or lower; lower-middle — 0.75–1.25; upper-middle — 1.25–2 median incomes; high income strata — 2 median incomes or more. According to the Chinese study, the most significant changes were registered in the high-income group: from 2006 to 2023, per capita spending increased 4.5 times (from 11393.5 to 51602.1 Yuan), which is more than for other groups. Then come the low-income group and the group with upper-middle income: their increase in per capita household consumer spending amounted to 4.4 and 4.3 times, respectively.

In the high-income group, the share of spending on groceries was consistently the lowest, while on healthcare, medical services and education — the lowest but approaching the share for the group with upper-middle income. At the same time, their share of spending on household appliances, furniture and other durable goods, culture, leisure and tourism turned out to be much higher compared to other groups.

Higher share of these constantly growing expenses (consumption for development) indicates the improved living standards: in 2023—15.8% of spending for high-income households (figure 3); since 2006 — an increase of 8%, which is the highest among all income groups. In 2023, the upper-middle income strata's share of spending on development consumption was 13.1%, which indicates the group's high consumer potential. Conversely, in the low-income group, this spending was the lowest and was growing the slowest: from 2006 to 2023, an increase of 3%.

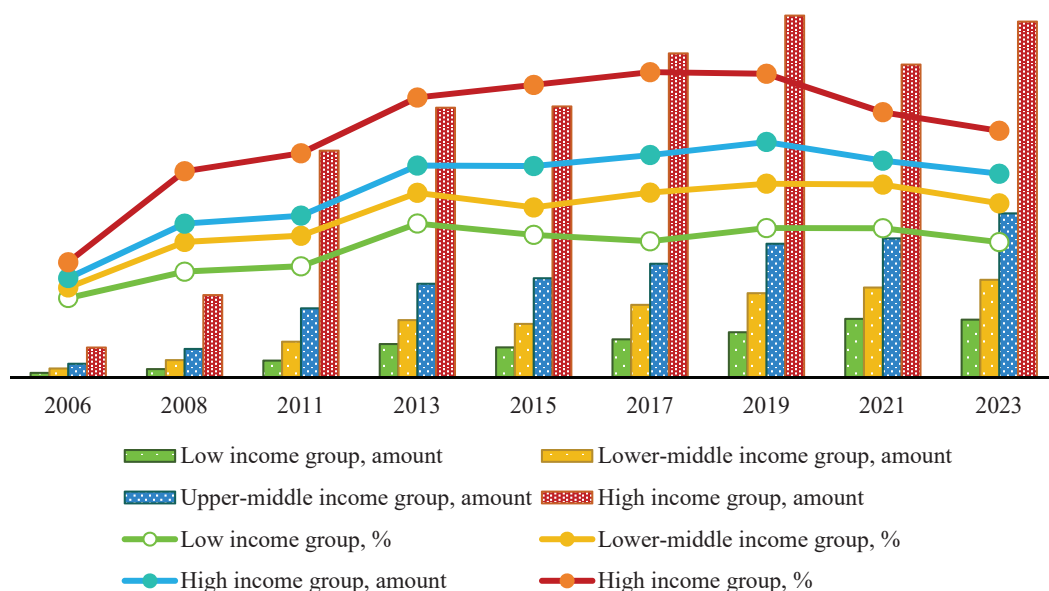


Figure 3. Dynamics of consumer spending for development in China, 2006–2023 (%)

The presented data shows that insufficient consumption continues to be a pressing issue for a considerable part of the Chinese population. Therefore, further efforts to improve living standards for lower-income groups are considered a key task and the primary course for improving the population's well-being. This issue is closely related to an equally important issue of increasing the size of the middle-income group, which will lead to an increase in consumption and to further evolution of consumption structure. This can be explained by the fact that, compared to other income groups, this group is more flexible in consumption, has higher purchasing power and a greater desire to make purchases [14; 17].

The Russian data also reveals considerable differences between income groups in consumption, although the primary are differences in spending on food, which have only increased over the years. Thus, in 1994 the share of spending on food for the low-income group was 1.3 times of that of the high-income group (67.9% and 53.3%, respectively), but in 2023 the difference increased 1.7 times (36.6% and 22.2%). Moreover, there was a continuous increase in by how much the high-income group surpassed all other households in the share of spending

on mandatory regular payments: in the 1990's, this share was very low and barely varied by income group, in 2023 it amounted to 22.5% for the high-income group, 20.5% — for the upper-middle, 15.1% — for the lower-middle, and 13.6% — for the low-income group. Given simultaneous positive dynamics, the consumption structure of high-income groups is characterized by a higher share of spending on recreational services and a lower share of spending on utility payments (figure 4): from 1994 to 2023, spending on recreational services increased from 10% to 21.7%, while for the low-income group — from 6.9% to 16.4%. In 2023, per capita spending on recreational services in the low-income group was 20% of the same expenses for the high-income group. The share of continuously increasing household spending on healthcare remained on almost the same level for all income groups (about 1% in 1994 and 6% in 2023). At the same time the share of household spending on utility payments grew in the high-income group from 1.8% in 1994 to 7.2% in 2023, while in the low-income group — from 2.3% to 10.2%. However, the dynamics of spending on clothing, shoes and durable goods was inverted.

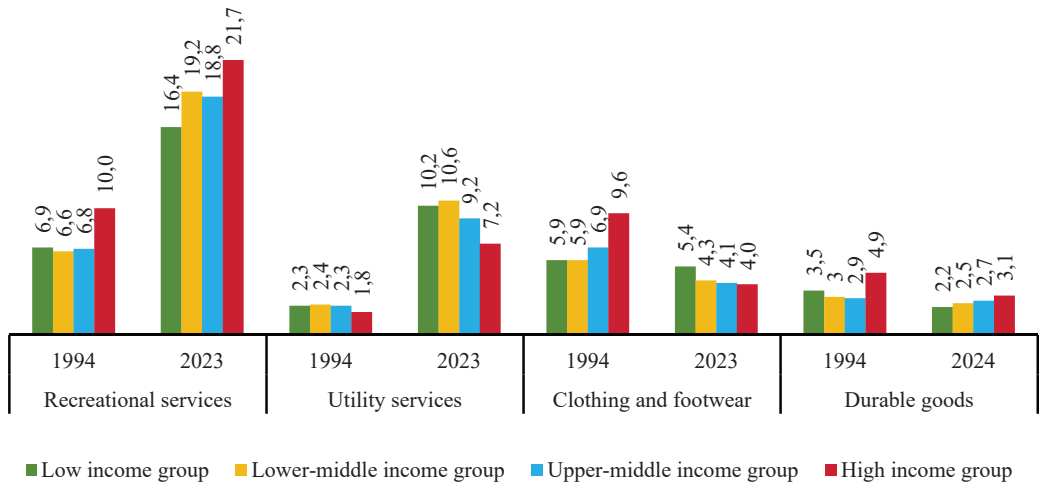


Figure 4. Dynamics of household spending on certain types of goods and services in Russia (on average per member of household monthly; %)

Overall consumption priorities for different income groups have been shifting to spending on healthcare, cultural-educational, tourism, health-resort and fitness-wellness services. These tendencies are to a greater extent typical for wealthier groups: in the most impoverished groups' consumption, the highest share of spending is usually on utility payments, while in the wealthiest groups — on paid services associated with investment in human capital. These differences are reflected in both quantitative indicators and the quality of services.

According to the Chinese studies, urban households spend more on development consumption (a higher share of overall budget), but these discrepancies gradually decrease. For instance, in 2013 the share of spending for

developmental purposes among rural population for the first time got up to 10%, and since then has consistently been on an even higher level, while the share of the same spending for urban households has gradually declined since 2019. By 2023, the difference between urban and rural households in spending on development decreased to a minimum (12.5% and 10.7%, respectively).

In recent years, the share of rural households' spending on food, tobacco and alcohol, healthcare and medical services was higher, while on housing — lower compared to urban residents: in 2023, the share of spending on food, tobacco and alcohol, and housing amounted to 32.4% and 20.3%, respectively, while for urban residents — 28.8% and 23.7%. At the same time the share of villagers' spending on healthcare and medical services rapidly growth — from 4.3% in 1998 to 10.5% in 2023, compared to a decrease in case of townspeople — from 11.5% in 1998 to a record minimum in 2013, after which there was an increase to 8.6% in 2023. Consumer spending on education, healthcare and medical services, and on material support for parents was on a constant rise, accounting for about one fifth of all expenses of Chinese households. These consumption categories can be characterized as collective spending or social provisioning. A high level of development of corresponding public services and social welfare would result in a considerable reduction in personal expenses. However, the fact that over the last 20 years the share of spending on such services saw a negligible decrease indicates that government services and social welfare are still underdeveloped. Urban residents have greater access to social welfare and public services, since the corresponding share in collective consumer spending is considerably lower than for rural population.

In Russia, just like in China, the consumption structure of urban households compared to rural ones is more in line with satisfying people's needs when it comes to preserving and improving health and human capital. Today, just like before, urban households allocate a significantly lower share of spending to purchasing food products. However, from 1994 to 2023, spending on groceries for urban households dropped from 61.5% to 31.4%, while for rural households — from 70.8% to 34.2%. At the same time the share of development spending (on recreational services) for urban households is considerably higher: from 1994 to 2023 it increased from 8.7% to 20.1% compared to from 4.7% to 14.9% for rural households. These negative discrepancies for rural households are partly offset by lower spending on rent and utility payments: from 1994 to 2023 spending on utility services increased from 1% to 6.3% for rural households (for urban households — from 2.5% to 10.2%). Compared to these significant shifts, changes in the share of urban and rural household spending on clothing and footwear were not as dramatic: for urban households it decreased from 7.8% to 2.7%, for rural households — from 5.5% to 4.8%. Even less noticeable but no less important were changes in spending on durable goods: for urban households this share decreased from 4.1% to 2.7%, while for rural households increases from 2% to 2.4%.

The comparative analysis of the structural transformation of consumption in Russia and China revealed the most obvious characteristics and relevant trends that determine the country-specific differences and common features in the dynamics of structural shifts in the population's consumption under modernization. Since it unfolds in both countries, there have been noticeable shifts in household consumption due to growing income and spending and to growing demand for higher quality goods and services. The direction and rate of shifts in the structure of household consumer spending point towards continuous optimization of consumption models in both countries, although in China the intensity of this process is somewhat higher compared to Russia. One of the most substantial and important tendencies in China is the advancement of consumption models which facilitate a continuous increase in consumption for development, while in Russia the main trend is an increase in spending on recreational services that improve living standards. In both countries inequality in consumption continues to be a pressing issue: consumer spending on food, durable goods, housing, cultural, leisure activities and entertainment is still the most differentiating factor. However, Russia suffers more from regional inequality in consumption, while China — from inequality between types of settlements. In both countries, manufacturers and consumers tend to prefer digital trade and consumption. It would be fair to assume that future structural shifts in household consumption will be linked to further development of a digital economy and increasing significance of digital consumption.

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Сравнительный анализ структурной трансформации потребления в России и Китае*

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Аннотация. Статья основана на результатах совместного российско-китайского исследовательского проекта. На базе социологических и статистических данных рассмотрены особенности структурных изменений потребления населения в процессе модернизации в России и Китае. Показано, что в течение последних тридцати лет на фоне роста доходов и расходов в обеих странах наблюдалось снижение доли расходов домохозяйств на питание, однако в Китае более интенсивное и последовательное. В обеих странах отмечен значительный рост потребления услуг: в Китае наблюдается поступательное движение от потребления для выживания к потреблению для развития (расходы на образование, путешествия, отдых, бытовую технику, связь и транспорт), а в России растет потребление рекреационных услуг (расходы на медицинские, физкультурно-оздоровительные, развлекательные, познавательные, туристические услуги), улучшающих качество жизни семей. Несмотря на эти и некоторые другие позитивные тенденции, структура потребления домохозяйств в обеих странах все еще не соответствует потребностям сегодняшнего дня. При этом в последние годы в Китае особое беспокойство вызывают высокие расходы домохозяйств на жилье и низкий уровень потребления в сфере культуры и отдыха, а в России — снижение покупательской способности бедных и средних слоев. В обеих странах зафиксирован большой разрыв в потреблении между доходными группами, а также между городскими и сельскими жителями. В целом росту потребления в России и Китае способствует совершенствование информационно-коммуникационных технологий и развитие цифровой экономики.

Ключевые слова: модернизация; неравенство в потреблении; потребление в России и Китае; расходы домохозяйств; структура потребления; уровень жизни; цифровое потребление

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