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**THE DYNAMICS OF SUICIDES AS AN INDICATOR OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
OF THE MODERN VILLAGE OF CHINA**

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Abstract

The article is devoted to modern research in the field of rural sociology in modern China. Existing studies of the Chinese village are limited by the interest mainly to the economic changes. However, social changes are not less importance, especially in light of the proclamation of the need to build a “harmonious socialist society” in the PRC. The development of market-based economic relations and rapid urbanization have significantly changed the Chinese village for the last thirty years of the implementation of the policy of reforms and openness. The problems that the Chinese sociologists use the integral concept of “Sannun” (三农) (including the triple problems of rural development, agriculture and the peasants themselves) have become increasingly acute. In connection with the escalation of negative processes, the Government of the People’s Republic of China has initiated a series of political initiatives aimed at modernizing agriculture and socio-economic integration of the city and the village.

Keywords

Rural sociology – China – Socio-economic development – demographic changes

The dynamics of suicides as an indicator of the socio-economic problems of the modern village of China pág. 332

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Introduction

The impact which society has on a person and its motivation is called one of the main causes of committing suicide since the times of a French sociologist E. Durkheim. In his works E. Durkheim says that percentage of suicides depends only on sociological reasons and is determined by ethical social organization of society. "The victim's acts which at first seem to express only his personal temperament are really the supplement and prolongation of a social condition which they express externally"¹. It means that increase or decline of the number of self-murders in certain communities is caused by the opportunities that community provides for effective adaptation to rapidly changing socio-economic conditions. That is why the suicide dynamics is an appropriate indicator of both existence of social issues and possibilities and efforts made by the society and its institutions to solve these problems.

After investigating the cultural factors of suicide P. Sorokin made a list of things creating a breeding ground for thoughts about committing suicide. He points at individual's loneliness in the conditions of civilization development, isolation from society, religion reduction, and instability of life. At the same time, difficult life circumstances, first, financial ones, actually egg on suicide².

The study of suicides in different countries shows that socio-economic changes associated with urbanization continue to develop, as in the times of the studies of Durkheim and Sorokin. But nowadays the problem of adaptation is in rural areas. At the beginning of the XX century, the transition from agrarian to industrial society led to an increase in suicides in cities where social relations were not established. Now there is a transition from agrarian-industrial or industrial society to information society. And the village nowadays is fading away from social relations. The indicator of the problems of social adaptation is the level of suicides in different urbanizing societies.

Materials and Methods

The methodology of our study includes methods of demography, sociology, study of the causes and characteristics of the urbanization process in different societies. We are interested in the reverse side of this problem, from inside the process of urbanization, which manifests itself in social instability and, as a consequence, in limiting the adaptive capacity of people living in rural areas to the new, rapidly changing conditions of globalization.

The relevance of considering suicide as an indicator of the imbalances in the socio-economic and socio-cultural development of the Chinese village, and the problems they cause, is covered by statistics. The data shows that women, the elderly, young people and people living in rural areas are the most prone to suicide in China. Wu Fai reflects over this problem from medical anthropology's point of view. He sees two main difficulties in studying of suicides. Firstly, at the level of methodology there is an obvious paradox: it is impossible to investigate suicides. In other words, it is never possible to know exactly the causes of suicide. It will be even more difficult to identify these reasons in a village where people often committed suicide without suicide notes. Secondly, at the level of a

¹ E. Durkheim, *Suicide: Sociological Etude* (Moscow. Mysl', 1994), 263.

² P. Sorokin, "Suicide as a social phenomenon", *Sotsiologicheskoye issledovaniya*, num 2 (2003): 23-29.

theoretical explanation the concept of “suicide” has different meaning in the Western and the Eastern traditions. It is rooted in history, culture and religion. Therefore, it is impossible to directly identify suicide in the village and anomie in the interpretation of E. Durkheim. According to Wu Fei, the essence of the issue is social justice and the problems of its achievement. In the study, he focuses on the tradition of "Go Zitzzy" (GuoRizi - to live as a family for centuries) as the life philosophy of the Chinese. “Go” means “to pass,” “Zhitszy” means “everyday life.” Unlike the Western tradition, where the meaning of life is understood from the point of view of the relationship between the individual and God, in China family the most important living space and meaning of existence is family. The whole life of the Chinese revolves around it. Behind this concept lies a collective perception: adults begin their "Zhitzzy" only after creating their family. “Go Zhitzzy” is the whole life process, which includes all the events of a person’s life: birth, growth, family creation, career, birth and upbringing of children, maintenance of the old generation, aging, death. According to Fei, the peasants live in the “triangle” of human self-perception, material being and rituals. “Go Zhitszy” is not only about interaction between people, but also about distribution of power in the family. When this power sharing does not meet family members’ expectations, they begin to feel increasing discomfort. Thus, an imbalance in the perception of this power, caused by socio-economical reasons, can lead to suicide. Suicide is one of the ways to express protest, resentment and the desire to restore its social role in the family. Its reasons lie in desire to achieve justice in the framework of traditionally understood and perceived family relations, which are seriously affected by radical changes in society³.

Based on theoretical considerations, Wu Fei, under the leadership of Liu Yanwu in China, conducted a sociological study on the suicides of the rural population, which covered more than 40 villages in such provinces as Hubei, Shandong, Jiangsu, Henan, Huizhou, and others. Liu Yanwu personally conducted field research in a village from Hubei Province. If Wu Fei considers “Go Zhitszy” as a mechanism for carrying out social activities (focused on the implementation of a certain life strategy), then Liu Yanwu focuses on understanding the mechanism of social motivation formation in the village.

Indeed, the interviewed peasants explain the motivation of suicide in the same way as Fei: “日子过不下去了” - that is, “I can’t continue Go Zhitzzy”. And if you ask “Why?”, the answer will be: “没有奔头了” - “BenTou will no longer be.” In his study of suicides in village Liu Yanyu proceeded from the basic tenets of Confucianism, interpreting the peasant understanding of “BenTou” (奔头 BenTou). "Ben" means "to head for the goal." And "BenTou" denotes the desires and perspectives that can be achieved by their efforts in their own age. It is this which stimulates the forward movement of all daily life and reveals its meaning for the Chinese. Something dynamic is inherent in this concept: firstly, the perception of BenTou changes in different periods of life. Secondly, faith in the bright future sometimes allows you to experience temporary setbacks on the life path. What is the "BenTou" for the peasants? The answers focus on the following aspects: the birth of a boy as procreation; prosperous life; harmonious relationships in the family; career success and health. But suicide is the result of the imbalance of this social mechanism⁴.

³ Wu Fei, “Suicide as chinese problem. Beijing. SDX joint publishing company. 2007. P. 237. Wu Fei: On “living a life of fortune”, Sociological studies, num 6 (2007): 66-85.

⁴ Liu Yanwu, “Suicide research: dilemma expression, theory inspection and path transformation”, China agricultural university journal of social sciences edition, num 03 (2010): 63-70 y Liu Yanwu, Four reasons for the rising suicide rate of older people in the village. 2014. Retrieved December, 21, 2019 from: http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_china/2014-07/5091441.html

According to the results of socio-demographic studies, the problem of suicides is extremely acute and relevant for the elderly. For example, in the period from 2002 to 2011, the suicide rate of elderly people in rural areas at the age of 70-74 years was constantly increasing and 3-4 times higher than the average one in the world. The main reason Liu Yanwu sees in the difficulties faced by elderly people in the modern village of China. They include problems related to food supply; physical pain caused by diseases; mental waste and loneliness caused by the lack of participation in the necessary collective activities, the lack of possibility of day-to-day care got from young people due to labor outflows from village to city. However, he does not limit to these superficial causes and also tries to link suicide with the weakening or even disappearance of the usual patriarchal organization of life in village, traditional rural culture, growth of economic differentiation in the village, etc.⁵

On the ground of the field research made in Jingshan County, Hubei Province, Chen Baifeng examines suicide in village in terms of changes in intergenerational relationships, with the result that the social role of the elderly has been changing. He pays special attention to the raising level of suicide among the elderly. According to his research, there are four types of suicide among senior citizens: voluntary suicide, "outraged" suicide, suicide due to deception and suicide due to loneliness. Voluntary suicide always exists in Chinese villages, and since the 1980s there has been a transition from "outraged" suicide to suicide caused by despair and loneliness. The transformation of suicide types of seniors reflects a change in intergenerational relationships. In the 1980s, older people, like parents, occupied an important position in family relationships and, thus, in intergenerational conflicts. Young people often found themselves in the position of losers, and were forced to obey the will of their elders. Intergenerational conflicts not as much provoked suicide among the elderly, as among the youth, especially among unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law. The conflict between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law often ended at that time when a daughter-in-law took her life. However, the situation in the studied countryside has gradually changed since the late 1980s. Due to the intrusion of market relations into traditional family communications, the elderly no longer occupy a dominant position and some of them cannot get used to this situation. The suicide of older people fits the type of "outrage" suicide. It served as a means of protest and was designed to condemn the public opinion of the humiliated position of the older generation. But in the 1990s, suicides of this type almost ceased to occur. Since that time, suicides due to despair and loneliness have become more important. This reflects the fact that the radical changes in the village have put the elderly in a very difficult situation. They finally lost their former social significance in the family and resolution of conflicts and problems. In addition, radical socio-economic changes in the village significantly weakened intensity of intra-family communications. And, unlike the 1980s, the suicide of older people is now often committed silently and is no longer an event that has a loud public resonance⁶.

Traditionally, Chinese parents give all their efforts to raising children. And it is not only directly about parenting, but also about the wedding cost, building a house, caring for grandchildren. Their work is completed only when they totally lose their working capacity.

⁵ Liu Yanwu, Suicide research: dilemma expression... y Liu Yanwu, "The suicides of the rural elderly and the crisis intervention in China: 1980-2009", South China population, num 02 (2013): 57-64.

⁶ Chen Baifeng, Intergenerational change and suicide of the elderly. Sociological studies, num 4, (2009): 157-176 y Chen Baifeng, Case study suicide of women from the village.2012. Retrieved December, 21, 2019 from: http://www.guancha.cn/Rural/2012_02_17_66148.shtml

And in this regard, if they do not receive care, do not have respect and reverence, they consider themselves offended and may commit suicide out of despair. Older people do not take the lessons of the changes of the 1990s into account. Yang Huya explains this as part of the notion of “suicide order”. This order means a system of opinions that is distributed not only among young people, but also among the elderly: the elderly are useless. They can no longer earn money and so that become a burden to the family. The problem is that not only young people think so. Even the elderly themselves are increasingly confident that “old people are not needed by anyone.” This creates a breeding social ground for suicides growth among the elderly in Chinese villages⁷.

He Xuefeng uses a socio-cultural approach and considers suicide through the lens of the concepts of “life” and “death”. Based on the data of his socio-cultural research, he divides the meaning of human life into three levels: 1) the meaning of the ontological level, or religious reflection on the limited life and the unlimited meaning of life; 2) the meaning of the social level, i.e. a person’s evaluation and recognition of society; 3) the meaning of the basic level necessary for human existence. All these meanings of life can be achieved only in family life. In the village, the meaning of the ontological level is carried out through the “procreation”, which means the eternity of life, transmitted from generation to generation. This traditional view, along with the relevant standards of filial piety, myths, rituals, family cemeteries, etc., served as the basis of the faith and beliefs of peasant population. These factors have always helped people in the village to endure suffering and poverty. In the villages, where “procreation” is the most important word in life, the absence of sons makes life hopeless, which sometimes manifests itself in suicide⁸.

In 2007–2008, under the leadership of He Xuefeng, the field research was conducted in more than 20 villages from 10 provinces (see table 1). Proceeding from relations within the family, he divides suicide in the village into the following types: 1 type - suicide caused by intergenerational conflicts; 2 type - suicide caused by disrespectful behavior; 3 type - suicide caused by conflicts between spouses; 4 type - suicide, caused by the intervention of parents in the choice of a partner; 5 type - suicide caused by a serious illness; 6 type - suicide caused by conflicts between brothers or daughters-in-law. There are other types of suicides, such as suicides, caused by conflicts between neighbors in the village or mental illness. But according to the results of the study, 90% of cases can be attributed to the first five types.

The researched villages	The types of suicide:						Total quantity of suicides
	1	2	3	4	5	Other	
Village 1	2	0	4	0	3	0	10
Village2	0	7	0	0	1	0	8
Village3	2	2	1	1	0	1	7
Village4	8	0	10	6	2	0	26
Village5	1	1	0	2	1	0	5
Village6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Village7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Village8	1	7	5	0	1	3	17

⁷ Yang Hua y Fan Fangxu, “Features of suicide and suicide of elderly people in Jingshan County, Hubei Province”, Open Times, num 5 (2009): 104-125.

⁸ He Xuefeng, “Ability of autonomous reproduction of village values in the process of modernization”, Exploration and Free Views, num 7 (2005): 26-27.

Village9	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Village10	1	0	0	0	1	3	5
Village11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Village12	0	4	8	0	1	0	13
Village13	1	1	3	0	0	2	7
Village14	1	1	3	0	0	1	5
Village15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1.

The types of suicide in researched villages in China

Source: He Xuefeng, Guo Junxia, p. 109

Villages 1-6 are located in the southern part of China, 7-11 are in the northern part, and 12-15 are located in the central China.

Based on the data received, He Xuefeng focuses on considering changes and tendencies of suicide in time and space. Villages in the South are characterized by the presence of a patriarchal-clan organization, and there has been a higher level of suicides, especially suicides caused by intergenerational conflicts. In the central part the suicides of the elderly, caused by the disrespectful actions of children, are common. Senior people here have completely lost their dominant position in family relationships and are unable to enter into constant conflict with children. Intergenerational conflicts are also common in northern China, but they are not an important cause of suicide. The reason is that people here openly and publicly discuss these conflicts. He Xuefeng sees the seriousness of the problem in the fact that the rural population increasingly throws the village and runs into the cities. The village seems to them as a temporary place of residence, which leads to the development of lack of spirituality and, as a result, to appearing of social environment leading to an increase in the number of suicides⁹.

Discussion

Self-killing is an actual modern problem in different countries. How does it show social changes? Analysis of statistics in different countries shows the predominance of suicides in rural areas.

In Russia although the number of suicides tends to decrease, it is still quite large and comparable to the number of victims of road accidents; it ranks first among deaths from external causes. In 2016, more than 23 thousand people took their lives in Russia¹⁰.

Year	1992	2000	2005	2010	2013	2014 (without Crimea)	2015	2016	2017
Dead from suicide	31	39	32	23	20	18	17	16	14

Table 2

Suicide mortality rates (number of deaths per 100,000 citizens), according to Rosstat, (Russia in Figures, 2018)

Source: Healthcare in Russia. (2017) Statistical digest. Moscow. Rosstat

⁹ He Xuefeng y Guo Junxia, "Category and logic of suicide in rural China", Journal of Huazhong University of Science and Technology (Social Science Edition), num 4 (2012): 108-116.

¹⁰ Healthcare in Russia, Statistical digest. Moscow. Rosstat. 2017.

The connection between the socio-economic status of society and suicide are considered in Russian studies. S.V. Bogdanov analyzes suicide statistics in Russia in the 1990s and shows the excess of indicators in rural areas in all population groups. Bogdanov makes an assumption about the worst socio-economic situation of the village compared to the city, including the continuing decline of living standards, higher levels of unemployment, the spread of social issues, and as a result the excess of suicide rates in rural areas over urban indicators¹¹. T.V. Blinov and S. G. Bylina analyze the statistics of the 2000s. In general, the mortality rate caused by suicides and other external causes in countryside decreases, but the proportion of suicides increases. "Mortality due to suicide was dominant among external causes in 2000 and 2001. Despite the absolute decrease in the number of deaths of the cause, since 2015 their share in total mortality from external causes had been increasing, which we see as a sign of social distress."¹² Since 2013, suicides have caused the death of the rural population more often than traffic accidents¹³.

V. M. Terebihin, relying on P. Sorokin's theory, investigates suicide in Komi. Noting a higher level of suicide in the countryside, while Sorokin noted an increase in suicides in the city, Terebihin points to the "forced transformation of all aspects of social life on an urban basis."¹⁴ The factors obstructing suicide, such as "a large three-generation family, a higher level of religiosity, a low divorce rate, the influence of public opinion and "the whole world" on the regulation of many problems of life activity" declined in the countryside¹⁵. Moreover, the factors associated with suicides increased: "divorce rate growth, a reduction of amount of children in families, an increase in the level of alcoholism, drug using, and crime."¹⁶ The author also points to the growth of unemployment, social inequality, spiritual crisis (loss of the meaning of life), which in the village are currently manifested more than in the city.

Suicidal problems in the countryside are noted in all regions of Russia. The authors investigated the situation of empty land in the Russian village¹⁷, social problems of consumer society¹⁸ and problems of village development¹⁹. Structural transformation of rural economy brings social problems, affects the perception of life. Exploring the Irkutsk

¹¹ S. V. Bogdanov, "Suicidal behavior of urban and rural residents of Russia in the context of social transformations of the late twentieth - early twenty-first century", Bulletin of Moscow University. Series 18: Sociology and Political Science, num 3 (2011): 149-158.

¹² T. V. Blinova y S. G. Bylina, "High mortality of the rural working-age population as a factor limiting structural changes in the economy", Bulletin of the Saratov State Socio-Economic University, num 5 Vol: 34 (2010): 62-68.

¹³ T. V. Blinova, "Socio-demographic challenges of the development of rural territories of Russia", Ostrovskie reading, num 1 (2015): 23-32.

¹⁴ V. M. Terebihin, "Fluctuations of suicidal behavior of the population of the Komi Republic", Sotsiologicheskkiye issledovaniya, num 10 Vol: 318 (2010): 48-54.

¹⁵ V. M. Terebihin, Fluctuations of suicidal behavior of the population of the Komi Republic...

¹⁶ V. M. Terebihin, Fluctuations of suicidal behavior of the population of the Komi Republic...

¹⁷ M. S. Baynova; M. U. Dyakonov; T. A. Evstratova y A. A. Sidiyak, "The practice of legal and tax regulation of land relations in agriculture in Russia", Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics, num 7 Vol: 3 (2016): 498-504.

¹⁸ M. Baynova; P. Palekhova; A. Petrov y A. Petrova, "Cultural globalization, consumer society and fashion industry in Russia: new socio-historical trends", Wisdom, Vol: 13 num 2 (2019): 146-154.

¹⁹ E. E. Kabanova; E. A. Vetrova; T. A. Evstratova; J. O. Sulyagina y V. I. Kataeva, "Agriturismo en Rusia: condiciones modernas y perspectivas de Desarrollo", Dilemas contemporáneos: Educación, Política y Valores, Vol: 6 num 3 (2019). Zélia Maria de Arruda Santiago; Iranilson Buruti de Oliveira y Taianara Catarine Santiago, "Ratis. Narrativas de idosos sobre o cuidado ambiental no meio rural: saberes ensinados, fazeres preservados", Rev. Incl., Vol: 5 num 3 (2018): 75-92.

Region, O. P. Vorsina writes: “A crisis situation with suicides has developed in the countryside. The level of suicides in countryside has reached ultra-high values and is 1.6-1.8 times higher than those of the urban population.”²⁰ And aging people have very big problems in villages and small towns, that leads to depression. Researchers compare suicide statistics in Tatarstan with the data in other regions of Russia. The suicide rate is higher in the northern and far eastern territories and lower in the southern regions and in the North Caucasus²¹. It can be assumed that on the one hand, in the Caucasus involvement of the individual in public life, traditional and family values is stronger. On the other hand, there are a lot of depressed settlements in the north of Russia, there is outflow of population and people lose the meaning of life.

So, the problem of suicide in Russian countryside can be said to be one of the most important to be solved. Recently, suicide among adolescents and young people has become the matter of concern. Youth suicide rates in Russia are among the highest in the world²². In rural areas, this phenomenon is also about twice as large as urban indicators²³. The authors of the report “Mortality of adolescents in the Russian Federation” indicate that “the growth of suicides is largely due to the weakening of the role of traditional social institutions governing the relationship between generations and individuals”, as well as the use of psychoactive substances by adolescents²⁴.

Razvodovsky, referring to the results of the Western studies, indicates that the problem of the growth of suicides in rural areas has been the characteristic of many countries lately. In China the suicide rate among the rural population is 3–4 times higher than among the urban population; in Canada the it is proportional to the population reduction in the settlement²⁵. He also notes that the level of social isolation is higher in rural areas. It is needed to add, that using the example of Belarus, the author points to the “statistically significant connection between the level of alcohol consumption and the level of suicides”. Suicide and depressive in China and comparison with other countries was a problem for international researches²⁶.

The US experience shows that for a farmer a terrible loss is the loss of a farm, it means the loss of land, the loss of the meaning of life. At the same time, agriculture is a high-risk industry, and a farmer depends on weather and government policies. Uncertainty of life leads to alcohol consumption²⁷. From 1999 to 2015, suicide rates in rural areas were consistently higher than in urban areas and increased from 12.96 per 100,000 population

²⁰ O. P. Vorsina, “Suicidal activity of urban and rural population of the Irkutsk region”, *Mental health*. Vol: 7 num 11 (42) (2009): 8-11.

²¹ E. G. Chernova; R. Kh. Yagudin y I. I. Shaikhutdinov, “Mortality from unnatural causes in the Republic of Tatarstan: the level and dynamics in the first decade of the XXI century”, *Practical medicine*, num 8-2 Vol: 64 (2012): 173-177.

²² Yu. V. Albitsky; A. E. Ivanova; A. G. Ilin y R. N. Terletskaya, *Mortality of adolescents in the Russian Federation* (Moscow. UNICEF, 2010), 6.

²³ Yu. V. Albitsky; A. E. Ivanova; A. G. Ilin y R. N. Terletskaya, *Mortality of adolescents in the Russian...* 40.

²⁴ Yu. V. Albitsky; A. E. Ivanova; A. G. Ilin y R. N. Terletskaya, *Mortality of adolescents in the Russian...* 48.

²⁵ Yu. E. Razvodovsky, “Alcohol consumption and suicide gradient among urban and rural residents of Belarus”, *Suicidology*, Vol: 9 num 1 (30) (2018): 67-72.

²⁶ G. J. Jogerst; S. Zheng; E. V. Frolova y M. Y. Kim, “Late-life depressive symptoms: an international study”, *Family Practice*, Vol: 29 num 4 (2012): 407-415.

²⁷ M. Rosmann, “Sowing hope”, *Advancing Suicide Prevention* Vol: 1 num 2 (2005): 11-12.

17.6 per 100,000 population. Among them, suicidal rate of middle-aged people is higher²⁸. In Australia the suicide of men in the countryside has become a serious problem, associates by researchers with poverty, population outflow, and poor health.²⁹

The rate of suicide in Bangladesh is 7.3 per 100,000 of the population per year (6.5 in males and 8.2 in females) and the higher suicide rate is found in the groups of elderly 60+ and adolescents³⁰. Cultural context in Bangladesh: More than 70 percent of the population lives in countryside³¹. There are also a large number of rural migrants to the cities in Bangladesh, but their lives are in distress³². Possible causes: researchers believe that the two most common causes of suicide are “emotional stress due to family quarrel” and poverty³³.

Suicide rate in India in 1967 was 7.8, reached the peak in 2010—11.4, and in 2013 year -11.0. As for farmer's suicide, 11,096 farmers died of suicide in 2009. In 2010 this number reached a peak with 15, 964 and in 2013 there was a decline (11,772)³⁴. Some researchers believe that suicide rates in rural and urban India appears to be no difference. In 2002, the suicide rate of union territories was 10.51; the suicide rate of the urban areas (35 cities) 10.5; and the national rate 10.5, according to National Crime Research Bureau 2002. However, studies have also shown that the problem of suicide among farmers in India is acute. Between the years 1997 and 2006, about 200,000 farmers have committed suicide. Farmers' suicide rate is nearly 60 % higher than the general suicide rate, indicating a very distressing situation in these states³⁵.

Based on the analysis of the sources, it can be concluded that in modern conditions, loneliness and uncertainty of life can be the reasons of committing suicide which are more peculiar to people who live in rural areas. This trend exists in different countries with different standards of living. The prevailing urbanization contributes to the dying of the village with an accelerating pace. At the same time, one can observe the urgency of the problem in Russia against the background of social and economic transformation. Nowadays the level of suicides in the countryside is little regarded as a social problem since the biggest public attention in Russia is being paid to self-killing

²⁸ National advisory committee on rural health and human services, Understanding the impact of suicide in rural America. December 2017. Retrieved December 1, 21, 2019 from: <https://www.hrsa.gov/sites/default/files/hrsa/advisory-committees/rural/publications/2017-impact-of-suicide.pdf>

²⁹ S. Jones; M. Stemm; C. Walker; E. De Silva; A. Miles y C. Zimitat, Community Response to Eliminate Suicide (CORES): a Rural, Suicide Awareness and Intervention Program. Published by Kentish Regional Clinic Inc, Sheffield. Tasmania. 2013.

³⁰ S. R. Mashreky; F. Rahman y A. Rahman, “Suicide Kills More Than 10,000 People Every Year in Bangladesh”, Archives of suicide research: official journal of the International Academy for Suicide Research. Vol: 17 (2013).

³¹ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, BBS Monthly Statistical Bulletin. Bangladesh, July to December 2007. Dhaka. 2008.

³² S. Hossain, Urban Poverty in Bangladesh: Slum Communities, Migration and Social Integration (London: IB Tauris, 2010).

³³ A. H. Feroz; S. N. Islam; S. Reza; A. M. Rahman; J. Sen; M. Mowla and M. R. Rahman, “A Community Survey on the Prevalence of Suicidal Attempts and Deaths in a Selected Rural area of Bangladesh”, Journal of Medicine, num 13 (2012): 3-9.

³⁴ R. Ponnudurai, “Suicide in India—changing trends and challenges ahead”, India Journal of Psychiatry. num 57 Vol: (4) (2015): 348-354.

³⁵ Savita Malhotra y Subho Chakrabarti (Eds.), Development in psychiatry in India (New Delhi: Springer, 2015).

among teenagers. As it is shown in the review above, generally suicides in rural areas are considered just as a part of regional analysis. According to Aminov, the most vulnerable groups - men and women who live in villages - are outside the anti-suicidal measures taken in Russia, because social assistance centers are usually located in large cities³⁶.

From this point of view, should be taken in consideration foreign studies, in particular the Chinese ones, which provide with the materials about suicides in the context of the transformation of socio-economic conditions. A study of suicides in rural areas in China makes it possible to compare the situation in the society that is also in a state of social and economic transformation from a social economy to a market one, and see how the changes taking place are associated with loneliness of a person, loss of social support, crisis of the society in the village.

Conclusion

To sum up, it can be concluded that the study of suicides in different age groups, especially among older people, makes it possible to judge both the presence and even worsening of social problems caused by radical changes in the life of modern village. The study shows the need to create social support systems that allow to prevent the growth of conflicts, especially intra-family conflicts. As before, suicide is still an indicator of the negative effects of social transformations, and an important marker that shows which social groups turned out to be the most socially unprotected during the transformations, which, of course, should contribute to the development of measures to improve the effectiveness of social policy in the modern village. The assumptions of Durkheim and Sorokin are now can be confirmed and may be revised. The findings of sociologists are confirmed, because suicides occur in an environment where there are problems of social connections. But a century after Durkheim and Sorokin, the village, not the city, is the place where the transformation of social ties took place.

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³⁶ I. G. Aminov, "Suicides in Russia", Demoscope Weekly, num 705-706 (2016). Retrieved December, 21, 2019 from: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2016/0705/demoscope705.pdf>

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The dynamics of suicides as an indicator of the socio-economic problems of the modern village of China pág. 344

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